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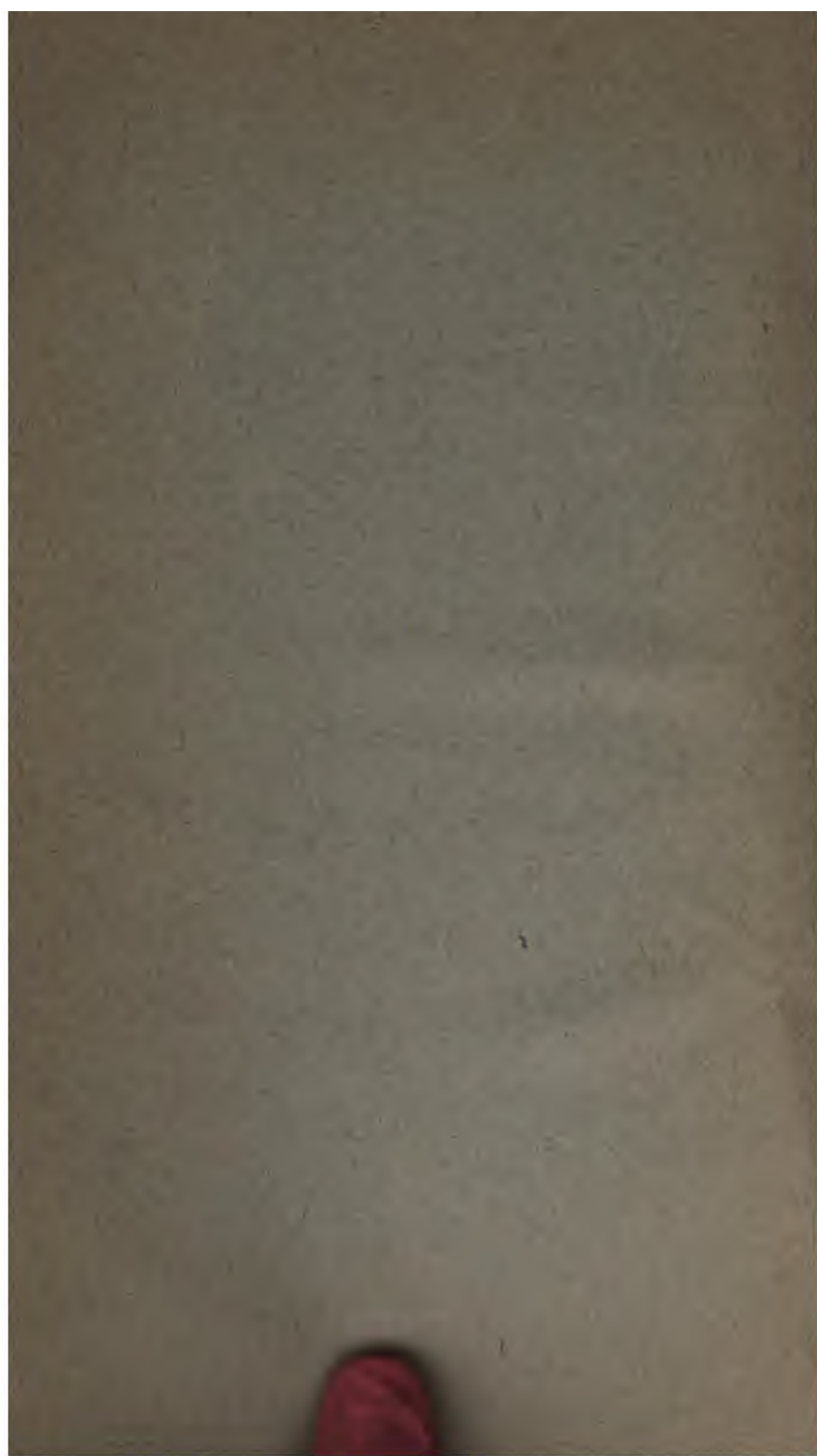


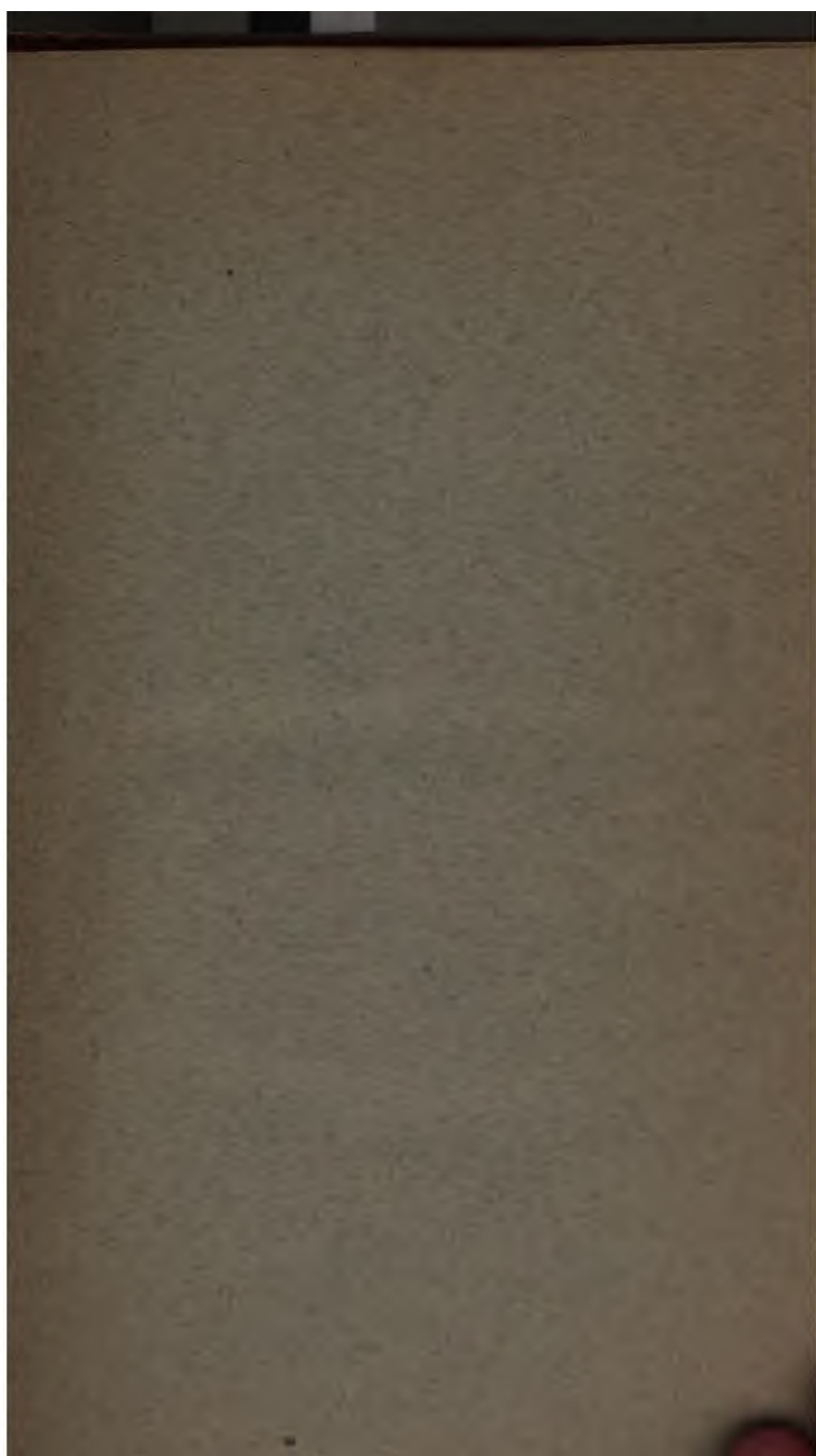


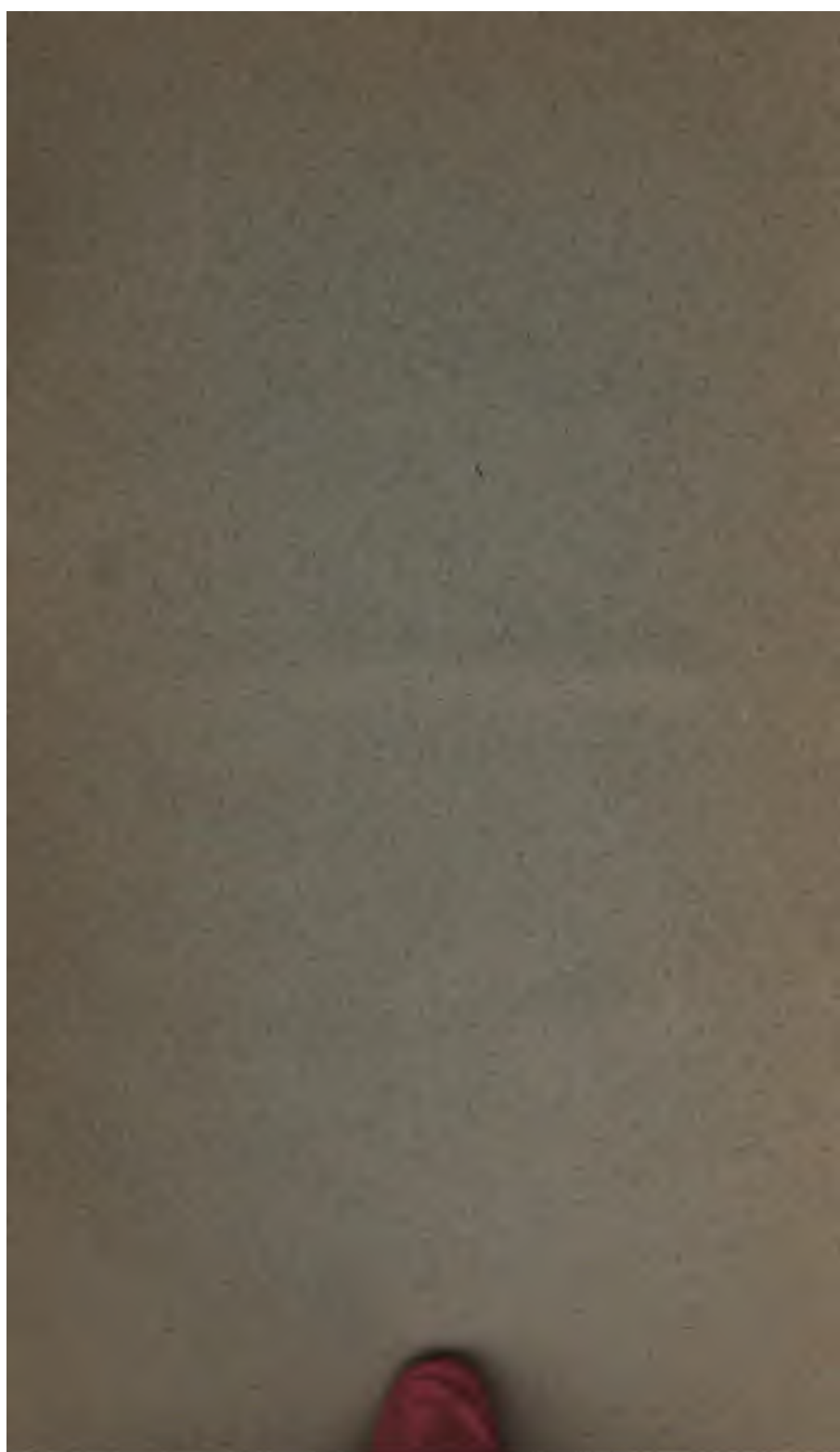
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**ANTI-SLAVERY**  
**MONTHLY REPORTER.**

**VOLUME I.**

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*Commencing June 1825, and ending May 1827.*

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**LONDON:**

**PRINTED FOR THE LONDON SOCIETY FOR THE MITIGATION AND ABOLITION OF  
SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH DOMINIONS;**

**AND TO BE HAD AT THE ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 18, ALDERMANBURY;  
OF MESSRS. HATCHARD, 187, PICCADILLY; MESSRS. ARCH, CORNHILL; AND OF ALL  
BOOKSELLERS; AND AT THE DEPOTS OF ALL THE ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATIONS  
THROUGHOUT THE KINGDOM.**

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**M.DCCC.XXVII.**



Bagster and Thoms, Printers, Bartholomew Close, London.

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

London, June 30, 1825.

No. 1.

# ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

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## ADDRESS TO ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATIONS.

THE Committee of the "London Society for the Mitigation and gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions," have felt, in common with their friends in all parts of the kingdom, the want of a regular medium of communication concerning the progress of the work in which they are engaged. To this want, probably, are to be attributed the misconceptions which have occasionally been formed respecting the design and objects of the Society, but more frequently respecting the means which are deemed by the Committee most desirable to be employed.

With a view to supply this deficiency, the Committee propose to publish Monthly a sheet of the size of the present, which shall contain extracts from their correspondence, and such other intelligence relating to the purposes of their institution, as their acquaintance with the subject may enable them to furnish. The publication to be named the "ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER," will be ready for delivery on the last day of every month. Copies will be forwarded, at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred, provided the order for them be received within the month immediately following the date of each Number. It is requested that all persons wishing to receive a regular supply, will make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent. They might in many cases be sent at very little expense, enclosed in booksellers' parcels, or along with the Monthly Publications of the various religious or charitable Societies; permission to that effect being obtained from the country booksellers or others to whom the parcels are addressed.

It is further earnestly recommended by the Committee to all the friends of Negro improvement, to promote the circulation of the intelligence contained in the "Anti-Slavery Reporter," by lending their own copies, or encouraging others to purchase at the Depôts of the several Societies.

The Committee anticipate much benefit from the proposed publication, provided it be encouraged, as they trust it will be, by their friends throughout the country. In particular they calculate upon a large accession of strength to their cause from numerous and influential classes of the community,—not yet sufficiently informed respecting the objects and proceedings of the Society, but who need only to be fully assured that any undertaking which challenges their support, is on the side of justice and humanity, and unexceptionably prosecuted, in order cordially and effectually to espouse it. Such an undertaking the Committee believe theirs to be; and they confidently submit it, together with all their measures, to be canvassed by their countrymen of the United Kingdom. The present measure is adopted at the request of several of their correspondents, and with their own full concurrence in its expediency. They commend it to the blessing of God, and to the favourable acceptance of all who wish to deliver their country from the guilt of supporting that system of oppression and wrong, which is the disgrace and curse of so many of the colonial dependencies of Great Britain.

PROCEEDINGS  
OF  
THE SECOND GENERAL MEETING  
OF THE  
ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

ON SATURDAY, APRIL 30, 1825.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER IN THE CHAIR.

THE Report having been read,

Lord CALTHORPE moved its adoption. He was aware that many imputations had been thrown out against them of indulging in exaggerated statements, and putting forth rather the suggestions of a heated imagination than the naked details of authenticated fact. For this reason, he felt great pleasure in recommending for their adoption the Report just laid before them, for it was not open to this cavil; it was made up of the statements, the admissions, the confessions of the very individuals themselves, who were engaged in administering the dreadful system of Negro Slavery—a system so little like what they were accustomed to in this part of the world—so opposed to all their previous conceptions, that unreflecting people at once rejected the too faithful accounts of it, as altogether unworthy of credit. The Report had detailed much that was highly interesting; and not the least important portion of it was that which referred to the views entertained in the colonies respecting the measures of Government on the subject of Slavery. In a fierce and uncompromising spirit the planters had censured and denounced those measures, though they had certainly proceeded in the mildest spirit of innovation. He conceived that the confessions of the West Indians contained in the Report were of much more value than any thing that could be urged by the warmest advocates of emancipation; and if any part of their language was more particularly deserving of attention than another, it was that in which they spoke of the use of the whip, as an instrument proper and necessary to be used in procuring human labour. The whip was spoken of by them as a thing quite essential to the existence of the colonies, just in the same way as we speak of a free press, or the trial by jury, as institutions essential to the existence of a free Government. But, however frightful the application of such an instrument of torture might be in reference to the Slaves themselves, it was not in that light perhaps that it was to be viewed as most hateful and debasing. It was not merely the agony and degradation which the Negro himself suffered; but it was the corrupting and brutalizing effect produced on the master also. One motive for doing away with this hateful system, was to be found in the immense sum paid by this country for its support and protection. If the same amount were applied to the alleviation and extinction of the evil, and to the encouragement of industry by other and better means, it would be productive of a double benefit. It was a most just observation, and one in which he entirely concurred, that the people of England were the real supporters of the Slave system,—and this not merely because they paid for its support, but because it was in their power to put an end to it. No one acquainted with the vast results which public opinion could produce in this country, could doubt that if the people of England did but will it to be so, Slavery would cease. When we reflected upon the vast influence which those called the middle class exercised in this country, it was not possible to hesitate in believing, that if they were once to say this must not be, there would be an end to Slavery: it would be in vain for parliamentary interest or political connexion to attempt to uphold it for another year.—He cordially concurred with that part of the Report which gave utterance to the feelings of the Society on the occasion of the retirement from public life of one of its brightest ornaments, Mr. Wilberforce. If any man had reason to be cheered and consoled in the evening of his days, it was Mr. Wilberforce—an evening of more brightness than generally belongs to the morning or the meridian of other men's lives. Though not with them personally, it was not too great a stretch of ima-

gination to say, that he was there to be seen in his works: he was then visible to them in the fruits of his mind. One additional motive for the unabated continuance of their labours was, that Mr. Wilberforce still survived to be the witness of their success—still lived, and he hoped would continue to live, until the great object of his life had been attained. They owed it to him to strain every nerve, that within the period he had yet to live he might witness the total abolition of that odious system which, through evil and good report, he had never ceased to assail; and to use their utmost endeavours to free their native land from the opprobrious imputation of being the abettor of Slavery; and they must agree with him, that the grand means of accomplishing that object were to be found in the course which that eminent man had pursued. He could not have accomplished his great work of abolishing the Slave Trade had he not been backed by the people of England. He trusted the Meeting would remember that fact, and would in consequence spare no exertion to carry with them the weight and influence of public opinion. To effect this, nothing remained to be done but to bring the light of English reason to bear on the subject.

Lord MILTON expressed his warm admiration of the objects of this Society, and of the Report which had been read. If the great leaders in the cause of abolition thought they had obtained their object merely by abolishing the Slave Trade without the abolition of Slavery itself, they little calculated upon the real duty which they owed both to society and to their Creator. In glancing at the great efforts which had been made to enlighten the public mind upon the horrors of the Slave system, next to Mr. Wilberforce, he could not overlook the powerful labours of Mr. Stephen (the Master in Chancery), who sat near him, and who had, by his writings, exposed, in its naked deformity, all its odious evils. Indeed, the West-Indian mind deluded itself upon this question; and he believed that many very well-meaning proprietors of West India property, who resided away from their estates, were the unconscious instruments of disseminating false intelligence as to the real state of things upon their plantations.—He, however, knew many of these gentlemen who were themselves the advocates of free labour, in preference to Slave cultivation. Even for the sake of their own interests, they wished to see the system changed, and he entirely concurred in the good policy and sagacity of their views. The noble Lord eloquently argued upon the degrading effects of Slavery, and the appalling influence which it exercised upon the human mind: so that at one time ingenious writers had declared that the Blacks were naturally an inferior order of beings to the Whites, and were not entitled, therefore, to be treated with the same humanity—a notion now happily exploded. For the sake of humanity and justice, for the sake of the character of the country, for the sake of the West Indies themselves, he trusted that an end would soon be put, and for ever, to so odious and unwise a system.

On rising to move the thanks of the Society to Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. W. SMITH said, that though, in common with all present, he lamented as a public misfortune that retirement of his revered friend from public life, (which, as a just precaution, might be styled necessary,) he yet could not but feel a satisfaction in the opportunity afforded him of expressing his own feelings respecting the character and exertions of an individual whom he had so long and so highly honoured and esteemed. For one, however, who recollected the commencement, and had marked the progress of this labour of justice and charity, it was almost impossible, and would be highly unjust, to omit the mention of those ardent and disinterested friends of mankind who at different periods had given it their zealous support;—of Granville Sharp, the precursor, rather than the leader of the band, who, liberal alike of expense and of toil, had first established the claim of Africans to liberty on British soil, in the case of the Negro Somerset;—of Thomas Clarkson, who, following his steps, had first called to this subject the attention of that university which he adorned, and had since devoted himself, body and soul, to the promotion of the cause;—of Mr. Pitt, who in its early stages had yielded it the most cordial and valuable assistance;—of Fox, whose resistless eloquence had never fulminated over the land with more force and effect than when poured forth in the defence of this sacred cause; and of multitudes of other names, including almost all remarkable for talent and eloquence which, for the last forty years, the country could boast; and amongst whom he rejoiced to see enrolled that of the noble lord who had just sat down; one who, to a thousand other claims on their attention, added that of having succeeded in the representation of the great county of York, to Mr. Wilberforce himself, and to that eminent and disinterested patriot, Sir George Saville, one of the earliest of the Abolitionists,—an anecdote respecting whom he recollected, so much to the present point that he would venture to relate it. Being invited to visit a slave ship which was on the point of sailing

from Liverpool for Africa, while the merchant was exultingly displaying the various contrivances of the ship, and the uses to which they were adapted, Sir George appeared so much affected that his companion inquired if he was ill. "No," he said, "I am not ill; but while you are contemplating unmoved the profits of this voyage, I am wishing the ship may never reach its destination." But whatever may have been the exertions of the orators and statesmen alluded to, between them and their distinguished leader there existed a difference of the most important nature. Their services, however brilliant, however valuable, have been, comparatively, occasional and transitory; often, indeed, splendid, and contributing in a high degree to the success already attained, but still inferior in effect and utility to the labours of their chief, which, equally brilliant with those of his most powerful coadjutors, possessed the vast superiority of having been constant and unintermitted. His influence, and his alone, may be said to resemble the universal influence of the sun, enlightening, connecting, and invigorating the whole system. For such services no acknowledgments could be too grateful, no eulogium overstrained. He knew how imperfectly he had expressed them; but he had also the satisfaction of knowing, that, however feebly he might touch the string, there was in every heart present a responsive chord which would not only catch but swell the note.

Mr. F. BUXTON said, that his Hon. Friend had gone through the list of their ablest advocates, save one, which one was himself; for often had he heard Mr. Wilberforce declare, that during forty years of hard and laborious counsel and action, he had always found Mr. Smith by his side, his able, cordial, and unflinching supporter. The Hon. Gentleman then eulogized the powerful services of Mr. Wilberforce in labouring to rescue the honour and reputation of his native country from the guilt and odium of the Slave Trade, and took a retrospect of the public services of that distinguished individual, whose private as well as public principles and conduct were, he observed, so well calculated to shed a lustre upon any man's fame. Engaged as he had been in many public conflicts, it was the singular happiness of that individual never to have made one personal enemy, while he had always enjoyed a large and devoted circle of affectionate friends.—At this advanced period of their labours in the cause of African freedom they could hardly estimate the obstacles which Mr. Wilberforce had, in his early efforts, to encounter, not only from parliamentary and commercial influence, but from popular clamour. But what a contrast was the present with the past state of the question! There could not now be found one man in the community to avow himself a friend of the Slave Trade. The best results must follow a zealous prosecution of those labours which had already been the means of accomplishing so much good.

Mr. W. WILBERFORCE, in rising to request the indulgence of his Royal Highness and the Meeting for a very few moments, could not but say, that he felt more than the ordinary degree of difficulty experienced by all who were, for the first time, placed in the situation in which he then stood, from the peculiar nature of those very circumstances which, at the same time, imperatively demanded his appearance. To thank his Royal Highness and the Meeting for the kind expression of their feelings towards one so dear to himself, would be comparatively an easy task; but here it happened, as naturally must be the case, from the nearness of the relationship, that those services which their partiality had that day so highly characterized, were in his view magnified to a still greater degree, and those ardent expressions of mingled admiration and regret, in which they recorded their sense of his father's labours, and had, as it were, embalmed his memory, all fell far short of the stronger feelings of filial affection.—It was the strength of these feelings which indeed rendered him almost incapable of addressing the Meeting. Doubtless it must excite in him, whose absence they that day so kindly regretted, some feelings of disappointment to know that the last battle was not yet fought, the last victory not yet achieved; but it would be no little consolation to him, during the hours of retirement, to reflect, that those old and valued friends by whose side he had fought for above forty years, while they lamented his absence, still themselves remained, strengthened and supported by an embattled phalanx of more recently acquired allies, to fight the battle, and to share the triumph.

Mr. BROUGHAM, in rising to propose a resolution, said, it gave him great satisfaction to have an opportunity of addressing his brethren of this Society upon the present occasion, because he was formerly unable to meet them as he intended, and because he had the gratification, in meeting them now, of congratulating them upon the prosperous aspect of that question in which they were all so deeply interested. For although it was true, as an Hon. Gentleman had observed, that nothing, absolutely nothing, had been done on either side the Atlantic to retrieve the pledges which had been given last year—although the only occurrence which

could excite our attention had been the lamented retirement of that distinguished individual whose name would be mentioned with veneration as long as charity, justice, piety, and humanity were counted virtues in man, yet he could not but feel confident of ultimate and not long deferred success, and that from one single statement; namely, that nothing had been done. They had been told, not for the first or second, but for the hundredth time, when they last pressed forward to lay the axe to the root of that poisonous tree under whose shade their fellow-men had so long withered and perished, that theirs was not the task to meddle with the trunk—that theirs was not the task to even prune the branches—that the evil must be gradually encountered in the West Indies, and that the time for withholding nourishment from its culture, for ceasing to water its roots, or for pruning its luxuriance, could only be judged of by those on the spot, who knew the soil and the climate in which it was cultivated, and all the peculiarities of this delicate case. They had been assured, that by various means, slow, gradual, and almost imperceptible, their object would be accomplished, without that interference which could only mean hostility and destruction: if the West Indians were but let alone, they would do the thing effectually themselves. “Now,” he proceeded, “we did not believe them, and we told them so. And what did they say to that? Why, only that we were vituperative, uncharitable, inhuman to the West India planters; that we were always as much the perverse, blind, prejudiced enemies of the Whites as we were the perverse, blind, and prejudiced advocates of the Blacks; and that if we only waited a very little time, a month, or at most two or three, we should see the whole of our wishes speedily and surely effected by the West India Legislatures. What has been the result? Unbelieving, we had waited, and what have they done? Why, I say again, absolutely nothing. And here I beg to state, that I mean to follow up what has taken place, by a parliamentary notice on the subject which shall compel them either to abide by their pledge, or to take the consequences which must surely and inevitably follow its forfeiture. They have now had not one, or two, but twelve months, and during that revolution of the sun they have done nothing. I almost retract my assertion, when I say they have done nothing; for they have done much for us, though nothing for themselves. We have redeemed our pledges—they have forfeited theirs. I feel deeply impressed with gratitude to the West India planters, more than I ever expected to feel, for their advancement of this cause, by their fulfilling all I have ever ventured to predict of them. I know indeed many West India proprietors, who I am persuaded do all that those can do, by directions of lenity, and charity, and humanity, who are absent owners, who are living nearly 4000 miles from the unhappy objects of their compassion, and who, from necessity, leave over them delegates, invested with a power so absolute, that it might be almost called impiety to God, to grant it over any of our fellow-creatures. To some resident proprietors too, I might express my obligation for their desire to meliorate the condition of their unhappy slaves—which, as long as slavery exists, must prove very unavailing; but I never expected to live to feel such a weight of obligation as I now feel to the whole of the West Indian authorities, and to them I now beg leave to express my most unbounded gratitude. What has Trinidad done? Why much. It has resisted from the instant it was promulgated, that Order in Council which was framed in consequence of our efforts, and to which the faith of the West India body at home was pledged. It resisted that Order to the very latest moment, and only yielded at last in obedience to the strong arm of authority. But in that simple resistance the planters of Trinidad have done more to advance our cause than we had done in a quarter of a century. They have favoured us at last with a frank and undisguised avowal of the real nature of their system, and in doing so have entitled themselves to a gratitude hardly to be exceeded by that which we owe to the exertions of my able and philanthropic friend, Mr. Stephen. They now admit, I say, nay, they loudly maintain that which my Hon. Friend had long asserted, and which many of them had affected to deny, that the cart-whip is the real, the efficient stimulus to West India labour, the essential and indispensable adjunct of the whole system. The planters of Trinidad, I repeat, have declared, that to interfere with the discipline of the cart-whip is to cut off at once that which every one there knows to be the very essence of West India Slavery. In Barbadoes, you know, they demolished a meeting-house, because it had been devoted to the instruction of the unhappy objects of your solicitude; and they drove the Missionary, Mr. Shrewsbury, with ignominy from the island, almost rivalling in cruelty the treatment of the persecuted and hapless Smith; and when a successor was appointed to succeed Mr. Shrewsbury, they actually warned him off the island, and would not suffer him to land. This too in Barbadoes, the oldest of our colonies, the boast, the little England of the West Indies. Does not this plainly shew that



they are determined to support the tyranny and cruelty practised over the bodies of their Slaves, by perpetuating as far as they can the brutality and ignorance of their minds? Then as to Jamaica—the largest of the Slave islands—the most enlightened in its legislation—the place to which we have been always called upon to bend our hopes—Why the legislation of Jamaica stands foremost in the non-performance of its promises—in the violation of its engagements! A Bill, it is true, was brought into the Jamaica Assembly, in its last session, to make slave testimony admissible in a court of justice—but only in certain specified cases. This Bill, you will suppose, was passed unanimously: no such thing. It was rejected by a majority of thirty-four to one; and that one the author of the Bill. The question is now, therefore, I conceive, whether we are to go on and allow ourselves to be deceived by promises never intended to be performed? Whether we will continue to subject ourselves to the ridicule of the West Indian planters, to the contempt of those for whom we are in fact labouring, by continuing to withhold that effective interference without which we may go on for centuries? Or whether, avoiding their examples of delays and manœuvring, we will be at once resolute and determined in redeeming those pledges we have solemnly given to the world. I have stated thus much, in order to justify that which I consider it my imperative duty to propose; namely, that we should tell the West India proprietors, ‘If you continue to pursue your present course, and allow more time to pass without adopting those measures which have been pressed upon you, the very first week of the ensuing session of parliament you shall see a Bill brought in to do that for you which you refuse to do yourselves; and to set this question at rest for ever, not only for the benefit of the Negro Slave, but for the ultimate advantage of the short-sighted master.’”

Mr. DENMAN congratulated the Meeting upon the support which their cause would receive from his eloquent friend, in that place where alone the oppressed could look for relief, and in which he had pledged himself to advocate it. The Hon. and Learned Gentleman strongly impressed upon the Meeting the necessity of a clear and distinct enunciation of public opinion; as, without that, no administration would be found strong enough to carry their wishes into full effect. He concluded by alluding to the presence in the room of Mr. O’Connell, and to the powerful influence he possessed over the people of Ireland, and the assurance he felt of that gentleman’s zeal to promote their objects.

Mr. W. WHITMORE said, he was fully persuaded they would find, the more the matter was examined, that the slavery of our colonies depended upon the restrictions which were placed upon the importation of any sugars but those which were the growth of our West India islands. The removal of these restrictions would be the most effectual method of putting an end to that horrid system. The use of slaves prevented the introduction of machinery, and all those means by which free labour assisted its efforts, and thus abridged labour and cheapened production. It had been held, indeed, by Montesquieu, and other writers of eminence, that in no one instance had slavery and the use of mechanical inventions existed together. He would likewise appeal to the fact, that in all cases where free labour had been allowed to come into fair competition with slavery, it had been found impossible for the latter to maintain the competition for a moment: free labour had in every case triumphed. If, then, the mass of free labour in the East was allowed to come into competition with the slavery of the West, there could be no doubt of the result. He implored the Meeting to join heart and hand in their efforts to remove those restrictions, which were the main supports of slavery, and concluded by moving a resolution to that effect.

Mr. SYKES, M. P., fully concurred in all that had been said by his Hon. Friend who preceded him upon the subject of the sugar duties and restrictions, and the encouragement they afforded to Slavery. The best way to attack that system was undoubtedly by the abolition of all such regulations; for if they would but call to their recollection the amount of the bounties alone, £1,200,000, they must be sensible, that if these were taken off, the whole machinery of slavery must be affected by the change. It ought to be fully understood, that we ourselves are in effect the upholders of slavery. The ladies who now heard him would hardly believe him when he told them, that for every cup of tea they sweetened, they had to pay a premium on Slavery. He concluded with eulogizing the efforts of the Quakers in this cause, and paid a merited compliment to the philanthropic labours and enlightened zeal of that indefatigable friend of mankind, Mr. Cropper, of Liverpool.

Dr. LUSHINGTON said, that without the universal cry of the whole empire urging Parliament to some decisive act, no efforts of any individual could procure a mitigation of the horrors of West India Slavery. They were not perhaps aware, that there were no less than fifty-six Members of the House of Commons, deeply and

personally interested in the continuance of colonial slavery; not all speaking in its favour, but all acting and voting in a compact body to defeat the endeavour which had been made to remove that foul stain upon the English name; whilst Mr. Canning, on whose exertions in the cause of humanity, the friends of the Negro population must chiefly rely; who, of the present administration in the House of Commons had manifested the deepest interest in the cause, was liable to be influenced by some of his most intimate personal friends interested in the preservation of West India Slavery. He would repeat, therefore, that without the voice of the people from one end of the three kingdoms to the other, they must not hope to succeed. Dr. Lushington then stated that a Member of the House of Commons, to him unknown save by character, having occasion to visit his West India property, took with him a sister to Jamaica, and upon his arrival there endeavoured, in concert with her, as was natural for a feeling and philanthropic mind, to effect some alterations in the state of his Slaves, and to instil into them some rudiments of religious knowledge. But, would the Meeting believe it? the gentleman and his sister were assailed with the most violent abuse on account of these exertions, and actually libelled in the newspapers, in terms too gross for him to read to that assembly. From this single instance may be well learned what is the general disposition and feeling of those actually resident in Jamaica, and how hopeless it is to expect co-operation in mitigating the evils of Slavery from men who can mock, or patiently listen to the mockery of all humane attempts for the benefit of that oppressed class. They who could take any objection to Mr. Brougham's proposal of doing the work themselves, little knew what the state of the Negro population was, or the horrors which it involved. In no point of view did it strike his mind with more indignation and disgust than in its influence on domestic happiness, the dearest ties of which were torn asunder by this accursed system. He had lately seen a parallel in the Jamaica papers, in which an English peasant was compared, through all the ramifications of his condition, with a West India Negro, and the balance in every respect, of food, clothing, lodging, liberty, and labour, drawn largely in favour of the Slave: but he would read them an extract from one of these same papers, and then ask, if in this country, there ever had been any thing approaching to it in cold-blooded heartlessness. "Run away, a female Slave named Mary Smith, from the estate of Miss —;" and then, after offering a reward for her apprehension, it goes on to say—"It is strongly suspected that the said Slave is harboured by her husband, William Smith." If a wife were here to fly to her husband's protection, the laws of God and man would justify him in protecting her—aye, and give him here the power to do it; but there, in that favoured country, which boasts of the condition of its population, to obey God is to violate the law of the land, and to protect the wife of his affection, is to subject himself to stripes and punishment. The Hon. and Learned Gentleman, after some other observations, in which he exposed, in very forcible and eloquent language, the assertion that the Slavery existing in our colonies was not prohibited by the whole spirit and tenor of holy writ, concluded with recommending the formation of Associations throughout the kingdom, to excite and keep alive the interest necessary for a unanimous effort to abolish Negro Slavery.

Mr. O'CONNELL had no idea of being able, by any effort of his, to advance the cause in which this Society was engaged. But he did hate despotism so much—he did detest slavery so cordially—he did abhor cruelty so strongly—that he could not refrain from raising his voice in the cause of liberty, and joining his exertions to the labour of those who would strike off from the slave his chains, and from the Briton his reproach. The eloquent discourse of the last speaker had roused a chord in every bosom which beat responsive to the calls of humanity, and melted every heart which sympathized with the injured and oppressed. Like that mighty master of the human mind (Sterne), who, when he wished to set before his readers the blessings of liberty, did not indulge in empty declamation, or frigid discussion, but took the captive in his cell, and placed him before them—clanking his chains—solitary—broken-hearted—dying—with the iron entering into his soul, and the torpor of despair spreading over his body; so the Learned and Hon. Gentleman did not speak of Slavery in its impolicy, or its impiety, or its cruelty; but he took the wife, torn from the arms of her protecting husband, and pictured to you the mother subjected to stripes and the father to chains, for their adherence to those laws which God and nature had declared inviolable. Who could doubt that the people of this land would lend their support to put down a system so atrocious? Who could doubt of the effect which the example of England must have on the world in general? It had had that influence universally, and every page of its history confirmed it. Who could imagine that

there would be, at the present moment, one spark of liberty on continental Europe, from the frozen regions of Russia to the rock of Gibraltar, if, when feudal power was merging into despotism, England had not struggled for and gained her free Constitution, giving to all the earth her glorious example, and shewing how easy it was for a nation to be free if she willed freedom? What was it but her example that had placed France under a new Constitution? What was it which revolutionized Spain and Portugal? And though fortune might for a time frown upon their efforts, yet many a gallant heart now glowed with the hope that they might yet be able to follow that example, and triumph at last over their oppressors. Nor was the example set by this country confined to Europe. That example had passed the Atlantic, and expanded itself over America; for even among the echoes of the Andes the voice of Slavery was now heard no more. And here to instance Bolivar—the immortal Bolivar,—that illustrious hero, uniting in himself every thing magnanimous in ancient times, or heroic in modern:—what was the first act of his newly-acquired power? The liberation of his own Negroes. What was his first address to the assembled Senators of his Government? “I beg as fervently of my country as I would for the lives of my children, that you will never consent that clime, or colour, or creed, should make any distinction in your republic.” And what had been the fate of such exalted virtue? Why, while men joined in the universal sound of praise, Providence had smiled upon his exertions, and victory, wherever he went, had followed his standard; and every triumph he obtained was not the triumph of the man, but of liberty—not the triumph of his country, but of the human race. But the example must go farther even than America. Who could be so absurd as to think, that, when the Negro saw warriors and statesmen of his own race, he would not make a desperate exertion for freedom? Could any man say, that, when that time came in which we should see the poet and the hero of the same cast and colour, slavery could exist a moment longer? It was utterly impossible, and, instead of being cruel to the masters, a charge the less to be valued as it came from polluted lips, we should excite gratitude and praise for our attention to their interests, when we besought them to grant that gradual emancipation which would secure to them the permanent enjoyment of their present property. He had thus ventured to lend his feeble efforts to the promotion of the objects of the Meeting. How, indeed, could he refuse, when he saw the cause of freedom advocated and supported by one of that illustrious family whom their ancestors had placed on the throne to maintain their liberties and uphold their rights; a support which for countless ages he prayed that that family might continue to afford. In conclusion, he conjured those who heard him to recollect that in this country the public mind upheld every thing, and that by its influence they could not fail to accomplish their object.

Sir J. SEBRIGHT then moved a vote of thanks to the Royal Chairman; which was seconded by Mr. MAXWELL, and passed with acclamation.

His ROYAL HIGHNESS said, it was with painful sensations that he had met them on this occasion, for he had expected that at this Meeting they would be able to report the progress made since last year; but, unfortunately, they had not advanced a single step. However, after what had passed this day, it was impossible that the evil could last much longer. It was impossible that Englishmen could tolerate that system of slavery which was so incompatible with the British Constitution. They were accused of innovation, of proposing something new; but it ought not to be forgotten that, in the year 1795, Lord Melville, then Secretary of State, charged them with beginning at the wrong end in attacking the slave trade first: they should have begun with slavery itself. And Lord Melville was right; for slavery was the real cause, the root, of the slave trade, and unhappily, and to the disgrace of this country, slavery was just as flourishing now as it was then. He was sure, however, that if the public voice raised in its favour should be heard by Parliament, they would certainly attain their object. His family had been brought to this country for the protection of the rights and liberties of its subjects; and as a member of that family, he should not be discharging his duty towards them if he did not recommend the sacred principles of freedom by every means in his power.

*All Communications to be addressed to the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, 18, Aldermanbury, London; where the publications of the Society are on sale, and also at Hatchard's, Piccadilly, and Arch's, Cornhill.*

London, July 31, 1825.

No. 2.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

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### ADDRESS TO ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATIONS.

THE Committee of the "London Society for the Mitigation and gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British dominions," have felt, in common with their friends in all parts of the kingdom, the want of a regular medium of communication concerning the progress of the work in which they are engaged. To this want, probably, are to be attributed the misconceptions which have occasionally been formed respecting the design and objects of this Society, but more frequently respecting the means which are deemed by the Committee most desirable to be employed.

With a view to supply this deficiency, the Committee propose to publish Monthly a sheet of the size of the present, which shall contain extracts from their correspondence, and such other intelligence relating to the purposes of their institution, as their acquaintance with the subject may enable them to furnish. The publication to be named the "ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER," will be ready for delivery on the last day of every month. Copies will be forwarded, at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred, provided the order for them be received within the month immediately following the date of each Number. It is requested that all persons wishing to receive a regular supply, will make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent.— They might in many cases be sent at very little expense, enclosed in booksellers' parcels, or along with the Monthly Publications of the various religious or charitable Societies; permission to that effect being obtained from the country booksellers or others to whom the parcels are addressed.

It is further earnestly recommended by the Committee to all the friends of Negro improvement, to promote the circulation of the intelligence contained in the "Anti-Slavery Reporter," by lending their own copies, or encouraging others to purchase at the Depôts of the several Societies.

The Committee anticipate much benefit from the proposed publication, provided it be encouraged, as they trust it will be, by their friends throughout the country. In particular they calculate upon a large accession of strength to their cause, from numerous and influential classes of the community,—not yet sufficiently informed respecting the

objects and proceedings of the Society, but who need only to be fully assured that any undertaking which challenges their support, is on the side of justice and humanity, and unexceptionably prosecuted, in order cordially and effectually to espouse it. Such an undertaking the Committee believe theirs to be; and they confidently submit it, together with all their measures, to be canvassed by their countrymen of the United Kingdom. The present measure is adopted at the request of several of their correspondents, and with their own full concurrence in its expediency. They commend it to the blessing of God, and to the favourable acceptance of all who wish to deliver their country from the guilt of supporting that system of oppression and wrong, which is the disgrace and curse of so many of the colonial dependencies of Great Britain.

#### BRIEF SKETCH OF COLONIAL SLAVERY.

THERE are at this time more than 800,000 human beings in the British Colonies, in a state of the most degrading personal Slavery. They, or their ancestors, were torn from the land of their nativity by traders in human flesh, and were for the most part kidnapped or carried off in predatory wars excited in the interior of Africa, for the sake of supplying the market for Slaves on the coast of that country.

“These unhappy persons, whether young or old, male or female, are the absolute property of their master, who may sell or transfer them at his pleasure, and who may also regulate according to his discretion (within certain limits) the measure of their labour, their food, and their punishment.

“The Slaves being regarded in the eye of the law as mere chattels, they are liable to be seized in execution for their master’s debts, and, without any regard to the family ties which may be broken by this oppressive and merciless process, to be sold by auction to the highest bidder, who may remove them to a distant part of the same colony, or even exile them to another colony.”—*Brief View.*

This statement is illustrated by the following occurrence reported by eye-witnesses:—

“A master of slaves,” says the relater, “who lived near us in Kingston, Jamaica, exercised his barbarities on a Sabbath morning, while we were worshipping God in the chapel; and the cries of the female sufferers have frequently interrupted us in our devotions. But there was no redress for them or for us. This man wanted money; and, one of the female slaves having two fine children, he sold one of them, and the child was torn from her maternal affection. In the agony of her feelings she made a hideous howling, and for that crime was flogged. Soon after he sold her other child. This ‘turned her heart within her,’ and impelled her into a kind of madness. She howled night and day in the yard; tore her hair; ran up and down the streets and the parade, rending the heavens with her cries, and literally watering the earth with her tears. Her constant cry was, ‘*Du wicked massa Jew, he sell my children. Will no Buckra massa pity Negar? What me do? Me no have one child!*’ As she stood before the window, she said, lifting up her hands towards heaven, ‘*My massa, do, my massa minister, pity me! My heart do so*’ (shaking herself violently,) ‘*my heart do so, because me have no child. Me go to massa house, in massa yard, and in my hut, and me no see ’em.*’ And then her cry went up to God.”

The Rev. R. Bickell, late naval chaplain at Port Royal, Jamaica, and some time curate of that parish, writes in a recent publication entitled, "The West Indies as they are,"—

"Many a bitter cry is heard when the marshal's deputies (dogs as they are emphatically called) are sent to hunt down and seize the victim or victims, and drive or drag them away to the workhouse, or gaol, till the day of sale arrives, which is to deprive them of their little homes, the gardens they have cultivated, the acquaintances they have made, and all the little comforts which make even slavery, in some measure, tolerable. This hardship is much increased when slaves are married, or have families, as the woman may be separated from her husband, or parents from their children; for here the tenderest ties of nature are broken in an instant, and the wife's, or mother's, or children's cries would not be in the least attended to, nor heeded, any more than the moans of so many [brute] animals." pp. 16, 17.

"The distress and terror among a gang of Negroes, when the marshal's deputy, with his dogs and other assistants, comes to levy in a large way, cannot be conceived by those who, happily for themselves, have never been spectators of such scenes, and can scarcely be described by those who have witnessed them. I was once on a coffee mountain, on which were about seventy or eighty Negroes. The proprietor was much in debt, and was aware that one or two of his largest creditors had for some time wished to make a levy on his slaves to pay themselves; but by keeping his gates locked, and the fences round the dwelling-house and Negro-houses in good repair, he had hitherto baffled the Argus-eyed deputy and his deputies. The night after I arrived on the property, however, I was awaked, about an hour before daylight, by a great noise, as of arms, with cries of women and children. In a few minutes a private servant came to my window, and informed me that it was the marshal's deputies making a levy on the Negroes, and that the noise proceeded from the clashing of weapons; for some of the slaves, he said, had stoutly resisted. I then alarmed my friend, and we determined to go out to see that no improper use was made of the tremendous power given to these Cerberuses. By the time we arrived at the Negro-houses, the resistance had ceased; for the Negroes being divided, had been overcome by the myrmidons of the law. One poor fellow, however, was being dragged along like a thief by a fierce and horrid-looking Irishman, who had been one of M'Gregor's freebooters, and who, when we came near, grasped his victim more tightly, and brandished his broadsword over the poor creature with the grin and growl of a demon.

"Many of the men escaped from the property, and some few others, with some women, secreted themselves among the coffee trees, till the party had gone off with their prey. They secured, however, ten or twelve men, and many of the women and children, amounting in the whole to between thirty and forty, who were huddled together on the outside of the principal fence, and presented such a heart-rending scene as I never witnessed before, and should be very sorry ever to witness again. Some of the children had lost their mothers, and some of the mothers had been torn away from a part of their children; for some of the little urchins also escaped. One woman in particular, a housewoman, had six or seven children; two or three of them were seized, and the others escaped; but the youngest, an infant, had been caught, and she wept aloud and very bitterly for it, saying, that she must give herself up if the child was not got back, for she could not live separated from it. There were many a bitter cry and sad lament among the women and children, for they loved their master, who was kind, and had excellent provision grounds for them; but most of the men were dogged and sullen, and only wanted arms to obtain their freedom from the savage Whites and their associates, who now guarded them. As it was, two or three of the poor fellows were wounded; and I was assured by a free Brown man, who was looking after the property in the master's absence, that had the proprietor been there, there would have been sad work, and very likely murder; for it was an illegal levy, and the resistance would have been desperate under their master's eye and voice. They were tied together, or handcuffed, and driven off the same morning to Spanish-Town gaol, a distance of twenty miles; but as they had been seized before sun-rise, and the fence had

been also broken through, both of which are illegal, the owner obtained their enlargement shortly after, and they were allowed to go back to the spot they loved. I might here remark, that the labour is much lighter on a coffee mountain than on a sugar estate, and that the Negroes are not required to be up so much *at night*, to pick and cure coffee, as they are to make sugar; where, therefore, they have good provision grounds, as they had on this mountain I have been speaking of, they are much more comfortable, and less harassed than on a sugar estate." pp. 19—23.

It is impossible to look into a West Indian newspaper without seeing advertisements by proprietors of the sale of Negroes; or by the marshals or under-sheriffs, and by the collectors of the revenue, of slaves levied upon, either for debt or for taxes. For example, in the Royal Gazette of Jamaica, of June 15, 1823:—

"For sale, Charlottenburg estate, in the parish of St. Mary's, consisting of 982 acres of land, about 86 head of working stock, and 89 Negroes."

April 26, 1823. "For sale, 15 valuable young Negroes, together or *singly*, to suit purchasers.

May 10, 1823. "Notice is hereby given, that on Tuesday next I will put up to public sale, a Negro woman, named Violet, a Creole, accustomed to all sorts of work, levied upon for taxes due, by G. H. Swift."

April 26, 1823. "For sale, under a writ of *venditioni exponas*, "Charles James, a Black, a waiting boy, aged 6 years, belonging to M. Freeman."

"William, a Black, a waiting boy, aged 8 years, belonging to M. Muir."

"Frances, a Black, a field Negro, aged 34 years, belonging to C. Cole."

"Quasheba, a Black, a drudge, aged 28 years, belonging to Solomon Isaac."

Such extracts might be indefinitely multiplied. These will suffice to shew that men, women, and children are regarded absolutely as property, and are seized and sold as unceremoniously as cattle or household goods for the payment of debts or of taxes, or are disposed of by proprietors in gangs, or singly, as best suits their interest.

These are enormities, not only such as *did once exist*, but which exist at the present moment. In the Royal Gazette of Kingston, of the 16th of October, 1824, there are advertisements for the sale of between 1900 and 2000 negroes, to be sold either together or in families, and with or without the land.

*Many of the slaves are (and all may be) branded*, by means of a hot iron, on the shoulder or other conspicuous part of the body, with the initials of their master's name.

"With respect to this horrid custom," observes Mr. Bickell, "it is not so common now as it was before the abolition of the slave trade: for then it was customary to brand the greater part, that they might be known in case of running away. It is a horrid practice, for it must be attended with very acute and lasting pain, besides the disgraceful and disgusting appearance of a human being marked like, or worse than, a horse." p. 37.

Mr. Bickell confirms this statement, by a long list of instances, occupying nine or ten pages, taken from the Jamaica newspapers. We shall extract only a very few specimens.

"John Stevens, a likely young Creole Negro man, 5 ft. 6½ in. marked MI on left shoulder, has a large scar on the left side of his throat, and other scars between his shoulders and neck, to the estate of Mr. Mark, of Black River, dec.—Aug. 5; 1823." p. 39.

"Phillip, a Creole Sambo man, of Carthagena, 5 ft. 5 in. marked ICD on left, and LH apparently, but blotched, on right shoulder, to Charles Newman, Esq. Manchester.—Sept. 10, 1823." p. 39.

"Richard, a Creole, 5 ft. 5½ in. marked apparently CC and CA on shoulders, and CA on left cheek, to Syssons estate.—Sept. 29, 1823." p. 43.

"William Nelson, alias Thomas Mole, an Eboe, 5 ft. 5½ in. marked ASIA on shoulders, breasts, and cheeks, to Mr. Holmes, of Vere.—Oct. 17, 1823." p. 44.

The Slaves, whether male or female, are driven to hard labour by the impulse of the cart-whip, for the sole benefit of their owners, from whom they receive no wages; and this labour is continued (with certain intermissions for breakfast and dinner), from morning to night, throughout the year.

In the season of crop, which lasts for four or five months of the year, their labour is protracted not only throughout the day, as at other times, but during half the night, or the whole of every alternate night.

"The time of labour for the slaves," says Mr. Bickell, "is generally from sunrising to sunsetting; viz. from five o'clock to seven, one half the year, and from six to six, or thereabout, the other half. They are generally summoned from their slumbers by the cracking of the driver's whip, about half an hour before daylight, and woe be to the hapless slave who does not lend a willing ear and speedy footsteps to its repeated calls." "If he be absent at roll-call, the judge, juror, and executioner, all stand by him in the shape of an inexorable driver, and, without any defence or leave of appeal, he is subjected to the lash. Nor will a trifling excuse serve the Black female;" "she makes the best of her way to take her place, her unequal share of the task, by the strong-armed and stout-made man, in the well dressed-up rank of the gang. Should she be too late, her sex and slender form, or gentler nature, will not avail; but, as if devoid of feeling, she is laid down by force, and punished with many stripes on those parts which shall be nameless for me, but which, for decency's sake, ought never to be exposed. Surely nature is outraged at such devilish indecencies.

"Out of this time is allowed half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner; but many overseers have the first shell blow, for dinner, at half past twelve o'clock, and the second at two to go to the field again, as they are not very particular when they are busy in crop, or wish to have a certain quantity of work done. Independent of this also, in crop-time, the gangs are divided, and one half must work, at night, whilst the other half sleeps; so that on most sugar estates, the slaves work one half the year three nights in the week, independent of the days, and on the others two nights a week."

Besides being made to work under the lash, without wages, during six days of the week, the Slaves are further obliged to labour for their own maintenance on that day which ought to be devoted to repose and religious instruction. And as that day is also their only market-day, it follows that "Sunday shines no Sabbath-day to them," but is of necessity a day of worldly occupation, and much bodily exertion.

On this subject Mr. Bickell observes, "It is not enough that most of the Slaves must work in their grounds a part of that holy day, but, to add to the abomination, a market must be kept also on the Sunday, for the sale of provisions, vegetables, fruit, &c. It is the only market-day which the poor Negroes and Coloured Slaves have; and, instead of worshipping their God, they are either cultivating their portions of land to preserve life, or trudging, like mules, with heavy loads, five, ten, or even twenty miles to a market, to sell the little surplus of their provision grounds, or to barter it for a little salt fish to season their poor meals; or, what is much worse, to spend, very often, the value in new destructive rum, which intoxicates them, and drowns for a short time the reflection that they are despised and burthened Slaves.

"I shall never forget the horror and disgust which I felt on going on shore, for the first time in Kingston, in the month of August, 1819: it was on a Sunday, and I had to pass by the Negro market, where several thousands of human beings, of various nations and colours, but principally Negroes, instead of



worshipping their Maker on his holy day, were busily employed in all kinds of traffic in the open streets."

Marriage, that blessing of civilized and even of savage life, is protected in the case of the Slaves by no legal sanction. It cannot be said to exist among them. Those, therefore, who live together as man and wife, are liable to be separated by the caprice of their master, or by sale for the satisfaction of his creditors; while their unrestrained licentiousness is encouraged no less universally by the debaucheries of their superiors, the whites.

In confirmation of this statement, Mr. Bickell observes, "The evils of slavery, great as they have already been shewn to be, would yet be less lamentable than they really are, if they affected the slaves only; but truly distressing to an awakened and well-regulated Christian mind is it to witness the demoralizing effects brought on the White part of the population also, nearly the whole of whom live in a state of open and acknowledged, and even boasted, fornication. It is a well-known and notorious fact, that very few of the White men in the West Indies marry, except a few professional men, and some few merchants in the towns, and here and there, in the country, a proprietor or large attorney. Most of the merchants and shopkeepers in the towns, and the whole of the deputy planters, (namely overseers,) in all parts of the country, have what is called a housekeeper, who is their concubine or mistress, and is generally a free woman of Colour; but the book-keepers, who are too poor and too dependent to have any kind of establishment, generally take some Mulatto, or Black female slave from the estate where they are employed, or live in a more general state of licentiousness."

The following passages, from the pen of the same gentleman, will serve to counteract some of the prevalent notions so industriously propagated by West Indians, of the enviable comforts of the Negro slave; comforts which, it is unblushingly said, place him above the British peasant.

"Of the great care taken of the Slaves in sickness, and of the boasted and frequent attendance of the medical men on the different properties, I have never seen any very flattering specimens, though I have been on a great many plantations, and have seen plenty of doctors. Their hot-houses, or hospitals, are generally speaking, filthy receptacles; they are very happily styled hot-houses, for they are hot enough; as the hospital is, on most estates, a confined room, very often an earthen floor: in this is a platform of boards, raised two or three feet high, like the soldier's guard-bed, on which the sick lie down in their own clothes, covered sometimes with a blanket, and sometimes not: on some large estates they have a superior kind of hospital, on a first floor, with better accommodations. The hot-house is often the place where the Negroes are also confined in the stocks; so that it is both hospital and gaol." pp. 52, 53.

"None but a bigotted and low-minded planter, or some interested professional resident, who cannot return to reside in this country, would compare the coarse yams and cocoas, and the stringy indigestible plaintains, with a few bad or rotten herrings, to the wholesome bread of this country, and to potatoes and other fine vegetables, with a small portion of fresh meat or bacon, which the English cottager enjoys. I have seen a good deal of the state of the English poor, having served curacies in Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, Monmouthshire, and Wiltshire, besides having an intimate acquaintance with Devonshire; and I can conscientiously say, that I never saw any one, even a pauper, who lived in the mean hoggish way that the Slaves in the West Indies do; and, moreover, that if such coarse food as the Negroes generally eat was offered them, they would reject it, (at least much dislike it,) as thinking it hardly fit for human and rational beings: English stomachs could not well digest it, three times a day: I know mine could not; and I can assert with much truth, that the coarsest Irish potatoes, with a little milk, or buttermilk and salt, are preferable to the

Negro yams and green plantains; at least, I would sooner have them, and I think most of the British poor would approve of my taste, had they an opportunity of judging.

The English poor are also much better clothed: for where is there a poor cottager that has not a decent cloth or fustian coat, of any colour he pleases, with other parts of his dress suitable, independent of good and warm stockings, and sound shoes to keep his feet from the gravel and dirt? But what has the Slave? He has for his best, (from his master, as I before observed,) a large baize surtout, which hangs about him like a sack, and would as well fit any person you please as himself; and, moreover, a pair of coarse trowsers and coarse shirt of Oznaburgh, which, with the coarsest kind of hat, is his whole wardrobe; for this is the general livery or badge of Slavery. The female slaves are clothed as much inferior to our poor women; and both Negro men and women are without stockings and shoes, and generally go in a half-dressed state, viz. without coats or gowns; the women's petticoats up to their knees; and very often before fresh supplies are given out many of them are in a ragged state, and some almost in a state of nudity; and yet it is said, they are better off than the poor in Great Britain.

“Nor have they the comfortable cottage, and warm bed with decent furniture, and the snug chimney-corner of the English peasant, which no one, not even a lord or a prince, dares to enter into without permission. No, in his mud-built and straw-covered hut, without a window or a chimney, on two or three boards raised a little above the floor, or on the floor itself, the Negro Slave lies down on his mat, very often uncovered; and if he wants a little fire, as in the mountains they sometimes do, he must light his few sticks in the open air, and, like an animal I could mention, sit upon his heels shivering by it. It is painful indeed to carry on the comparison; but, independent of all this, is it nothing that the peasant's son is commonly sent to school and taught to read his Bible, and oftentimes to write and cypher, and when grown up can travel to any part of this free country to better his condition, none molesting him, or daring to make him afraid?” pp. 56—59.

Such is the system which at this moment prevails almost universally in the Slave colonies of this free and happy country, and which, there is reason to fear, will continue to prevail, unless the British people shall interfere more effectually than they have yet done in behalf of the unhappy sufferers. In order that their past interference may produce its full and legitimate effect, the friends of Negro improvement throughout the kingdom must declare their determination to support his Majesty's ministers, in prosecuting through all the Colonies the work of amelioration which has been begun, but which the Colonists have unequivocally manifested their purpose, if possible, to frustrate. Such a declaration is due to those servants of the King, who, on furthering the wishes of the people, expressed in numerous petitions, have exposed themselves to no slight measure of opposition and obloquy from the West India planters.

It is inconceivable that the people of Great Britain and Ireland could endure, within their sight and hearing, the spectacles and the sounds of woe with which their distant dependencies abound. But the distance at which oppression and cruelty are practised makes no difference as to the responsibility which rests upon those in whose power it is to mitigate and put an end to them by just and lawful means. Such a responsibility rests upon the people of this kingdom; for it is chiefly for the sake of supplying them with an article of luxury—an article too, which they could purchase at a cheaper rate, and without prejudice to the revenue of the country, or to any other interests which ought to be protected—that hundreds of thousands of men and women, who were

torn by a legalized piracy from the land of their nativity, are now doomed, along with the children to whom they have given birth, to wear down their strength by uncompensated toil under the lash of the cartwhip.

It is moreover by *Bounties* and *Protecting Duties*, which not only operate as a heavy tax upon themselves, but greatly\* aggravate the misery of the Slaves, that the people of this country uphold a system which, without such artificial support, would fall under its own enormity. The bounty alone paid on the export of sugar, raises the price of that article to the consumers at home to the extent of six shillings per cwt., and thus taxes the nation for the benefit of the West India proprietors in no less a sum than £1,200,000. The price of sugar and of other tropical produce, is further enhanced by protecting or prohibitory duties, which exclude from a fair competition with the West Indies, the productions of our Indian empire and of other parts of the world. Besides this, large military and naval establishments are necessary to keep the slaves in subjection to their masters. The whole annual expense of these islands, together with the national loss incurred by the restrictions in their favour, cannot be fairly calculated at less than four millions sterling. At this cost does Great Britain perpetuate the evils of her colonial bondage; and yet this cost is of small account compared with the amount of guilt which must attach to the upholders of such a system.

What then is to be done by those who feel, not only for the spiritual and temporal good of the poor slaves, but also for the honour and best interests of their country, whose prosperity they believe to be dependent on the favour of the righteous Governor of the Universe? Let them stand forward, individually and collectively, as the avowed and strenuous advocates of those who are not permitted to give utterance to their own sense of wrong. Let them, in their several spheres, and in the legitimate exercise of their birthright, influence, as they may, by their votes, and by petitions addressed to the legislature, the decision of questions relating to this momentous national concern. Let them pray the Parliament to prosecute to its consummation the great work of justice and humanity on which they have entered;—to extend with all convenient dispatch to every one of his Majesty's Colonies the provisions of the Order of the King in Council framed for the Island of Trinidad, and such other provisions as may be severally expedient; and to enforce them by such measures as shall secure their due execution: and especially let them unequivocally declare their unwillingness to contribute to the maintenance of a system of Slavery which they abhor, by *Bounties* and *Protecting Duties*, which are injurious to the commerce of the empire, and at variance with the enlightened and liberal policy of his Majesty's Government.

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\* For a statement of the effect of Bounties and Protecting Duties upon the condition of the Slave, see the Second Report of the Committee. Page 19—26.

London, August 31, 1825.

No. 3.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

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THE "ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER," will be ready for delivery on the last day of every month. Copies will be forwarded, at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred, provided the order for them be received within the month immediately following the date of each Number. It is requested that all persons wishing to receive a regular supply, will make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent.— They might in many cases be sent at very little expense, enclosed in booksellers' parcels, or along with the Monthly Publications of the various religious or charitable Societies; permission to that effect being obtained from the country booksellers or others to whom the parcels are addressed.

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In our last Number, we gave a "Brief Sketch of Colonial Slavery," and we can easily imagine that after having perused it (brief and inadequate as it is to develop the enormity of the system), our readers would ask with astonishment, why such a state of things has been permitted to continue, and what means have been used for the purpose of correcting or destroying it? To the first of these questions, it may be difficult to find an explicit answer, unless we refer it to that insatiable avarice which has steeled the breasts of men to feeling, and instigated them to seek gold at the expense of justice and humanity; or to that supineness of the British public, which has permitted the despoilers of mankind to hold possession of their degraded victims in security, and even assisted them (in general, it is hoped, unwittingly) in the consumption of the produce of the "sinews and the bones of men."

There was a time when the voice of this country was almost universally raised against the traffic in human beings so iniquitously carried on between the coast of Africa and the West Indies; the cruel practices then brought to light made the ears of all who heard to tingle, till justice obtained a triumph, and the Slave Trade was abolished. With this abolition the compassionate feelings that had been excited began to subside, and, for want of a more intimate acquaintance with the subject, the Abolition of the *Trade in Slaves* was identified, in the minds of most men, with the *extinction of Slavery itself*; whilst in their exultation at a too partial victory, the majority of the British people forgot the 800,000 of their fellow creatures already groaning in bondage, and the fate of their hapless posterity, who were still doomed to all the horrors

of a cruel and hopeless servitude, which could only be terminated by death. The more intelligent of our readers will, we trust, excuse our pressing this view of the subject, as it is a widely spread and fatal error which still prevails, that Slavery was put an end to by the Abolition of the African Slave Trade; and which also, perhaps, furnishes a reason, and the only excuse, why so iniquitous a system has been permitted to continue so long, but which reason and excuse are now sufficiently taken away by the opportunities of obtaining correct information so repeatedly offered to the public by the Anti-Slavery Society.

#### DEMERARA.

It appears, from the Parliamentary papers lately printed, that the planters of Demerara have strenuously opposed certain parts of the proposed reforms which, after the example of the Order in Council, the Government have wished to introduce. It is one of the provisions of that order that the marriages of slaves shall be "to all intents and purposes binding, valid, and effectual in law." The planters of Demerara, however, remark that "the civil rights acquired by marriage are so numerous and complicated that it is found impracticable to adopt or modify this expression." They, therefore, in their wisdom, propose to introduce the following clause, "Provided always, that such marriage shall in no manner confer on the slaves any of these civil rights which, by marriage, are acquired by persons of free condition, nor subject such slaves to any penal infliction, the effects of which might destroy the rights, or injure the property of their owners."

Such is the marriage which the Christian planters of Demerara declare that they will alone concede to their slaves; and such, and no more, is the marriage which the Rev. Mr. Bridges, of Jamaica, boasts of having solemnized among the slaves of his parish—a marriage without any of the rights of marriage—a marriage which gives no security, and confers no benefit beyond that of an unlicensed concubinage; and even this, in the eyes of the Demerara planters, and of Mr. Bridges, is something of reform, something of improvement in the condition of the slave. What must that condition have been in this respect previously, and what, therefore, is it now? It is one which only finds its parallel among the beasts of the field and the forest.

Again, the Demerara planters absolutely refuse to grant to their slaves the liberty of purchasing their freedom, even at the full appraised value of their persons, of their sinews, bones and blood. Let us hear their reasonings on this point. "It is," say they, "beyond its power," that is, beyond the power of the legislative body, "without the breach of a sacred trust, to give their sanction to any measure which could ever, by construction, imply an acknowledged right, on the part of the slave, to demand his freedom *invito domino*." They feel themselves called upon openly to avow the principle, that they have not the right to *invade the property of their fellow colonists*, by admitting that they can, in any manner, be deprived of it contrary to law, by which it is secured to them, and which his Majesty has been graciously pleased to guarantee

to them by the Articles of Capitulation.”\* “*Slaves in this Colony are chattels as much as any other moveable property.*” Except when slaves are mortgaged, the master “has the entire control over his slaves; neither is it the law that proprietors can be forced to dispose of their property, real or personal, when its value is offered to them by others. To give to the slave the right of purchasing himself, against the will and consent of his owner, will annihilate the right of the owner, and confer on the slave a power which no other person possesses.” Again, “the Dutch law, in this Colony, gives no such right whatever to a slave. Here the interest of the owner, in his slave, is that of *fee simple absolute.*”

Such, then, the Planters themselves tell us, is the tenure of Slavery in the British Colony of Demerara. And can they hope that, after having revealed the principle in all its naked wickedness, by which they hold in *fee simple absolute* the bodies and the souls of their fellow-creatures, that they will find sympathy in any British bosom but for the wretched victims of such a tyrannical, and, in spite of all they can say, lawless system; a system which is an outrage on all law, divine and human, recognized at least in this happy land. This horrid system, we have often said, needs only to be known to the people of this country, in all its length and breadth, and height and depth of enormity, to be swept from the face of the British empire. It cannot endure the light which now beams upon it after ages of darkness and death.

#### TRINIDAD.

In one of the Newspapers, recently received from Trinidad, is contained an account of the proceedings at the General Annual Meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, on the 30th April, 1825. It had been there asserted that, on the admission of the Trinidad Planters themselves, “the WHIP is identified with Slavery; and that it is by *its* infliction, or the dread of its infliction, that the Slaves are alone made to work.” On this assertion, they thus comment in the Gazette of Trinidad.

“*We did, and do declare the WHIP to be ESSENTIAL to West Indian discipline; aye, as essential, my Lord Calthorpe, as the freedom of the press, and the trial by jury to the liberty of the subject, in England, and to be justified on equally legitimate grounds. The comfort, welfare, and happiness of our labouring classes cannot subsist without it. The fact may have been denied by others, but never by us. We have never condescended to equivocation or disguise in this Colony. It may be denied by the West Indian Committee, but it has never been denied by us.*”

Messieurs, the Planters, the Anti-Slavery Society are obliged to you for your frankness! We now understand each other. To you, and your system, you say the WHIP is essential. With the WHIP employed to compel labour, we, and with us the people of England, wage an interminable and exterminating warfare.

\* Just as if Articles of Capitulation could be of any force subsequently to a cession by Treaty.

## MAURITIUS.

A Return of the Slave Population of the Mauritius, as received in the office of the Registrar of Colonial Slaves since its first establishment, was laid on the table of the House of Commons on the 27th of June last. It is as follows, viz.—

“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.”

It thus appears, that the registration of Slaves at the Mauritius is so incomplete as to prove a perfect nullity, and to be utterly useless to its grand purpose of checking the illicit introduction of Slaves. This state of things must now be more particularly favourable to the prosecution of an active Slave trade, since the removal of the protecting duty of ten shillings from Mauritius sugar, 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-markets irresistible. Those markets are so near, and the price of Slaves there so low, that they may be brought to the Mauritius and sold there for thirty or forty dollars a piece. The consequence must be, that the effectual check of a perfect system of registration being wanting, and the interests and feelings of the planters being all in favour of the Slave Trade, it will be carried on without limit or control.

One effect arising from this facility of importation is, the frightful disproportion of the sexes among the Slaves, as may be seen in the above extract from the Slave Registry. Another is, that the human animal being so cheap, (less than is now paid for a dead subject for the dissecting-room in this country,) the system of exaction, and the severity of treatment are carried to a height of cruelty which very far exceeds that of our Western Colonies. This might be expected on general principles. But facts moreover prove it to be so; and whips, and chains, and mutilations, and torture, and death, are there still more the ordinary incidents of Slavery than in the West Indies or the United States. The mortality, therefore, is enormous; and that mortality cannot fail to be largely increased by the admission of the sugar of the Mauritius to consumption in this country on the same terms with the sugar of the West Indies.

It does seem most extraordinary, that from all our dominions in the East, the Legislature should have selected the only Colony in which Slavery prevails for exemption from the protecting duty on sugar; thus giving an impulse not merely to the exaction of labour, and all the aggravated severities of an increased sugar culture, but a direct premium on all the horrors and atrocities of the Slave Trade, which the total confusion into which the Slave Registry has been allowed to fall renders perfectly safe and easy.

An attempt has been made, it is understood, to pass off the sugar of the Mauritius as the produce of free labour. The above statement will serve to undeceive our readers, and place them on their guard against the deception.

The following are a few memoranda made on the subject of Slavery in the Mauritius by an eye-witness, who may be relied upon:--

The Slaves are either Creoles, or natives of Madagascar, Mozambique, or the eastern coast of Africa. They are employed as *domestics*, *artisans*, or in the plantations; the latter class are often ill-fed, hard-worked, and cruelly treated.

The Slaves are generally summoned to their labours by the cracking of the whip; and, when they are at work in the field, the overseer stands over them with it. If there is any law that prescribes limits to the punishment of Slaves, it is a perfectly dead letter, for lashes are inflicted from the number of twenty-five to six hundred. It might be expected that any such restricting law would become obsolete, when it is known that in no instance can the evidence of a Slave be taken in a Court of Justice, when the interests of his master are concerned.

Women are alike subject to flogging, and the punishment of working in chains.\*

The moral character of the Slave population, compared with that of other Slave Colonies, is supposed to be good. The number of Maroons (run-away Slaves) every year is asserted to be *one fourteenth* part of the number in Jamaica. In general they are subordinate and docile. Petty thefts are common, and the restraint of truth is little felt; but capital offences rarely occur. A listless inactivity, an indisposition to work except under coercion, the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, &c. can hardly be called *crimes* in an unenlightened Slave; and, upon the whole, their actual moral condition, when viewed in connexion with their opportunities of improvement, may well excite wonder.

The marriage of Slaves is not recognized by the laws of the Colony. Cohabitation is common; but without any tie to enforce constancy, except mutual consent. A child cannot be separated from the mother against her wish, under the age of seven; but no law respects the bond of the parents.

Cohabitation between the Whites and the Blacks is frightfully common among all classes in the Mauritius; but there is a law in the code of the last French governor, still in force, which not only greatly aggravates the evil, but, in fact, creates a considerable part of it. By this law, not only the marriage of a White and a Black person is prohibited, but even a person of *colour*, (i. e. one known to have descended, however remotely, from a Black,) cannot be married to a White; nor can any property whatever be bequeathed, by will, to children born in such a connexion. A dreadfully immoral aspect is thus given to the whole state of society; which, in conjunction with the facility of obtaining divorces, must be considered to have divested marriage of much of its honour and its sanctity.

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\* Chains of any endurable weight may be affixed by the master to his slaves, whether men or women.



The fees, securities, &c. required to be paid upon giving a Slave his freedom, are oppressive,—amounting to about three hundred dollars; which tax must be deemed an obstacle in the way of benevolence, and the progress of the abolition of Slavery. The formalities and provisions of the law are numerous; and as the master alone is supposed to confer the boon of liberty, there seems no encouragement to the industrious exertions of the Slave.

As *labour is carried on on Sundays*, it is not supposed there can be any law, appointing that holy day a day of rest to the Slaves. It is believed that some masters allow them the day, or part of it; but, in general, they are not so favourably circumstanced as the Slaves in the West India Islands.

#### ENGLISH LIBERTY NOT RECOGNIZED.

There are several Slaves in the Island who have been in England, and by the glorious charter of that land of liberty, have become *free*: but returning ignorantly to the Mauritius, the Colonial law has not respected their British privilege; they have been sold again as Slaves, and they and their children remain in bondage.

Since the abolition of the Slave Trade, and the registration of Slaves in the Colony, the illicit traffic has been carried on to a great extent; and a considerable portion of the present Slave property in the Island has been notoriously acquired in that manner. The proprietors being therefore liable to forfeiture, are not in a condition to oppose any melioration of the state of the Slaves that Government might recommend; nor do they deserve that any prejudices or imaginary interest of theirs should countervail the moral wants of eighty thousand of their fellow-creatures.

There are eleven hundred Slaves attached to the different departments of Government; and many of them are let out to hire at the rate of from five to seven dollars per month; a sum presumed to be more than enough to cover the expense of their food and clothing, which they are provided with by Government.

There is another class of Blacks styled Government apprentices, whose situation requires attention. Since the abolition of the Slave Trade, all captured Slaves are bound apprentices by the Collector of Customs, according to Act of Parliament, for the term of fourteen years, to such persons as are willing to take them, engaging to teach them either trades or other occupations, and *to bring them up in the principles of the Christian religion*. The number of these is about six hundred. It is known that in two or three English houses some attempts are made to teach the Slaves and apprentices; and it is said, that the lady of the late Commander of the Forces (Major-General Darling) set an admirable example in this respect, reading prayers in Creole twice a day to her Slaves and apprentices: but, in general, they are quite neglected. Doubtless many are prevented by the difficulty of communicating with them; and many more by indifference to the subject; for no man who does not supremely value the Christian reli-

gion for himself can be expected to undergo the labour of teaching it to an ignorant Black.

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#### ABERDEEN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A powerful and active Anti-Slavery Society was formed at Aberdeen on the 18th of March last. In the list of its Vice-Presidents and Committee we observe with satisfaction the names of the most distinguished literary and influential characters in that important and populous place. In an energetic address from the Committee, they call upon their countrymen universally to consider calmly and deliberately the nature of personal Slavery, with all its injurious effects, as it exists in our Colonies; and after describing it in much the same manner as it has been, on various occasions, exhibited in the publications of the London Anti-Slavery Society, they thus proceed:—

“ In this brief detail, the Committee have been anxious not to exaggerate any of the circumstances. They disclaim all calumny and invective against the Planters and White inhabitants; believing them to be men of like passions with ourselves, many of them labouring under the influence of strong prejudices, consequently objects of our pity; and probably not acting worse than we should do, were we placed in similar circumstances, intrusted with absolute power over our fellow-creatures. It may be asked, however, What has been done for ameliorating the condition of our Colonial Bondsmen? Have the humane regulations recommended by the Government at home been acted upon? Have they not, almost in every case, been evaded, or offensively rejected? While this is the case, we cannot sit still, year after year, silent spectators of such a system of oppression, exercised within the British dominions without partaking of the guilt.

“ The Committee would particularly recommend that Associations should be formed in every part of the kingdom, for the purpose of co-operating to diffuse information, and to call forth the distinct expression of public opinion on the subject; thereby strengthening the hands and seconding the movements of Government, for accomplishing the final and complete abolition of Slavery. Such a change would be equally advantageous to the Planters as to the Slaves, to the Whites as to the Blacks. Free or voluntary labour has invariably proved far more profitable than compulsory or slave labour. Strong prejudices, and the innate love of power, have made the Colonial Proprietors, or their Agents, deny this important fact, and thereby sacrifice their own interest. The change would also powerfully contribute to the security and increasing value of all kinds of *lawful* property; and it would be essentially felt in suppressing the unrestrained licentiousness which so much prevails among both the Slave and the White population. Many other advantages would naturally follow, which must be apparent to every intelligent and unprejudiced observer.

“ To the Ministers of religion, of every denomination, the Committee confidently look for co-operation and assistance. By directing their

respective congregations to this important subject, as their own wisdom and prudence may suggest, they will essentially promote the cause of justice and humanity; and by exciting the inquiry and attention of all ranks to the dreadful wretchedness and degradation of Negro Slavery, they will hasten its final abolition.

“To the Ladies in this City, and throughout the country, the Committee appeal with confident hopes of success. The subject is worthy of their attention. By their well-directed and persevering exertions in acquiring an accurate knowledge of the numerous hardships endured by the Slaves, and communicating the same in their domestic and social circles, it is almost impossible to calculate the happy effects that may result. In various parts of England, many amiable and highly-accomplished Females are now devoting some of their leisure hours to this object, in the most exemplary manner, and are effecting a great change on public opinion. May their example be speedily followed here!

“Finally, the Committee most fervently wish that Petitions to Parliament may be prepared, and numerous signed, previous to the opening of next Session, from every county and every town, from every village and every parish, in the United Kingdom, making one energetic and concurrent appeal to both Houses of the Legislature in behalf of our enslaved fellow-subjects; praying that they may be admitted to a full participation of those civil rights and privileges, and to all those moral and religious advantages, enjoyed by the rest of his Majesty’s subjects.”

London, September 30, 1825.

No. 4.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

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### HAYTI.

THE French Government has, at length, in consideration of the sum of 150 millions of francs, as an indemnity to the ancient proprietors of lands in the French portion of St. Domingo, consented to acknowledge the independence of that country. Independent they have been, in point of fact, for a quarter of a century; we might say, from the time of the French Revolution; and there was no reason to fear, that either by arms or artifice, they could be made to return to their servile condition: so that France may be considered as having received a most gratuitous boon for her acknowledgment, independently of the commercial advantages she may derive from the recognition, especially as the impolitic tardiness of our own Government has prevented our securing the commercial advantages, and perhaps, preferences, which might have been our own, but which will now no longer be within our reach.

There is however, as yet, much that is ambiguous, in the terms in which the independence of Hayti has been recognised. It is recognised not in the usual mode of a treaty regularly contracted between independent parties; but in a Royal Ordonnance, issuing by the sole fiat of the French King, who in the style of a Sovereign thus proclaims his will on the subject:—

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*Paris, April 17.*

“CHARLES, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF FRANCE AND  
“NAVARRE.

“To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

“Considering Articles 14 and 73 of the Charter, desiring to provide for what is called for by the interests of the French Merchants, the misfortunes of the ancient Colonies of St. Domingo, and the precarious situation of the present inhabitants of that Island;

“We have ordained and ordain as follows:—

“ART. 1. The Ports of the French part of St. Domingo are open to the Commerce of all nations.

“The duties levied in the Ports, either upon vessels or merchandize, whether entering or going out, shall be equal and uniform for all flags except for the French flag, in favour of which these duties shall be reduced one-half.

"The present inhabitants of St. Domingo shall pay into the *Caisse Generale des Depôts et des Consignations* of France, in five equal instalments from year to year, the first of which will become due on the 31st of December, 1825, the sum of 150,000,000 of francs, destined to indemnify the ancient Colonists who shall claim an indemnity.

"3. We grant, on these conditions, by the present Ordinance, to the actual inhabitants of the French part of the Island of St. Domingo, the full and entire independence of their Government.

"The present Ordinance shall be sealed with the great Seal.

"Given at Paris, at the Palace of the Tuileries, the 17th of

"April, the year of grace 1825, and in the First of our reign.

(By the King) "CHARLES."

"The Peer of France, Minister, Secretary of State for the Department of Marine and Colonies,

(Sealed) "COUNT DE CHABROL.

"The Keeper of the Seals of France, Minister, Secretary of State for the Department of Justice.

(Countersigned) "COUNT DE PEYRONNET.

"The President of the Council of Ministers,

"M. DE VILLELE."

But whatever be the doubts which may hang over this transaction as to its form, no doubt can exist that the measure is one of immense importance, and big with the most momentous consequences to the whole of the Slave Colonies in the western world. It cannot but be deemed to hold out a loud warning to the Colonists to shape their way as speedily as possible to a safe and amicable extinction of Slavery, before the extremity arrives, (as arrive it may, under various probable contingencies, especially in the event of another war), when the question may be, whether the mother country shall be forced either to abandon the Planters to their fate, or to imitate the conduct of France, in waging in defence of them a long, bloody, unpopular, and most ruinously expensive contest, to end only in degradation and defeat.

As we have alluded thus far to the subject of Hayti, we shall subjoin a few particulars respecting what is stated, on good authority, to be the present condition of that country.

The Island of St. Domingo, it is well known, is of great value, both in an agricultural and commercial view. It is generally mountainous, but has many extensive plains and beautiful valleys. Its climate, considering the latitude, is salubrious and delightful, being tempered by the mountain breezes and trade winds. The immense wealth which it poured into France, while in a state of Colonial dependence, proves its fertility and great resources. The government is professedly framed on the model of the United States of America; the legislative and executive powers being vested in a President, Senate, and Chamber of Deputies. The Deputies consist of two from the principal city of each department, (Port-au-Prince sends three), and one from each district: they are elected quinquennially by the people, all males of 21 years of age having a vote. The duties and privileges of all classes are defined

by the constitution: the Code Napoleon is in substance the law of the land. Having hitherto been unacknowledged, and being obliged to keep on foot a large force, both for achieving and maintaining their independence; and having only their own arms to rely upon, for exemption from slavery or extermination; the Government has hitherto assumed chiefly a military aspect; but a standing army being now less necessary, we may hope to view it under a more peaceful appearance; especially as its constitution is opposed to a military government, and is founded on the modern system of checks and balances, and is not ill calculated to secure public and private liberty and prosperity. Since the union of the whole Island under the present administration, great improvements are stated to have taken place; and for more than two years there has been the most perfect internal tranquillity. The President is popular; and the Government appeared to be quite stable, even before the recent recognition of its independence. Indeed, all disinterested persons, who have visited and examined the Island, have stated that its fastnesses and mountains, the good discipline of its army, the spirit of liberty which animates the people, and the confidence of the public in a Government which, by a pure administration of justice, secures liberty and property, and guarantees to every human being who touches its shores, the rights of freedom, without distinction of clime or colour, rendered invasion an utterly hopeless project. The Legislature appear to be acting upon principles of sound policy; they have recently equalized the duties on imports; lessened those on exports, and banished some remains of the feudal system in matters of property. The Police is excellent; so that public crimes and outrages are far more rare than might have been expected, considering that most of the elder and middle-aged population, and the parents of the younger, were born Slaves, and must therefore have been but ill qualified for all the duties and dignities of freemen. The moral and intellectual taint hence derived, is, however, still painfully visible, and years must elapse before many of the habits and vices engendered by Slavery will have wholly disappeared. This serious disadvantage the Haytians inherit (and inherit, be it remembered, from European hands,) in common with the lately enfranchised regions of South and Central America: but they are taking the best means to check its perpetuation, by encouraging education, and according to the best ideas which their late masters thought fit to give them, religion. To promote the former, the Government has established both Colleges and Schools, of mutual instruction, of both which classes of institutions the public defray a great part of the expense. These excitements were absolutely necessary; for every person who has witnessed the general indifference of uneducated persons, even in our own country, for the education of their children, will easily infer that great difficulties must exist in instilling such a desire into the population of an Island, where, thirty years ago, almost all were Slaves, and, as such, prevented, by a cruel policy, from being made acquainted with the simplest elements of mental cultivation. These remarks apply chiefly, to those who were Slaves before the Revolution. Among those who have always enjoyed their freedom, there are many who are distinguished for intelligence and liberality of sentiment. Not

a few were educated in France; and many of the children of both sexes are still sent to that country for instruction. There are several Printing Presses on the Island, from which issue a few Newspapers and one monthly publication.

With regard to the second point, Religion, when it is recollected who were the late masters of the Island, and in what manner West-Indian Colonies were peopled, it will not be wondered at that the Haytian population are not either very intelligent or very consistent Christians. The majority of them were African Pagans, torn from their homes; who acquired little of Christianity but the name, and not perhaps always even that, by their residence in a professedly Christian and Catholic Colony. The present race have renounced their Pagan for Popish superstitions, or for a total disregard of all religious observances. A *Protestant* Sunday is unknown; for, though the public offices, and generally the wholesale stores, are shut, yet the Sunday market still exists, and comparatively little attention is devoted to religious duties. The Catholic holidays are retained; and the Churches are open, and Mass performed, on occasion of their recurrence; but they have the effect there, as every where else, of creating habits of idleness and vicious indulgence, rather than of strengthening religious sanctions. Many of the higher classes, we fear, have imbibed the infidelity of the French school. There is, however, on every hand, a visible and rapid improvement. The manners of the people are much less coarse than might have been expected, and even partake, it is said, of great civility, having been modelled on the proverbially polished deportment of French society. Marriage, that almost unknown institution among West India Slaves, is beginning to be duly honoured among the poorer classes; and we trust, that, by the blessing of God, many years will not elapse before moral and spiritual improvements will have ensued, equal to those which have ameliorated their civil condition; and that, being now blessed with temporal freedom and security, they will become increasing partakers of the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

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#### MESSRS. LECESNE AND ESCOFFERY.

Since the Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society was published, (see page 14,) the case of the above-named Gentlemen has been brought before the House of Commons by Dr. Lushington, in a speech which produced a deep impression on the House, and obtained from Mr. Canning an assurance that the whole affair should undergo a full and fair investigation, with a view, in the event of their complaints being substantiated, of rendering them adequate redress and reparation. The following statement exhibits in substance, the particulars of this transaction.

In the month of October, 1823, Lewis Celeste Lecesne and John Escoffery, were put under arrest, by a warrant of the Duke of Manchester, the Governor of Jamaica, as aliens, and as dangerous persons, in order to be instantly deported from the Island. They found time, however, to make an application to the Supreme Court of Jamaica, to

be brought before it by *Habeas Corpus*; and; the whole of their case having been submitted to that tribunal, and argued at great length, they were discharged by order of the Judges, who declared them to be British-born subjects.

While they were in jail, a memorial, signed by thirty of the most respectable merchants and magistrates, (one of them a member of the House of Assembly, and another the Provost-Marshal-General,) was submitted to the Governor, bearing the highest testimony to the characters of Lecesne and Escoffery, whom many of them had known from their infancy, and others had known for many years; and all of whom expressed a concurrent conviction that these men were not only British subjects, but perfectly free from all imputation of disaffection or disloyalty. This petition, thus respectably signed, was treated as unworthy of serious consideration. It was asserted that the petitioners were principally the creditors of these persons, and interested in keeping them on the Island; while the unquestionable fact has proved to be, that out of the thirty petitioners, only five were creditors, and these to an amount not greater than £25 each, exclusive of an open account-current with one house, that of Watson, Williams, and Co., the exact amount of which is uncertain. These men had uniformly borne an excellent character, not only for the punctuality of their commercial dealings, but for their general conduct, both as citizens and as members of the Militia, in which they held the rank of serjeants. Mr. Hall, a Magistrate of Kingston, in particular, bore the most unequivocal testimony to their respectability, and to the confidence he placed in them; and this testimony he has repeated in this country, where he now resides. But although this powerful testimony in their favour, together with the clear proof of their national character, was disregarded by the Executive Government of the Island, it had its full effect in the Supreme Court, which, as has been stated, after a long and laborious hearing, discharged both the individuals. On this occasion, six freeholders attended in the Court to offer bail; but the Chief Justice said that the Court required none, for the men were proved to be British subjects, and he knew of no charge against them.

The subsequent proceedings, however, were still more extraordinary. Shortly after their discharge by the Court of King's Bench, Mr. Hector Mitchell, with whom this outrageous persecution appears to have originated, moved in the House of Assembly for a Secret Committee, which was granted, for investigating the matter. He was himself appointed the Chairman; and Mr. Barnes, the Mayor of Kingston, who was actively concerned with Mr. Mitchell in the arrest of these men, together with two others who had been retained as Counsel against them, were associated with him in the Committee. What evidence was taken before this Secret Committee does not yet appear, but whatever it was, it was wholly *ex parte*; not a single witness in behalf of the persons accused having been heard, or even cited; and no notice having been given them of an investigation so nearly affecting them. All that is known of the proceedings of this Committee is a Report, in which the assertion was repeated that these men were aliens, and persons dangerous to the peace of the Island. But of this assertion no proof what-



ever as yet appears to have been exhibited beyond what the Supreme Court, after the gravest deliberation, had pronounced to be unworthy of credit.

On the ground of this Report; without any further inquiry; without a moment's warning to the individuals; without the slightest intimation of the nature of the charges preferred against them, or of the nature of the further evidence that had been adduced before the Secret Committee to invalidate that evidence in their favour which had appeared so decisive to the Supreme Court; were these men, who had resided in the Island from their birth, and, by the acknowledgement of their enemies, from their earliest infancy; who had conducted themselves most irreproachably in every civil and social relation; who were married and had families, and upon whom those families, as well as their aged mothers, depended wholly for their support; and who had also been admitted to their privileges as British-born subjects, by the unanimous vote of the Magistrates of Kingston, nine years before, and as such had also been promoted to the rank of serjeants in the Militia, to which only British-born subjects are eligible;—thus were they, notwithstanding the strongest and most irrefragable proofs in their favour, suddenly torn from the bosoms of their families, sent into exile, ruined in their fortunes, maligned in their characters, and held up as traitors to their king and country, while those dependent on them were either left to starve, or to subsist on the precarious bounty of others. In a few hours after their arrest, they were sent off in a ship of war to St. Domingo, where they were put ashore and left to their fate.

All this was done under the colour of the Alien Act of Jamaica. But it never could have been meant that the Alien Act should give the Colonial Government the power of inquiring into the birth of individuals who had resided in a country for nearly thirty years, and had been in the unquestioned enjoyment during that time, of all the rights of citizenship; or should arm it with authority, at such a distance of time, to call on an individual to prove his birth-place, when, from various circumstances, he might be wholly unable to do so; it being quite impossible that he himself should be cognisant either of the time at which, or the place in which, he was born. And yet, even under these disadvantageous circumstances, with the power of the Executive and the Magistracy combined against them, have these men been able, in the most triumphant manner, to negative the fact of their alienage, and thus to destroy the very foundation on which any attempt to justify this act of oppression could legally be built.

Among other charges insidiously brought against them, it was alleged that they had been in the habit of holding meetings and raising money, ostensibly for the support of a benevolent institution formed for charitable purposes, but really for dangerous political objects. This charge, however, was wholly unsupported by evidence of any kind; and the proceedings of the benevolent society alluded to, having been carefully examined, furnish a complete refutation of the unsupported charge.

It was also alleged, that the free People of Colour, in their endeavours to gain, by legal means, an extension of their civil and political privileges, had placed their confidence in Lecesne, who was accused of being one of their leaders; and yet these very People of Colour have

since been characterized, by the Assembly of Jamaica, as most zealously attached to the peace, security, and happiness of the Colony, and as having entitled themselves by their conduct to the most unqualified commendation.

It was also said, that these parties kept up a correspondence with individuals in Hayti, for certain treasonable purposes; but neither of this charge, nor of any other preferred against them, has any satisfactory proof, not even the slightest, been adduced. A single witness, a Slave, of the name of Corberand, did indeed venture to state, that Lecesne had sold arms to the insurgents of St. George's; but the result of further proceedings and inquiries tends to prove that Corberand was a suborned and perjured witness. And not only does it appear certain that his testimony against Lecesne was altogether false, but it has even become a matter of grave doubt, whether the St. George's insurrection, as it is called, (on account of which, on the testimony of this same Corberand, eight or nine Slaves were condemned to die,) ever had any existence, except in the fears of the Colonists and the perjuries of the witnesses.

In short, no evidence whatever has been produced to substantiate the slightest charge of criminality against these oppressed and persecuted individuals, or to afford the slightest ground for the allegation of alienage, on which the whole of these extraordinary proceedings have been attempted to be justified. If there was any such evidence in existence, it ought to have been included in the returns to Parliament; because the whole evidence was moved for, and the whole, in justice to the Duke of Manchester, no less than to the sufferers, ought to have been supplied.

There are other transactions connected with this case which greatly aggravate its enormity; and among these, the attempts to suborn false evidence against Lecesne are not the least revolting. To two of his Slaves large sums of money were offered, to induce them to give evidence against their master; and they were threatened, in case of refusal, with severe punishment,—a threat indeed which was carried into execution.

One of them was committed to prison, where he lay for seven months, confined during almost the whole of that time in a condemned cell, which he was not suffered to quit even for the purpose of taking a walk in the adjoining area. The other was kept in confinement for more than ten months. Both were at length discharged by proclamation, no charge whatever having been preferred against them to justify the length and the rigour of their confinement; their only crime, in fact, having been, that they equally resisted the bribes and threats of those who felt that it was necessary to the justification of their own nefarious conduct, to obtain some evidence which might go to inculpate Lecesne and Escoffery. One of these Slaves is now in England, and his testimony, corroborated as it is by that of other witnesses, seems to stamp the whole of this dark transaction with a character of more than ordinary malignity.

The order for the deportation of these men was executed with as much harshness as it was in itself unjust and inhuman. Their sufferings on reaching St. Domingo were most severe. They were compelled

by their state of destitution to sell their watches and other trinkets; and were only enabled to subsist and to proceed to England by the generous assistance of a few British merchants residing at Jacmel and Port-au-Prince; in particular, Mr. Frith, an English gentleman, residing at the former place, and Messrs. Poole and Henderson, at the latter.

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#### FORMATION OF LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATIONS.

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A LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION was formed at COLCHESTER, at a Meeting held for that purpose, on the 1st of July, 1825, when the following, amongst other Resolutions were passed:—

“That every Member of this Association be earnestly recommended to adopt the use of Sugar, the produce of *free* labour, in lieu of that which is cultivated at the expense of the happiness, liberty, and lives of their helpless and much injured fellow-subjects.

“That every Member of this Association do strive to promote the formation of Associations in the Eastern District of this County, in aid of the Anti-Slavery Society.

“That the Members of this Association be requested to endeavour to awaken in the minds of their families, and all those over whom they have influence, a lively sense of the injustice, inhumanity, and impiety of Negro Slavery; and to excite them to feelings of compassion for their Negro fellow-creatures, and to zealous efforts for their relief.”

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At a Meeting of Ladies held at CALNE, Wiltshire, on the 11th of August last, a LADIES' ASSOCIATION was also formed for CALNE and MELKSHAM, and their respective neighbourhoods, in aid of the cause of Negro Emancipation, which already presents a considerable list of subscribers.

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Shortly will be published, Extracts from one of the “Royal Jamaica Gazettes,” for the present year.

The “ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER” will be ready for delivery on the last day of every month. Copies will be forwarded, at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent.

London, 18, Aldermanbury, October 31, 1825.

No. 5.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

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**BERBICE**—*Fiscal's Returns, printed by order of the House of Commons, 23rd June, 1825.*

THE Fiscal, Mr. Bennet, in transmitting these returns, observes, that until the year 1819, he had kept no minutes of the complaints of slaves; but that from that time he had taken minutes of his examinations, but only in a few cases of his decisions. Since the present application was made for copies of the complaints, he has been more particular in receiving them, and he has added the decisions. The account embraces a period from February 1819 to November 1823.

Under all these disadvantages, the materials before us are, nevertheless, very valuable. They admit us into the interior, the very pentalia of the slave system, which they exhibit in all its height and length and breadth and depth of deformity. It is out of our power, however, to do more than select a few examples from the mass.

The first complaint on the list, we are sorry to say, is against a lady, Mrs. Sanders. Nine Negro men, on the 1st of February, 1819, complain of a great want both of food and clothing. One man produces a bolt and shackles, with which the Negro women were often confined, the ancles and wrists crossways, by which they are bent double; and says he was twice confined in that way himself. He and three others went on one occasion to complain of hunger. Mrs. Sanders ordered them to be tied down and flogged with two drivers. It was on a Sunday: supposes he had sixty. They are made to reap cassava, and get firewood every Sunday, till the greatest part of the day is spent. The women and children have no allowance; and the men are obliged to share their allowance, which is also a very scanty one, with them. These charges are denied by the lady. They are in part admitted, but in part denied, by her overseer. The Fiscal's judgment is not given. (pp. 5-8.)

On the 18th of August, 1820, the same lady again appears before the Fiscal. The following is a transcript of his minute of the complaints preferred by her slaves:—

"Negro *Sam* says, that his mistress is very bad; that the work is daily increased, so that they are unable to perform their task given them: That the last holidays, when they got three days to dance at home, their mistress obliged them to work so hard afterwards as to complete the work lost in the dancing days: That his wife, named *Adjuba*, was locked up lately in his mistress's house for six days, her allowance being only one plantain daily, (complainant exhibiting some of their

plantains;) and that the very pot in which she got water to drink, was to serve her, by her mistress's order, as a *necessaire*: That his young master is very good, but his mistress is of too cruel a nature: that their allowance is very little, and that they get no clothing at all scarcely: Finally, begs that he may be sold elsewhere, as he is not able to bear it any longer there.

"Negro *Louis* says, Mr. Hyneman bought him when very young, and sold him to Mr. Sanders; that from both of these masters he never was ill-treated; but since the death of Mr. Sanders, his mistress treats them with cruel barbarity sometimes; that every Negro is obliged to bring home twelve bunches of shingles, although other Negroes bring but six weekly. That their mistress keeps them the whole Sunday employed with all sorts of trifling works: that they get only three cassava cakes a week, with a little bit of salt fish: Finally, that they get hardly any clothes;—wishes therefore rather to be sold than remain with such a cruel mistress; as certainly all of the Negroes one day or other, after so much suffering, will run away in the bush.

"Negro *David* says, that he is cow-minder to his mistress; that lately one of the cows got sick, for which his mistress ordered the driver to tie him up as fast as he could, which caused dislocation at the time, and under which he is still suffering, (complainant looking rather sickly, and having the marks of his flogging still visible on his posteriors;) that he there received 150 lashes from Andries by his mistress's order, who afterwards locked him up in the stocks in such a way that both feet and hands were fastened; that his mistress says, because he is cow-minder she gives him no Sundays, neither any allowance whatever. Requests to be sold."

Mrs. Sanders appears before the Fiscal upon two other occasions, to answer to similar complaints. On the last, 8th September, 1823, the following is the Fiscal's minute of the case:—

"Complaint of the Negro *David*, belonging to Mrs. Sanders:—That he is too much punished with the whip and tamarind rods; that he is employed to work in the kitchen, garden, and also as cook; that he is swollen; the soles of his feet flogged with tamarind rods; that his mistress says he is lazy, which is the cause of his being flogged; he was flogged with the whip lately; he has a beating at his heart, the cause of his illness; his posteriors shew that he has been lately punished, not to any excess, but the punishment much neglected; soles of his feet examined, shew no marks of punishment; the Negro appears to be in a dropsy, and as such is treated by the doctor who has charge of the barracks."

The son of this lady undertakes to defend his mother. He says, "that the Negro is a very bad character;"—that

"Little or no work is done by him, for on the least harsh word he runs away; he is a constant run-away. My mother will not allow him to be flogged, because *he bears the marks of former punishment so very evidently*; he did receive a slight punishment for running away; this punishment was inflicted by two small boys with tamarind rods, and it was to endeavour to shame him. My brother brought him to town five days ago to cook, and why he has run away I do not know;

he was flogged by said boys under his feet, with tamarind rods, on account of HIS BACK BEING CUT UP."

"11th March, 1819.

"Plantation GELDERLAND:—*Nettelje, Julia, Lea, and Mietje*, each with an infant in arms, complain that no time is allowed them to nurse their children; that during the crop an equal quantity of coffee is expected and required of them as from other women having no children, or of the men; that a similar task is given in weeding grass with the rest of the gang, which they are not able to perform, in consequence of carrying their children on their backs; if they fail, they are beaten in the manager's presence with the handle of the whip by the driver Esperance. *Nettelje* and also *Mietje* were flogged the day before yesterday by the carpenter *La Fleur*; they, with others, were weeding the dam; they had made a fire to drive away the sand-flies; they were seen by *Mr. Toel*, the manager, suckling their infants; he inquired if they had no work to do: they replied, they had just taken their children up, who were crying; they were laid down and flogged; their coats were stained with blood. *Mr. Toel* took the fire up, and threw it in the trench. *Julia* was locked up in the stocks because she did not keep with the rest of the gang, and threatened to be flogged next morning: she is a young girl, with her first child. *Lea* complains that she is not allowed to suckle her child during her work; she was threatened to be flogged next day by *Mr. Toel*, at same time with *Julia*." (p. 13.)

"*Jane* belonging to *Mr. Bourmester*, says her master gave her to his housekeeper *Grace*, who is constantly abusing and ill-treating her; she is often in the habit of kicking her, and beating her with any thing that comes to hand, sometimes with the fire-stick, sometimes with a piece of wood. Monday morning she was sent by *Grace* to look for wood; when she returned she took a piece of crab-wood she had brought, and beat her with it, and kicked her. Her master was not at home: she got breakfast for her mistress and a gentleman, *Mr. Harvey*. After breakfast sent me for wood; I had just recovered from a fit of sickness, having had a blister on my belly, which was not yet healed; I felt faint, and was under the necessity of sitting down to recover myself. When I came home with the wood it was about 11 o'clock; as soon as I returned she began to beat and kick me, saying she hated to see me; a boy belonging to *Mr. De George*, named *Alexander*, saw when she beat me, and a girl named *Sophia*, belonging to *Sue Austerhem*." (p. 14.)

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

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

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

August 23, 1822.

"Felix belonging to Plantation Scotland, states,

"That he has had a Black woman upon the estate for his wife now two years; and the reason of his coming to complain is, that the manager of the estate takes her from him, although he has a wife of his own. He is always taking the Negroes' wives, particularly his wife (Felix's;) for she has had a child for him; and since the child has been born, the manager is always punishing him and his wife without a cause. Some time ago ten of the gang came to complain to their master (Dr. Broer,) to report to him that the manager had connection with their wives: their master promised to them that he would remove the manager from the estate, and place another one there. Upon this promise the Negroes returned to the estate; but since that they have never heard of another manager. Felix and his wife are daily punished, which has compelled him to come to your Honour for redress. He calls upon the whole gang of the estate to prove his assertions to be correct.

"On hearing this complaint, the Acting Fiscal proceeded to the estate, accompanied by Dr. Broer, the owner; and on questioning the manager and Negroes, in presence of each other, on the subject-matter of the complaint, it appeared that Felix had neglected his work, and was told he would be punished if he did not finish his task the next day, which he did not do; and therefore supposing the manager would punish him he went to the Fiscal to complain. This being proved, *Felix was punished for his misconduct, and the manager severely reprimanded for taking improper liberties with the women on the estate, which it was evident he had done*; and Dr. Broer was therefore strongly recommended to discharge him from his employ." (p. 75.)

That *Felix* should be the person punished for misconduct, will appear very extraordinary to all who have not imbibed their notions of justice in slave colonies: and it is the more surprising that the fiscal should pursue this course in the present instance, as some time before he had addressed a letter to Governor Beard, then president of the court of justice (p. 15,) in which he charges these very persons, Broer and his manager, specifically; first, with greatly overworking the Negroes; secondly, with severe flogging repeated on successive evenings, and with illegal instruments of punishment; thirdly, with making them work on Sunday; and fourthly, with considerably underfeeding them. The case was so gross that, notwithstanding an attempt on the part of the owner and manager to deny the charges, the fiscal ordered them to diminish the tasks of the Negroes, and to increase their food; forbade their being worked on Sunday; *threatened* the owner with prosecution;

and told the Negroes, if their wrongs were not redressed, they should complain again.

June 26, 1819.

Brutus, a watchman, belonging to plantation Providence, complained that "the manager wanted my daughter Peggy. I said, 'No.' He followed her. I said, 'No.' He asked her three times, I said, 'No.' Manager asked me again Friday night. I refused. Saturday morning he flogged me. This thing hurt me, and I came to complain."

"Peggy being sick, *Aqueshaba* her sister attended:—Says, that manager sent aunty Grace to call Peggy, and to say, if she would not come I must. We said, daddy said must not go; I was too young. Grace left us and went to daddy; shortly afterwards she returned and tried to coax me to go, but I would not, as my daddy had forbid it. Grace went and told manager; manager sent to call Fanny; Fanny went. The manager was up in his room; and all of us, the Creoles, got orders to be watchmen at manager's door. I was watchman, Peggy, Frankey, and many more." (p. 30.)

The manager of this estate on another occasion (p. 80.) laid a Negro on the ground with two drivers over him, who gave him 100 lashes. His innocence being afterwards proved, he went to the manager for redress. The manager told him, "if you do not hold your tongue, I will put you in the stocks." He then went to his owner, Mr. Henery, who answered, "I cannot help it, it is not my fault, the punishment you had was the manager's fault." As he could get no redress from master or manager, he came to the fiscal. The manager endeavoured to justify himself, admitting that he had given him thirty-nine lashes, (the number allowed by law for any or for no offence,) and confined him in the stocks every night for a week. The fiscal *reprimanded* the manager for punishing a Negro on such slight grounds.

A number of Negroes belonging to Mr. Elves complain (p. 17.) of the harsh treatment they received from him, and the slave Fanny, his concubine. They are half starved, forced to work till four o'clock on Sundays, and also on holidays. The children get no allowance of food or clothing, (even girls of eleven and twelve going naked,) and are marked with the bush rope with which Fanny flogs them. One boy eight or ten years of age, complains that she beats him, pulls him by the nose in a cruel manner, and pinches his ears most inhumanly. He gets no regular allowance, but lives on what he can get. His master makes him mind the horse, clean his shoes, burn the coffee, &c. &c.; never gives him any clothes, and when sick, after taking salts, makes him still perform his task. "This complainant proves by many old marks on his back and posteriors, that his statement is not at all incorrect, and that he has often been severely dealt with." (p. 17.)

A Sambo girl, Betsey, belonging to Mr. I. F. Obermuller, says, she was washing a frock given her by her mother, when her mistress took it from her. She told her mistress it was hard to take her frock from her, as she never gave her any clothes herself. Her mistress complained to her master that she was insolent. Her master flew into a passion, and kicked her on the belly, so that she could scarcely draw her breath. The next day her mistress tore her jacket off. She again alluded to the hardship it was to have her clothes taken from her, but



none given her. Mistress again complained of insolence, and master flogged her with a rope, and made her brother Jacob flog her. For the least trifle, she and her sister are locked up in the stocks, sometimes for three weeks, and fed only with two plantains a day. Her sister was locked up for a fortnight by her mistress, saying, she had made the bed improperly, thereby causing the child to fall. Her sister denied it. (p. 18.)

Four Negroes belonging to Cotton-tree Plantation, the property of the Hon. W. Katz, complain of not being allowed time for breakfast; that they have to go to the field before cock-crow, and work in it till gun fire, and then have to cut grass. They are confined in the stocks, and not allowed to go out, even for the calls of nature. They complained to Mr. Katz, and he flogged them. The charges are denied by the manager and overseer; the persons, in fact, who are accused; and on their denial, the Fiscal finds the complaint unfounded, and orders three of the complainants to be punished with seventy-five lashes, and one with fifty, in his own presence, in the market place. (p. 19.)

There are complaints also against Mr. Katz, from his estate of Philadelphia. *Amsterdam* (p. 46.) says, the overseer "Davies is extremely hard against him, beating him on every trifling occasion.

"Gave him last Monday twenty-five rods of a dam, and as he was no table to complete this, Davies flogged him very much; after flogging he told him that he would go to complain, which brought Davies to such a passion that he sent all the Negroes after him to catch him, but he escaped, and came to town to complain. Says they get enough to eat, but no time, on account of Davies's heavy tasks, to prepare the same. Complainant, on showing his posteriors, proves to have had of late a severe flogging." (p. 46.)

*Murphy* came to the Fiscal to complain, instead of going to Mr. Katz; because three Negroes had gone to complain to Mr. Katz, and without sending for the manager, they were flogged and sent back, and the next day one of them was flogged again by the manager. (p. 58.)

May, 27 1819.

Seven Negroes belonging to plantation Rose Hall, state as follows:—

"That they all were engaged by the manager to gin cotton for himself on their Sundays, for which he promised each three guilders a day; when after working three Sundays, and receiving no payment, they declined to continue with this work. On demanding the payment, the manager called the driver to give them a d—d good payment.

"That they are obliged to bring every evening, after their work, an uncommonly large sized bundle of grass (the measure whereof the deponent deposits herewith,) and that when the measure is not full, they are obliged to search for more grass in the dark.

"That in telling his master the hardness of the service, he flew into such a passion that he broke one of his (complainant's) teeth. That in coming into the Negro houses at night after their work, and inquiring after their things, the manager, when hearing this, takes them up directly and lodges them in the stocks; adding further, that in case they are not satisfied with him, they may go and complain where they please." (p. 20.)

Mr. Grade, the manager of PEsperance, is charged by the slaves with various delinquencies. A pregnant woman, named Ross, was employed picking coffee with some other women. Thinking they did not pick enough, or well, Mr. Grade ordered the driver Zondag to flog them. The driver did so. Rosa had previously objected to working, as being too big, and being unable to stoop; but the manager overruled the objection, and she went to pick coffee on her knees. When Zondag came to her, he said to the manager, This woman is big with child. The manager replied, "Give it to her till the blood flies out." She was flogged with the whip doubled. This was on a Friday. She was sent to the field on Saturday, but, being seized with pains in her loins, was sent to the hospital. The doctor examined her, and ordered her to the field again. On Sunday she was delivered of a dead child, after a severe labour. The child's arm was broken, and one eye was bruised and sunk in the head. This woman had had seven children before by one husband. The driver, Zondag, and several others, confirmed the above statement. The driver being particularly asked, whether on his representing that Rosa was pregnant, the manager had used the expression, "Never mind, flog her till the blood comes," replied, "Yes." (pp. 25—27.)

A Negro woman, named Laura, belonging to plantation Reliance, with a very young child at the breast, complains that she is not allowed to take her child to the field to give it the breast now and then, but is obliged to leave it with an old woman at home. When she steals from her work to the child, and is discovered, the manager flogs her. She brought this child into the world with great pain; it is of a weakly constitution, and requires a mother's care, which she is not allowed to bestow. The manager does not deny any of the above facts, only says, that *the women with young children are not required to come out till half-past six in the morning, and they quit the field at half-past ten, return to the field at half-past one, and leave it at half-past five.*

The complaints are more frequent from Sandvoot, formerly one of the crown estates, than from any other plantation. "Carolus says, he is sick and swelling, and that he cannot work, though willing. When he complains of sickness, the manager licks him, instead of helping him. Yesterday he was twice licked." (p. 33.)—"Amsterdam says, he is afflicted with pains in his bones; he does his best, but cannot work as others who are healthy. Mr. Cameron licks him with a horse-whip, curses him, and when he goes to the hospital drives him away." (p. 34.)—"Mietje (and her child Mars.) "She says she is willing to work when healthy. She went yesterday sick to the hospital. Instead of getting physic, she received a flogging. She is still sick, and has come to complain." (p. 35.)—"Lambert had a bad disease, and the manager would give him nothing. He ran away. His master, Mr. Cameron, states him to be a bad subject. He is admitted to labour under disease, but is directed by the fiscal to be punished." (p. 55. See also pp. 57, 59, 65, 75, 76, 77.)

The complaints are also frequent from plantation Beerensteen, where some of the Crown Negroes are placed, against the driver Zealand, but chiefly against the manager, Mr. Deussen. (pp. 24, 25, 34, 36, 40, 43.)

*Samuel* complains against his master Spangenburg, that the Negroes danced during the Christmas holidays from Sunday evening till Tuesday night. He proceeds thus:—

“On Wednesday they went to work, but as some of the people were still inebriated, so the large task given them was not finished; the next day their task was renewed, with the addition of the remainder of the preceding day; that he, acting as driver, told his master it was impossible to finish the same; he (*Samuel*) himself being accustomed to the field work, could not accomplish it, much less the women; but his master, who knows very little of Negro work and treatment, insisted on the performance of the task given; consequently the task was not finished, and principally the women were short in this; the next day they (himself as a driver included) were all flogged; the number of people working in the field consists of four men and three women, and they are so overwrought by their cruel master that they are scarcely able to keep it out, which is the cause of their coming to complain, his master saying that he has no fear of fiscal or any one else, but that he will flog them when he finds it proper. The Negroes at present in town with their master, if called, would attest this. They get nothing but a small piece of pork, a little fish, two pipes, and some tobacco: nothing else; no clothes or any thing more; they get also a week only a small bunch of plantains, and are generally very indifferently treated by their master. Wishes as his master is a person who is always flogging them, and who knows nothing of the work, that he, with his wife and brother, might be sold, being assured that they would be able to please a reasonable master, who understands the working and treatment of slaves.” (p. 37.)

*Quamino* complains of his master, F. Brittlebank's general ill treatment.

“Says, that some time ago many of them came to the ferry with the intention of going to town to complain, but were prevented by the ferry-men from crossing the Canje Creek; that the fiscal then came to the ferry and ordered three of them to be flogged, amongst which the complainant was one; that after flogging, the fiscal desired his master to dress his wounds well; but that, on the contrary, his master did nothing to them when he came home, but rubbed his back with brine and salt; that in consequence he has suffered very much by this neglect.” (p. 37.)

*Scipio* complains against the same master, Brittlebank, of being overwrought and severely treated.

“Came some time ago to complain, but was taken up at Jeffery's estate and confined there in the stocks for fourteen days: when he went home he got very severely flogged; he was taken to the water side and there flogged for fear of the whip being heard; his private parts, which he exhibits, are so severely wounded by the whip he can scarcely sit or stand. The Negro appears much emaciated.” (p. 57.)

*Martin* complains against Mr. Davies, manager of Sandvoort—

“That on Saturday he was almost unable, through pain in his neck, to finish his work, but nevertheless completed it; t<sup>h</sup> Monday he

went in the morning early to complain to Mr. Davies to give him physic; that Mr. D. instead of assisting him, ordered Billy of Sandvoort the driver, with four other Negroes, to lay him down; that although he told Mr. D. he was never unwilling to work when well, he was, notwithstanding, flogged." (p. 39.)

*Philip* and *Leander* complain of Mr. Luyken, the manager of Berdingheid, killing all their hogs. Leander had ten killed at one time. For complaining they were put in the stocks. (p. 45.)

*Jenny* complains of her mistress, Elizabeth Atkinson, that *she beats her unmercifully, kicked and trampled on her belly, locked her in the stocks, and beat her on the back. In half an hour she miscarried.* Her child *Philip* is extremely ill treated, and is never allowed to come near her. *The child is exhibited: marks of severe flogging over the whole body.* Says she receives a good allowance." (pp. 45, 46.)

Three Negroes come to complain of Mr. Calmer, of plantation Nieuw Stoop. One of them says,

"That it is now the third time he has come to complain: that twice he has been flogged by the fiscal at the market; that he told the fiscal the last time he went, that in case his master troubled him again he would then come to complain also; that Mr. Calmer, the last time he brought him home, flogged and kept him in the stocks during three weeks; after which, on applying to his master for relief, instead of gaining it, was severely flogged the next morning, and locked up in the stocks again; after having been there a long time, he was severely attacked by the scurvy, and although he begged hard to be allowed to go out and wash himself, was refused: he grew so ill, that his master was afraid of losing him, and therefore released him; he recovered, although very visible marks remain on his back: whilst in the stocks, his master gave him nothing to eat; whatever he got was by favour of the Negroes; he was not allowed to go out and ease himself, but lived in such a manner that it was impossible for any person to come near him; his master bought a chain and block at plantation Zudwyk merely for him." (pp. 46, 47.)

General Murray, the late governor of Demerara, well known by the share he had in the prosecution of Smith, the Missionary, has two estates in Berbice, Resolution and Busses Lust. On the 23d October, 1821, the manager of the former estate, Hopkins, was reproved by the fiscal for having given three successive floggings to a Negro named *Mark*, who states,—

"He has been flogged severely by the manager, on account of complaining he was sick, three different times; once 12, another time 39, and again 25 lashes have been inflicted; shows marks of severe flogging, and much neglected." (p. 49.)

On the 29th of November there is another complaint from the same estate. Michael says he is a Negro, and knows well he must work; but that they work from morning till late in the evening picking coffee, "and when he comes home, between six and seven in the evening, instead of going home to get some victuals, he is ordered to work till twelve at night, bringing mud from one place to another. Also on

Sundays they are ordered to work, and if they should refuse they would be flogged. *Philip* makes a similar complaint.—*Thomas*

“Says he is an old man, and the work that the manager gives him to do is impossible for him to complete, from the weakness of his body and state; for which he is always punished, and kept continually in the stocks.” (p. 50.)

The result of the complaints made to the fiscal is seldom given. In this instance it is given in very laconic terms, and will doubtless surprise our readers: “*Two directed to receive SEVENTY-FIVE lashes.*”

Again, on the 17th November, 1823, at the very time when Smith's trial was proceeding, we have a complaint from ten *women* belonging to the same plantation.

“The governor, our master, when he purchased us, gave us a task, one hundred trees to be weeded and cleansed; with this we were satisfied: the manager, however, says this is no work, we shall not have task-work; he gives each Negro, a row of three trees; if we do not finish the work given us, we are made to do it on Sunday: *Ziemene, Maria,* and others wrought in the field on Sunday; the manager had the driver locked up in the stocks.” (p. 66.)

“We are content and happy when our master comes, who talks and laughs with us; but as soon as he goes off the estate we are unhappy.”

“We have no time to eat, none to cook; we have no eleven o'clock; we are not wrought by task. Our master gave us spoons; the manager is dissatisfied with this; he says, the governor is too good, he minds us as if we were children; he says he cannot flog us, because that can be seen, but he will punish us with work. If any of the women be pregnant, no attention is paid to them; they are wrought as hard as the others; for that reason there are no children; manager says *he does not come to mind children.* The rows given us have each sixty trees; the bell is rung, but we cannot leave the field, because if the work given us be not finished, we are punished; the punishment is, we are to finish our work on Sunday. We all have wrought on Sunday; not one Sunday, but every one that any field work is left undone.” (p. 66.)

On the 4th of September, 1823, a number of women, belonging to plantation Prospect, came to complain of bad treatment. The manager, Paterson, overworks them and gives them no time to eat. “We are now planting and supplying canes. The ground is so dry we are obliged to throw water on the beds before we can chop the earth.” The work they had done the day before was reported to the manager at noon by the driver. The manager was unable to go himself from indisposition; but he ordered the driver, when they returned to the field at one o'clock, to go out and flog each of the strong women. The women expostulated with him, shewing him the extreme hardness of the ground, which they had to moisten before they could dig it; observing, that if the cane plant were not well put in, the manager would again order them to be punished for that. The overseer, coming up at the time, repeated the manager's order, and six of them were laid down, and punished with twelve lashes each. They proceed: “We are too much punished; we have no time to get our victuals; we have

every night got work, whether the mill is going or not. Sunday night even is not excepted, when we must bring firewood from the canal mouth. Tuesday night we had to carry corn from the great house to the horse stable-loft. We were employed at this work till near morning. We carry home wood on Sunday night as well as any other, and the boatmen are employed in bringing wood on Sunday as on any other day. If any of us go out on Sunday we must be back in time to bring home grass and firewood for the kitchen. After that we must still go to the canal for firewood for the engine.

“Mr. Ross sends two bunches of plantains for each Negro every week: one week the men get two bunches, and the women one; next week we get two, and the men one; the rest are kept for sheep and hogs. Mr. Ross sends tobacco; we get none of that; we get no molasses, although it is given to the horses, sheep, and hogs. If you are sick, or have a sore, and put in the sick-house, only one bunch of plantains is allowed, and the allowance of fish is stopped. Mr. Ross sends every thing to the estate very well, but we do not get it. The overseer's treatment is worse than the manager's; since Caajee is come home, she is confined both legs in the stocks every night. Only four of us are allowed to take the magass from the engine; in M'Cermot's time there were five of us to do this work. Our run has been stopped for the week. Last night we received orders from the driver that we were not to come home to-day unless we finished our work; we must boil plantains then for to-day; the ground is so hard we knew we could not do it, and therefore we came to complain.” (p. 60.)

It appeared on farther inquiry, that they were well supplied with either plantains, or rice, or corn; but no other part of the charges meets with a denial. The conclusion of the whole is thus given, and it will illustrate the nature of the protection which Negroes receive under harsh usage. Mr. Ross, the attorney, who was present,

“Expressed to the manager his entire dissatisfaction of the women having been flogged prematurely, and at the Negroes being employed on Sunday night; and promised the Negroes they should have redress in as far as their complaints were grounded, but expressed his disapprobation of their not having sought redress from him as the attorney of the estate, instead of seeking it from the fiscal; and this conduct having been also pointed out by the fiscal, as a want of proper respect to their master, who from their own account plentifully supplied their wants, they seemed to regret the measure they had adopted.” (p. 69.)

Whether this be the same Mr. Ross who is proprietor of Calcain plantation, we know not; but the Negroes of that plantation also make bitter complaints against their manager.

“When the sun is down, if our row is not finished we get flogged. I received thirty lashes, so did Joe. We are taken to the stocks at night, and flogged next morning. We told the manager the work was too much, that we had no time to get our victuals, and begged him to lessen the task; this was the reason we were flogged. There are plenty of plantains on the estate; the manager, however, only gives us one bunch, and that is on the Sunday morning. We are very well sup-

plied with fish. We are obliged to boil our plantains at night, and put them in a calabash to take to the field next morning; we are obliged to eat them by stealth, we are driven so hard; and before we can eat them they turn sour. When we come from the field, after this heavy day's work, we must work in the yard: the punt brings wood to the canal, and we must carry it up to the engine; other times we must haul up bullet-tree to the sawpit. When we are grinding we know very well we must sit up late; and of this we do not complain, knowing it must be done. We have complained to our master, and he says that the manager, he supposes, troubles us because we don't mind our work; we had no redress from him." (p. 57.)

These heavy complaints are referred by the fiscal, on account of the distance of the plantation, to Capt. Grant, a burgher officer. His letter of instructions on the occasion will throw no small light on the principles on which justice is administered to complaining slaves. After stating the heads of complaint, he observes—

"It must be needless for me to request the most impartial investigation; and *although I am perfectly satisfied that Mr. Ross would not permit his slaves to be oppressed by the manager, yet some of the charges of complaints may require redress*; and in such case I certainly shall recommend Mr. Ross to afford instant relief. *I am also well aware and fully confident that such recommendation would be needless* if the complainants had not lost sight of a duty incumbent on them, to have sought redress in the first instance from Mr. Ross, their proprietor, which they had ample opportunities of doing by his frequent visits to the estate.\*

"If, however, you find that the complaints are groundless, I request you will, by every means, endeavour to convince them of the same, to point out, how very unsatisfactory, unpleasant and expensive such complaints must be to a proprietor of respectability and a good owner of slaves; and that although the complaints of slaves shall always command my ready and serious attention, and that whenever they are aggrieved I will exert myself to afford them relief, yet that the duty is no less imperious on me to punish such slaves, whose only motives in quitting their estates to prefer complaints proceed from idle and wanton dispositions, whose statements prove to be groundless and vexatious.

"*I would recommend you to direct the said Negroes to be exemplarily punished in presence of the gang; and one of them having asserted that* \_\_\_\_\_ *was the one that induced them to come to town to complain, he ought to receive fifty lashes, and the others thirty-nine each, well applied, and cautioned to refrain from further wanton behaviour, on pain of more severe punishment.*

"I also recommend you to request Mr. Austin† the manager of 49, to accompany you, and afford you his aid and opinion in ascertaining the work done on the estate, and complained of." (p. 58.)

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\* The Negroes distinctly say they had complained to Mr. Ross, and were refused redress.

† Of this Mr. Austin, who is thus made Captain Grant's assessor, and in whom the fiscal reposes so much confidence, we have several notices in these papers.

The plantation Profit, in Dr. Pincard's time, was a model of humanity towards the slaves. Times are now changed. The former possessor no longer lives, and the slaves are in the hands of sequestrators. The following is a specimen of their grievances :

"Hutchinson, the manager, is too cross: that he will not give task-work, but works them by the day to that degree that they have no time to get their breakfast; he comes after 11 o'clock in the field, and says we do not work enough; the driver must give us twenty-five lashes every day. If we are flogged, we go to the burgher officer to complain; he gives us a letter to the manager; but he says, I want no letter, and the complainant is laid down and flogged: two of the Negroes have letters they received from the burgh officer, which were given them by the manager after being flogged. We have no attorney, or at least we hear of none, and we have not seen one for five months; there is no fish nor salt on the estate; we have not had clothes, this makes the third year, nor have we pipes or tobacco; we make plenty of rum, but never get a glass of it; if we feel our skin hurt us, and complain of sickness, we are flogged; he then mixes salts, jalap, and calomel together, which is given to drink. Rose went to say she was sick; she was flogged with the whip, and is yet cut. The manager says we are making bargain; we do not know what he means; he makes us think

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—*Bob* says, "That almost three weeks ago, the manager Austin met him in the morning whilst going to the field, and without giving him the least provocation called the driver King to lick him, which had been of such a nature, that he had been obliged to lay down some days, and on recovery thought proper to report this proceeding to his Honour the fiscal. Complainant's back has yet the visible marks of this treatment." (p. 31.)

*Trim* says, "That he knows very well that a Negro is to work, he does his duty, but cannot please the manager, Mr. Austin; that the driver is continually finding fault with and licking him too much; that when complaining about this to the manager he gets for answer, 'It is your master's work;' says, that when Negroes are sick and go to the manager, instead of giving them physic, he drives them away with a horse-whip." (p. 41.)

*Rose* says, "She lost her husband and child lately; that the manager treats her very ill; that the child whereof she was delivered died on the third day; that the manager made her go to work too soon after her delivery; that he locked her up at night in the stocks, and made her work in the day; that she told Mr. Kewley, her master, repeatedly of the several ill treatments which she received from Mr. Austin; but as Mr. Kewley gives her no assistance, she is obliged to come and complain." (p. 41.)

Again, Aug. 10, 1823, "Complaint of the Negro *Harry*, belonging to J. P. Chapman, of Demerara, hired to Mr. Kewley, proprietor of 49, Corantyn Coast:—States, that he is perfectly able to do his work, but not when he is sick; that he went to the manager to say he was sick; he made the watchman take me to the field, where I was flogged by the driver. I had the fever two days; I went to complain; I was put in the dog-house, where I neither ate nor drank; there is no sick-house on 49; I could not eat nor drink from sickness. If a Negro says he is sick, two Negroes drive him to the field at five o'clock; at night we are locked up: all the Negroes treated so. Some of the Negroes, from the bad treatment of the manager, have run away. One of Mr. Chapman's Negroes was flogged so often, and had so bad a foot, that he was obliged to run away in the bush; if he is dead or alive we do not know; he was one of the firemen; and walked on his hands and feet; he told the manager he could not stand to do work; he was laid down and flogged. Manager's name Austin.—*Harry* is ordered twelve lashes by the fiscal, on the statement of the proprietor, Mr. Kewley; which however, only goes to rebut a part, and an inferior part, of the charges.



upon what we don't want. Sandy shows some stripes upon his posteriors; he received them in the field from the driver by order of the overseer; he says it is for work, as we make a bargain not to work. Having made our complaint to the burgher officer, who never came to the estate, but gave us letters which were not attended to, and not knowing that we have any attorney or proprietor, we came to the Fiscal to complain. We do not wish to run away in the bush, but we look for help. The manager came in the field the other day after dinner; as soon as he came into the field, he laid the driver down and flogged him; next Sandy, and then me: I asked what I had done; but four Negroes were made to hold me, and I was flogged. I went to Mr. Munro to complain; he told me the manager could not have flogged me for nothing; I suppose you gave him sauce. He went next morning to the manager, who said I had been saucy. I was locked up in the stocks day and night; I think I was confined two weeks; manager said I should stop there till Christmas, because I went to complain to Munro; I asked leave to go out to ease myself, and made my escape; stocks are now full of people. Hannah has a severe cold, and complains of pain in the stomach; she says she is locked up in the stocks: the manager says if she dies, he does not lose *his* money; the Negroes went to complain to the fiscal, and he came on the estate, and what did he do? Rose said she had a pain in her side, and begged for a blister; the manager said he would give her a blister on her backside; she was laid down and flogged, the marks still visible." (p. 64.)

The Negroes of Plantation Foulis complain of Dr. Munro, their owner, that they are made to work in the boiling house from eleven or twelve o'clock at night, till eight or nine the next evening. They complain also of want of food. The fiscal proceeded to the estate, where he says he ascertained that the complaints were *in a great measure* groundless, but that *some* irregularities were chargeable on the overseers, who were admonished, and threatened with dismissal if they were not more attentive in future.

"Two of the complainants, who, it was proved, were guilty of insolence and disobedience of orders, were punished in presence of the whole gang, who were informed that any real grievance they had to complain of would be always attended to, but that they would be severely punished whenever their conduct was proved to be refractory and disorderly. A copy of the ordinance respecting the clothing and feeding of Negroes was then handed to Mr. Munro, who was informed that penalties would be rigidly enforced if the enactments were not strictly complied with." (pp. 6, 7.)

Sixteen Negroes, of plantation Herstelling, all unite in complaining that the manager

"Turns the gang out in the morning a long time before the gun fires at the fort, and at day-light all the gang are at their work. At breakfast time, when the bell rings, before the Negroes are able to put their victuals on the fire, the bell rings again to turn out; so that most of the Negroes go in the field again without breakfast. He states, that the manager gives them more work than they are able to do; and if the work is not done in time, the whole gang are flogged. That their al-

lowance only consists of one bunch of plantains, and a little fish every week, and no more. He states, that when all the gang are at work, and two or three of them have not finished their task, for the sake of these two or three people the whole gang are flogged; this happens almost every day in the week."

The head driver, being examined, states,

"That on Thursday last he had a gang of sixteen men with him, weeding young canes in a field about 500 rods from the buildings. That the whole gang were at their work, and had got three beds weeded before the sun rose. An overseer, Michael Harrold, came to the field at seven o'clock, reckoned the gang, and directed the driver to see the work was properly done. About an hour after the manager came to the field, and ordered the driver to flog the whole gang, with the exception of one man, Alexander, as the work was not going on properly.

"On inquiring into the truth of this statement, in the presence of the attorneys of the estate, it appeared, that although the manager's conduct was, *in some measure* reprehensible, yet the complainants had greatly exaggerated their grievances. They were therefore ordered to return home, on the attorneys promising to go to the estate the next day to see that every real cause of complaint was remedied; and to warn the manager, that if the Negroes had reason to complain again, he would be immediately discharged." (p. 72.)

On the 3d of March, 1823, nine Negroes, all women, belonging to plantation Port Moraunt, appeared to complain of the manager, that they are "constantly in the field from morning before gun-fire until late in the evening; that the work the manager gives is too much; they are unable to complete it, although they work during breakfast time.

"Sometimes they are obliged to work on Sunday to finish the task given during the week; and often have no time to eat, from morning till night; if the row is not finished they are put in the stocks, and kept in until morning, when they are released and sent to work; sometimes the whole of the women are flogged for the sake of two or three not finishing their task. Last Friday the driver was flogged on account of his having allowed the women to come to the house to get breakfast, and they were sent all back to their work; the manager saying to them, that they had time to eat at night, and not in the day. On Saturday last the manager went to the field, and found that they had not finished their row, and immediately ordered four women to be flogged." (pp. 78, 79.)

"On investigation of this complaint," observes the fiscal, who, be it remembered, is himself a planter, "it appeared,

"That although the tasks given to the Negroes of the estate were not actually more than they could do in a day, yet that the manager was very severe upon them, and too frequently inflicted punishment without sufficient cause: he was therefore informed that his conduct would be vigilantly looked after in future; and if he continued the same system, the attorney of the estate would be recommended to discharge him from the management." (p. 79.)

Such was the result of these acknowledged atrocities.

The following complaint, from the same estate, was heard on the 27th March, 1823, and the result will further illustrate the course of judicial proceedings in the slave colonies.

"*Ness* states, That he is the driver over the women, and the manager asked him last Sunday why he did not go to work, and he answered that he had not been ordered to do so, or he would have gone to work, as he did not wish to do any thing without the manager's order. The manager then offered to flog him; but he made his escape, and came to your Honour for redress.

"*The complainant in this instance was punished by the acting fiscal for having left the estate and come to town to complain without any cause, and when he knew he had been guilty of disobedience of orders and neglect of duty; and the manager was warned of the impropriety and illegality of working the Negroes on Sunday.*" (p.79)

The manager is not punished for so flagrant a breach of the law, but warned of its impropriety! The poor Negro is punished!

But we have done, not because our materials are exhausted, but because we have already swelled this Number of our work to an inconvenient size.\* Last year Mr. Baring facetiously observed, that "what might be called our stock stories" were worn threadbare. He was tired to hear of nothing but Huggins and Carty, and Kitty and Thisbe: they were repeated in every speech and pamphlet, till they were fairly worn out, proving also the absence of any new facts of the same kind. The fresh importation, of which we have given a specimen, will prevent, in the next session of Parliament, the offence to good taste of which Mr. Baring so sensitively complains. His commerce connects him with Berbice, the scene of these atrocities; and yet Mr. Baring, with all his assumed knowledge of the subject, was as ignorant of these transactions as the child unborn; and would have been perfectly incredulous of them, had they to come, not from the fiscal of Berbice, himself a planter, but from some of those persons whom he unfairly and ungenerously represents as fabricating such stories in order to curry favour with their employers. He complains too of the assiduity with which petitions are got up on this subject. And does he suppose that such transactions as these, when they come to be known, will not rouse the public to petition? The people of Great Britain cannot remain unaffected by such enormities perpetrated on their helpless fellow-subjects; nor can they continue to tolerate those fiscal regulations by which they are made to pay, in bounties and protecting duties, for the cost of this bloody and murderous system.

\* We have given only a tittle of the atrocities brought before the fiscal of the small colony of Berbice, containing about 20,000 slaves! What a mass of horrors should we have had before us, could we have had a similar return from all our colonies, containing altogether upwards of 40 times that number! Only three, however, of these colonies have fiscals, or any analogous officers, to record in any manner, however imperfect, such transactions.

*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.*

W. Tyler, Printer, 5, Bridgewater Square.

London, 18, Aldermanbury, November 30, 1825.

No. 6.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

The "ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER" will be ready for delivery on the last day of every month. Copies will be forwarded, at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent.

In our last number we give a large extract from a pamphlet lately published by the Anti-Slavery Society entitled, "THE SLAVE COLONIES OF GREAT BRITAIN; OR A PICTURE OF SLAVERY DRAWN BY THE COLONISTS THEMSELVES; BEING AN ABSTRACT OF THE VARIOUS PAPERS RECENTLY LAID BEFORE PARLIAMENT ON THAT SUBJECT." This pamphlet is exceedingly valuable, inasmuch as it is what it really purports to be; "A Picture of Slavery, drawn by the Colonists themselves." We can now no longer be charged with misrepresentation or exaggeration, or with giving distorted views of Slavery from the writings of those whose veracity has been questioned only because they were friendly to the cause of emancipation. The "Picture, is drawn by the colonists themselves;" and upon their own statements we are content that the validity of our cause should rest. We earnestly recommend the perusal of the work to every one; both to those who are against us as well as to those who are for us, as containing irresistible evidence of the enormous evils with which the system of slavery is polluted. The following remarks, with which this pamphlet concludes, bear so fully and forcibly upon the subject, that we give them entire.

"Having now brought the proposed analysis to a conclusion, we beg to offer a few observations upon it.

"The first impression which its perusal is calculated to produce, is a feeling of surprise and horror at the extraordinary state of society which it develops, as existing in a considerable portion of his Majesty's dominions. The laws now presented to the public are not obsolete statutes, the relics of some barbarous age, dragged from their obscurity by a painful research; they are laws framed in the year 1824, by men calling themselves Britons, and who, instead of being sensible that such laws outrage every principle of justice and feeling of humanity, actually hold them forth as models of enlightened and beneficent legislation. But 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?

"In the present analysis, as in Mr. Stephen's *Delineation of Colonial Slavery*,\* the colonists are made to describe their own system; the proofs of its iniquity being drawn from the colonial laws, from other co-

\* Though no attempt has been made to reply to Mr. Stephen's admirable work, it has been the fashion, with the partizans of the colonial cause, to decry it as

lonial records of unquestionable authority, or from the evidence of colonial proprietors. We have heard much, it is true, of the improvement which has taken place in West Indian legislation, and those who deny it have been charged with misrepresentation. But the public have now an opportunity of judging for themselves. In the ameliorated slave-codes now brought before them, they will find the proof, the irrefragable proof, of the determined pertinacity, with which the colonists cleave to the worst errors, and most revolting deformities of their system.\*—That such would be the result of a reference of this great question to the decision of the colonial assemblies, we never doubted for a moment.

containing nothing which is applicable to the questions now at issue. "It refers," they say, "to times that are past. A new system both of law and practice has grown up in the West Indies. Mr. Stephen's work may be very correct as applying to a former period; but, to read it now would be only a waste of time." Nothing can be more untrue than this statement, and the insidious propagators of it know it to be untrue; but they trust to the effect of its frequent and confident repetition, and of that indolence which leads men to avail themselves of any plausible excuse for not reading a volume of four or five hundred pages. We, on the contrary, have no hesitation in affirming, that whoever desires to obtain an accurate and comprehensive knowledge of the true genius, the governing principles, the whole frame and structure, the nature and effects, of our colonial slave-laws, must seek for that knowledge in the pages of Mr. Stephen's *Delineation*. Nay, if any of our readers will only take the trouble to compare the legislation of our colonies, during the past year, with the principles laid down in that work, they will at once perceive how singularly those principles serve to explain and elucidate the recent enactments, and how aptly those enactments illustrate and confirm its principles. Mr. Stephen's masterly production will be found to form at this moment the best commentary on the new laws which we have been analyzing.

\* By the new slave law of the Bahamas, § § 10—13. Marriages between slaves, and between slaves and free people of colour, cannot be celebrated without the consent of their owner in writing; which consent there is no provision for compelling the owner to grant, or to assign an adequate reason for not granting. Marriages so celebrated are declared to be good, valid, and binding, to all intents and purposes in the law whatsoever, "saving always the just right of ownership, which in no case whatever shall be in any wise hurt, prejudiced, straitened, or otherwise affected thereby," and "provided that the marital power and authority to be thus acquired by the husband over the wife, shall in no such case impugn, diminish, or interfere with, the rights or authority of the owner, in any manner whatsoever.—See "*Slave Colonies*," pp. 7, 8.

§ 48. Any slave offering violence, by striking or otherwise, to any White person, shall be punished, at the discretion of two justices with any punishment short of life or limb.

§ 50. To a slave "fraudulently" possessed of from five to twenty-eight pounds of beef, mutton, veal, or the flesh of horse, mare, mule, or ass, two justices may give thirty-nine lashes—if more than twenty-eight pounds, they may inflict any punishment not extending to life or limb.—*Ibid.* p. 10.

§ § 32—34. A slave aiding a slave to depart from the Bahama islands, shall suffer transportation, or any other punishment, not extending to life and limb. A Free Negro or Person of Colour, doing so, shall be subject to transportation; and, if afterwards found at large, to death, without benefit of clergy. A White doing so, shall forfeit £100. and be imprisoned for not more than twelve months.—*Ibid.* p. 11.

That the Assembly of the Bahamas is not singular in the spirit with which their recent and "improved" laws have been enacted, will appear from the following extract from § 27. of the Barbadoes new slave law.

§ 27. "Any slaves guilty of quarrelling or fighting with one another; or of insolent language or gestures to or of any White persons; or of swearing, or uttering any obscene speeches; or drunkenness; or making, selling, throwing, or firing squibs, serpents, or other fire-works; or of cock-fighting or gaming; or of

We had been instructed by the wisdom and philosophy of many great authorities, as to the hopelessness of any benefit from such a course; and we had the still more impressive lessons of experience to convince us that we could expect nothing from it but disaster, disappointment, and delay. Our opinions on the subject have never been more admirably or accurately expressed, than they were by Mr. Canning, in a speech on the Slave Trade made by him in 1799. "Trust not," says that enlightened statesman, making the sentiment of a previous speaker his own, "*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 eternal truth of these maxims, applied at the time to the Slave Trade, loses none of its force when applied to slavery; and it has been abundantly confirmed by the fatal experience of nearly thirty years, which have since elapsed, of protracted misery and oppression to the slave, and of unceasing resistance on the part of the master to every effort to alleviate that misery or to terminate that oppression. What indeed now remains to us, but to act on the wise and salutary counsel given to us in 1799, and our past neglect of which has entailed so many evils on the wretched African race? LET THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS DO THEIR PART THEMSELVES, and let them not continue any longer to DELEGATE THE TRUST OF DOING IT TO THOSE WHO CANNOT EXECUTE THAT TRUST FAIRLY.

"And this is a course which not only the Parliament generally, but those members of it, in particular, who are connected with the West Indies seem bound to adopt. It appears from the papers we have now

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*riding on a faster gait than a walk, or of driving upon a faster gait than a gentle trot, on any road, street, or lane of the island; or of cruelly whipping, beating, or ill-using any horse, mule, ass, or other cattle; or of negligently driving any waggon, cart, carriage, &c.; or of ANY disorderly conduct or misbehaviour; shall, on conviction before any justice of the peace, be whipped, at his discretion, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes; but the punishment of pregnant women shall be commuted to imprisonment.*"—*Ibid.* p. 19.

By §§ 19, 20. of the new slave law of Demerara, the marriage of slaves is provided for "with the permission of their owner," &c.; upon permission being refused, however, the Protector of Slaves may call upon the owner to shew good cause for so doing. "Provided always, that such marriage shall in no manner confer on the slaves any of those civil rights which by marriage are acquired by persons of free condition, nor subject such slaves to any penal infliction, the effects of which might destroy the rights or injure the property of their owners."—*Ibid.* p. 40.

Instances of a like nature might be abundantly multiplied; but we refer to the pamphlet, where satisfactory references will be found to the laws themselves, and to every document mentioned in the "Abstract."

had under review, that the Order in Council for Trinidad was framed (with the exception of one point, that of the evidence of slaves), on the suggestion of the West-India body in England. The plan, therefore, was theirs; it was adopted on their recommendation, and was supported in Parliament by their concurrence. It has been contumaciously rejected, however, by the colonists; and now neither Parliament nor the West-India body can, with propriety, decline the only means of carrying their own propositions into effective operation. The measures already adopted constitute a formal recognition of the existence of certain evils, which the authors of those measures have pledged themselves to remove. To this extent, therefore, at the least, we trust that the West Indians will support Mr. Brougham when he shall fulfil his promise of moving the House of Commons on the subject. On them indeed, more than on others, it seems incumbent to second the motion for Parliamentary legislation. Such a proceeding is necessary not only to vindicate the sincerity of their own professions in the counsel they have given to his Majesty's Ministers, but to rescue themselves from any share in that headstrong and ruinous line of policy which their brethren in the colonies seem determined at all hazards to pursue. If no one else were to take the matter up, we should consider the West-Indian proprietors in both Houses of Parliament as bound by a regard to consistency, and by a sense of justice to their wretched bondsmen, to call for the interference of Parliament. Not a few of them are the strenuous advocates of popular rights, and the sworn enemies to oppression, at least in Europe. Let them shew that the operation of their principles is not bounded by geographical limits, or by the colour of the victims of oppression, or by the degree in which their own personal interest may be affected by a denial of justice. They will then be able, when they re-appear on the hustings of those places which they represent, to vindicate more fearlessly and effectually their claim to the popular suffrage.\*

"We have hitherto confined our remarks to the single point of legislation; and we think it has been shewn that it is the very height of fatuity to continue to look to the colonial assemblies for any adequate improvement of the state of the slave law. They are themselves the authors of every legislative wrong which is to be rectified, and of every

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\* One circumstance has occurred which weakens our reliance on the support which the West-India body at home are bound, in consistency, to give to those measures which are indispensable to the adoption of the reforms proposed by themselves. On the 6th of July 1825, soon after Mr. Brougham had given notice of his intention to move parliament on this subject, a General Meeting of West-India Planters was held at the West-India library, 60, St. James's-street, Charles Rose Ellis, Esq. in the chair, at which "it was unanimously resolved, That the West-India merchants, and other consignees of West-India produce resident in London, do charge in their accounts of sales, or accounts current, 6d. (instead of 3d. as at present,) upon each cask of sugar, puncheon of rum, bag of coffee, and 1000 lb. weight of coffee, and in proportion on all other articles of West-India produce imported from the 25th day of March last to the 25th day of March 1826, into the port of London; and that the same be collected in such manner as shall be directed by the Standing Committee of the West-Indian Planters and merchants, and be paid into the hands of George Hibbert, Esq. the Treasurer."

Similar imposts we understand, have been laid in the other ports of the

oppression which is to be redressed. They consist, almost to a man, of slave-masters, or at least of the representatives of slave-masters, hardened by familiarity to the sight of those atrocities which have so shocked and astounded the people of Great Britain. And they are surrounded and controlled by a population of needy, ignorant, and profligate constituents, who derive their distinction, from the utter degradation of the Negro race, and a wretched subsistence from the wages they receive as the drivers and coercers of slaves.

“ But the papers which we have analysed exhibit a view not only of West-Indian legislation, but of the administration of West-Indian law. Here a new field of horrors opens upon us. And here again we derive our proofs of the radical iniquity of the system, exclusively, from the recorded testimony of the colonists themselves. They are our witnesses. We do not confine this remark to those domestic punishments of which we have so curious an exhibition in the returns from Trinidad,\* and of which neither law nor justice but mere individual caprice is the arbiter. We allude rather to their criminal slave-courts;—to the nature and imperfections of the judicial returns from the Fiscal of Demerara;†—to the trials of the insurgents in that colony in 1823 (which, however, are not comprehended in the returns that form the subject of the preceding analysis);—to the impunity of the White insurgents of Barbadoes;‡—and, above all, to the reports of the trials of the alleged Black conspirators in Jamiaca, in which every species of judicial irregularity appears to find a place;§—and to the barefaced oppressions exercised in that island towards some of the people of colour.¶ Let these things be fully weighed, and neither the Government nor the Parliament can hesitate as to the imperative necessity of radically reforming a system which produces such abominations as have been detailed;—such perversions of the very forms of law to purposes of cruelty and oppression, as can only find their parallel in the execrated proceedings of Judge Jefferies, or in the practical jurisprudence of Constantinople, Morocco, or Algiers.

“ These things must come to an end, and that speedily.—They must come to an end, because neither the government, nor the parliament, nor the people of England can tolerate them much longer; and even if the government and the parliament and the people of England should be so lost to a sense of their obligations, as to suffer them to continue, they must find their close in one of those convulsions which will involve White and Black, master and slave, the oppressor and the oppressed, in

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United Kingdom, into which West-Indian produce is imported. Nothing is said of the appropriation of this secret-service money thus levied by the mandate of the West Indian club. But whether it shall go to assist in defraying the charges of contested elections; or in rewarding the services of certain periodical writers; or in paying for the circulation of such pamphlets as those of Mr. Grosset, Mr. Macdonnel, or Vindex; or in bearing harmless the too rash and fearless advocates of slavery; we trust it will only serve to stimulate, to more unwearied efforts, all who really feel for the interests of humanity and justice.

\* See “The Slave Colonies,” pp. 110—114.

† *Ibid.* pp. 29—33.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 29.—See also the debate on Mr. Buxton’s Motion in the House of Commons on the 23rd June, 1825.

§ “The Slave Colonies,” pp. 51—53.

¶ See Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter, No. 3.



one common and undistinguishing and overwhelming calamity. Such must, sooner or later, be the effect of going on to delegate, to the colonial assemblies, the solemn duty, which parliament alone can discharge, of giving, to the Black and Coloured Population of our colonies, the protection of law, and a pure administration of justice.

“ We are at the same time, well aware of the preponderating influence which the West-Indian proprietors possess in both houses of parliament. This alone could have prevented, for twenty long years, the abolition of the slave trade. This alone could, for fifteen years more, have paralyzed every effort which was made to rouse the attention of the government and the parliament to the enormities of the slave system, and to the utter worthlessness and the inefficiency of all the pretended improvements adopted by the colonial assemblies? To this cause must we also ascribe it, that almost every public functionary in the slave colonies, is either a proprietor of slaves, or the known partizan of the slave system;—that not only many governors, and judges, and attorney-generals, and fiscals, and registrars, are taken from the class of slaveholders and their friends, but that, even under the new order of things, this class has been made to supply protectors and sub-protectors of slaves, the very officers on whose zeal, fidelity, and disinterestedness its whole efficiency depends;—that we should be burdened with imposts, and our commerce fettered by impolitic and injurious restrictions, in order to enable the colonists to perpetuate their demoralizing and murderous system;—that the interests of one hundred millions of British subjects in India, in addition to those of Great Britain herself, should be sacrificed to about two thousand planters and merchants;—and that all the benefits which would have flowed to us from establishing international relation with Hayti should have been contemned, her overtures rejected, and her offered favours scorned, until she has at length been driven to throw herself again into the arms of France.\*

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\* No part of our policy is more inexplicable, on any rational principles, than that which we have pursued with respect to Hayti. It can only be accounted for by the predominance of West-Indian prejudices and West-Indian influence. During our war with Buonaparte we might have secured to ourselves the friendship, the commerce, and the assistance of Hayti: we were deaf to the most urgent representations on the subject. By the exercise of the commonest courtesy, such as we scruple not to pay to the Dey of Algiers, or to the King of the Sandwich Islands, we might have conciliated the attachment, and made ourselves, in some degree, the masters of the destinies, of the Queen of the Antilles. We might have even succeeded in inducing its inhabitants to adopt our language and habits; as, at one time, their chiefs would have zealously concurred in promoting every measure which would have served to detach them from France.— We repelled their offers of friendship.—They went the length of even lowering their duties to the extent of one half in favour of England, in hopes of conciliating our good will.—We treated even this liberality with disdain, and replied to it by an Act of Parliament, which prohibited all intercourse between Hayti and Jamaica.—They still persevered in their advances: they still continued to treat our commerce with peculiar favour. At length our recognition of the independence of the Spanish provinces in South America, without the most remote allusion to Hayti, whose claims for recognition were infinitely stronger than theirs; and the renewal of the insulting Act, prohibiting their commerce with Jamaica, left them no hope of obtaining that standing among nations, which they deemed essential to their independence and security, but by throwing themselves into the arms of France, and by sacrificing to her rivalry the interests of

"We trust that the eyes of his Majesty's Government, of Parliament, and of the public will at length be opened to the real state of things; and that, no longer deluded by misrepresentation, or intimidated by menace, they will not suffer evils of such magnitude, and of such malignant influence, to be prolonged for a day, in deference to the sixty or seventy West-Indians, who hold seats in parliament. Justice, humanity, a regard to our own honour and consistency, and above all the sacred voice of religion, loudly call upon us, without a moment's delay, to redeem our solemn pledges, and to take care that, "with a fair and equitable consideration, indeed, of the interests of all parties," "effective and decisive measures" are now adopted "for ameliorating the condition of the slave population in his Majesty's colonies;" and for admitting them to "a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects."

"One word more before we conclude our painful task. A work has

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British commerce. It may not be known to our readers; it certainly was not known to ourselves, nor as far as we have been able to discover, to any member of the House of Commons, unconnected with the West Indies, or with the public offices of Government, that, in the very last session of Parliament, an Act was passed which contains the following clause:—

"And be it further enacted, that no British merchant ship or vessel shall sail from any place in the island of Jamaica to any place in the island of St. Domingo, nor from any place in the island of St. Domingo to any place in the island of Jamaica, under the penalty of the forfeiture of such ship or vessel, together with her cargo; and that no foreign ship or vessel which shall have come from, or shall in the course of her voyage have touched at, any such place in the island of St. Domingo, shall come into any port or harbour in the island of Jamaica; and if any such ship or vessel, having come into any such port or harbour, shall continue there for forty-eight hours after notice shall have been given by the officer of the Customs to depart therefrom, such ship or vessel shall be forfeited; and if any person shall be landed in the island of Jamaica from on board any ship or vessel which shall have come from or touched at the island of St. Domingo except in case of urgent necessity, or unless licence shall have been given by the Governor of Jamaica to land such person, such ship shall be forfeited, together with her cargo."

When the date of this enactment is compared with that of the treaty which has been concluded with France, we cannot doubt that Boyer was influenced by it to agree to the severe terms which were exacted from him, seeing how completely he was excluded, by that galling measure, as well as by our declining all official intercourse with him, from every hope of the favour or friendship of this country.

And now let it be calmly considered what will be our situation in the West Indies, in the event of another war with France. Our possessions there would not be worth a week's purchase. The whole navy of England, and a fresh debt of one hundred millions, could not save Jamaica from becoming the revolutionized dependent of Hayti. Nothing, in such an event, could avert our loss of that, and our other slave colonies, but a previous radical change of our whole colonial system. We must raise the free People of colour to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges as British subjects; and we must proceed, with as little delay as possible, to give liberty to the slave. If we refuse to do this the catastrophe we anticipate may be delayed for a few years, but it cannot, in the constitution of things, be far distant.

Those who desire to understand the nature of this new danger, and the means of averting it, ought to read two publications of Mr. Stephen, written upwards of twenty years ago, on the subject of Hayti, entitled *The Crisis of the Sugar Colonies*, and *The Opportunity*; works which will now be found to wear almost a prophetic air, such was the accuracy of the author's knowledge of the circumstances of the case, and his sagacity in appreciating their effects.

just made its appearance, of considerable labour, and considerable pretence to authority, containing 270 closely printed octavo pages, entitled, "Considerations submitted in Defence of the Orders in Council for the Melioration of Slavery in Trinidad, and upon the probable Effect of sudden Emancipation on agricultural Industry and British Capital in the West Indies, in a Series of Letters which appeared in the Star Newspaper under the Signature of Vindex. To which is annexed, the thirteenth Article in the sixteenth Number of the Quarterly Review; and the observations thereon, in a series of Letters which appeared in the New Times Newspaper under the Signature of Anglus." It is printed for Murray, and is addressed "to those Members of both Houses of Parliament who, whatever may be their private interests, or preconceived opinions, feel anxious for the elucidation of truth in the question of West-India Slavery." It is an elaborate, ingenious, and humane attempt to quiet the consciences of those gentlemen and their friends who having private interests involved in the question, are desirous of having a salvo against the agony of self-accusation, and a plausible excuse to the world for prolonging the existence of that foul and disgraceful system. But all will not do. The national conscience can no longer be lulled to sleep. Its powerful voice will be heard, and will sweep away all such refuges of lies as would seek to reconcile the toleration of such practices, either to the character of our country, or the paramount obligations of Christian duty.

"The grand object of this bulky pamphlet is to prove to the British Parliament, that slavery in the West Indies is a better and more gainful condition of society than freedom. If this position were true, it would be an arraignment of the moral government of God. If it were as true as it is false, the people of England would revolt from the idea of pocketing the gains arising from such a hideous combination of injustice, cruelty, and crime. But it is as false as it is impious and inhuman.

The pamphlet to which we allude appears to have proceeded from the same arsenal which supplied the materials for Lord Bathurst's speech in March 1824: for the article on the West Indies in the Quarterly Review; and for the comments on the case of the Donna Paula.\* One of the grand arguments, indeed the *argumentum palmarium* of this school has been drawn from a comparison of the island of Hayti with our own colonies. On this prop of their system, much of the present production has been made to rest. But, unfortunately for the author, it had vanished from under him before this pamphlet saw the light. The fact that the population of Hayti had grown, in about twenty years, from half a million to nearly a million, had already laid the axe to the root of this goodly argument; and the recognition of Haytian independence, and the price which Hayti has been able to pay for it, has swept away the very last vestige even of the rubbish that had been falling around him.

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\* See "The Slave Colonies," p. 124.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING AT NORWICH.

ON Thursday the 20th October last, a County Meeting for the County of Norfolk, to Petition the Legislature for the Abolition of Slavery, was held at the Shire-hall, in Norwich, pursuant to a requisition for that purpose; among the signatures to which, were those of Lords Albemarle, W. G. Bentinck, Stafford, Calthorpe, and Suffield, the Bishop of Norwich, the Members for the County, and upwards of forty of the most respectable Clergymen and Gentlemen in the County.

Upon the motion of Lord Suffield, the High Sheriff took the chair, when the following resolutions (among others) were unanimously passed.

1st.—That the system of slavery, as it is now maintained in the West Indian and other Colonies of Great Britain, a system which degrades many hundred thousands of our fellow men to the condition of chattels to be bought and sold at pleasure—appears to this meeting to be utterly inconsistent with the unalienable natural rights of men, with the benevolent precepts of Christianity, and, with those essential principles of the British constitution, which ought to secure to all his Majesty's subjects wherever situated, an equal participation in the benefit of the laws.

2nd.—That we consider it our bounden duty, as Christians and Englishmen, to promote by all justifiable means, with a due consideration of the interests of all the parties concerned, the immediate mitigation of that system, and its total extinction at the earliest safe and practicable period; and that we cordially approve the resolutions to this effect proposed by Mr. Canning to the House of Commons in May, 1823, and unanimously adopted by that Honourable House.

3rd.—That it is with the deepest regret we observe that the wise proposals made by his Majesty's Government for the purpose of effecting the just and benevolent ends, have either received little or no attention from several West Indian Colonial Legislatures, or after consideration have been positively rejected.

4th.—That under these circumstances, we consider it our duty to support the Government in their great object, and to petition the Parliament of Great Britain to take such further measures as may appear to them the most desirable, in order to surmount the difficulties occasioned by so unreasonable an opposition, and effect the immediate mitigation, and, with as little delay as possible, the final and entire abolition of British colonial slavery.

5th.—That the Petition now read be adopted.

## THE PETITION.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

*The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the county of Norfolk,*

SHEWETH,

That your petitioners are deeply impressed with the conviction that the system of Slavery, as it is established in the West Indian and other colonies of Great Britain, a system which degrades nearly eight hundred thousands of our fellow men to the condition of chattels, to be bought and sold at pleasure, and which occasionally exposes them to the most grievous sufferings, is utterly inconsistent

with the unalienable natural rights of men—with the benevolent provisions of our holy religion, and with the glorious principles of the British constitution, which ought to secure to all his Majesty's subjects, in whatever situation, a full participation in the benefits of even-handed justice and equal laws.

That your petitioners consider that the continued maintenance of such a system involves this nation in the deepest guilt, and that it is our own indispensable duty as Christians and Englishmen, by every proper means in our power, to promote its immediate mitigation and final extinction.

That while your petitioners cordially approve of the resolutions unanimously passed to this effect by your Honourable House in May, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, and whilst they are thankful for the efforts so wisely made since that period by his Majesty's Government in order to promote the great end in view, they deeply regret that the fervent desires of the British people, the declared sentiments of Parliament, and the strong recommendations of Government, have hitherto been rendered almost entirely abortive by a local opposition of the most determined and disgraceful character.

That under these circumstances your petitioners beseech your Honourable House to take the subject into your consideration, and to adopt such further measures as shall appear to you the best calculated to overcome so unreasonable an opposition, and to insure the immediate amelioration, and as early as possible, consistently with the safety of all the parties concerned, the final and entire abolition of British Colonial Slavery.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

In the course of the Meeting some observations made by Col. Wodehouse, in opposition to the resolutions proposed, were fully and satisfactorily replied to, by T. F. Buxton, Esq., M.P. in an eloquent and animated speech, which produced a most powerful impression upon the Meeting; and so completely was every objection overborne by the Hon. Gentleman, and his noble associates, and by the facts they stated, that even the gallant Colonel himself did not hold up his hand in opposition to any of the resolutions.

The people of Norfolk have done themselves great honour in thus standing forward as the first to present a County Petition to the Legislature; and we trust and confidently hope that their noble example will be followed before the opening of the next Session of Parliament, by every county in the kingdom.

*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.*

*The following Publications may be procured as above.*

REVIEW of the QUARTERLY REVIEW; or, an Exposure of the Erroneous Opinions promulgated in that Work on the Subject of Colonial Slavery: being the Substance of a Series of Letters which appeared in the "New Times" of September and October, 1824. With Notes and an Appendix.

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. With an Appendix, containing Proofs and Illustrations.

FIRST REPORT of the COMMITTEE of the SOCIETY for the MITIGATION and GRADUAL ABOLITION of SLAVERY throughout the British Dominions, read at the General Meeting of the Society held on the 25th day of June, 1824, together with an Account of the Proceedings which took place at that Meeting.

The SECOND REPORT, &c. with an Appendix containing important Documents illustrative of the State and Impolicy of Slavery, and the means for its Amelioration and gradual Abolition. 1825.

NEGRO SLAVERY; or, a View of some of the prominent Features of that State of Society, as it exists in the United States and in the Colonies of the West Indies, especially in Jamaica.

AN APPEAL to the Religion, Justice, and Humanity of the Inhabitants of the British Empire, in behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies. By WILLIAM WILBERFORE, Esq. M. P.

EAST and WEST INDIA SUGAR; or, a Refutation of the Claims of the West India Colonies to a Protecting Duty on East India Sugars.

A LETTER to WILLIAM W. WHITMORE, Esq. M. P. pointing out some of the erroneous Statements contained in a Pamphlet by Joseph Marryatt, Esq. M. P. entitled, "A Reply to the Arguments contained in various Publications recommending an Equalization of the Duties on East and West India Sugars." By the AUTHOR of a Pamphlet entitled "East and West India Sugar."

A LETTER to M. JEAN BAPTISTE SAY, on the comparative Expence of Free and Slave Labour. By ADAM HODGSON. Second Edition.

SUBSTANCE of the DEBATE in the HOUSE of COMMONS on the 15th of May, 1823, on a MOTION FOR THE MITIGATION AND GRADUAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY throughout the British Dominions: with a Preface and Appendixes, containing Facts and Reasonings illustrative of Colonial Bondage.

A REVIEW of some of the ARGUMENTS which are commonly advanced AGAINST PARLIAMENTARY INTERFERENCE in Behalf of the Negro SLAVES, with a Statement of Opinions which have been expressed on that subject by many of our most distinguished Statesmen, including Earl Grey, Earl of Liverpool, Lord Grenville, Lord Dudley and Ward, Lord Melville, Mr. Burke, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, &c. &c. &c. Second Edition.

CORRESPONDENCE between GEORGE HIBBERT, Esq. and

the Rev. T. COOPER, relative to the Condition of the Negro Slaves in Jamaica, extracted from the Morning Chronicle; also a LIBEL on the CHARACTER of Mr. and Mrs. COOPER, published in 1823, in several of the Jamaica Journals; with Notes and Remarks. By THOMAS COOPER.

A LETTER to ROBERT HIBBERT, Jun, Esq. in Reply to his Pamphlet, entitled, "Facts verified upon Oath, in Contradiction of the Report of the Rev. Thomas Cooper, concerning the general Condition of the Slaves in Jamaica," &c. &c.; to which are added, A LETTER FROM MRS. COOPER to R. Hibbert, Jun. Esq. and an APPENDIX, containing an Exposure of the Falsehoods and Calumnies of that Gentlemen's Affidavit-men. By THOMAS COOPER.

FACTS ILLUSTRATIVE of the CONDITION of the NEGRO SLAVES in Jamaica; with notes and an Appendix. By THOMAS COOPER.

RELIEF for WEST INDIAN DISTRESS; shewing the Inefficiency of Protecting Duties on East India Sugar, and pointing out other Modes of certain Relief. By JAMES CROPPER.

A LETTER on the injurious Effects of High Prices, and the beneficial Effects of Low Prices, on the Condition of Slavery. By JAMES CROPPER.

The SUPPORT of SLAVERY INVESTIGATED. By JAMES CROPPER.

THOUGHTS on the NECESSITY of IMPROVING the CONDITION of SLAVES in the British Colonies, with a View to their ULTIMATE EMANCIPATION; and on the Practicability, the Safety, and the Advantages of the latter Measure. By T. CLARKSON, Esq. 1823.

The SLAVERY of the BRITISH WEST INDIA COLONIES Delineated, as it exists both in Law and Practice, and compared with the Slavery of other Countries, Ancient and Modern. By JAMES STEPHEN, Esq.

DEBATE in the HOUSE of COMMONS, June 23, 1825, on Mr. BUXTON'S MOTION, relative to the DEMOLITION of the METHODIST CHAPEL and MISSION HOUSE in BARBADOES, and the Expulsion of Mr. SHREWSBURY, a Wesleyan Missionary, from that Island.

THE SLAVE COLONIES OF GREAT BRITAIN; or, A PICTURE OF NEGRO SLAVERY, DRAWN by the COLONISTS themselves; being an Abstract of the various Papers RECENTLY laid before PARLIAMENT on that Subject.

Extracts from the Royal Gazette of Jamaica, from June 11 to June 18, 1825.

THE ARGUMENT,—“That the COLONIAL SLAVES are better off than the BRITISH PEASANTRY,” Answered by THOMAS CLARKSON, M. A.

BRIEF VIEW of the Nature and Effects of Slavery.

The IMPOLICY of SLAVERY Illustrated.

London, 18, Aldermanbury, December 31, 1825.

No. 7.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

The "ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER" will be ready for delivery on the last day of every month. Copies will be forwarded, at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent.

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A Meeting of the Members and Friends of the Anti-Slavery Society, was held in Freemason's Hall, Great Queen-Street, on December 21st, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament for the Abolition of Colonial Slavery. The attendance was very numerous and respectable. Mr. Wilberforce was called to the chair, and was received on his appearance with the warm applauses of the Meeting. The following Report of the Committee was read by Mr. Macaulay.

### REPORT.

SINCE the publication of the Second Report of the Society, read in this place on the 30th April last, a large mass of most important information on the subject of Colonial Slavery, has been laid before Parliament. A digest of the most material parts of these parliamentary documents has been published, under the title of the "The Slave Colonies of Great Britain, or a Picture of Negro Slavery drawn by the Colonists themselves." As this pamphlet has been largely circulated, it will not be necessary to enter into a detail of the statements which it contains, or of the fresh horrors which it developes. It has admitted us to a near view of the interior of society in one of the slave colonies, Berbice, where the Fiscal had been so attentive to his duty as to preserve some record, though an imperfect one, of the causes of complaint, on the part of the slaves, which came before him. We are not to suppose that the slave system in this colony is marked by features of peculiar atrocity. The presumption, on the contrary, is rather in favour of its comparative lenity, because it is one of the few slave colonies in which the population does not diminish. We have unfortunately no similar disclosures from any of the other colonies. But when we consider what a mass of suffering is laid open to our view in the account which has reached us from this single colony, containing about 23,000 slaves, being about a fortieth part of the whole slave population, how frightfully would that mass have been augmented had we received a similar report of the remaining 800,000! Over *their* sufferings the veil of oblivion has been drawn. Of *them* no record has been preserved. We may imagine, indeed, what they must have been, from the glimpse which has been afforded us in the returns from Berbice; but the full amount of their horrors can now be known only to Him whose eye



makes inquisition for the blood of the innocent, and by whom not one sigh of the oppressed is disregarded.

Revoltng, in every point of view, as is the delineation, contained in these papers, of the state of British colonial slavery, as it exists in law and in practice, there is at least this advantage attending the melancholy detail, that it serves amply to confirm the view of the nature and effects of that cruel system which has been sanctioned and circulated by this Society, making *their* statements to appear even cold and tame in the comparison.

These parliamentary documents are particularly valuable, as exemplifying the unchanged spirit of colonial legislation on the subject of slavery. The local legislatures have refused, without a single exception, to comply even with the moderate requisitions of his Majesty's Ministers, as these are embodied in the Order of Council for Trinidad; and the colonists, generally, exult in the refusal, encouraging each other to persevere in the same contumacious course. Their tone of secure and triumphant irony is remarkable. "We beg you to observe," says the editor of one of their newspapers—and we give the passage only as an illustration of the prevailing spirit—"We beg you to observe, that not one of the unconquered colonies" (meaning the colonies having legislatures of their own) "have had the *civility* to comply with Earl Bathurst's wishes, notwithstanding he informed them, *in the most earnest and feeling manner, of the serious extent of the disappointment which his Majesty's Government would experience if they rejected his application. We sympathize most sincerely with his Lordship on this unexpected event.*"

Attempts, it is true, have been made, by several of the colonial legislatures, to ameliorate their slave codes; and they boast of their new law as models of wise and beneficent legislation. But it has been shewn, by the digest of these laws already laid before the public, that, vaunted as they have been, they are nevertheless an outrage on every just principle of legislation; and afford, at the very moment they profess to protect the slave, a decisive proof of his utter want of effective protection, and of the depth of his legal degradation. And if such be the character of their recent enactments, deliberately framed in the strange hope of satisfying the expectations of the parliament and people of this country;—if the colonial legislatures can have so egregiously misapprehended the whole current of British principle and feeling—would it not be the height of fatuity to continue to look for any useful reforms from that quarter? The work must be undertaken and executed by the British Parliament. They alone are competent to it. In no other way can a reasonable hope be entertained, either of effectually mitigating the rigours of colonial bondage, or of finally abolishing that opprobrious state of existence.

It cannot be supposed, that, in the hands of the men who framed, and who boast of having framed, such enactments, the administration of the slave laws should manifest any remarkable traits of lenity and forbearance, or indicate any peculiar respect for Negro life or Negro comfort. On the contrary, the parliamentary papers exhibit many atrocious cases of judicial oppression, which have taken place in the colonies, and which may possibly become the subject of early parlia-

mentary investigation. If so, we trust they may lead to the institution of some adequate securities against the effects, on the lives and happiness of the Negro and coloured races, of the blind and irrational alarms, and headstrong and ungovernable passions, of the dominant party, who exclusively act as judges and jurors.

But of all the harsh features of the colonial slave laws, none is more revolting to every feeling of humanity and justice, than that which makes the very act of complaining a crime in the slave. In him, even the murmurs of suffering nature must be suppressed. We may see this lamentable perversion of all established principles of just legislation fully and strikingly illustrated in the recorded proceedings of the Fiscal of Berbice; of whom, at the same time, it is but right to say that he appears to be a person of much natural mildness of disposition.—Four Negroes, belonging to the Hon. Mr. Katz, complained to the Fiscal of harsh usage by the manager. On the mere denial of the party accused, the Fiscal punished three of the complainants, with seventy-five lashes, and one with fifty.—Again: three Negroes belonging to General Murray, late Governor of Demerara, complained to the Fiscal of overwork, and want of food, and severity of treatment. Two of them were selected by the Fiscal to receive the torture of seventy-five lashes each.

But it is needless to proceed. Similar instances might be multiplied without end. Nay, the very laws of all the colonies provide that, in the case of a slave complaining of ill-treatment, the magistrate may, if he deems the complaint unfounded, punish the complainant with the cart-whip at his discretion. And yet, be it remembered that, as Negro evidence is not admitted in proof of the complaint, the complainant has no possible means, should the accused deny it, of establishing the most undoubted fact.

Since the publication of the abstract to which we have been hitherto referring, another official document, of considerable importance, has been made public; namely, "A Report on the Civil and Criminal Justice of the West Indies," by the only surviving commissioner, Mr. Dwaris, employed to inquire into that subject.

This gentleman, it appears, is the proprietor of a considerable sugar estate in Jamaica, cultivated by about 220 slaves; and although we have no doubt that it was his purpose fairly to represent the case which he was employed to investigate, yet we must lament that it should have been found necessary to select a person in his peculiar circumstances for this delicate and difficult task. It surely never can be expedient to place any public functionary in a situation in which private interests, early prepossessions, and the most cherished associations and attachments, may be found unavoidably to clash with the uncompromising claims of public duty. If his Majesty's Ministers have felt it incumbent on them to determine, that henceforward no governor, or judge, or fiscal, or protector of slaves, shall be the owner of a plantation cultivated by slaves, it surely is still more indispensable that the persons who are expressly delegated to inquire into the abuses of a particular system should not be chosen from the very class whose interests, as well as whose strongest prejudices, are deeply involved in its maintenance. We have been almost involuntarily led to this reflection, by the manifest anxiety which the Report evinces to prevent its exposure

of the many evils in the judicial administration of the West Indies, from producing an impression adverse to West-Indian planters, or to that system of Negro slavery, which, as planters, they are naturally solicitous to accredit.

The general view of the condition of the Negro slave, which the commissioner has in this case gone out of his way to give, is, without doubt, widely different from that which a consideration either of general principles, or of the facts of the case, would permit any disinterested and unprejudiced individual to form.—“The poor slave, if left to himself,” the Reporter informs us, “is generally contented and happy. Possessing a spot to which he is commonly attached”—(we shall presently see by what tenure he holds this spot)—“Possessing a spot to which he is commonly attached, looking to his master” (a master, be it recollected, generally 4000 miles off, whom he never sees, and cannot therefore look to, but) “looking to his master for support in health, care in sickness, and advice and help in distress and difficulty, the improvident Negro, far from pining in misery, dances and sleeps, trifles and dreams away life, thoughtless, careless, and happily ignorant of his own unprotected condition and of the impotent fury of the laws.” This, be it remembered, refers more immediately to Barbadoes, the very colony where, a few years ago, hundreds of Negro lives were sacrificed with breathless dispatch, by the operation of laws which the Report represents as only *impotently* furious.—“A little more time, and a little less work, form,” adds the Reporter, “the narrow boundary of the wants and wishes of the Negro.”—And what has reduced the Negro to this abject and brutish state of existence; a state which this gentleman considers as a subject even of satisfactory contemplation?—And, supposing such a picture as this to be realized on the estates of a few of the few resident planters, yet in what respect does it differ from that which might be given, by many an English gentleman, of his stud of horses, or of his kennel of hounds? The comforts and enjoyments of the Negro, on the shewing of this Report, are, like those of the horse and the dog, exclusively of the animal kind. Are we, then, to shut out of our view that the Negro is a human being, born with the power of looking afore and after; possessing the capacities of thought, intelligence, reflection;—that he is endowed with desires, affections, cares, passions, responsibilities, and—may we dare to add—RIGHTS,—in common with ourselves? Shall we forget that the poor Negro was formed, like his master, in the image of God; has shared in the same moral ruin; has been redeemed by the same blood; and is an heir of the same immortality? If, then, the delineation of the Reporter were as generally true as it is notoriously the reverse; still, to level the Negro’s highest enjoyment with those of the brutes that perish; to make his whole existence, its comfort and even its duration, to depend, like theirs, on the will, the caprice, the prudence, the health, or the life of another; to put it in the power of that other not only to be himself the sole arbiter of the destinies of his slave, the food he shall eat, the clothes he shall wear, the labour he shall undergo, the stripes he shall receive, the indignities, nay, the tortures, he shall suffer; but even to delegate these tremendous powers to third parties—what is all this but a cruel spolia-

tion of man's inalienable rights; an impious usurpation, for which nothing can compensate; an insult to the Majesty of Heaven itself?

Some idea of the wretched insecurity of the tenure, by which slaves enjoy even the spot to which the Report tells us they are attached, together with all the dearest ties and charities of life, may be obtained from the case of a Mr. Padmore, who was driven to the necessity (a necessity of common occurrence in the West Indies) of selling his estate to satisfy his creditors. "The slaves," it is stated, "he *could* have sold separately (detached from the estate), at a much higher rate; but they came to him in a body, with most distressing cries, and threw themselves on the ground before him; when a spokesman, appointed by the rest, fell down at his feet, and implored him, in all their names, not to separate them, both from himself and the estate. They were ready to follow him to the other end of the island; but if he could not retain them about himself, if his necessities compelled him to sell them, they besought him not to part friends and relations, husbands and wives, parents and children; not to tear them from their houses and gardens; but to let them go with the land. He could not resist such an appeal, and he lost at least forty pounds a-head by it." (p. 22.) This occurrence says much, it is true, for the ruined individual who had the courage and the feeling to make this sacrifice;—but what does it say for the system? for that state of society, that state of law, which can for one moment tolerate and sanction such enormities? Even Mr. Dwarris admits, that, by the law of Barbadoes, there is no express direction that families should be sold together; nothing in any Act prohibiting the separation of husband and wife, parents and children. He endeavours, however, to palliate the effect of this statement, by remarking, that many of our other islands had adopted, with the best effect, a humane provision to prevent the separation of families. In venturing to make this statement, in which, however, we believe him to be mistaken, he ought at least to have named the islands in which such a provision had been adopted; especially as, in the case of the only two other islands, Tobago and Grenada, whose laws he speaks of, he himself distinctly tells us that, "unattached slaves are ordered to be sold one by one, except mother and child under twelve years of age." (pp. 81 and 103.) We find him, indeed, even becoming the apologist of that general principle of separating the slaves from the land, which destroys, root and branch, even the miserable semblance of property which a slave can be said to possess in his house and garden. "However desirable it may appear," he observes, "to prevent the slave from being torn from his home and garden, it would be found very difficult, *consistently with a due regard to the interest of creditors,*" (the paramount consideration, of course, in the minds of colonial legislators,) "to provide any remedy for the evil." "It would be unsuitable to a state of things in which the support of credit, and the security for borrowed capital, form the *first* object of attention, and even of legislative care and provision."—The first objects of attention, therefore, are, not human life and human comfort—at least in cases where the skin happens to be darkly tinged—but the security of credit and capital; and that even in the estimate of this Report—a Report which, while it affords some curious illustrations of the regard paid to the Negro, as an

article of the *master's* property, one of *his* chattels, one of *his available securities*, exemplifies no less strikingly the utter disregard of all his *rights* and *feelings* as a man, as a rational and sentient being.

We shall say nothing of the scandalous abuse of those forfeitures to the Crown, by means of escheats, by which the name of the King is abused to purposes of oppression and wrong, in a manner altogether unconstitutional, as well as most disreputable: but let us take a view of the proceedings of what are called Slave Courts in Barbadoes.—“In case of capital offences by slaves”—and these are very numerous—“the court is composed of two justices, and three freeholders of the neighbourhood of the place where the offence is committed. These five compose the court, and are all judges of the law and the fact. They are not appointed to meet at any fixed time, but only as occasion requires. When the court is assembled, no indictment is preferred, or bill found by a grand jury. The magistrate before whom the complaint was made is taken to have decided that there is sufficient ground to put the slave on his trial; and this magistrate sits upon the trial.—The evidence may consist of the evidence of slaves, but not upon oath, unless they have been baptized. They are sometimes sworn on grave-dirt, according to a superstition. A Negro's wife's evidence is admitted (against him) because it is in general a nominal, and not a legal marriage. In the case of false evidence given by a slave, the justice, or the court, before which the false evidence is given, directs the offender to be (forthwith) flogged. There is no regular record: the magistrates who try the case keep an account of the proceedings. These are not returned to any public office; and, after the lapse of a few years, it would be difficult to procure evidence to prove a former acquittal, if a slave were to be apprehended a second time for the same offence, while neither the slave nor the master has any remedy for the malicious prosecution of the slave. If the five members of the court are agreed, a conviction takes place. Upon conviction, *sentence of death must be passed*. An appeal may be brought *by the owner* (but by him only,) to the governor and council. If there is no appeal, no copy of the trial is laid before the governor, or report made to him or any other superior authority, before the execution takes place. The warrant of execution is directed to the constable who attends the trial, and he executes it *without delay*. There is no fixed time or appointed place for the public execution of slave malefactors. That the owner may not be discouraged to detect and discover the offences of his Negroes, a condemned slave is always appraised, and the value paid to the owner out of the public treasury; but if the master has not duly provided for the support of the slave, and necessity might have compelled the Negro to commit the offence, the whole appraised value is to be paid to the party injured, and nothing to the master.” And yet “the execution of the slave may still proceed!” The trials of slaves in this island, the Report goes on to remark in duly measured terms, “are very unsatisfactory. We heard them pronounced ‘disgraceful.’ ‘The judges,’ it is said, ‘are ignorant;’ the proceedings are slovenly; the charge, being unwritten, shifts with the case. A disposition to favour, where it exists” (and the Reporter might have added, a disposition to condemn), “receive no check for want of publicity. There being no assigned place or appoint-

ed time for the execution of slave malefactors, the wretched convict, as soon as sentence is passed, is fastened to the nearest tree; unless, which frequently happens, the owner of the soil is at hand to prevent it. In such case, *the miserable culprit is dragged from tree to tree, from estate to estate; and in one case, of then recent occurrence, the constable was at last forced to throw the exhausted sufferer off the town bridge, securing the rope by a lamp-post.*"

Is it necessary to add a single word more to these sickening statements? Yet we cannot forbear touching upon another subject. After the eulogy pronounced by Mr. Dwarris on the general treatment of the slaves in Barbadoes, the Meeting will scarcely be prepared for the following representations of the same gentleman in the very same Report. "Slaves in this island," he says, "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; though the *master* (in case of his slave being assaulted and robbed) may have reparation in damages for *the loss of service, or the injury to his property, in the slave.* The murder of a slave, *wilfully, maliciously, wantonly, and without provocation,* is now a capital crime. But there is no other legislative provision, restraining the absolute power of the master over the slave, or inflicting punishment upon the owners or others, in cases of mayem, mutilation, dismemberment, or cruel treatment. No other act of Assembly has been framed for the protection of slaves; no tribunal is specially appointed for inquiry into their wrongs. A slave who is, or thinks himself, aggrieved, looks in vain, in this island, for a proper quarter in which to prefer his complaint. *It can no where be received. Murder is the only case in which the law interferes.*" "For the punishment of general oppression and maltreatment of a slave, there is no provision by any law of Barbadoes. If inflicted by the master, it would be *dispunishable.* If perpetrated by a third person, the *owner* would have his remedy by civil action; but the slave would still be without redress." "There is not, in Barbadoes, any law regulating the quantum and kind of punishment, the hours of labour and rest, the provision of food, and (except nominally) of clothing. These are dependant on the performance of moral duties, of which good men feel the obligation, but of which the breach is not cognizable before any earthly tribunal. A wicked and cruel master or delegate (so that he do not kill or maim \* a slave) may inflict on him ANY degree of severity of punishment. *No man, or set of men, has legal power to call him to account for working his slave as long as he likes; for whipping him as much as he pleases; for chaining; for starving him.*" "A master has uncontrolled, *undefined, and absolute power.*" Where then, asks Mr. Dwarris, very justly, however inconsistently, "where then is the protection of the slave, and where, in case of accident, the justification of the master?" "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

\* The exception of *maiming* is inconsistent with the other statements of Mr. Dwarris.

should have been *designedly* sent out of the way. In such a case, a slave is not allowed to be a prosecutor. *Maimed, mutilated, disfigured, dismembered,*" (I am putting, says Mr. Dwarris, the most aggravated case), "his wounds must be the only tongue permitted to relate his wrongs." These, however, will speak for him here, if they do not speak for him in the colonies.

But to proceed; "It is generally held," says the Report, "as a principle in slave colonies, that slaves cannot acquire property, except for the benefit of their owners. By law they cannot, but only by indulgence." p.111. Again, the slave has not any means of acquiring his freedom without the consent of the master. There is no redemption of the slave in this island by force of law;" (nor in Tobago and Grenada, nor, indeed, in any of the islands;) and "every negro is presumed to be a slave, unless he can legally prove the contrary."

To much the same effect is the view given of the legal rights of slaves in Tobago and Grenada. In the former island, the chief justice, Mr. Pigott, testifies as follows: "A manager sent all free persons out of the way, and then gave a Negro 150 lashes. The Negro was brought, in a state of which he might have died, to us, the sitting magistrates. We had no means of proving it. I proposed a bill to admit slave evidence, or to make the accused purge himself on oath. The bill was not approved." The testimony of the attorney-general of Tobago is to the same effect: "*I know,*" he says, "*as a magistrate, cases of extreme cruelty that have passed unpunished for want of slave evidence.*" "*It is very common, when they wish to be cruel, to send free persons out of the way. I have known many such cases. I think it a very common cause of discontent among the slaves, that, when they have been ill treated, and bring their fellow-slaves as evidence, such witnesses cannot be received. They go away with a feeling of injustice.*" The same gentleman has since expressed an opinion that by the *new Tobago act*, "the power of the master has been limited in almost every point essential to the well-being and comfort of the slave." This opinion only shews how easily some men may be satisfied with the shew of Reform. Lord Bathurst wisely disallowed the very act which the attorney-general thus commends.

The Report from Grenada, though varying in a few points, is not more favourable than that from Tobago. Some of the Grenada laws are extremely harsh, and even manifest what may be properly called a wantonness of severity. And as for the appointment of guardians of slaves, of which we have heard so loud a boast, it is admitted by the present Report to be inefficacious. No independent men, we are expressly told, can be found to fill the situation, but it is filled by overseers or managers, who cannot be expected to denounce their employers; and "in all cases between Black or Coloured persons and Whites," observes the attorney-general, "the prejudice of juries is very strong in favour of Whites."

Neither in Tobago, nor in Grenada, "are there any public institutions, by which infant or adult slaves are instructed in religious principles or useful knowledge. There are no Sunday-schools." The Wesleyan Methodists alone have given any instruction to the slaves of these islands. In Barbadoes, only one school is said to exist for Black or

Coloured children, though the Black and Coloured population is about 90,000.

Such are some of the material *facts* brought to light, in the most authentic form, by this recent Report; in which, however, we must admit that many *opinions* are expressed which are exceedingly difficult to reconcile with those facts, or, indeed, with the notorious realities of the case. Take an example:—Mr. Dwarris states it to be the *only just ground of complaint against the present inhabitants of Barbadoes*, that they had not repealed a certain act, which inflicts the punishment of slitting the nose, and burning the face with a hot iron on a *Negro* who strikes a *Christian* a second time. But when Mr. Dwarris thus sweepingly cleared the Barbadians from every other charge, had he not heard of the atrocities of 1804, reported by Lord Seaforth?—of the wholesale massacres of slaves in 1816?—of the destruction of the Methodist chapel, and the expulsion of the Missionary in 1823?—or of their new slave law of 1824?—And is it not this very gentleman, whose report of the Barbadoes slave courts, and of the summary and brutal executions of their convicts, and of the unprotected state of the whole slave population, we have just been reading? How are we to explain such strange incongruities as these?

But it would require far too detailed a statement, were we to go through all the inconsistencies and incorrectnesses which might be pointed out in this, in some respects, invaluable Report. On the whole, however, we are extremely thankful for its appearance, and we cannot doubt that it will do much to open the eyes of the public to the multiplied abominations of this unchristian and merciless system.

Never, however, let the people of England forget, that of this unchristian and merciless system they will continue to be the criminal upholders, if they now refrain from lifting up their voice against it; or if they silently acquiesce in contributing, as they now do, largely and directly to its support. On this part of the subject, however, we mean not now to enlarge. In the Second Report of the Society, the question of bounties and protecting duties was amply discussed; and not only their impolicy, but their malign and wasting influence on the happiness and increase of the slave population, as well as their pernicious effects even on the interests of the masters, were fully and, as we believe, most incontrovertibly established. We will therefore now content ourselves with remarking, that it is absolutely vain for us to be hoping to succeed in abolishing slavery; or to expect that by the vehemence of our speeches, or by the strength of our resolutions, or even by the severity of our enactments, we shall be able very materially to abate this evil, if we continue, as we now do, to extend to the slave-holder those solid marks of our favour which are conveyed to him in bounties and protecting duties; thus supplying to him the very means of maintaining his iniquitous system, against the united wishes of the parliament and the people of England.

And [now, after the statement which has just been given, combined with all our previous information, are we not entitled to call upon the people of England to come forward to strengthen the hands of the government, in the righteous work of carrying into effect the hitherto abortive resolutions of Parliament on the subject of Colonial Slavery?



We call upon them therefore to assemble in every county, and city, and town, and even village of the United Kingdom, in order to testify their abhorrence of this impious system, and to implore of the Legislature, respectfully indeed, but most earnestly to relieve them from its guilt and its burden. Let no man in this free and happy country, where the voice of the very meanest has its appropriate weight in Parliament, imagine that he can discharge himself from the performance of this solemn duty; or—should his application to Parliament fail of its effect—from adopting every other expedient in his power, such as abstinence from slave-grown sugar, the promotion of cultivation by free labour, &c. for wiping away this foul stain from the national character. And we would address this call to men of all political parties in the state. Those of every party who have sympathized with the victims of despotism in Spain, in Italy, and in Greece, have now an opportunity of combining to deliver 830,000 of their own fellow-subjects from a still more grievous despotism. The friends of the Government are bound to see its orders respected, and to repress that insubordinate and contumelious spirit in the colonists which would set them at naught. The members of the Opposition are bound by all their professed principles, and by all the recollections which are associated with the venerated name of Fox, to unite hand and heart in undoing the fetters of our own fellow-subjects. Above all (to avail ourselves of the language of one of the ablest advocates of this cause)—above all, we would call on Christians of every name to come forward to lend their aid as one man to deliver their country from this great national iniquity—"to reform this cruel and impious system which shuts out the light of the gospel; which violates, in the grossest manner, all its precepts; which keeps, in a cruel thralldom, the minds as well as bodies of its unfortunate victims; and which adds to its other enormities the fierceness of anti-christian persecution. There would surely be an inconsistency in the charitable efforts now making to convert our fellow-creatures in the most distant regions of the globe, while we suffer our fellow-subjects to be kept in pagan darkness, and the vilest moral degradation, not by choice but by compulsion, through a domestic tyranny, which our own power, within our own territories alone upholds." To all then we would say, in conclusion, in the words of the same eloquent writer, "Come forward with your petitions. Instruct your representatives. Give or withhold your suffrages for the next Parliament, and use your personal influence throughout the country; all in such a manner as may best promote the success of this great and sacred cause. If you succeed, you will give a new triumph to the British Constitution. You will exalt the glory of your country, in that best point, her moral elevation, and recommend her to the favour of Heaven. If you fail, you will at least have the inestimable consolation that you have done what you could 'to undo the heavy burden, and to let the oppressed go free;' and that the sins and calamities of your country, however pernicious in their consequences to yourselves or your children, were evils which you could not avert."

One word more; we rejoice to be able to report, that the number of associations, and especially of Ladies' associations, for the abolition of slavery, has been increasing of late. We trust that they will be largely multiplied both in the metropolis and in the country at large.

The present meeting, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament, has, we are also happy to say, been anticipated in several places, by the impulse of that popular feeling which furnishes the best pledge of our ultimate success. In this important line of service Norfolk has taken the lead, and has been followed by the city of Norwich, by Birmingham, by Hull, by Beverley, by Derby, and by Ipswich; as it had been preceded, though not for the purpose of petitioning, by Edinburgh. In all these places our cause has been advocated with remarkable power and effect, and has happily united the general suffrage. The Corporation of the City of London has signalized itself by its zeal in the same cause, and we are anxious to record the high sense we entertain of the advantage which has accrued to it from the nearly unanimous and energetic declaration of the chief authorities of the first commercial city in the world, against the principle of colonial monopoly, and in favour of the claims of injured and outraged humanity. The influence of their high example will, we trust, induce the mercantile and manufacturing classes, throughout the kingdom, to come forward and vindicate the commercial character of this country from the discredit, and its commercial interests from the injury, caused by the prolongation of the existing colonial evils.

It would be ingratitude in this connexion to withhold our warm acknowledgments of the great services which have been rendered to our common cause, since we last met, by the able, zealous, indefatigable, and successful efforts of Mr. Cropper of Liverpool.

These various indications of the general sympathy in our labours are strong incentives to perseverance. And we must all feel it as not among the least cheering and encouraging circumstances, which we are called to acknowledge with gratitude to the Giver of all good, that we should once more behold among us, and in the chair of this assembly, that loved and revered individual, dear to all to whom the interests of humanity are dear; who, having consecrated the strength and flower of his days to the vindication of the wronged and degraded African, and having at length signally triumphed in the protracted and painful conflict; now, though bending under the weight of added years, still marshals our way, as we trust, to victory in a no less arduous struggle—in the endeavour to break the yoke of the oppressor, and to achieve the rescue of the oppressed, in every corner of the British dominions. May it please God to spare him to witness the final consummation of this labour of love and mercy!

*The following Resolutions, were unanimously adopted by the Meeting :*

That this Meeting desire to express, in strong terms, both their satisfaction with the Resolutions on the subject of Colonial Slavery, which, on the motion of Mr. Canning, were unanimously adopted by Parliament, and their high sense of the ability, promptitude, and zeal with which, as appears from the official correspondence of Earl Bathurst with the Colonies, his Majesty's Ministers have laboured to carry these Parliamentary Resolutions into effect; and they deeply lament that the opposition of the Colonial Authorities has hitherto succeeded in almost wholly frustrating their benevolent purposes and efforts.

That the various official documents on the subject of Slavery, and the treatment of Slaves, recently laid before Parliament by his Majesty's Ministers, afford additional and incontestible evidence of the injustice and cruelty of the system of Slavery now prevailing in the Colonies, and renders desperate the hope of its extinction, or even of its effectual mitigation, without the direct and authoritative interference of the Imperial Legislature.

That from the same authentic sources of information, this Meeting have learnt with regret, though not with surprise, that the Colonial Legislatures have either treated the recorded wishes of Parliament, and the beneficent recommendations and urgent remonstrances of his Majesty's Government with neglect, or have met them with decided opposition; and that even in those Colonies where attempts have been made to frame an ameliorated Slave Code, the new enactments manifest the same substantial disregard of the most sacred principles of justice which characterised the old; that the existing laws, in their practical administration, evidently afford no effectual protection to the Slaves, and have been made, on many recent occasions, an instrument of the most grievous judicial oppression; and that the general treatment of the Slaves continues to exhibit the same harsh and disgusting effects of the domestic despotism prevailing in the Colonies, which first excited the indignant feelings of the British Public, and which should now lead to a fixed determination, on the part of every individual who values British freedom, or the blessings of Christianity, to do his utmost to prevent their continuance.

That this Meeting are further anxious to record their conviction that this unjust and immoral system, as it exists in the British Colonies, derives great support from those commercial regulations, which, by conferring bounties, and protecting duties on the produce of Slave Labour, not only materially enhance its price to the British consumer, but increase the miseries of the Slaves, and render their liberation more difficult.

That if called upon by Parliament to contribute to the same, or even to a much larger extent, for the purpose of extinguishing Slavery, than they now pay for its support, this meeting would cheerfully obey the call; but that to the existing regulations of the Colonial Trade they entertain insuperable objections; because while these regulations violate the recognised principles of sound commercial policy, and impose on the nation a heavy pecuniary burden for the maintenance of Slavery, they tend to counteract the hope of its reformation, they serve to aggravate and perpetuate its evils; and they involve the people of this country still more deeply in the guilt of upholding it.

That it appears to this Meeting to be their bounden duty, and that of every individual who acknowledges the claims of humanity and justice, to promote with all their influence the fulfilment of the pledge given by the Government and Parliament in 1823, on this subject; and for that purpose to lose no time in earnestly and respectfully petitioning both Houses of Parliament, that they will be pleased to take the great work of Colonial Reformation into their own hands; and in accordance with their own Resolutions, and the wishes and prayers of the nation at large, to bring the state of Slavery itself to the earliest practicable termination in every part of his Majesty's Dominions.

*A Petition founded on these Resolutions was unanimously adopted, and it was further resolved,*

That his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, whose unavoidable absence on this occasion the Meeting lament, and whose invaluable services they are desirous of gratefully recording, be respectfully requested to present the petition to the House of Lords, and Mr. Fowell Buxton that to the Commons.

That this Meeting eagerly embrace the present opportunity, both of presenting their heartfelt acknowledgments to their revered Vice-President, William Wilberforce, Esq. for his gratifying attendance on this day, and for his conduct in the Chair; and of testifying their deep sense of his services, which, during a long and arduous Parliamentary life, he has rendered to his country, and to the world at large: and especially of that indefatigable, but tempered zeal, with which he has so unceasingly and successfully consecrated his powerful talents and fascinating eloquence to the vindication and relief of suffering humanity.

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*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.*

London, 18, Aldermanbury, January 31, 1826.

No. 8.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

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The "ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER" will be ready for delivery on the last day of every month. Copies will be forwarded, at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL MEETING of the *Anti-Slavery Society, held at Freemason's Hall, Great Queen-Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, on December 21st, 1825.*

MR. WILBERFORCE having taken the chair, he assured the meeting that it was with unaffected diffidence he had obeyed the call of many kind friends in presuming to occupy the chair. He felt that having been compelled by indisposition to retire from his more proper scene of labour in Parliament,—it did not become him to occupy so prominent a situation as that which he filled on the present occasion. But he also felt that he ought not for a moment to consider any motives of a personal nature when he was called upon to fulfil a great and important duty to God and man. Believing, therefore, that it might be for the interest of the cause that he should occupy the chair, without further parley, he consented to the proposal. They were assembled for the purpose of Petitioning Parliament to urge forward that reform in the state of the Slave Population in the British Colonies, which would place that population in a condition to enjoy and appreciate the blessings of enfranchisement;—a consummation that Parliament had pledged itself to bring about as speedily as possible. Of the necessity and propriety of such an application to the Legislature no one could entertain a doubt who recollected the circumstances attending the long contest on a subject similar to that which now occupied their attention—he meant the abolition of the Slave Trade. It was in consequence of the people of England taking up that cause that it was at last rendered successful. It was at the present moment the more necessary for the friends of humanity to bestir themselves, because a large and active party was formed to oppose them. It was by the union of people of the middle class of society, amongst whom was comprised the greatest portion of virtue and understanding in every free community, that they must hope to render their cause successful; one step towards which, was their assembling on the present occasion (hear, hear). He was happy to see several gentlemen present who would be able to point out the situation in which the cause at present stood, and what measures it was necessary to take thereupon.

The Report of the Committee of the Society, as given in the last Number of the Reporter, was then read.

SIR J. MACINTOSH, in rising to move the first resolution, observed that, it gave him great pleasure to contemplate that on the present occasion the chair was filled, that their cause was served in the very van, by the venerable and illustrious person who was the deliverer of Africa, as far, at least, as this country was concerned, from the scourge of the Slave Trade, and who, he trusted, would live to co-operate in the delivering the British empire from the scourge of Slavery. Upon a subject which had been exhausted, if he might use the phrase, by the feelings of every one's heart then present, before one syllable had been uttered, it would be unpardonable in him to address the Meeting at length, even if it were otherwise convenient to do so. He would, therefore, shortly state the reasons of his continued and unshaken zeal for the cause in which they were engaged. He felt the most zealous wishes for the success of the cause, because he considered its success indispensable to acquit the consciences and clear the honour of the British people; and because, in sincerity of soul, he believed its success would, more than any other measure, contribute to the safety and welfare of the European inhabitants of the colonies; and, lastly, and above all, because he thought it would raise a million of human beings to the condition of men. Sir James Macintosh then referred to the Report of Mr. Dwarris and its striking inconsistencies. It was impossible to imagine that any beings in human form, could exist in such a state of degradation as these unhappy Slaves were described by him to be in. To one passage in particular he would call their attention as showing the grievous disqualifications under which the Negroes labour in procuring redress for injury. The passage occurred in Mr. Dwarris's Report of the Judicial Establishments of Barbadoes, and is as follows:—"In a case of even 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, mutilated, disfigured, dismembered*, his wounds must be the only tongues permitted to relate his wrongs!" Such is the condition, (Sir James went on to remark) the degraded and defenceless condition, of the unfortunate and devoted inhabitants of our Colonies. What then must be our surprise to meet in the statements of this very same Reporter, an eulogy on the happy state in which the Slaves live under this degraded condition? "But left to himself," the Reporter informs us, "the poor Slave is generally contented and happy. Possessing a spot to which he is commonly attached, looking to his master for support in health, care in sickness, and advice and help in distress and difficulty, the improvident Negro, far from pining in misery, dances and sleeps, trifles and dreams away life, thoughtless, careless, and happily ignorant of his own unprotected condition, and of the impotent fury of the laws."—What! is it then possible that a human being, who may be 'maimed, mutilated, disfigured, and dismembered' with impunity, can frisk and dance, and dream away life in thoughtless ignorance of his unprotected condition? Are these the persons, who, we are to suppose, lead, as

they are described to do, a life of luxurious enjoyment? Should we not rather say, that there could not be a more humiliating picture of human degradation than that presented to us by persons who could be contented under such a condition of existence? As had been very properly suggested in the Report just read, "supposing such a picture as this to be realized on the estates of a few of the few resident Planters, yet in what respects does it differ from that which might be given, by many an English gentleman, of his stud of horses, or of his kennel of hounds? The comforts and enjoyments of the Negro, on the shewing of Mr. Dwarris, were, like those of the horse and the dog, exclusively of the animal kind." The illustration was most appropriate; the comparison was just. It appeared to him that this ingenious writer, Mr. Dwarris, had studied poetry more than truth. He appeared to have had in his view a well-known passage of one of our most celebrated poets (Pope), in which he points out the wise dispensations of our Creator in assigning ignorance to the brute creation as a mitigation of their condition:—

The lamb thy riot dooms to bleed to-day,  
Had he thy reason, would he skip and play?  
Pleased to the last, he crops the flow'ry food,  
And licks the hand just raised to shed his blood.

This was the passage which doubtless Mr. Dwarris had in his eye, when he spoke of the gaiety with which West-Indian Slaves could dance and amuse themselves, whilst the same cruelty could be extended to them as is shewn, and often, he must say, with wantonness and depravity, shewn to the brute creation. This was a passage which the poet introduces to 'justify the ways of God to man'; it shewed how, by ignorance of their sufferings, he mitigated the condition of the brute creation. And it suggested to our ingenious writer, the parallel case of a million of our fellow-creatures reduced to a similar degradation. If this, then, was to be regarded as a state of happiness, it was a state of happiness that could only exist by extinguishing within human beings, the capacities of thought, intelligence, and reflection,—by depriving them of the desires, affections, and passions of ordinary men—by brutalizing them,—nay, by worse than brutalizing them: for to reduce a human being to the level of a brute, it was necessary to deprive him of reason and reflection; and the degradation thereby inflicted upon him was greater than even that of the brute. In 1823, Parliament passed Resolutions which declared the necessity of adopting some effectual and decisive measures for mitigating and improving the condition of the Slave population in the West Indies, with the view to their admission ultimately to share in the civil rights of the rest of His Majesty's subjects. At that time, Mr. Canning declared, that if any contumacy should be exhibited with regard to them by the Colonists, he would consider that a case upon which he would be authorized to claim the interference of Parliament. One of the things recommended in the Parliamentary Resolutions was, that the evidence of Slaves should be made admissible. How had this recommendation been received in one of the greatest Colonies? A Resolution to that effect was proposed in the Assembly of Jamaica, and rejected upon a division of 34 to 1—that was, the whole house divided against the maker of the motion. Here was one of the least objectionable of the recommendations of Parliament rejected indignantly.

Was not this an act of contumacy? Was it not saying to Parliament—“Here we are masters, and we will not alter any part of our Slave Code at your recommendation?” After apologizing for having detained the Meeting so long, the honourable gentleman concluded with moving the first Resolution.

MR. BROUGHAM, in rising to second the resolution, said, that he would detain the meeting but a very few moments. The friends of the cause were charged with violence, with enthusiasm, with hot zeal, because they felt for the sufferings of 830,000 of their fellow creatures; because they beheld that their condition had not only not been improved, but had grown worse and worse; and because this aroused their feelings of humanity, they were accused of proceeding with rashness and precipitancy! Rashness in what? In having waited without advancing one step towards the accomplishment of their object for a quarter of a century? Then they were charged with taking their accounts of facts from partial or ignorant sources. Well, their answer to this was, that not one word should be stated but what had come from under the planters' own hands and seals. His Learned Friend, Sir J. Macintosh, had alluded to the report of Mr. Dwarris. He (Mr. Brougham) gave that gentleman credit for the candour of that report, because he was himself a planter and the owner of a Slave Estate on which were 220 Negroes; and therefore had to contend with prejudices arising from his situation, and with feelings of personal interest. He had been associated, in the discharge of the duty which he had been commissioned to perform, with another gentleman, who was not placed in similar circumstances; but the latter, unhappily, was no more. However, he (Mr. Brougham) certainly thought that Mr. Dwarris's statements, in many respects, evinced great candour, and at all events they were sufficient for their (the Society's) purpose. Mr. Dwarris stated that in Barbadoes the slave had no protection against his master. This might have been written before the passing of the late Barbadoes act; but even if he had seen that act at the time, he did not think Mr. Dwarris would have altered his expressions on the subject unless it were to express his disapprobation of it. “Previous to 1824,” said Mr. Brougham, “there was no law in Barbadoes by which cruelty to a Slave, or even the torture, or mutilation, or dismemberment of a Slave, was punishable. In 1824, however, a clause was introduced into the new act to the following effect; and here let me beg the attention of the meeting, and they will at once perceive the nature and extent of the protection afforded to the wretched Slave, even by this last and best edition of the Barbadoes Slave Code.—‘Whereas it is highly expedient to restrain owners, and others having the government and the direction of Slaves, from indiscriminately, wantonly, and cruelly exercising the power they possess over Slaves; and as the cruelty of punishment by flogging necessarily depends much more on the manner of inflicting it than upon the number of stripes, it is therefore most conducive to the ends of humanity’ [not to limit the number of lashes, but] ‘to trust to the discretion and good feelings of the justices before whom complaints shall be made.’ Here, then, are the wretched Slaves not protected by law, but turned over to the ‘humanity’ first of the master and his delegates, and then of the justices (they themselves always Slave-Owners), before whom complaints

shall be made! It is further enacted, and I beseech you to mark the extent of protection extended to the Negroes by this 'wise' and 'salutary' measure. It is enacted, that if any person commits, or causes to be committed, any wanton act of cruelty towards any Slave, or shall wantonly, maliciously, and cruelly whip, beat, or bruise any Slave, such person, on conviction before two justices, may be—what do you think? Subjected to some adequate punishment? Oh, no: he may be fined 25*l.* currency, or about 17*l.* sterling! So that you see any one may torture a Slave; he may bruise and crush his body; he may inflict upon him every cruelty short of dismemberment or death, even cruelties from which death would be a relief, and yet does he pay not more than about 17*l.* sterling: and observe, that the 17*l.* mentioned here is the *maximum*, and may be reduced to 17*d.* according to the pleasure of the justices before whom the complaint is made. And yet this act received the sanction of the legislature of that island; nay, it was even described by the gentleman who proposed it as an act which would do honour to themselves, and endear their remembrance to posterity. Nor is this all. By the same act, any person may maim, mutilate, or dismember a Slave, and be liable, on conviction, only to fine or imprisonment, (no *minimum* or *maximum* being fixed), as the Court shall think fit. It was in this island that, previous to 1805, the *murder* of a Slave, when it could be proved, was punished by a fine of 11*l.* sterling. In 1805, that act was repealed, and, in its stead, it was enacted, that any person wilfully maliciously, wantonly, and *without provocation*, killing any Slave, shall be adjudged guilty of felony, and shall suffer death without benefit of clergy. But the nature of the provocation was not defined; so that let a Slave but hold up his finger—nay, let him but look cross or dissatisfied—let him even use an irritating or contemptuous expression, there is at once sufficient provocation, the poor wretch's life may be taken with impunity. The words 'without provocation' have since been erased from the law; but it still remains the law, that if any person shall unfortunately kill by accident the Slave of another, he shall only be liable to an action at law for the value of the Slave; or if any Slave shall be killed while committing or attempting to commit any robbery, theft, burglary, or arson, or in the attempt to maim or injure any White person, the person killing any such Slave shall not be punished for the same (either capitally or otherwise). Such are some of the enactments which will endear the remembrance of the Barbadoes legislature to posterity!

"Let us now," continued Mr. Brougham, "look at the other side of the account, and contrast with the impunity of the White the punishments to be inflicted on Slaves, as well as the sort of offences of which they may be guilty. I find it enacted, for example, 'that any Slaves guilty of quarrelling or fighting with one another; or of insolent language or gestures' [mark that] 'to any White person; or of swearing, or uttering any obscene speeches; or of drunkenness, or making, selling, throwing, or firing squibs, serpents, or other fire-works; or of cock-fighting, or gaming; or of riding on a faster gait than a walk; or of driving on a faster gait than a gentle trot; or of cruelly whipping or beating any horse, mare, mule, ass, or other cattle; or of negligently driving any cart, &c., or of *any* disorderly conduct or behaviour, shall,



on conviction before a magistrate, be'—What do you think? sentenced to a week's imprisonment, or fined a few shillings?—No; shall be 'whipped at the discretion of such magistrate, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes!' Again, it is wisely enacted, that 'any Slave who shall hear any other Slave speak any words *tending* to mutiny or rebellion, or shall know of his having gunpowder or arms in his possession for purposes of rebellion, and shall not immediately disclose the same, shall suffer death, without benefit of clergy, or such other punishment as the court may think fit.' Here is legislation with a vengeance! You see that the Slave who hears another Slave use words *tending* to rebellion (of which *tendency*, mind, he is, in the first instance, constituted the sole judge) must make up his mind not only that such is their tendency, but also that the White judge to whom he is to make the communication, will also make up his mind that such is their tendency; and if he does not do this—that is to say, if he does not make up his mind beforehand, to be of the same opinion with the White judge to whom he is to make a communication—then is he to be hanged without benefit of clergy, or be liable to such other punishment as the Court may think fit. It is needless to say much more upon this act, which is to entitle its framers to the grateful remembrance of posterity." After expressing a strong hope that the example now set by the metropolis would be followed by meetings throughout the kingdom, the honourable and learned gentleman concluded by observing, that unless the necessity of adopting the measures they here recommended was now urged upon Parliament by the united voice of the People of Great Britain, the wretched Slaves would remain in their present miserable condition for another quarter of a century.

MR. F. BUXTON rose to move a string of Resolutions, and in doing so, he would not affect that he appeared before the meeting with any faint-heartedness. Their cause had made rapid progress; a change had taken place which must lead to the speedy downfall of the system—a change, not in the minds of this Society, for they had always hated Slavery; but a change in the minds of the people at large, who began to feel how abominable the system was, and how many millions it cost them. It had often grieved him to perceive the incredulity with which their (the Abolitionists') statements were received, particularly in the House of Commons; but it had not surprised him, for it was difficult to believe that such enormities existed in any part of the British dominions. But now the West India Planters have become their own historians, the system appeared, from their own confessions to be worse than it had ever been represented by its bitterest enemies. They (the Abolitionists) stated in the House of Commons, that the cart-whip was the principal stimulant to labour in the West Indies; they were told that that was a gross falsehood. Gentlemen of reputation came forward and said that they had resided there, and never witnessed it, or heard the music of its lash; whilst others admitted that it had been seen on a few estates, where, however, it was only exhibited tied across the driver's shoulders, not for the purpose of flogging the Negroes, but as an emblem of authority—as an ornament, but not for use. But mark; the legislature recommended that the cart-whip should be put down; instantly a cry was raised from one end of the Colonies to the other; the cart-whip

was declared to be indispensable, so long as Slavery existed; and the Planters replied, "Well, we will abolish this ornament, but you must give us compensation for our Slaves to the amount of many millions of pounds." The hon. gentleman then animadverted upon the monstrous nature of a system that allowed wives to be torn from their husbands, and children from their parents, and read advertisements from Colonial Newspapers in proof of his assertions. He next dwelt upon the horrors of the Negroes' condition, subject as they are, both men, women, and children, according to the returns of the Fiscal of Berbice, to frequent and barbarous cart-whippings, and other dreadful inflictions, at the caprice of proprietors or overseers; and pledged himself never to cease his exertions, until the odious and abominable system was abolished. After congratulating the Meeting upon the promise of his learned friend to bring the subject forward early in the ensuing Session of Parliament, he concluded by reminding them that they had a sacred duty to God and man to perform, which he called upon them to discharge manfully.

MR. DENMAN seconded the Resolutions proposed by Mr. Buxton in an animated speech, in the course of which he contended, that although laws in other countries were blessings to the inhabitants, those of the West Indies were rather intended as curses to the unhappy Slaves in those Colonies; and that what was there called trial by jury, had not one quality of that noble tribunal about it but the name, which it disgraced. The honourable and learned gentleman took a rapid survey of the different questions connected with this subject, which had lately occupied the attention of Parliament, to show that the system could not be allowed to continue much longer, and to prove the necessity of the gradual but rapid (instead of slow) emancipation of the Slaves. Mr. Denman's address was received with great warmth of approbation.

JOHN JOSEPH GURNEY, in moving the adoption of the petition, suggested that some precise period should be fixed, beyond which no person should continue, and no child be born, a slave.

DR. LUSHINGTON said, wherever the great question of the Abolition of Slavery was agitated, he wished to attend, for the purpose of giving it his humble, but zealous support. It was necessary at this period, that public feeling should be aroused upon this momentous question; for, in proportion to the difficulties they had to encounter, should be their exertions to surmount them. It was true, that the Resolutions passed in the House of Commons in 1823, proclaimed the repentance of that House for having ever sanctioned Slavery; but he should never believe that repentance sincere until he saw Parliament come forward, and, at whatever price, profess their readiness to remedy the evils they had caused in our Colonies by their votes. But the House of Commons could do but little unless backed by the voice of the people. It should be recollected that the supporters of the Abolition of Slavery had, in the House of Commons between fifty and sixty interested opponents. Alas! private interest there too often interfered with public duty, and those who had gain and emolument in view were much more active than those who merely endeavoured to achieve a public good. Therefore it was, that every exertion should be made—every nerve should be

strained to accomplish their great object—the Abolition of Slavery. If there was any truth in philosophy; if they were to place confidence in the sacred Word of God himself—it was impossible to believe that such a system could continue to exist. It was never given by God to man, to hold his fellow-man in Slavery. He had early embarked in this cause, and he pledged himself never to retire from it until the objects they had in view should be attained. Every thing short of a total Abolition of Slavery, he considered as unsatisfactory, and ending only in disappointment and discontent. Almighty God, in his wisdom, never gave it to frail man to adopt a course of iniquity, and then to stop short and say, so far will I go and no farther; the evil, if not altogether rooted out, must go on increasing, and producing still added misery and distress. The learned Doctor, after a splendid and well merited eulogium upon the worthy Chairman, proceeded to point out Mr. F. Buxton as the most fit and proper person to tread in his steps, and present their Petition in the House of Commons; in the House of Lords, he conceived, they could not intrust their Petition to any more zealous and undeviating friend than His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester. The supporters of the Abolition of Slavery took their stand upon the eternal principles of truth and justice, and it would be next to blasphemy to doubt of their success. The supporters of the Question in Parliament, would use their best exertions—they only sought the aid of the people; so supported, they would fight the battle, and, please God, would achieve the victory. The learned gentleman concluded by moving the fourth Resolution.

Mr. Cropper, in seconding the Resolution, pointed out, in strong and forcible terms, the great advantage which free labour had over the work performed by Slaves; and in support of his argument alluded to different cases in the East and West Indies, and North Carolina.

A Motion of thanks to the Chairman was then put, and carried unanimously, when

MR. WILBERFORCE rose and said, I will not detain you long at this late hour. I shall simply say that I have endeavoured to do the best I could—I hope all of you will do the same, with spirit and resolution. How long shall this abominable system continue? We are answerable to God and our country for its prolongation, and are bound to call out the sense of the country, were it only for the sake of the Planters themselves. The slaves know they have rights; they have had reason to hope for the restoration of them—the cup of freedom has been held to their lips, and has been dashed down again before they could taste it. That there be no more of this cruel trifling with their feelings—let Parliament itself enact laws for their emancipation. The same objections were made to the abolition of the Slave Trade that are now urged against the emancipation of slaves; yet they who urged them then, afterwards expressed their approbation of that measure. Let us do our duty, and Parliament will do theirs; and universal satisfaction and happiness will be the result.

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*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.*

London, 18, Aldermanbury, February 28, 1826.

No. 9.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

The "ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER" will be ready for delivery on the last day of every month. Copies will be forwarded, at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent.

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### JAMAICA.

WE beg to call the attention of our readers to the following extract from the Speech of the Duke of MANCHESTER, the Governor of Jamaica, delivered on occasion of the prorogation of the Legislative Assembly of that Island, on the 21st of December last.

(EXTRACT.)

"Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the Assembly,

"Another year has been allowed to pass away *without any effectual measure having been adopted for the improvement of the condition of the Slaves*. It does not become me to anticipate what the result may be of the great disappointment His Majesty's Government will experience, when they learn that the reiterated representations which have been made to you, to do what your own interest calls for as much as a due regard for those who look up to you for protection and relief, have totally failed. In obeying the instructions which I have received, I earnestly pressed upon your consideration the necessity of doing something, if not to disarm your enemies, still to satisfy friends, and, more than all, to convince Parliament that the urgent representations of His Majesty's Government had not been entirely disregarded."

The same speech might be addressed, with equal propriety, to every Legislative Assembly in the West India Colonies. It is highly important, at the present moment, as showing how vain are the expectations of those friends of the Negro race, who look for effectual co-operation from assemblies of men who are themselves holders of Slaves, and who are the representatives of a privileged class, brought up, and living under the influence of West India Slavery. For our own part, we must say, that we are not at all disappointed by this result of the experiment which has been again made of the spirit and conduct of these assemblies. Such a result was foretold in the House of Commons, when the task of devising and executing measures calculated to give effect to the memorable resolutions adopted on the motion of Mr. Canning, was committed to the Colonial Legislatures. Those resolutions acknowledged the *Slaves*, in the British Colonies, to be *fellow subjects* of the

honourable men who occupy the benches of St. Stephen's Chapel. They admitted the principle, that *these Slaves* ought to participate in the civil rights and privileges enjoyed by other classes of His Majesty's subjects. This was strange language for the ears of white men in the West Indies, who have been habituated from infancy to regard their Slaves—not as fellow subjects—not as *persons*, but as *chattels*, things to be branded with a mark as their property, to be bought and sold at their pleasure, and to be driven like cattle, with a cart-whip, to uncompensated labour. Our slaves, our fellow subjects! Rights and privileges for our chattels! Surely the Right Honourable Secretary is beside himself. Surely he has never breathed in the West Indies!

We are not sure, however, that, but for the awful delay which it has caused in the work of Colonial reform, the course of again making trial of the disposition of the Colonists to carry into effect the recorded wishes of Parliament, may not, upon the whole, be attended with advantage. He now knows from experience, that the Colonists are spoiled children, ready to insult and malign the generous country which has too long forborne to restrain their petulance. The reception which they have given to the recommendations of His Majesty, framed in accordance with the resolutions above referred to, will enable him and his colleagues to come down to Parliament for counsel, under very advantageous circumstances. He can now say, that notwithstanding the forbearance and lenity exercised towards the Colonial assemblies, "contumacious resistance" has been made by them to the recorded wishes of Parliament\*, and he can recommend, without hesitation, "the determined and persevering enforcement" of measures for meliorating the condition of the Slave population, and for extinguishing slavery in the Colonies.

The British public appear to have foreseen that an application for counsel would be made to their representatives by His Majesty's Ministers, and they are pressing forward, in all parts of the Kingdom, with Resolutions and Petitions to the two Houses of Parliament, in which they express their determination to support the servants of the Crown, in the execution of the arduous and important work which has been committed to them. That the work in which they are engaged is arduous as well as important, will be felt by all who consider that the principles recognized in Mr. Canning's resolutions are strenuously opposed, not only by the Colonial Legislatures, but by that very numerous and opulent, and closely confederated body of West India proprietors, who have promulgated to the British nation, and to the world, an uncompromising assertion of *right* to the persons of their Slaves. These proprietors, with their agents, and consignees and mortgagees, form a very considerable component part of the legislature of this country, and cannot be successfully encountered unless the ministers of the Crown be powerfully and promptly supported by the voice of the British people.

Let, then, the British people, high and low, rich and poor, who are not infected by West India interests, and West India connections, combine their efforts in the great cause of justice and humanity: let them stand forth, in Petitions to the two Houses of Parliament, as the

\* See Speech of Mr. Canning in the House of Commons, on the 15th May, 1823.

avowed friends and advocates of their wretched *fellow subjects*, the Slaves in the Colonies, who are not permitted to speak for themselves—who have no tongues but their bleeding wounds to plead their cause. Let the British people acquit themselves manfully of an awful duty which they owe to God, the author of all the blessings which they enjoy, as Christians and as Britons. Let them especially declare their unwillingness any longer to uphold, by *bounties and protecting duties*, that system of Slavery which they abhor as cruel and unjust. Let the British people do this; and let them withhold their votes, at the approaching general election, from those candidates who will not unequivocally promise to promote the mitigation and extinction of Colonial Slavery by parliamentary enactments. And let them, moreover, discourage the consumption of West India produce, and require from those tradesmen with whom they deal, to be furnished, as far as possible, with the produce of the labour of free men. Let them do this; and the system of Slavery in the Colonies, which is the curse and the bane of their country, must and will be done away. It cannot subsist without artificial and very expensive support, administered to it *gratuitously* out of the pockets of the poor, as well as the rich of the United Kingdom. By giving such support to a system of Slavery and *Heathenism*—for no attempt has yet been made to reclaim the great mass of the Slave population from the state of *heathenish darkness* in which they were born and have lived—the people of England are sinning against God, and against human nature. They are frustrating the purpose of Him who would have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth. They are keeping on a level with brutes those whom the great Creator made of one blood with themselves, and who are capable of participating in all the enjoyments of intellectual and immortal beings.

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#### SAMPLES OF JAMAICA JURISPRUDENCE.

“Why should that wrong be tolerated in the West Indies, for which a man would be hanged in England?”—C. J. Fox.

#### TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

As the exposure of abuses in a free country is usually the first step taken to secure their reformation, I shall be particularly obliged by your inserting the following extracts from some Jamaica newspapers of recent date:

“*Public Advertiser, Kingston, Jamaica, April 22d, 1825.*”

“Sentence.—For Manslaughter.—The prisoner was put to the dock, and by his Counsel, Mr. Recorder, pleaded his clergy.—His Honor then passed sentence:—‘You were indicted for the wilful murder of a female slave, but the jury only found you guilty of manslaughter. It appeared in evidence, that you were amusing yourself by discharging a loaded gun through the window of your dwelling-house; after some time, this gun was reloaded by one of your companions, and you proposed firing it over an assemblage of negroes; he declined, when YOU

POINTED OUT A NEGRO OF YOUR OWN PROPERTY, AND PROPOSED TO FIRE AT HIM, he again declined; you then renewed your proposal to fire it over the crowd, and upon his refusing, you seized the gun, and he had hardly time to utter an exclamation of surprise, when you discharged the gun; the result was, that this female slave, who was sitting in the crowd, was shot, and the melancholy event was soon announced to you by the *cries and lamentations of her mother*. By your **HEEDLESS CONDUCT**, you have hurried a fellow creature out of existence; you have bereft a mother of a child, and you have affixed a stain upon your own character, which it will require a long life of prudence and humanity to obliterate. The *humane* jury who tried you, accompanied their verdict with a recommendation to mercy. We will give that recommendation its due weight, and not inflict the full extent of punishment upon you; we hope, however, that the punishment which we shall inflict will act as a warning to others, and make a due impression on yourself.' The prisoner was then sentenced to **TWELVE MONTHS' IMPRISONMENT!!!**"

Such is the estimate given by Jamaica jurisprudence of the guilt of murdering a fellow creature, and that too in a case of the most aggravating character—"A DAUGHTER SHOT IN THE PRESENCE OF HER MOTHER," whose cries and lamentations were the expressive voice employed by suffering nature to proclaim to her oppressor the extent of her own bereavement, and of his crime. To what a depth of degradation must not that man be sunk, *who, without any kind or degree of provocation, openly invites another to take away the life of an unoffending fellow creature, and subsequently himself undertakes the public perpetration of it*. Does not every circumstance in this tragical affair loudly proclaim, that Slavery does deeply degrade those exposed to its baneful influence; that it is a system, which, depressing one class to the abject condition of a brute—of a chattel—of a saleable commodity, and promoting the unrighteous exaltation of the other class—corrupts justice at the very source—perverts the good order of society, opens the door to every degree of despotism and cruelty, and occasionally leads to this dreadful consummation of it? Can we not also reasonably infer, that if the *most heinous crime* is thus committed for *mere wantonness*—that when *interest prompts or provocation excites*—all the catalogue of *minor woes* will be inflicted with the most unsparing hand? If their sufferings are not regarded in the first instance, what claim to consideration are they likely to have in those which follow?

I will now give the substance of two other sentences passed at the same time, and recorded in the same paper as the preceding. The first was for shooting a slave, who was severely injured; but, as the wound did not prove fatal, the Court deemed *six months' imprisonment* a "*commensurate punishment*"!!!!

In the next case, it appeared that a poor abandoned black girl, who had, for the worst of purposes, been invited into the prisoner's house by his own brother, was so cruelly beat by the prisoner, that two medical men declared the girl's life had been in great danger. For this gross outrage, the Court felt it their duty to award an *adequate punishment*; the prisoner was then sentenced to *one month's imprisonment!!!*

With these accounts of the punishments awarded to the Whites for

their transgressions, I will now contrast the punishments which await those who are "guilty of a skin not coloured like our own." The first case is taken from the Royal Jamaica Gazette, June 11th to 18th, 1825. "Richard Price, a Wangee, marked REID on the right, and apparently H on the left shoulder; he was sentenced, at a Slave Court, to *twelve months' hard labour in the workhouse*, "for OFFERING VIOLENCE to a WHITE person!!!!" Thus a poor *ignorant* slave, for the *mere offer of violence to a white person*, has a severer punishment, by *twelve months' hard labour*, than the *enlightened* white man receives who is guilty of the *wilful murder of the black*. Lord Bathurst, forcibly struck with the gross inequality of the punishments in the Bahamas new slave laws, remarks,—“Since the *superiority of rank and education* which belongs to the *white inhabitant*, is an *aggravation* of the offence committed by him, there is an *injustice* in assigning to the *aggravated offence* the *minor punishment*.” Let this just reasoning be applied to the above cases, and it is hardly possible to describe a course of procedure more directly opposed to every principle of equity. May the victims of such oppression be speedily released from its grasp!

The next case is from the Postscript to the St. Jago Gazette, July 9th to 16th, 1825. King v. Tom—to Jno. Harrison, Esq. for being an incorrigible runaway, guilty—*workhouse FOR LIFE!!!*

Such is the present state of despotism and misrule in a colony of the British empire. Have we not, in these cases, most convincing proof afforded us of the truth of Dr. Paley's remarks, that "the West Indian Slave is placed for life in subjection to a dominion and system of laws, the most merciless and tyrannical that were ever tolerated on the face of the earth"? Must we not also admit, with the late excellent Bishop of St. David's, that "the very existence of Slavery must be a heavy reproach to this country, and a disgrace to the age that can tolerate it"? And must we not also cordially concur with Mr. Fox, that "it is necessary to abolish Slavery for the sake of our jurisprudence, and of our character as Christians"? And as these cases have just occurred in a Colony, which we are informed, is "*already possessed of an improved body of Slave Statutes*," must we not agree with Mr. Canning, that "*despotism is, 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*"? Let, then, the representatives of a free people be earnestly petitioned to take this important work into their own hands, and bring this odious system to the earliest practicable termination. I earnestly entreat the zealous co-operation of every individual, who values the blessing of personal liberty for himself, to commiserate the hard lot of this degraded suffering race of our fellow creatures, WHO, HAVING BEEN DEPRIVED OF THEIR LIBERTY BY AN ACT OF GROSS AND ACKNOWLEDGED INJUSTICE ON THE PART OF THIS GOVERNMENT, HAVE AN UNDOUBTED CLAIM ON US FOR ITS RESTITUTION.

I am yours, &c.

JUSTITIA.



## ANTI-SLAVERY PUBLIC MEETINGS.

It is gratifying to observe the attention which the subject of Slavery is beginning to excite in every part of the Kingdom, and the many interesting Meetings which have been held for the purpose of petitioning Parliament for its amelioration and final extinction. Our limits preclude our giving a detailed account of any of these Meetings: but we have much pleasure in presenting to our readers three excellent addresses on the subject, recently delivered in different parts of the kingdom, by men whose high station and talents give weight to every sentiment which falls from them.

At a Meeting held in the City of Bath, on the 3d of February, 1826, the Lord Bishop of BATH and WELLS entered the room, accompanied by the Worshipful the Mayor; and having taken the chair, opened the business of the Meeting by expressing the very sincere pleasure it afforded him to see so numerous and respectable an assemblage as were met on this occasion; affording, as it did, good and satisfactory proof that a question which involved the dearest interests of humanity, and which had for so many years been advocated by the associated efforts of virtue and eloquence, was duly appreciated in this city. The system of Slavery was directly contrary to the precepts of our religion, and to the dictates of humanity; for, as in the case of war, although the Bible contained no specific prohibition of Slavery, yet it was impossible to look into a page of that sacred book, and not to see that the practice was substantially condemned by its letter, spirit, and essence; and when the orb of Christianity shall have attained its zenith, and shall shed its meridian lustre over the moral world, war and Slavery shall no longer exist. Slavery is also opposed to the requirements of morality—that great law of right written in the heart of every man by the finger of God. In a word, it is contrary to natural as well as revealed religion. His Lordship then proceeded to remark, on the necessity of proceeding with prudence and caution, and with a due regard to the interests of all concerned. His Lordship then obviated the objection, that because the question of Colonial Slavery was now under the consideration of Parliament, there was no need of popular representations to the Legislature upon the subject, by remarking on the very tardy progress which has been made, by Legislative measures, in mitigating the abject condition of the slaves, and said that the general expression of public feeling upon this question would have the effect of accelerating those beneficial measures which the Colonial Legislatures seemed by every means disposed to retard. His Lordship expressed his “sorrow and shame” that the Slave Trade was even yet, in the 19th century, carried on by several neighbouring States, who still force from the soil of Africa her devoted children—severing the dearest ties of human kind; and transporting the hapless victims of rapine and cupidity across the waves of the Atlantic, compel them to toil in a Torrid Zone at the whip and will of their merci-

less masters! He was not without hope that the expression of public feeling in this country on the atrocities of Slavery may have an effect upon foreign nations, and thus accelerate the utter termination of the odious traffic in human flesh. His Lordship concluded by eulogising the moderation observed in the Resolutions and Petition that would be proposed for adoption; said he was glad of the opportunity of aiding the object of the Meeting; that he did not think he had stepped beyond the line of his official duty in advocating a measure sanctioned alike by Religion and Morality; that, as a Minister of the Church of England, he should look back with pleasure on the act of this day; and that the great desire of his heart was, that the blessings of rational liberty might be extended to all the nations of the earth, without distinction of colour or climate [Great applause].

At a County meeting held in Buckingham on the 17th January,

Lord NUGENT was unanimously called to the Chair. His Lordship, in opening the proceedings, said, "he should not detain the Meeting with any expression of the pleasure and pride he felt at being called to preside where freemen were assembled in the cause of humanity, justice, and liberty—in the cause of eight hundred thousand fellow men, and fellow subjects, deprived of the best gift of GOD to his creatures—the blessing of personal freedom:—of men, engaged in the cause of their country's honour, which was still unredeemed, while one slave or slave-master existed under the shadow of the British flag. Even the Colonial Party had begun to relent, and, instead of uncompromising hostility to all change, had adopted a different system, with the motto 'gradual abolition.' He did not like the phrase. Unprepared and sudden emancipation of a population of beings, whom the crimes of this country had, for centuries, taught to know no law but their masters' word—no government but that of the cart-whip—was not the object of the friends of freedom. The Planters knew it was not; but when *they* said, 'gradual,' they meant 'above all things, and at all events, mind you do not advance rapidly.'" When *we*, said his Lordship, say, 'gradual,' we mean, 'above all things, and at all events, mind you advance.' [Cheers.] Very important progress had been already made. About four years ago, on a motion of Mr. Wilberforce's, on a day honourable to the House of Commons, and auspicious to mankind, the phrase 'ultimate emancipation' was first adopted there; and in 1823, the House of Commons resolved, that it 'was anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose, at the earliest period consistent with the well-being of the Slaves, and safety of the colonies.' That vote no circumstances could ever hereafter reverse or expunge [cheers]. The Colonial party asked for compensation. He would vote for compensation to-morrow, but never, never, as a matter of right. Never would he admit the right of one man to plunder another of his natural liberty—his heart was for ever shut against such a claim. England now paid 1,200,000*l.* in increased price of sugars and bounties on export, for the maintenance of slavery in the West Indies. He would willingly pay that sum directly, to redeem 800,000 fellow subjects from slavery, and restore them to the

right that God had given them, at the moderate price of 11. 5s. per head per annum [cheers]. How often have we heard that the condition of the slave is on the whole preferable to that of the English peasant. Oh how often is this said, with a degree of gravity too which would be very becoming in any proposition a little less monstrously absurd! We see his hard life and scanty means of comfort, and even of existence; in this rigorous season too, and we are told that his condition is harder than the slave's. Indeed? Then shame on ourselves! Attend to his wants, better his condition, raise him from the misery and degradation to which he is too generally reduced by that bad system called the *Poors' Laws*. But, in the name of common justice, common humanity, and common sense, use not his sufferings as an apology for the unspeakable horrors of slavery. At least, if he cannot always find a tender consideration of his necessities, the English peasant can always find redress against barefaced outrage, nor can the hand of created man be raised against him unpunished [cheers]. Enjoyments few, comforts few, hardships many and difficult to endure; but rights, God be thanked, intact and intangible—Rights which may look the proudest oppressor in the face, and which would wither the hand that would so much as dare to approach them—Rights, which, if not imperishable, can perish only among the last expiring embers of the English Constitution [loud and repeated cheers]. But, slavery, how can we picture to ourselves?—Scenes such as in this land eye hath not seen, and such as it hath not entered into the heart of freemen but most imperfectly to conceive! We cannot generalise—we must take a single instance. Place the English peasant in his cottage; surround him, like the negro, if you will, with every comfort which a better climate and the interested care of a calculating master can afford; surround him with his family. He looks at his wife, the partner only of his bondage; her back, perhaps, striped with the lash, her wrists galled with the fetters, and on her shoulder the burning brand which marks her as the chattel of another—Subject, like himself to the cruel caprice of a slave driver, to all the violence which unrestrained and irresponsible power never fails to engender in the human mind; subject, perhaps, to worse—to the delicate partialities of her task master! And these are the domestic reflections of a slave, until the crack of the thong calls him to labour, and tells him that reflection is not for the slave.—He looks at his children; not the hope and pride of his affections, but children born only to receive from him, and drink to the dregs the bitter cup of hereditary degradation—to inherit from him the hateful and hopeless portion of the brand, and the chain, and the cart-whip—A family whom he may love, but whom he can neither cherish nor defend—and this is the condition of 800,000 British subjects [cheering]. It is said that slaves have no feelings to be wounded by this. Then a thousand times cursed be the system which has extinguished such feeling within them! But of this even slavery is not guilty, No; the poor slave can feel as a man, and has feelings which would often put those of more cultivated minds to shame.

'As the stern captive spurns his iron load,  
And asks the image back that Heav'n bestowed,  
Proud in his eye the fire of nature burns,  
And, as the Slave departs, the Man returns!' [hear, hear!]

I would that those who deny to the poor slave a participation in feelings like our own, who libel the justice of creating Providence, and would cancel the charter by which God has given feeling and soul to universal man—I would that they had but heard the testimony on that point, as I did, of a slave master, but one of the kindest of human beings, a gentleman who resided long on his property at St. Vincent's. He told me, that after a few years' residence there, finding that the village in which his gang lived was unhealthy, and incommodious, he looked about for some better spot to build habitations upon for them. He fixed upon one with all the advantages that situation and good air, and, the inestimable blessing there, of good water, could give them, and he employed the gang to collect materials for building. One day, as he was superintending his preparations, one of the gang advanced to him as spokesman, and begged he would be kind enough to say what he was making those preparations for. He pointed out the advantages of the scite on which they stood, and told them he meant to remove them from the unhealthy swamp in which they were living. Suddenly a strange and universal groan burst from the gang. Divers slaves came up to him in attitudes of sorrow and supplication. They pointed to their village. One said, 'Under that tree lies the body of a child I lost in its infancy.' Another, 'There are buried my parents.' A third 'In that village I lived with my wife; I lost her. Do not remove us from that spot.' Let Him who alone can try the hearts of man judge between such feelings and those of the majority of the men in whose hands the mortal destinies of these poor creatures are placed; between such feelings and those of the Legislatures of Barbadoes and Jamaica [hear, hear, hear!]. Why, then, driven to their last hold, the planters take refuge in the very citadel of their cause. They ask us, 'Have we not at least an interest in the health of our labourers? And can their health be better secured than by kind treatment? Would any man who values his property abuse or overwork or starve his farm-horse?'—Let us for a moment subdue the sentiments of disgust and indignation that spring up to meet such a question; let us forget every claim of right and reason and immortal soul; grant that man is justly given to his fellow man as a beast of burthen and of toil; and grant that the driver has the same interest and no passions—neither of which, I apprehend, is true;—then I turn from the case of the slave of the farm and of the household, to a worse state than either—the jobbing slaves; a class whom it is always the business of the planters to keep out of sight in these discussions; slaves kept by masters who have no land, to let out on jobs to those who have. And I then say that, whatever is the interest of him who works the poor horse in the mill to his last expiring sob, the same precisely is the interest of the master of this jobbing gang. And who is to provide for the jobbing slave, when old age or hopeless infirmity has closed for ever the account of profit between his master and himself? But I turn willingly from these subjects, to one which may well inspire us with hope and confidence in the good work to which we have set our hands. Let us look back to the Slave Trade debates. It is cheering, at least it is consolatory to see that the self-same opposition was raised, and nearly the self-same arguments, against the abolition of the Slave Trade, until the very hour when the slave ship went down with the bloody

flag still flying, went down amidst the cheers of a triumphant majority in Parliament, and a sympathising people; the Slave Trade, now named only among the foul crimes against which the laws of the land have vindicated those of God and of nature, by declaring them felony by statute. The Slave Trade finds no one bold enough now to defend even its memory. And yet, when we hear the Slave Trade reprobated, and slavery defended by the same persons, I must own I think the Slave Trade unfairly treated. The abuse of defunct Slave Trade is a cheap price for the abettor of living slavery to pay by way of compromise. But we cannot allow the Colonial party on these terms to cry truce with us, by stigmatising the Slave Trade. There is not one general principle on which the Slave Trade is to be stigmatised, which does not impeach slavery itself. If Slave Trade is spoliation, the liberty of the man is the spoil, and his fellow man loses his title to the possession. If slavery is more to be authorised on one account than any other, it is because it perpetuates, and always must, a Contraband Slave Trade. The Slave Trade abolition is incomplete, rapine and murder are still carried on, and by English hands too, upon the defenceless shores of Africa, and the murderous horrors of the middle passage still abound, and must abound, while slavery exists. It is with you, it is with the people of England, now to urge Parliament on to its duty. Great objects are in preparation for next Session. But we must look to your Petitions for support. You have in your cause the gigantic powers of Mr. Brougham, the fascinating eloquence of Sir J. Mackintosh, the indefatigable activity and knowledge of Mr. Buxton and Dr. Lushington, and you have the veteran and honest zeal of Mr. William Smith. I would advert to the invaluable assistance out of Parliament, of one of the most distinguished supporters of this great cause, whose name, I trust, we shall be honoured with as a Vice President; but it would be the worst taste in the world of me to speak of him while his son (Mr. Stephen) is at my left hand [hear, hear!] I may however speak; how can we here be silent? on the venerable and glorious example of his immortal kinsman, Mr. Wilberforce. May the calm evening of his pure and illustrious life be cheered and made truly happy by meeting the final consummation of the great cause with which it is identified [cheers]. I glory in the position in which you have just placed me in this society. I only feel shame in the length of time I have trespassed upon you. Yet let me implore in the name of your country, because of freedom,—in the name of Justice and of Right, because of freedom,—in the name of Religion,—of that Being ‘whose service’ at least ‘is perfect freedom,’ never to relax your efforts until they shall have obtained peace for Africa, liberty for those hundreds of thousands of fellow subjects, who are unrepresented here but by your sympathy,—and, though long delayed, the unspeakable glory for your native land, of leading the way before the Old Nations at least of the earth (some parts of the New World have set us a noble example), in that great blessing for the whole of mankind, the full and entire abolition of Slavery.—[This address was received throughout with great applause, which lasted for some time after its conclusion.]

On Wednesday, February 1, a Public Meeting for the same purpose was held at EDINBURGH, the EARL of ROSEBERRY in the Chair.

During the meeting a slight opposition was attempted, but when an opportunity was offered to the opponent to speak, he slunk away. We give the speech of HENRY COCKBURN, Esq. Advocate, who addressed the Noble Chairman as follows.

HENRY COCKBURN, Esq. Advocate: "My Lord, I hold in my hand a Petition, which I propose to submit to this meeting, as proper to be adopted; and after what you have heard, I have little more than to say, that it embodies the Resolutions which have now been passed; and that from the bottom of my heart, I do most sincerely approve of all that this Society has done—of all that it is now doing—and of the great work which I trust it is yet destined to accomplish [applause]. The fact is, my Lord, that we have now come to that stage in the history of this great question at which all doubts as to its material features are removed. I don't say that we have come to the time at which the railer is to be silent, or the selfish man is to avow that he is confuted; but I do say that we are come to that stage in which no person, without plainly professing to resign his understanding, can say, 'I am still a friend of Slavery' [immense applause]. About a year or two ago, his Majesty's Government required the Colonial Authorities to send to Parliament a statement of what they had done for the amelioration of their slaves. They have sent that statement; and we now see, under their own hand-writing, how true their former statements were—and, if we only know them by their own accounts, we should judge more candidly of them. We have it on the official reports of the Local authorities in the West Indies themselves; and the essence of these reports is to be found in a book lately published, the name of which you will all observe, for I beg you will all read it for yourselves: it is entitled, 'A Picture of Negro Slavery, drawn by the Colonists themselves.' This pamphlet any body may read in the course of about two hours; it consists of about 150 pages, of which I should suppose, upon a guess, not twenty of them are written by any person but the colonists themselves. These pages contain the *evidence* by the West Indian planters, why Great Britain should no more interfere. These pages contain the proofs that they are going on perfectly well. Now, my Lord, if there be one person in this room, who has not yet read every page of that *terrible record*, that person has not done—not what charity asks—but what justice demands in behalf of the family of man [applause]. Since the commencement of the long annals of human atrocity, I don't believe that such a picture ever met the human eye. There was an old Italian poet, who had passed through many personal sufferings, and lived in the most troublous era of his country's history, who was possessed of a fertile and gloomy imagination, and who, with the pen of fiction, sat down to embody in words all the terrible conceptions of his soul. This was a cause to exhaust his genius by supposing his enemies and human criminals placed in an aerial region of his own making, and in assigning to them all the dreadful punishments, all the terrible employments, by which he thought that guilt ought to be visited. It has always been imputed to that genius, that it is in some degree absurd, by the extravagance of his fictitious wretchedness.—Gentlemen, I assure you, upon my personal authority—for I have read the book—that all the horrors of the dark fancy of Dante are exceeded by the actual

horrors which pass every day in our own islands upon those whom we have torn from their country to put them there, protected by what we call our laws—shielded by what we term the charity of our religion—sprung from the same origin with ourselves—partakers of the same common nature—destined to the same immortality [great applause]. I repeat, that if there be a person here who has not read that terrible and affecting record, let him go home, and let him not stay till he has got and read it. I repeat the title again, ‘A Picture of Negro Slavery, drawn by the Colonists themselves,’—what, in this presence, I could not read one word of; and I know that the hardest heart I address, cannot read one page of it without feeling that heart to beat quick; that ere he reads another, his blood will grow cold; and that he will shut the book at last, astonished and confounded at the atrocities which he, by his silence and apathy, should be the means of committing upon those persons [applause]. And I trust that no squeamish delicacy will prevent any man or woman who hears me going through from the beginning to the end of it—you will not spare yourselves the horror and laceration of heart, the sickness which its disgusting details inspire—go on to the end—and then refuse to sign this petition if you can [cheers]. The fact is, that contemplating what the colonists themselves have told us is the improved condition of their slaves, it is to my mind one of the most humiliating pictures of the weakness of our nature that we can speak or hear so coolly of such a subject. We are living in the midst of our personal and domestic comforts; we rise in the morning, and the sun shines on our employments; we close the day in the midst of our pleasures, our business and our families. But we consider not during these last twenty-four hours, how many of these slaves have suffered all that tyranny can inflict—all that humanity can endure. We think that because we attend a casual meeting, and sign our name to a petition, we have done enough; and we do no more. And yet we meet every day with the most sensible and amiable persons, possessed of what is called a good heart;—ask them to think of this matter, ask them to come here,—they shake their heads, look grave, and give a few sighs for the sufferings of humanity; but they tell us, that they do not like to interfere,—they return to their own selfish pleasures, wrapt up in the complacency of their own minds; though we tell them that we want no more than the expression of their voice, and that by their silence they are increasing the miseries of their fellow-creatures [applause]. Adam Smith, that most accurate analyser of our moral sympathies, puts this case:—Suppose a man, of what we reckon generous enough feeling, has some little ailment of his own—some scratch about the edge of his nail—he is as wretched as he can be; and he talks and thinks of nothing else but his scratched nail. Suppose a person were to meet this man, and to tell him, that certain news had been received that the whole empire of China had been swallowed up by a wave, and that three hundred millions of his fellow-creatures had in a moment ceased to live—what does he do? The case the learned Doctor has put with a perfect knowledge of, but with a severe sarcasm on, our nature.—He will utter some well turned period on the precariousness of mortal life—look sad for a little—walk to the end of the division of a street, and then return to his nail [laughter]. Many of us exhibit in our conduct

the fancied case put by this profound philosopher. Here are we, an assembly met for the mitigation and gradual abolition of Slavery; and yet, notwithstanding the acknowledged benevolence of our designs, and notwithstanding the respectability of this Meeting, we cannot muster as a society, more than five hundred contributors, to the extent of five shillings a year. But even with that small sum, what instruction has not been poured upon the minds of these poor benighted creatures! What shocks have not been given to that system of tyranny by which they are oppressed! The mite multiplied becomes a treasure; and if these mites were poured in from one end of the island to the other, how many thousands might we not save from the worst of possible degradations! Why, then, is it withheld? The truth is, it is the magnitude and enormity of the evil which prevents us from seeing it. If it was only a case of individual suffering, how easily would our sympathies be roused by it! for we could then hear every groan, and see every tear, and mark the quivering of every muscle in our fellow-sufferer. It is when we can follow him through his whole tale of family sufferings, that our sympathies become fluttered, and we are all humanity. But, when we attempt to describe the wretchedness endured in distant islands of the ocean, and talk of hundreds, or thousands, or millions of sufferers; then our imagination is baffled by the conception, and we fall back on the generality of our nature, and repose in thought upon the continuance of this evil, as we do upon the continuance of some of those evils in the moral and natural universe, which we cannot account for, and which we know man cannot remove. But could we only see the real circumstances of a single slave for a single day—I cannot tell you of them—how different would be our sensations! Imagination cannot conceive, nor words express, what these sufferings are—where every principle of human nature is subverted—where all the extremity of distress is suffered that man can bear, and all the extremity of insolence which power and selfishness can inflict or man sustain—where there is life without the liberty of making the free use of their own limbs—labour without property—families without lawful relations—wrongs without redress—punishment without guilt—minds in which memory can remember no early education, fancy anticipate no era of repose [murmurs of applause].—And yet, with all this, we are cold to the prosperity of this Society; and if our funds were allowed to become exhausted, in the next year, as they were in the last, and if our Petition shall be allowed to go forth without the great and united voice of this place, every observation made will apply to every individual who shall be conscious that he has not done what in him lies to forward the objects of that Petition. I know that is a common sentiment among many—and it is a very dangerous one, for it encourages apathy—that we ought not to exert ourselves, for we cannot succeed. Many say, ‘What can we do? This system has lasted a hundred years, and Government has done all that is requisite without our interference; *we* need not disturb ourselves, for *we* cannot succeed.’ My Lord, I have no more doubt of the ultimate success of this measure, than I have of any future moral good. There is nothing I anticipate more confidently in this earth, than that the West Indian Islands will yet become the abode, not merely of the English language, but of the principles of the English Government, and



of English justice, and also of the principles of the Christian Religion [applause]. These islands, favoured with all the bounties of nature, have hitherto been cursed only by the selfishness of man. I will say, that though we were assured we could not succeed, that should not abate one jot our holy ardour in this sacred cause. Success is not to be commanded by men, but, speaking in a certain sense, all is in the power of man while he governs the world. We ought never to fail in using those means by which success may most probably be obtained. Had mankind always despaired in this manner, where would have been the Reformation? Where the English Revolution [cheers]? Or where the Redemption of this country from the persecution, which Scotland endured a hundred and fifty years ago [immense applause]? We should remember, that even if we fail, there is an elevation of sentiment—an independence of character—a consciousness of the desire of usefulness, which renders failure in such a cause a greater delight than ordinary success without a struggle, and for a useless end [applause]. Let, therefore, no man imagine he does his duty when he sits down at home, with his hands folded before him, and says, there is a place hemmed in from the regions of the earth by a circle of wretchedness, whose people do not bear the same colour with us,—they speak not the same language, there is a little interfusion of water between us, we do not hear their groans,—we will not attend to them. Let it be remembered, it is only the person who does his duty, that can look the sun in the face, and say, this is not my doing. There is nothing so important in moral life, as to connect great principles with great causes; and there is nothing so utterly heartless and contemptible, as the mind of that creature, who, wrapt up in his own ease, exclaims, ‘I won’t succeed; and therefore I won’t exert myself.’”

The Learned Gentleman concluded his address amid loud and continued plaudits.

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Subjoined is a specimen of the disgusting advertisements which continue to occupy a large portion of every weekly Royal Gazette from the Island of Jamaica. If the enormities here exhibited had been sooner held up to the view of the British public; that vile system of slavery, which still perpetuates them without blushing, would not now pollute any territory subject to the British crown. We will not cease to call the attention of our countrymen to these abominations, so long as they are suffered to exist. Here are human beings, whom in their own persons, or in the persons of their parents, British subjects kidnapped or bribed others to kidnap in Africa,—bought and sold like cattle and other chattels, without regard to family ties, in countries absolutely dependent upon Great Britain for protection, and peculiarly favoured by her commercial code, and that to the prejudice of other dependencies where such atrocities are unknown. Here are human beings seized and sold in execution for their master’s debts:—others, whether freemen or slaves, apprehended and committed to the nearest workhouse, only because their complexion is dark; and, if unable to produce documents of freedom which may have been stolen from them, and not claimed by any owner,—sold after a while to pay the expenses of their committal and confinement! Read these advertisements, British labourers—free though

poor, and blush for those who tell you that these slaves are better off than you. Blush for those who tell you in the face of these documents, that their slaves are not branded and cruelly mangled!

*Royal Jamaica Gazette, Dec. 10, 1825.*

Portland, Dec. 6, 1825.

Notice is hereby given, that on Tuesday the 20th day of the present month, between the hours of ten and twelve o'clock in the forenoon, I shall set up to Public Sale, at the Court House of this Parish, a Sailor Negro Slave, named WILLIAM DRUMMOND, *distrained on for taxes & arrears of taxes* against Arthur R. Jones Esq. JOHN STEEL, C. C.

St. Andrews, Dec. 9, 1825.

Take Notice, that on Monday the 19th day of Dec. next, I shall put up to Public Sale, at the City Tavern, Kingston, between the hours of ten and twelve in the forenoon, a Field Negro Man WILLIAM, *levied on for taxes* due by Mr. George Rickard, Mount Elizabeth.

CALEB M. LITTLEJOHN, C. C.

St. George's Workhouse, Oct. 19, 1825.

Notice is hereby given, that unless the undermentioned Slave is taken out of this Workhouse prior to Monday the 19th day of December next, he will on that day, between the hours of ten and twelve o'clock in the forenoon, be put up to Public Sale, and sold to the highest and best bidder, at the Court House, Buff Bay, agreeably to the Workhouse law now in force, *for payment of his fees* :

THOMAS alias JOHN REYNOLDS, a Moco, 5 feet 5 inches, marked B E on the right, and R S on the left shoulder, country marks on temples, to John Reynolds, Esq. Pimento Grove, St. Thomas in the Vale.

July 18.—Ordered, That the above be published in the newspapers appointed by law, for eight weeks.

By order of the commissioners,

HENRY BURGESS, Sup.

*Royal Jamaica Gazette, Dec. 31, 1825.*

APPREHENDED DESERTERS,

In St. Andrew's Workhouse, Dec. 29, 1825.

ROWLEY, a Creole negro man, 5 feet 5 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches, marked apparently E O on the breasts, and mark not plain on the shoulders; has a mark of an old sore on the outer part of his left leg, and the second toe of his right foot is lost; to George W. Strupan, Esq. Vine Yard Pen, in this parish.—Oct. 6.

WILLIAM, alias WILLIAM ALBELLY, a Nago, 5 feet 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches, marked apparently D B D on left shoulder; has country marks on his back and stomach, also lick marks on his back, and his teeth are filed; to New Castle Plantation, St. David's.—Nov. 23.

HARDANY, a Creole boy, 5 feet 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  inch, has a small scar on his left cheek, blister marks on his back, pouting lips, and speaks thick; to Mr. Davis, tinsmith, Kingston.—Dec. 22.

HYSLOP LAWRENCE, a Chamba, 5 feet 8 inches, has lost some of his lower front teeth, scars on shin of his left leg, which is swoln,

marked not plain, apparently on both shoulders, is rather elderly; to Mount-Rose Pen, St. Mary's.—Dec. 23.

GIFT, a Creole, 5 feet 5 inches, two of her upper front teeth are decayed, and marks of flogging on her back; to Robertsfield Plantation, Port Royal Mountains.—Dec. 24.

MARIA, a Creole, 4 feet 11 inches, has a mark of a cut on her forehead, lost the use of her right side; says she formerly belonged to Dr. Alvarenga, who sold her to a Mrs. Benjamin, a person of colour, Harbour Street, Kingston.—Dec. 29.

In Spanish Town Workhouse, Dec. 9, 1825.

SARAH, a Coromantee, 4 feet 10½ inches, marked I B on shoulders, prominent lips, lost the second and third toes of her left foot, and also one of her lower front teeth; to Mr. John Bryson, Clarendon.—Nov. 28.

JAMES, or JAMES WILLIAMS, a Creole, 5 feet 3 inches, marked W R in one, on different parts of his shoulders, a part of the second and fifth toes of his left foot are lost, and has a large scar on the left side of his head; to one Robert Henry, Kingston.—Dec. 10.

In St. Ann's Workhouse, Dec. 21, 1825.

ANDREW BIGGS, a Munding, says he is free, but cannot shew any document; that he was formerly a pioneer, and was attached to the 33d regiment, stationed at Falmouth.

STRAYS.—In St. Catherine's Pound, Dec. 24, 1825.

Oct. 10.—Light Bay Mare, *no brand mark*, long tail, hind feet white.

Nov. 23.—Bay Stone Mule, marked N on near side and S on off side.

Nov. 25.—Light Bay he Mule, long tail, marked R on near side, and two spots on the back.

DONALD M' BEAN. P. K.

In St. Andrew's Pound, Dec. 29, 1825.

Dec. 16.—Black and White Cow, marked apparently I Y W, sent in by J. P. Tardiff.

Dec. 22.—Brown she Mule, hogged mane, docked tail, sore back; sent in by D. Sutherland.

CALEB BLADES. P.

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*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.*

London, 18, Aldermanbury, March 31, 1826.

No. 10.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

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

### PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, MARCH 1, 1826.

Mr. F. BUXTON rose, pursuant to notice, to present the petition from the inhabitants of the Metropolis, for the Abolition of Slavery in the Colonies. It was more numerously signed than any petition that had ever before been presented to the House. The number of signatures was 72,000. Following the petitions already presented that evening from many other populous and enlightened places, it proved beyond all doubt, the great and lively interest taken by the public with regard to this question. He, therefore, should avail himself of this opportunity to ask the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Canning) what was the course his Majesty's Government intended to pursue as to the amelioration of the condition of the slave population in the Colonies? He would not enter into the general argument of the question, but he would state the precise position in which, at this moment, it stood. In 1823, his Majesty's Government said that it was a question of such vast importance, and of such extreme delicacy, that they desired to have it placed in their hands. Those by whom it had been brought forward consented to the proposition, and it was accordingly transferred to the care of Government. On that occasion the Right Hon. Gentleman stated his opinions very fully regarding the general question of Slavery, and he (Mr. Buxton) having since attentively and deliberately considered the Right Hon. Gentleman's speech, could find no material distinction between his views and those of the original promoters of the discussion. The Right Hon. Gentleman was far from attempting to justify the existence of slavery as a desirable or even tolerable state of society; and he had admitted that the principles of the Christian Religion and the spirit of the British Constitution were equally favourable to the extension of freedom to all who lived under their influence and protection. The Right Hon. Gentleman was a decided advocate of the gradual extinction of what he treated as an unquestionable evil. He would not trouble the House by reading at length the resolutions with which the Right Hon. Gentleman, on that occasion, concluded his speech. It was enough to say, that their purport was clearly to pledge the House to an amelioration of Slavery so effectual, as to lead to a participation, on the part of the Negroes, in all those civil rights and privileges which the rest of the King's subjects enjoyed; in other words, to the final and complete abolition of Slavery. In pursuance of these resolutions, his Majesty's Government had framed an Order in Council, which they intended to bring into operation in those Colonies which were immediately under the authority of the Crown, and to recommend to the Colonies having Legislatures of their own, as the basis of their legislation for the Slave Population. That Order

in Council, though defective in some material respects, certainly contained many excellent regulations. It provided, that Negro evidence should, under certain restrictions, be admissible in the Courts of Law; the marriages of the slaves were legalized; the obstacles in the way of manumission were removed; the use of the whip, as the badge of authority and the stimulus to labour, was prohibited, and, as regarded the punishment of females, entirely abolished; provision was made for eventually putting an end to the practice of Sunday markets, and Sunday labour; the property of the Negro was protected; and he was empowered to apply the property he might possess in purchasing either his own redemption, or that of his immediate relations. On the discussion in 1823, to which he had referred, all parties seemed to be agreed in principle. The only question was, how could the new system be brought, in the soonest and safest manner, into practice? No doubt was expressed by the Hon. Gentlemen connected with the West India interest as to the cordial co-operation of the Colonial Assemblies. The Right Honourable Gentleman, however, foreseeing, as it now appeared, the true nature of the obstructions to be apprehended, had declared that, if his Majesty's Government encountered any opposition partaking of the nature of contumacy, he would call on Parliament to perform its duty towards the Negroes, and exercise its power to compel the melioration of their condition. The principles on which that melioration was to proceed were laid down in the Order in Council. Nothing could be more unequivocal than what was required from the West India Colonists; nor could any thing be more unequivocal than the utter refusal, on their part, to carry into execution the proposed measures for the benefit of their slaves. He was anxious to avoid the excitement of feeling; and he would, therefore, only state the bare facts of the case. Generally speaking, he might say that very little indeed had been done. In Tobago, the Legislature had certainly done something. They had altered the law of evidence, so as to admit the evidence of slaves against free persons in cases of murder and mayhem alone, and that under rigid restrictions; they had changed the market day from Sunday to Thursday; they had reduced the discretionary power of the master from 39 to 20 lashes; they had enlarged the number of days allowed the slaves for their own grounds; and they had protected the slaves' property. In the Bahamas they had partially legalized marriage, and forbidden the separation of families by judicial sale. In Barbadoes they had partially admitted the evidence of slaves against free persons. These he believed were all the improvements which had taken place. But even these scanty concessions had been accompanied with the re-enactment of the worst features of the old system. His Majesty's Government, therefore, were obliged to withhold their assent from even the acts which contained these partial amendments: To this extent the Colonists had carried their attempts to meliorate the condition of their slaves. The House would see, by the contrast, how little they had attempted. They had not abolished the driving system, or the flogging of females; they had not regulated the use of the whip, except in the instances mentioned, or mitigated the arbitrary power of the master, or legalised the marriages of the negroes, or protected their property, or prevented them from being sold separately from their families. They had not in any case given to the slave the power of redeeming himself. In Jamaica, two very insignificant acts had been passed, which were calculated to give some incidental advantages to the Negro, though, undoubtedly, the positive and direct advantages belonged wholly to the master. Nothing else had been done in that Colony, nor, as far as he knew, in any of the other Colonies, having local legislatures, to carry into effect the recorded wishes of the House. The conclusion he drew was, that it was only within the walls of that House they could expect to see any measures enacted, tending to the Abolition of Slavery. The fact was manifest, that either the House must renounce their pledge to the public in behalf of the Negro, or at once take the question into their own hands. He was anxious to say nothing that could give offence to any party; but it was his duty broadly to declare, that it was his deliberate and confirmed conviction, that the House must do the work themselves, or suffer it to be altogether abandoned. He would now conclude by reading an extract from a speech of the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Canning), which far more eloquently explained his sentiments on the subject than he could himself state them. The eloquence of the passage, however, was its least praise. The prophetic spirit by which it was dictated entitled it particularly to the present attention of the House, who would find that every apprehension expressed

in it had unfortunately been realized:—"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 application. 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!"

The Petition was then brought up, and ordered to be read.

Mr. CANNING expressed a wish that the Petition should be read through fully. The Petition was then read through accordingly.

On the question that the Petition do lie on the table,

Mr. CANNING rose to address the House, and spoke to the following effect:—Sir, before I answer the call made upon me by the Hon. Gentleman, I must refer briefly to the contents of the petition which he has selected as best calculated to afford him the opportunity of making that call; because, I presume, he considered it to embody, in the most effective shape, the sentiments in which he participates.\* I was desirous, therefore, to hear it read, in the hope, which has been realized, that I might be able to express my unequivocal agreement in its prayer. I perfectly concur in applauding the unexceptionable terms in which the whole of the petition is couched, and the propriety and moderation in which it suggests the attainment of its object, by the most safe and practicable means. In order to recall, as perfectly as possible, to the memory of the House, the circumstances in which I stand with regard to this question, I will take the liberty to request the Clerk to read the Resolutions I moved in 1823. I am particularly anxious that the very words should be present to the House, before I answer the question of the Hon. Gentleman.

The Resolutions passed by the House, on the motion of Mr. Canning, on the 15th of May, 1823, were then read.

Mr. CANNING resumed. I wished not only to have the resolutions read which I had the honour of moving, but the resolution which was originally proposed by the Hon. Gentleman himself, and by the unanimous voice of the House superseded by mine, because, as the Hon. Gentleman has referred to what I said, as to the existence of slavery being incompatible with the principles of the British Constitution, and the spirit of the Christian Religion, I am desirous the House should understand in what degree I agree with that proposition, and in what degree I dissent from it. Undoubtedly no man can affirm that the state of slavery is consistent in the abstract with the principles of the British Constitution. Still less is it accordant with the mild and benignant spirit of Christianity; but as the resolution was originally moved by the Hon. Gentleman, it was an obvious inference from the statement of that truth, that the incompatibility of slavery with those principles, and with that spirit, was of such a nature as to take away the exercise of all discretion from Parliament, as to the mode of removing the evil. It was to be abated at once as an intolerable nuisance. Gradual means were discarded as unfitted for the occasion, and the whole system of slavery was to be destroyed by the general voice of the community, as a state of things which Religion could not endure, nor the Constitution suffer one hour longer to exist. I am exceedingly unwilling to discuss the principles of religion in a place where religion ought rather to be referred to, than directly brought into debate. But I must say, that though the spirit of Christianity, in the course of ages, gradually extirpated the slavery it found every where prevailing, yet, I believe the precept is no where to be found, which proscribes it as absolutely unlawful. In various countries it consisted with that state, and never, by its early teachers, was declared to be essentially incompatible with it. If, therefore, the proposition means any thing beyond an expression of religious feeling, it is not true. In all ages of the world, the spirit of the Christian Religion had tended towards the extinction of the evil, by slow steps indeed, but with unerring certainty. So with regard to the British Constitution; if it be contended that slavery cannot co-exist with it in any part of the King's dominions, the proposition is undoubtedly untrue; but it surely is not untrue that the freest Parliament of the freest country in the world has knowingly, and with its eyes open, tolerated in parts of its dominions the existence of slavery, more or less

\* See for the petition in question, the Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter, No. VII.

modified, and for more than a century countenanced and encouraged the maintenance of that condition. Do I therefore contend, that it is not our duty to make those changes, which are conformable both with the spirit of our religion, and the principles of our Constitution? Certainly not. The difference between the resolution moved by the Hon. Gentleman, and that by which it was superseded, was, that his allowed no pause, and admitted of no qualification. The resolutions adopted by the House, on the contrary, recommended gradual measures,\* and did not propose, by setting up a principle, to overthrow at a blow a system which Religion has tolerated, and the Constitution has permitted to grow up under its protection. If the conduct of his Majesty's Government be judged with reference to the resolutions unanimously passed by the House, and not by the spirit and tendency of the resolution which was superseded by them, I hope to satisfy the House, that, going upon the principles laid down in those resolutions, we have not been unsteady in our measures, or unmindful of the cause to which we stand pledged. Those resolutions were passed in May, 1823. Copies of them were immediately transmitted to the several Colonies in the West Indies, and in the first instance we attempted, by exhortations, to induce them to act upon the principles of the resolutions, leaving to themselves entirely the mode of action. And I did hope, at that time, that that most desirable result would have been attained, and am now ready to admit that I have been disappointed. The following year I had the honour to state to the House the expedient to which Government had resorted on their first disappointment. That expedient was to embody in an Order in Council those measures which appeared most necessary for the reformation of the negro population. This Order in Council was carried into effect in those Colonies in which the Crown had power to act without the concurrence of a local Legislature.† To the other Colonies it was also sent, with an urgent recommendation that its principles and forms should be adopted by the acts of their own Legislatures. That recommendation, the Hon. Gentleman says, has been totally without effect; and the result shews, he contends, that Parliament is compelled to resume the delegation it had made of its powers to the Government, and take steps of its own, for the accomplishment of its object. It is true that I did state, that if a spirit of contumacy appeared on the part of the Colonies in the shape of a determined resistance to the views of Parliament and the recommendations of Government, I would not hesitate to come down to this House, and ask for the powers necessary to quell the threatened opposition. I do not deny, that I meant to imply, that if such a case did arise, I would advise that we should enforce what they contumaciously resisted. *The whole question between the Hon. Gentleman and me is, whether that case has arisen, and whether it is now necessary that Parliament should take back the powers they have intrusted to the hands of Government, in order to adopt a new course of a more direct and precipitate nature? Though I see much to blame in the conduct of the Colonial Legislatures, I am of opinion that the case of contumacy has not arisen.* I do not deny that I have seen symptoms which have alarmed me. I do not deny that I have seen indications of a spirit, that may in time become a spirit of contumacy; but I will hope to the last; I will carry my forbearance longer, perhaps, than reasonably I ought, before I precipitate a step which necessity only can justify. As to the conduct of Government, the points in the Order in Council are, I understand, on the whole, those which the most sanguine friends to the abolition of slavery, consider such as it is most prudent and useful, in the first instance, to submit to legislation. I have not heard it intimated that there are any points which even the West India interest consider to have been rashly introduced. On the other hand, I have not heard of any material omission tending to the prejudice of the

\* It is difficult to account for the view which Mr. Canning has thought proper to take of Mr. Buxton's resolution as contrasted with his own. In order to shew how groundless the whole of the attempted contrast is, it is only necessary to transcribe that resolution. It was as follows:—"That the state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British Constitution and of the Christian Religion and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British dominions, with as much expedition as may be consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned."

† It has in fact been carried into effect only in one of these Colonies, Trinidad, and partially in another of them, Demarara.

slave. [Mr. Brougham dissented from this proposition.] With respect to the regulations recommended in the Orders in Council, I find, by the latest returns, that the recommendation as to religious instruction, has been modified, more or less, by different colonies; but out of twelve, eight have taken cognizance of it. Respecting the receiving of slave evidence, seven out of twelve have either adopted the recommendation now, or have had such a regulation prevailing. On the subject of marriage, I fear that five only have done anything towards forwarding the recommendation. As far as regards the security of property, eight have taken cognizance of the Order in Council, or had some security before. In regard to manumission, seven had either the recommendation carried into a more or less perfect state before, or have adopted it now. The recommendation respecting the separation of slaves from the estates, I am sorry to say, only four have adopted; but to the adoption of this recommendation, the obstructions which exist are rather of a legal than a moral nature. On the subject of the non-separation of families, only five have adopted the recommendation; eight have adopted the recommendation for mitigating the severity of general punishment; and, with respect to the corporal punishment of females, I am sorry to say, the recommendation has only been listened to by five, although it is by far the simplest and shortest and cheapest mode by which a disposition could be implied of complying with the wishes of Parliament, and which I had thought there was no one legislature could have hesitated to adopt. Of all the cases which can be imagined, this is an instance of refusal which can be explained upon no other ground than a disposition to fly in the face of the legislature. In the only remaining instance, and the most difficult of execution, that of the establishment of Savings Banks, the recommendation has been adopted by two only. This is the information which has been received.\* The question now before the House for discussion between the Hon. Member (Mr. Buxton) and myself is, whether the period has arrived when the conduct of the Colonial Legislatures has assumed a resistance so obstinate, and a contumeliousness so absolute, as to render it necessary for us to abandon the course we have already pursued, and to stir at the present that great question, upon which, if necessity should arise, I shall have no hesitation in expressing my opinions—I mean the question of legislating for our Colonies. I cannot pretend to deny that the late proceedings in the principal Colonial legislature have filled me with sentiments which I do not wish to express. I confess, that when I remember the many trials which have taken place in that country, and the instances in which life has been taken away on so small a portion of questionable evidence—when I contemplate the result of those trials upon such evidence, and see that in Jamaica a bill for the admissibility of slave evidence was thrown out—a measure in which the question of human life is concerned—when I witness proceedings so sanguinary—but I would rather address an imploring voice to the legislature, and entreat them quickly to wipe away the stain: and from some circumstances which have come to my knowledge, I have the greatest hopes that, in the next session of the Colonial Legislature, an act will pass to accomplish this object. I am anxious to give them another chance for that desirable consummation, which we all should rejoice to see take place. I am desirous to give space and rest for a fair trial; but I am not at variance with the Hon. Member (Mr. Buxton), except as to the question of degree. If due advantage be not taken of that space and rest which is permitted them, it may then become the duty, if not of Parliament to take out of the hands of Government that trust which I hope they have not unfaithfully executed, at least of Government to call upon the Parliament to arm them with additional power. It would not be

\* After a most careful examination of all the means of information accessible to the public, it does not appear, whatever *cognizance* the Colonial legislatures may have taken of the above topics, that any of them has passed an act for empowering slaves to redeem themselves; or for preventing the sale of slaves detached from the estate; or for abolishing the flogging of females; or for establishing savings banks. One only appears to have provided for the repose of the sabbath; two for the legalizing of marriage, and the restriction of the driving whip; and only three in any degree, and that a very slight one, for the security of property; or for the non-separation of families; or for the mitigation of arbitrary punishments; and in a very restricted measure indeed, for admitting the evidence of slaves.



answering the question of the Hon. Gentleman, as I did not state, that during the remaining interval it is the intention of the Government at home to take such steps as will bring the intentions of the Colonial Legislature to a fair trial—it is the intention of his Majesty's Government to direct the introduction of a Bill into each of the Legislatures in their next session, embodying the Order in Council, so as to ensure the acceptance, rejection, or modification of the recommendations which it contains. The House will then understand there are three gradations in the course which has been pursued. 1st. The vote of this House was sent to the Colonial Legislatures, coupled with the recommendation of the Government to accede to the principles which that vote comprehended. That having been *refused*, the Government threw out an enactment of its own, enforcing those points in which it had the power, and recommending those others in which it did not exercise its authority. That having failed, we now propose, that a Bill, founded on the principles to which this House has acceded, should be sent to each Colonial Legislature; and upon that Bill they must come to some decision, subject to the various modifications which the different circumstances of each Colony may require. I should be therefore extremely sorry that the course of experiment should be disturbed, for I am persuaded that there exists in the Colonies not only much resistance, but misconception. In many cases, too, they expect some compensation equivalent to what they consider the deterioration of their property. I am at a loss to know what deterioration can arise, except by withdrawing the service of their slaves by compulsory manumission—and their compensation in that case they would find in the appraisal of the slave so withdrawn from his ownership. But in the case of the general amelioration of the condition of the slave, compensation is not to be given [cheers]. Their best compensation they would find in the increased value of the slave's labour—in his increased happiness and comfort—in his elevation from the condition of a brute to a state approximating the dignity of man. Many of the objections which now exist may be done away with in time; the experiment is at least worth making; and I should much regret that Parliament should take any step to intercept the chance of a plan, which, if it succeeds, will be much more acceptable than any forcible measure; and if it should fail, Parliament would at least have the consolation of not having resorted to the ultimate measure until they had exhausted all their expectations of any thing being done by the Colonies themselves. Coercion must be applied to *confirmed* contumacy—but that degree of contumacy has not yet arisen, to call for its exercise. I do confess, I have seen some symptoms displayed, which the Government would much desire to see done away with. But time may render any extraordinary interference unnecessary; and during the interval which shall be left for the trial of the experiment, I mean to supply an omission, which I am at a loss how it could have occurred at the passing of these resolutions—I mean to propose that these resolutions be communicated to the House of Lords, for their concurrence. I have now stated the whole amount of what the Government proposes to do. I trust the House will agree with me in thinking that it would be inexpedient to make any attempt at legislating in the present session; but I do so, neither denying the abstract power of Parliament, or the possibility of an occasion arising for its exercise; but simply not admitting that a case has arisen to call for its exercise at the present moment.

In reply to a question from Mr. Brougham, intended to elicit more explicit information as to the improvements which had been effected by the Colonial legislatures, Mr. CANNING replied with some hesitation, that, he *believed* that as to the admissibility of evidence, steps had been taken for carrying into effect the recommendations of the House, in St. Vincent's, St. Kitts, and Grenada. On the subject of manumission, only one Legislature had adopted the recommendation. As to the separation of families, and general punishment, Tobago and St. Kitts had attended to the suggestion. St. Vincent had done *something*—Grenada *something*—and as to the driving system, St. Kitts.

Mr. BUXTON wished to know whether, in Jamaica, which contained one half of the Black population, any thing had been done? The Governor had said that in last December, after another Session, nothing had been done towards amelioration.

Mr. CANNING said he was afraid, that, with respect to Jamaica, nothing had been done, except the measure for allowing slaves to take by bequest.

Mr. WILLIAM SMITH said, the House ought to be informed whether it was the

intention of the Right Hon. Gentleman, in case nothing was done before the next Session, to call the attention of Parliament to the subject. The House ought to attend to the speech of the Duke of Manchester, at the close of the last Session, addressed to the House of Assembly in the month of last December, in which he complains that they had allowed another year to pass away without any attempt to improve the condition of the Negroes. The contumacy of these Legislatures would be quite contemptible, did it not demonstrate that they would yield to neither kindness nor remonstrance, or, in fact, to any thing but force. In conclusion, the Hon. Member observed, that the sentiments which had been extracted by his Hon. Friend (Mr. Buxton) from a former speech of the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Canning) with respect to the hopelessness of any benefit from Colonial legislation on the subject of Slavery, and which were expressed with equal force and eloquence, applied with as much propriety to the circumstances of the present times, as those in which they were delivered.

Mr. Secretary PEELE said, there were various points mentioned in the speech of the Hon. Gentleman, which deserved the most serious attention; but there was one, above all others, upon which he could not avoid expressing a decided opinion—the qualification of slaves to give evidence in a court of justice. Of that he would say, that he hoped not one year, no not even a single session, would pass by without the enactment of some regulation upon the subject. A power of that kind, which would raise the slave, under certain conditions, to a state which would enable him to give evidence, might be rendered one of the safest, cheapest, and most effectual methods of commencing the amelioration they desired. It seemed to him that any measure through which the courts of justice might be no longer closed against the slave, would ultimately tend to fortify the interests, and secure the property of the master. For who were the persons to whom that evidence was to be offered? Why to the Whites—to a White Jury. Could it then be said, in opposition to such a proposal, that those who were to judge of the value of their testimony, were unreasonably prejudiced in favour of the Black population? Quite the contrary; a White Jury were in all cases to exercise their judgment as to whether that evidence was or was not admissible. He most earnestly hoped that there would not be a moment's unnecessary delay in giving full effect to the intentions of the Legislature on that important subject. In two or three Colonies the evidence of a slave was admitted, in cases which did not affect the life or property of his master, and where no White evidence can be procured. But, did the House see the effect of that law? When White evidence can be procured, then the Black evidence is inadmissible; and if that evidence should happen to be in favour of the person accused, then the Black evidence cannot be received to prove his guilt, even in the most glaring cases. What he wanted to see was, some principle adopted in their legislation on the subject, so that the responsibility of rejecting a black man's evidence should rest, not on the law, but on some known tribunal. Such a measure would be the first step to invest him with those rights which that House considered it right to bestow upon him. And if they were resolved to carry their intentions into execution, and raise the black population to the rank of human beings, he could not understand any reason why they should delay giving effect to their views, upon the subject of their testimony, a single moment. The slave was liable to be summoned just in the same manner as an idiot might be in this country; and it should be left to the jury to determine, when he appeared before them, whether they considered his testimony should or should not be believed; and, for his part, he could not conceive a mind, even the most deeply imbued with West India prejudices, who could see any danger likely to accrue to the life or the property of the white man, by investing the slave with such a privilege.

Mr. SCARLETT could not help expressing his regret that Jamaica, one of the most enlightened, in the character of its white population, should be exposed to the censure of being foremost in its opposition to the wishes of the friends of freedom and humanity. He was sure, that if the gentlemen of that island were to give the subject the slightest consideration, they would see that their own interests were inseparably connected with the amelioration of the condition of their slaves, and feel an earnest wish to comply with the unanimous desire of all the civilized part of mankind. In his earliest years he had imbibed prejudices against the condition of the slave population—viewed with horror the treatment they received, and felt the strongest desire to witness their entire

emancipation from the controul to which they were subjected. But he thought that they should rather wait even the tardy measures of the Colonists, if they could by that means conciliate the masters, than by any language of intimidation, reproach, or blame, and more than all, of threatening, attempt to force on a premature and unwilling concession. Such a course would prove an effectual barrier to that object which they all had in view—the permanent amelioration of the condition of the slaves. He did not mean, however, to say that he did not highly disapprove of the reluctance exhibited by the Colonial Legislatures; and he thought, that in the course they pursued, they seemed manifestly to be ignorant of their best interests. The measure recommended by the Right Hon. Gentleman respecting the evidence of the slaves, had his full concurrence; and he would conclude by expressing a hope that the execution of their intentions should be confided still to the hands of his Majesty's Government, who had, it appeared to him, most worthily fulfilled their trust, and who would, he was convinced, give the most effectual operation to the recommendations of the House, united, as they were, with the desire of the whole kingdom.

Mr. PHILLIPS felt himself very much at a loss to understand the contrariety of opinion which seemed to prevail on the subject between the West India proprietors resident in England and the Colonial Legislatures. He could not avoid believing, that much of the reluctance on the part of the Colonists proceeded from their fears of such alteration affecting their properties. These prejudices, however, would, he was convinced, gradually disappear before a better consideration of the question. He was old enough to recollect a time when the man who merely hinted at any thing like the emancipation of the slaves of the West Indies, was looked upon as a visionary enthusiast, who proposed plans of ideal happiness for that unhappy race which could never be realized—and yet he had lived to see those very men, who had thus scouted the idea of all improvement, vote themselves for that very abolition, and become some of the most ardent and zealous in their endeavours to carry its resolutions into effect. So it would be with those who now objected to any further alteration in the condition of the slaves; and they would see the time when those who now oppose them will return their unmeasured gratitude for their exertions, and call that interference, which they now deprecate, a great practical benefit. He hoped they would steadily pursue their course, and leave the execution of their intentions still in the hands of the Government, who had gone on so prosperously to the consummation of their wishes.

Mr. WILMOT HORTON would have seen with regret, any resolution of the House which would take the management of the question out of the hands of his Majesty's Government. If any man gave himself the trouble to examine the protests which have issued from the Colonial Legislatures, he would find that they all rested their objections to the measures of the Government, upon the conviction that their properties might be endangered and their authority over the slaves weakened, by the effect of the new regulations. In proportion as that fear faded away, he was convinced their opposition would be abated; as it seemed to him a matter of certainty, that no *abstract love of slavery* influenced their actions, either at this time or any other. How far the principles they were adopting had begun to produce the effect which they anticipated, might be, perhaps, best shewn to the House by reading an extract from a letter which he had received that morning from Demerara. The letter, which was written a week after the Order in Council had been in operation, stated, that after the writer and others had contemplated, with great alarm, the effect of the approaching change in the treatment of the slaves, he was happy to say, that although the whole of the regulations had been carried into effect, there had not been a single instance of any abuse of the liberty bestowed upon the slaves. The writer continued to say, that he had assembled the slaves on his estate, and informed them of the alteration in their condition, declaring at the same time, that all punishments should be entered in the Black Book—that if they behaved well the new stocks should not be used, and that the money which had been destined for the new jail, should be devoted to the improvement of their cottages. The slaves had promised to conduct themselves, in consequence of these alterations, with propriety and decorum, and he was glad to be able to say that they had not, as yet, or in any one instance, forfeited their word.

Mr. SYKES feared that the delay in taking some decisive measures would but add another year to the wretchedness and misery of the slave population. They

had been deluded year after year by these promises, and the condition of the slaves, in their colonies, remained unaltered. Against the plan of looking for reform to the Colonial Legislatures he must enter his solemn protest. These Legislatures did not, in his opinion, evince a disposition to abate the severity of the system. He referred, in proof of this position, to the new law lately passed in Barbadoes, and which retained many of the most barbarous enactments of the old. He read one clause, whereby any person, for driving too fast a horse or mule upon the road, or for a variety of other acts of a similarly trivial nature, or for what was termed disorderly conduct, without specifying what that conduct was, became liable to the infliction of thirty-nine stripes; except in the case of a woman in a state of pregnancy, who was liable to imprisonment. It was now three years since the resolutions of Parliament had passed that House, and nothing had yet been done. It was right that they should be informed at what time it was likely these resolutions would at length begin to be acted upon.

Mr. T. WILSON was not inimical to the Abolition of Slavery, but he was not friendly to a measure which would make the slave free at the expence of the master. There were other interests as well as the comforts of the slave population, which it was the duty of the House to consider—*long-vested* and established rights of property, which should be protected. He was therefore averse to any compulsory proceeding whatever in any change it might be intended to introduce; or if a compulsory proceeding were resorted to, those who petitioned in favour of it should be ready, as those who signed the Petition from the city of London were, to defray their proportion of expence to indemnify the proprietors for the injury and loss to which such a proceeding may subject them. He lamented the loss of Mr. Marryat, as an advocate of the Colonial interests.

Mr. GROSSET suggested that attention ought to be directed to the condition of the slaves in the East Indies, as well as to that of those in the West Indies.

Mr. HUME said that he had been in the East Indies; and speaking of what he knew of society there, particularly in Bengal, he could undertake to say, that there were no agricultural slaves there; and those persons whom the Hon. Member had described as slaves, were performers, or dancers; who, forming themselves into bands under a chief, went from place to place for a livelihood. There was this difference, however, in the condition even of these persons and the slaves of the West Indies, that although the former had been purchased in their youth, yet, if they thought proper to detach themselves at any time afterwards from the band with which they had been so connected, there was no law in India which could compel them to return. They might go where they pleased. Now this was a very different condition from that of the slaves of the West Indies. He believed the same state of law prevailed in all places within the territory of the East India Company. As to the passage in the book of Buchanan relative to slaves, which was applied to the East Indies generally, it was only applicable to some parts of the interior, with which he was not acquainted; but what he had stated, and he believed he was correct in the statement, referred to those places which he knew and where he had been.

This statement on the part of Mr. Hume was confirmed by Sir EDWARD HYDE EAST, formerly the Chief Justice of Bengal.

Mr. BROUGHAM said, that those who complained of the charges brought against the Slave Proprietors by the advocates for Emancipation, ought not to indulge in charges against their own countrymen who espoused the cause of the Negroes. However different might be the opinions entertained upon some points of the subject, there was no difference whatever, either specific, or in the degree of feeling entertained by all parties against the enormous mass of practical abuses in the Slave system. By far the strongest appeals that could be made to the humane feelings of the country, might be found in the speeches of the Colonial Legislatures. They afforded the most appalling details of that most infernal scourge to humanity, Slavery. He was not for a sudden emancipation, though, if any measures were now to be promptly pursued, they could not be reproached as rash or headstrong, for sufficient warning had been given to all the parties concerned. He might once have been of opinion that the mother country ought to interfere solely with the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and to leave the subject of Slavery to the Local Legislatures, in the

confidence that they would have done their duty. They had failed to do so; and he now thought it was high time for the mother country to shew that they would be trifled with no longer. He had little or no hope of any advantage to be derived from the Colonial Assemblies. To expect that they would, of themselves, enter into any reform, such as the Orders in Council had pointed out, was most absurd. They declared it would be ruin to do so; and yet it was expected that they should pursue a course they believed to be ruinous. With respect to the language of menace which they were accused of employing towards the Colonists, it was only in the sense of saying, that if the Colonial Legislatures did not think the measures advised proper for them to adopt, we should ourselves be obliged to enact them; and it was the undoubted right of the House to legislate for all the subjects of the Crown. He had heard to-night, that Government intended to send out to each Colony a statement of the measures to be adopted, and to insist upon a decided acquiescence, or a refusal, by the Colonists. He felt, however, that whilst Parliament delayed its measures, thousands of our fellow subjects were suffering under the present slave system. But, as he understood that some additional information was to be laid before the House, he should postpone the motion for leave to bring in a bill for bettering the condition of the slave, which he had intended to make that evening, until after the recess.

Mr. F. BUXTON said, he certainly felt deeply disappointed at the delay which was likely to take place upon this subject—a delay which, while it produced no good, was likely to cause great and extensive injury. He then adverted to the decisive reply which had that night been given from the very highest authority, the Chief-Justice of India, to the non-existence in India of any state similar to that of West India Slavery; and begged of all who accused him, and his friends, of publishing exaggerated statements of the sufferings of the slaves in our Colonies, only to read the recent Reports from Berbice and other islands, in which they would find detailed numerous acts of cruelty, which would far exceed any thing that had yet been put forth to the world.

The same subject was resumed in the House of Commons on Friday the 4th of March, when, on the occasion of Mr. DENMAN presenting a petition, signed by 7,000 inhabitants of Nottingham and its neighbourhood, praying that the rights of British subjects might be as soon as possible extended to the unfortunate persons called Slaves in the West Indies, and whose only crime was the colour of their skin, Mr. BROUGHAM said, that he would take the opportunity of inquiring whether any Acts for the amelioration of the condition of the Slaves, had lately been transmitted from the Colonies to his Majesty's Government. The Right Hon. Gentleman opposite, in the course of his observations on Wednesday night, had otherwise reasoned upon incorrect data.

Mr. W. HORTON said, that in addition to the acts already laid on the table of the House, whatever else had been received, would be laid on the table next week.

Mr. BROUGHAM contended, that there was a discrepancy between the statements of the Right Hon. Gentleman and the facts of the case, as he understood them. The question was, whether the improvements contemplated by the Legislature of this country, and the Orders of Council, had been carried into effect in the Colonies, and to what extent. Had the slaves acquired there the right of being manumitted by appraisement, notwithstanding the unwillingness of their masters? Had the Colonial Legislatures, in conformity with the Orders of Council, abolished the driving whip, and the whipping of females as a punishment? He could not discover that they had. Had the evidence of slaves been rendered admissible as proposed? There were thirteen British Colonies which possessed Legislative Assemblies; there were twenty in which Slavery existed. In the latter number, he included the Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope, and Honduras. Of these twenty, thirteen enjoyed the right of Legislative Assemblies, and of those thirteen, he had understood the Right Hon. Gentleman to say, that seven had admitted slave evidence. From a careful perusal of the documents before the House, however, as well as from a review of the latest Colonial newspapers, it appeared to him that not more than three Colonies had hitherto passed any legislative enactments to that effect.

Tobago, Barbadoes, and Dominica. The act of Dominica had passed its Assembly eight years since; of course it was not attributable to the Orders in Council. In Tobago, an Act had been passed for that purpose; but the admissibility of the evidence of a slave was so shackled with conditions as to render it nugatory. The evidence was admissible only in case of the murder or mayhem of a slave by a white man, and even then under two material distinctions; first, that no other persons but slaves were present; and, secondly, that two slaves of irreproachable character should coincide in their testimony. Of the Barbadoes act, enough had been said on a former occasion, and it could not be necessary for him to rehearse the details. The Order of Council for Trinidad had provided, that the certificate of any clergyman, whether of the Established Church, of the Roman Catholic Church, or of any other sect of Christians, would avail to render the evidence of a slave admissible; but the Barbadoes act required that the certificate should be given by the regular clergy, whether the slave received instruction from them or not. Such was the mode of baffling the Legislature and Government of England which the Colonists used. His Majesty's Government, and the House, would be bound to investigate the matter fully, and to take care that such mockery should not be repeated. He might have erroneously abstracted the papers laid on the table of the House; but he thought he had not, and such was the amount of the improvement that had been effected. In fact, notwithstanding the efforts of his Majesty's Government, by issuing Orders in Council, it appeared that only in two of the Colonies had any attempts been made towards improvement in the condition of their slaves, as to the admissibility of their evidence; they were Barbadoes and Tobago. As to the improvement of the morality of the slaves, and, in particular, as to the observance of the Sabbath, it appeared that, in Tobago alone, the market day, not the slaves' working day, had been altered from Sunday to Thursday. In Tobago alone, had a law been passed for securing the property of the slaves. Mr. Brougham said, he was sorry to observe that, in Demerara, the Trinidad Order in Council had undergone some considerable mutilations; and even in Trinidad itself, the slaves, he was concerned to see, had been precluded from having property in any of the produce of the island which could be considered as its exports, and, of course, were precluded from those means of obtaining their manumission by their own efforts, which the permission to raise exportable produce would afford them. In Tobago, there had been a diminution of the number of lashes to which a slave could be subjected, from 39, as formerly allowed, to 20; but this seemed to be the only island where the right of arbitrary punishment had been modified. The Right Hon. Gentleman opposite had stated, that from sixty to seventy various descriptions of improvements had been effected. Now he (Mr. B.), after due examination of the papers on the table of the House, was enabled to find not more than nine or ten improvements, and even they were not of great amount. In the absence, therefore, of documents on which to found a correct judgment, the House could not but be as embarrassed as he was, to know the real state of the case. The Hon. Gentleman would, therefore, he was sure, not oppose a motion which he intended to submit to the House, for a return of all the Acts passed in the Colonial Legislatures for the improvement of the condition of the slaves, and of any Acts containing clauses for improvement, distinguishing the names of the Acts, and of the Legislatures in which they were enacted; whether those Acts were allowed or disallowed by his Majesty's Government, and including all information received down to the latest arrivals from the Colonies. He trusted, when those papers should have been laid before the House, that it would be able to form a more fair opinion of the improvements which had been effected, or were likely to be effected, than it had hitherto had the means of doing.

Mr. WILMOT HORTON said, that it was his (Mr. W. Horton's) intention, shortly, to submit to the House a tabular statement which would fully elucidate the points at issue, and shew what had been done and what had not been done by the Colonial Legislatures. With respect to the Order in Council, it was already in force in Trinidad and Demerara, in the latter, with some defects which would be supplied by a fresh order; and it would be sent very shortly to St. Lucia, as well as to the Cape of Good Hope, and Berbice. Its introduction at the Mauritius had been delayed by the Commissioners having been detained on their passage, and not having had sufficient time to prepare their Report.

Mr. BROUGHAM then said, that on the 20th of April, he should submit a motion, having for its object the bettering the condition of the Slaves in the Colonies.

In consequence of a motion of Mr. CANNING's on the 1st of March, the resolutions of the House of Commons of the 15th May, 1823, were communicated to the HOUSE OF LORDS, and the concurrence of their Lordships requested. Tuesday, the 7th of March, having been appointed for considering this communication, an interesting discussion took place, which terminated in the adoption of the resolutions. It will be impossible to give more than a brief abstract of this discussion.

Earl BATHURST, in proposing their Lordships' concurrence, took occasion to state what the Government had done in consequence of the vote of the House of Commons, of the 15th May, 1823. Those resolutions had been made the foundation of certain instructions for improving the situation of the slave population in the West India Colonies, which, in the case of Trinidad, had been embodied in the shape of an Order in Council, and made the law of the island. Since that time, various communications had taken place, between his Majesty's Government and the Colonies; but he was extremely sorry to say, that those communications had not been attended with so much success as might have been expected. His Lordship, indeed, admitted that very little had any where been done, towards effecting the objects his Majesty's Government had in view. The only point on which his Lordship dwelt, as having evinced a disposition on the part of the Colonists generally to do so, was their having invested the Bishops with certain powers of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and having shewn a readiness to contribute to the building or to the repair and enlargement of churches. Beyond this, it did not appear, from his Lordship's speech, that any thing more had been effected, in the way of amelioration, beyond the very partial measures which have been already stated, in a note above, to have taken place in a few of the Colonies. He was sorry to say, that the Legislative Assembly of Jamaica, though it had passed a law protecting from arrest for their master's debts, slaves going to market on Saturday as well as Sunday; and, though they had allowed slaves to take money by bequest, and afforded facilities to a master in voluntarily manumitting his slave, yet had done nothing more. It had rejected the proposed law for admitting the evidence of the blacks under certain modifications. The bill for that purpose had been thrown out by a majority of 23 to 13. But that assembly, and the others which had rejected the measures recommended by his Majesty's Government, would soon be called upon to re-consider the subject, and there was reason to hope that they would then evince a different spirit, and that measures calculated to ameliorate the condition of the slaves would then be passed. His Lordship took occasion to allude to the language of some of the petitions for the Abolition of Slavery, in some of which it was broadly asserted, that a state of slavery was forbidden by the Gospel, and was wholly incompatible with the doctrines of Christianity. This doctrine thus laid down he could not admit, and he thought it highly mischievous, as well as inconsistent, that those who called for the religious instruction of the slaves, should, in their petitions, set forth that the Christian doctrine was incompatible with a state of slavery. He believed, the best security for the good conduct of the slave was to be found in the knowledge and practice of the principles of the Christian religion. But it would be unfair to say, that pains should be taken to attach the slave to Christianity, and, at the same time, to teach him that the state of slavery (no matter what the kindness and indulgence of the master might be) was inconsistent with the religion he was solicited to embrace. Having now stated what had been done in the Colonies for improving the condition of the slave, and he regretted to say, that a great deal had been left undone, he would state what was proposed by his Majesty's Government. The resolutions of the House of Commons embraced two objects—the first was the improvement of the condition of the slaves; and the other, those facilities for the manumission of the slaves that would gradually lead to the total extinction of slavery, without injury to the interests of the proprietors. The modes by which it was proposed to improve the condition of the slave were, to provide increased facilities for religious instruction—to give greater security to property—to prevent the separation of families by sale or otherwise—to admit slave evidence in certain cases—to give an additional day for the cultivation of their grounds, by which

they might be enabled to keep a more strict observance of the Sabbath—to abolish the punishment of females by the whip, and to disuse the whip as a badge of authority in the hands of drivers, or as a stimulus to labour: and for the gradual extinction of slavery, it was proposed to establish a regulation, by which, when the slave possessed sufficient property, he might claim his manumission by having his value declared by appraisement, without requiring the consent of his master. Bills containing these provisions would now be sent to the Governors of the several West India Colonies, by whom they would be proposed for the consideration of their Legislative Assemblies, and the Government would soon be in possession of their decisions upon them. From the earnest manner in which the subject would be recommended to their attention, he did hope that it would have a successful result. But should it prove otherwise, it would then be for their Lordships to consider what course it would be expedient to adopt, to carry the measures into effect.

Lord CALTHORPE said, that though he concurred in the general tenor of the resolutions now proposed for their Lordships' adoption, yet he thought that they by no means went far enough. The low ground of expediency which was made the basis of them, did not convey the feelings which pervaded the country on the subject of negro slavery, and which, he thought, ought to be clearly announced in the resolutions, and embodied in the instructions of his Majesty's Government. For his part, he would have preferred the resolution which had been first proposed in the Commons by Mr. Buxton, and superseded by those now before their Lordships. In that resolution, it was declared that a state of slavery was repugnant to the British constitution, and to the spirit of the Christian religion. But, then, it was argued by a distinguished Member of the other House (Mr. Canning), that they who declared a state of slavery to be repugnant to the British constitution, and to the spirit of Christianity, must, as a matter of course, be disposed to put aside every consideration of expediency, and all reference to the various interests in the question, and rush at once to the attainment of their object without any regard to consequences, and without any hesitation as to the means of effecting it; and that having laid down the abstract principle of the evil of slavery, they were bound not to allow its continuance one hour after their resolution was declared. But that such was not a fair interpretation of the views of those who concurred in the resolution, was manifest from the terms of the resolution itself, which, while it affirmed "that slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British constitution, and of the Christian religion," stated also their clear opinion "that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British dominions, with as much expedition as may be consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned." It was quite an erroneous view of the subject to suppose that, because slavery was held to be inconsistent with Christianity, those who held that opinion were bound by it to proceed to its destruction, without a cautious and prudential regard to all the circumstances of the case. The Christian religion, while it was repugnant to slavery, was no less opposed to violence and precipitation, and it required that even the best ends should be pursued by lawful means, and in a right spirit. The objection, therefore, to the proposition had, in his view, no just foundation; and he should have thought that their Lordships would be acting in a way more consistent with their own dignity, and with the moral magnitude of the subject, if they were to express themselves in more forcible language, and to adopt a higher and nobler principle for their proceedings than the low and cold one of expediency. The Noble Earl had complained of the language of some of the petitions presented to their Lordships on this subject, but his Lordship might be assured that that language expressed the universal feeling of the country at large; and who were perfectly ready, whatever might be the opinions prevalent within the walls of Parliament, to declare and to maintain that slavery was altogether repugnant to the genius and spirit of the Christian religion. He particularly rejoiced to perceive that this view of the subject, was that of the Bishops and clergy of our church, who, in entertaining it, consulted as much the dignity of the church as they did the sacred duties of their profession. He also entertained this opinion, and he wished to see slavery abolished, as not only inconsistent with the genius of Christianity, but with the spirit of the British constitution; and he thought they were rather diminishing than promoting the chances of ultimate success in the Colonies, by substituting a lower expression of indignation at the existing



state of things than such a system, in his opinion, imperatively called for. The best course would have been the direct adoption of the tone originally recommended to the other House of Parliament, and which he believed to be, not only the best calculated to produce a satisfactory issue in the Colonies, but also that most consonant with the general feelings of the people of this country, which, he was fully convinced, were not adequately represented in the resolutions recommended for their adoption.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH thought that the true question before them was, ought they to adopt resolutions fully proved by three years of experiment, to have been ineffectual, or to adopt others more likely to promote a salutary result? He agreed that the colonial system ought to be ameliorated,—he agreed that the odious system of slavery ought to be abolished; but his doubts were great that either purpose would be attained by the line of conduct now proposed. The question then was, in what manner could they most easily, surely, and at the same time rapidly, diminish the sum of human misery which must exist as long as slavery was tolerated? If these resolutions were alone to be adopted, accompanied with a vague hint, that if they failed in their intended effect the Legislature would proceed to ulterior measures, without avowing what the nature of such measure would be, he not only doubted that the anticipations of the Government would be realized, but he rather inclined to the opinion that such a course, instead of diminishing, would tend greatly to aggravate the existing evil. The Noble Earl (Bathurst) was obliged to admit that the colonial assemblies had disappointed the expectations of His Majesty's Government, but he nevertheless went on to state, that there was some hope of their now departing from this contumacious course. He, however, could foresee no beneficial result from adopting the measures now proposed, with the experience before them of their total inadequacy. Let them, by putting a parallel case for one moment consider the argument, and they must be at once struck with its futility. Suppose that the Noble Earl opposite and his Right Hon. Friend were walking in the metropolis, had had their attention arrested by seeing a man ill treating his horse in a barbarous manner—supposing his Right Hon. Friend to have said to him—"Two or three years ago I saw that very fellow committing the same outrage, and on that occasion I forewarned him that if he persevered in the same course I should take such measures as must secure the better treatment of the animal. Do you now go up to him, and say, that if he continues to practice such brutality, I will certainly fulfil my intentions." Might not the Noble Earl reply, "I could understand your asking me to knock this fellow down for his incorrigibly cruel propensities; but would he not laugh at me, were I only prepared to repeat threats which he had already so entirely disregarded?"

The Earl of LIVERPOOL said, if he was asked why these resolutions had lain on the table of the House of Commons from the year 1823 to the present time, without the concurrence of their Lordships being required, he had little in the way of explanation to offer, and would fairly admit that he had no satisfactory reason to assign why, according to the usual forms of business, such a delay should have arisen; but he would nevertheless add, that if their present appearance before their Lordships was calculated to show that Government were serious and determined in the course which these resolutions implied, and would thereby give another chance of success to the experiment, he, for one, was not sorry that such an opportunity had been afforded of putting on record the determination of Parliament and Government. They had on all sides admitted, that it was desirable the condition of the slave population should be ameliorated, and that slavery itself should be abolished, as soon as possible consistently with the respective interests of all who were concerned in that condition. If that were so, their only consideration was, as to the course to be taken; for something was clearly to be done, or they must be prepared to abandon their declared opinions. It was generally admitted that the first step ought to be, to disseminate a religious education among the colonial slave population, to ret rid of their badges of thralldom, such as the whip, the Sunday-work, and those other degradations which mark the inferiority of the man. They must also establish a better system of justice for the slave trials; and something must be done to regulate their valuation on the plan of the orders in council, or some other mode. That they were bound to call upon the colonial assemblies to do what

was right he readily admitted : but allowances should at the same time be made for the common infirmities of human nature, and a reasonable time ought to be allowed for the growth of reason when heated feelings had unfortunately become excited. At all events, he would say, that whether the result of the resolutions should realize or disappoint their expectations, wisdom and good policy alike pointed out their present adoption. In the event of their failure, it would of course be for Parliament to determine upon the course which they ought eventually to pursue, and he did not think it prudent to say more on that point at present.

The Duke of GLOUCESTER was ready to agree with those who regretted that these resolutions had not been sooner submitted to their Lordships. He was ready to agree with those who thought that it were better they were expressed in stronger terms ; but still as they were here, and must be taken in their present form, he was ready to give them his cordial support, wishing to send forth these resolutions with the full sanction of their unanimity ; and if the consummation to which they now anxiously looked forward should not be realized, the time would undoubtedly arrive when the evil must be conquered, and when His Majesty's Government would be imperatively called upon to enforce the paramount authority of Parliament, and to carry into execution the measures which it pronounced. He trusted that His Majesty's Ministers would strenuously urge the adoption of these resolutions upon the colonial authorities, who would not do their duty to themselves, to their country, or their God, if they declined to fulfil the beneficent wishes of the legislature.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, he would not enter into the consideration why these resolutions had lain so long without their being called upon for their concurrence—it was enough for him to know that they were now before them, and must be disposed of : and with respect to the wording of them, he saw no reasonable objection, more particularly to the term expediency ; and he for one should have felt a great difficulty in giving his assent to a stronger term. He entirely agreed that slavery should be abolished as soon as it could be safely and practically effected ; and, in the mean time, who could hesitate to ameliorate the condition of those unhappy persons whom their policy had consigned to such a doom ? He heartily approved therefore of these resolutions, and the more because of their being grounded on expediency. If the local authorities now acceded to the measures about to be urged with renewed force upon their consideration, then there could be no further difficulty. If they refused to do so, then the Parliament would know how to meet such contumacy, without affecting the well-being of the slave, or infringing on the rights of property of the master.

LORD REDESDALE said, that the resolutions ought to pass. The colonists should be made aware of the feeling of the mother country on the subject of the amelioration of slavery. They should be taught to respect that feeling and be prepared to second it. The state of slavery should be improved ; but nothing should be rashly attempted. A gradual amelioration should be adopted, in order to render improvement permanent and effectual ; but if measures were hastily adopted, the contrary effects would certainly follow.

LORD DUDLEY and WARD, in rising to deliver his sentiments on the question of West India slavery, felt that the subject was one from which (being a West-Indian proprietor himself,) he could willingly have abstained altogether, and which few could approach with any thing like satisfaction. Public attention had lately been considerably occupied by this subject, and who could deny that it was one in which the popular feeling was deeply interested ? Scarcely a district of the country, scarcely a corporation, a city, or a town, that had not addressed Parliament on the evils of slavery ; and every petition expressed but one opinion on the subject. This united expression of popular feeling ought to meet with the attention of the legislature. It afforded a most convincing and gratifying proof of the increased and increasing spirit of liberality which distinguished the present age. Not only without but within the walls of Parliament, there existed, he might say, but one opinion. With this unanimity of feeling no doubt could be entertained that the purpose of putting an end to slavery must be successful ; and the only thing to be considered was, how to effect the object in the least objectionable form. He heartily wished that the West-Indian system

had never existed at all. It was morally wrong, and if it was morally wrong it could not be politically right. The system must be changed; but the question was how was that change to be effected? Monopoly and slavery went hand in hand in the West India system, and their united pressure, in the present enlightened state of the public mind, was more than it could bear. It could not long be sustained under such a weight. His Lordship, after these and some other very candid concessions, proceeded to state in defence of the colonists, a number of palliating circumstances which should ensure a tender and liberal construction of their conduct in having hitherto resisted the wishes of the country. Their feelings had been irritated by the exaggerated statements which had gone abroad, and they were alarmed by an apprehension of the destruction of their property. He severely censured the abolitionists for the unconciliating line of conduct they had pursued, but without specifying particulars, and he went on to plead for compensation as a measure of indispensable justice, and which no man with a spark of honest feeling could think of withholding. He lamented, at the same time, the unreasonable and obstinate resistance which had been made by the colonists to the moderate and necessary measures of reform proposed by His Majesty's Government.

The Marquis of LANSDOWN wished that the Noble Lord who had just sat down would prevail upon the island of Jamaica, with which he was connected, to adopt his views and act in his spirit in passing laws for the amelioration of slavery. He was willing that the assemblies should again be tried, and he would, to the very last moment, indulge a hope of their co-operation in the work of reform. At the same time, he could not deny, that past experience discouraged any such hope. He was afraid that he could not be contradicted when he stated, that up to the present time, with the exception of one island, no steps had been taken in the West Indies to give legality to marriage. The only attempt to adopt a measure of this nature took place in the Bahamas; and it was the lamentable fact, that every other island was without any regulation to govern the most sacred of human ties. Could the West India population be happy under such circumstances, and what were we to think of the legislature that could refuse its sanction to the introduction of a measure of this nature? He would wish to call the attention of their Lordships to another point on which the local legislature had been equally remiss. There was no law passed for facilitating the manumission of slaves who might possess the means of purchasing their own freedom. Could there, he would ask, be a more satisfactory mode, both for the master and slave, than that the latter should obtain his freedom in this way? An example would thus be held out to other slaves to persevere in habits of industry, in order to effect their freedom at no very distant day. The good to be thus produced would be infinite, and the omission of such a law was much to be lamented. There was another point to which he wished to draw the attention of their Lordships—namely, that no means had as yet been taken to prevent the punishment of women by means of the whip. There were many other points too tedious in detail to trouble their Lordships with at present, and he hoped that the legislature in the West Indies would save the Parliament here the necessity of interfering to put down those abuses in future. Before sitting down, he wished to ask the Noble Earl whether he had any objection to direct the several legislatures to be summoned with a view of giving them the fullest opportunity of considering the propositions of Government, and making known their own views thereupon in time for the first meeting of the British Parliament? He thought it would be good for them, and for the subject, that the knowledge should be communicated at an early period; and that it was essential to the character of sincerity which ought to be stamped upon the proceedings of that night, that the Government should take care to enable the Parliament, after adding one year more to the three years so unprofitably and to so little purpose passed over, to resume with effect their present determination to enforce principles which were now admitted to be right on all hands, but which, he admitted, ought only to be pursued with a proper regard to the safety of the colonies, and to a just sense of the welfare of individuals.

Earl BATHURST said, he should send out directions to the Governors to cause the several assemblies to be called together to receive the instructions of Government at the earliest possible period.

The Bishop of BATH and WELLS asserted the incompatibility of slavery with the Christian religion, of which he was a minister, and with the British constitution, whose free and willing and obedient subject he professed himself. Whatever seeming countenance and toleration might be shown towards a property in slaves by Christianity and the law of the land, there could be no question of their direct antipathy to all oppression and injustice. No less hostile to slavery were the dictates of common justice and humanity: a system also which was equally opposed by all sound maxims of political economy. Free labour must in every sense be preferable to that of slaves. The man who was conscious that by the sweat of his brow he was providing for his wife, his children, and himself, must be far before the hopeless creature who had only to work to that extent of toil to which the whip would goad him. With pleasure had he witnessed the resolutions of 1823, which were consonant with humanity and justice; he was sorry that they had been so ill received by the colonial legislatures. He rejoiced at the resolutions now taken by the Government, and if they were not better executed, he hoped that the spirit which had loaded their table with petitions, would be again awakened among the people, and that the determination of Parliament and the expectations of the country would be carried into effect by doing away that foul stain upon the character of a Christian nation.

The Bishop of FERNS cordially concurred in the sentiments that had just been expressed, and was further anxious to satisfy the House of the concurrence in the same sentiments of the Irish church in general. He thought that the slave-owners must be the most deadly foes to their own interests, if the resolutions now proposed should be still opposed.

The most interesting debate, however, connected with the question of Slavery, took place in the House of Commons, on Thursday the 2nd of March, when Mr. DENMAN brought forward a motion respecting the TRIALS OF CERTAIN SLAVES IN JAMAICA, CHARGED WITH CONSPIRACY AND REBELLION. The subject, Mr Denman observed, was of vast importance, and merited the deepest consideration of the house; and although he knew how difficult it was to draw its attention at this moment to any topic not connected with the awful and perilous situation in which the credit of the country was placed, yet he trusted that the momentous nature of that which he had now to submit would sufficiently excuse him. If they would shut their eyes to this painful subject, they would be unfaithful representatives of the people of England, for that people, notwithstanding the pinching distress which wrung them on every side, had not lost sight of the miseries of the slave population, but had expressed in numerous petitions their sense of the necessity of ameliorating the condition of those their unfortunate fellow-subjects on the other side of the Atlantic. Considering, then, that of all oppressions judicial oppression was the least to be borne, and the easiest to be remedied, he was sure that in submitting to the house a case in which, as it appeared to him, that sort of oppression had been practised to a dreadful extent against certain slaves in Jamaica, he should be discharging a duty which the house would not think either unimportant or ill-timed. The events to which he had to allude took place in December, 1823, and in the following year. They were detailed in papers which lay on the table of the house, and to which he should restrict himself; and though furnished by the parties themselves, against whom his motion was directed, yet they contained sufficient to found that censure upon the courts of justice and the government of the Island which he meant to propose, and which he thought their conduct merited. The first case he should bring before the house was that of a trial which had taken place in the parish of St. Mary, on the 19th of December, 1823. The circumstance on which this trial was founded, was nothing more than that a Mr. Roberts, who was a butcher, at Port Maria, in Jamaica, having occasion to reprove his negro boy for carelessness with respect to his person and wearing apparel, a conversation ensued, in consequence of which eight negroes were arrested, tried for a rebellious conspiracy, found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged by the neck until they were dead; a sentence which was executed four days after it was pronounced. Every one of those negroes died with the most solemn protestations of his innocence, and they refused one and all, even on the scaffold, to purchase any mitigation of their sentence, either by a confession of their own guilt, or by accusing others.

Mr. Denman then detailed at some length the evidence which the Government of Jamaica had thought sufficient to warrant this summary and sanguinary proceeding. To him it appeared that the whole charge rested on the evidence, chiefly hearsay, and scarcely supported in any one instance, of a boy who had trumped up a story to save himself from correction, which was seized with extraordinary avidity, and without any attempt to sift and investigate the facts of the case, as conclusive proof of a dangerous plot. The childish story gained universal credit, and without any previous examination of the unhappy persons accused, or any attempt to confront them with their accusers, or to guard against the possibility of falsehood, were these eight men in two days brought to trial and found guilty. In the course of the trials not a single witness appears to have been cross-examined. The discrepancies in the evidence were innumerable: not one of these was noticed. The charge was of the most vague description; they were accused of rebellion, conspiracy, and other crimes. Persons were mentioned as privy to the facts, who, though on the spot, were never called to give their testimony. The evidence admitted was, in some cases, indeed in all that were material, hearsay, and sometimes two and three deep: added to all which, a father was hanged on the evidence of his son, a boy of thirteen, and a husband on the evidence of his wife; and in their case and that of the other witnesses, the strongest temptation which could be applied to the mind of slaves was applied to theirs, namely the prospect of freedom;—of freedom to be obtained as the reward of their evidence. On such testimony, so loose, so contradictory, so inconclusive, not amounting, if the whole had been as true and consistent as it was evidently untrue, were these eight men, unaided by counsel, without a witness in their favour, on the second day after their apprehension, condemned to die—and the chief magistrate, in a letter to the Governor, gives as his reason for this precipitancy, that he thought it highly important for the safety of the Island, that they should be executed before Christmas, as an example to the other negroes. Now, was it on such a report as this, and on such evidence as the house had before it, that the Governor ought to have given an order for the execution of these eight men? He trusted the house would express its clear opinion of the iniquity of such a proceeding, and by its vote this night interpose to prevent persons in future, whether slaves or not, from falling the victims of perverted evidence, of ignorance, and of passion, which tended not less to the punishment of innocence than to the impunity of guilt. Mr. Denman then adverted to the trials which had taken place in St. George's, St. James's, and Hanover; and shewed that in all of them except the last, a similar and gross perversion of all the forms of justice had taken place. The St. George's plot had its parallel only in the infamous history of Titus Oates; and it was impossible to read the evidence and compare its different parts, without a firm conviction that the plot from first to last was a mere fabrication, supported by false and perjured witnesses, acting with a view to the promised reward of their villainies. In the case of Hanover, indeed, there had been conduct on the part of the slaves, which it became necessary to repress and punish, but it partook in no degree of the nature of rebellious conspiracy. The disturbance arose out of the misconduct of the owner of the Estate, who had wantonly abridged the slaves of a part of the day which they were in the habit of having for the cultivation of their grounds. Their subsequent conduct admitted of no excuse; still they did not take a single human life except their own: two of them died by their own hands. In all, about twenty-four slaves were executed, and some transported, mostly on evidence of a kind which would not have been allowed to be given in any English Court. Besides this, the evidence was almost entirely that of slaves,—of slaves too unsworn,—of slaves, whose testimony is deemed by the people of Jamaica wholly unworthy of credit in every case small or great, civil or criminal, affecting a person of free condition. While the house of assembly of Jamaica was rejecting a bill to admit in the most qualified and restricted manner the testimony of slaves as necessarily leading to gross and multiplied perjuries, on that very testimony, thus repudiated and rejected as unfit even to be heard, were the magistracy and the Government of Jamaica executing their enslaved fellow-subjects by wholesale. The bill that had been thus rejected, had been brought forward in the house of assembly by a Mr. Stewart, who stated some strong cases in favour of it. One was the case of a female slave whose head was twisted off; but in which a conviction did not take place, not because there was any doubt

that the deed had been done, but because, although several persons had seen it, their evidence, being slaves, was not legal. Another case Mr. Stewart said was of very recent date. "In this town (Spanish Town), a white man, a monster of cruelty, concealed a female slave in a room, where with a hot iron used for burning marks on cattle, he disfigured, and mutilated the poor creature who was so unfortunate as to be in his power. He trusted to the effect of the law which prevented slaves from giving evidence, but it chanced that a young free man of colour, suspecting what was going forward, peeped through a crevice, and saw the horrid scene. On his evidence the owner of the slave was convicted and punished." Another fact was related by Mr. Mais. "There is one instance which, because of recent occurrence, I must take leave to mention. It is the case of a female slave, who on her return home, was met by a free man of colour, who had been out shooting. A little dog which accompanied her, barked, and probably might have snapped at the man. This irritated him, and he threatened to shoot the dog; the woman, alarmed for his safety, called out 'O don't shoot him; don't shoot my dog;' upon which the man turned angrily upon her, and said, 'Not shoot him? I'll shoot you if you say much,' and with little ceremony, lodged the contents of his piece in her side. This was in the face of day, in the presence of many persons, but who, being slaves, were not qualified to give testimony on the occasion, and the offender escaped." On the other hand, the argument against admitting slave evidence was very forcibly urged by Mr. Hyslop. "What can you expect," said he, "from persons, who if called to give evidence, may as soon as they quit the court, be subjected to the cart-whip by their master? Will not bodily fear predominate over the love of truth, or a sense of duty?" And yet under these appalling circumstances 24 slaves had been executed on the evidence of their fellow-slaves: Shall it be said, then, that a remedy for such a state of things is not necessary? If he were asked what remedy he would apply to such a case, he should say he knew but of one. It was one simple in its nature and in its operation, namely, the extinction of slavery. It was of the highest importance that the people of England should be fully informed of what was passing in their colonies; and this was one of his motives for bringing this subject forward. He would now move the following resolution:—"That this house, having taken into their consideration the account laid before them of certain judicial proceedings in the Island of Jamaica, on the trials of slaves for rebellion, conspiracy, and other offences, in the years 1823 and 1824, deem it their duty to express, in the strongest terms, the sorrow and indignation with which they contemplate the perversion of law and the violation of justice displayed in those trials; they deeply lament the precipitation with which sentences of death wholly unwarranted by proof, were carried into execution; and they cannot refrain from declaring their conviction of the necessity of a reform in the administration of criminal justice as affecting the slaves."

Mr. WILMOT HORTON deprecated discussions of this sort, which served to keep alive irritation in the West Indies, and to retard improvement. He entered into an elaborate defence of the Magistracy and Government of Jamaica, who, he maintained, were fully justified, by their well founded fears of insurrection, and by the state of law in that Island, in the course they had pursued with respect to the trials which had been brought under the notice of the house. The Duke of Manchester felt convinced, from various sources of information, that rebellious intentions existed in the minds of the slaves;\* and there could rest no reasonable doubt in the mind of any man, that rebellious conspiracies had existed in the parish of St. Mary and St. George. In St. George's especially, the confessions of the negro Jack would satisfy every man that there had been a conspiracy.†

\*The Government of Jamaica has doubtless furnished the whole of the evidence on which it was led to believe in the existence of rebellious intentions in the minds of the slaves, and that evidence appears, it is to be presumed, in the papers laid before the House of Commons. These, however, most certainly exhibit no satisfactory proof of any such intentions.

†The object of Jack's confession, evidently was to recriminate upon Corberand, whom he regarded as the cause of his death. The desire of revenge is manifest in the whole of that confession; and supposing it to be correctly given,

As to the case of Hanover, the existence of rebellion was undoubted. Mr. Horton then quoted various passages from the laws of Jamaica, which inflicted the punishment of death on a variety of offences, when committed by slaves, which were not punishable with death in this country; as rebellion or rebellious conspiracy, compassing the death of a white person, having in his custody any arms, gun-powder, or ball; unlawfully meeting together; mixing human blood with rum, &c. &c.: and under these laws it was, that the punishment of death in the present cases had been inflicted. It would be unfair, then, to blame the Magistrates and the Government, who had merely executed the laws as they stood—laws which had received the Royal sanction. He did not mean to justify the law, he merely stated the fact. If the law was bad, and if the established practice admitted an extreme laxity of evidence, the fault ought not to be charged on the public functionaries, whose duty it was to obey the law as it stood. The laws ought indeed to be altered; but while they remained in their present state Magistrates must execute them. The laxity of the evidence, the want of counsel, &c., were the fault of the law, not of the magistrates.\* The Duke of Manchester too had stated, that the trials had been most scandalously reported. † As to the assertion that manumission and money were given as rewards for evidence, the Duke of Manchester had authorised him positively to deny the charge. ‡ In fine the Duke had felt that an example was absolutely necessary to check insurrection, and to secure the peace of the Island; and the only question for the house was, whether, under all the circumstances of the case, substantial justice had been done. He admitted at the same time, that these proceedings proved the necessity of a complete reformation of the slave system. On the whole he did not feel that the house was justified in passing a censure upon the Magistrates and Governor of Jamaica; and he should therefore move as an amendment,—“That this house sees, in the proceedings which have been brought under its consideration relative to the late trials of slaves in Jamaica, only a further proof of the evils inseparably attendant upon a state of slavery, and an increased evidence of the propriety of those resolutions which it passed in the year 1823: but that, however desirable it may appear that the law under which the late trials had taken place should be amended, it does not seem safe to the house, or expedient, to impeach the sentences passed by a competent tribunal upon persons brought to trial according to law, and convicted by a jury duly empanelled, and sworn to give a true verdict upon the evidence laid before them.”

it contains little that is specific beyond charging Corberand as the author of a plot, and the person who alone was possessed of its secrets. With respect to his own crimes of practising Obeah and being a runaway, he states, very pathetically, that the cruel usage of his owner had driven him to what he had done. His confession, supposing it to be true, affords no legal proof whatever of any conspiracy.

\* There exists no law in Jamaica, which could justify the admission of hearsay evidence, or of contradictory evidence, or which could justify a vague oral charge of “rebellious conspiracy and other crimes;” or which could exempt magistrates from the duty of sifting and cross-examining evidence, or which could oblige them to put men to death, whose crimes were not fully and satisfactorily proved.

† And yet upon that same report of the trials, which was then before the House of Commons, did the Duke of Manchester order these eight men to be hanged by the neck till they were dead.

‡ This denial on the part of the Duke of Manchester is by far the most extraordinary part of the whole case; as it is directly and most completely contradicted by an unquestionable document, transmitted to this country by the Duke himself, and now lying on the table of the House of Commons, namely the Report of the Secret Committee of the Jamaica Assembly, of December, 1824, in which they recommend the reward of manumission to the slaves who gave evidence for the prosecution in St Mary's, and elsewhere; and other rewards to the free persons who appeared as witnesses for the Crown on the various trials. Such assertions, so contradicted, necessarily throw doubt on the official information in general of the Government of Jamaica.

Mr. FOWELL BUXTON observed, that instead of deprecating with Mr. Horton discussions like the present, he was greatly in favour of them. They never occurred without some advantage gained, some concession made in favour of the slave. Even the speech of the Hon. Gentleman in this view had been most important. He had admitted that no such proceedings as these would be endured in this country, and that where Slavery existed, impartial justice was unattainable. Mr. Buxton briefly adverted to the various atrocities which had occupied their attention during the last two years: the murder of the missionary Smith, the Demerara massacre, the persecution of Shrewsbury, the deportation of Lacesne and Escoffery, the returns of the Berbice Fiscal, and now these trials. With respect to these, he undertook to prove from the papers on the table, furnished by the Jamaica Government as their justification, that there had been no plot in St. Mary's, St. James's, or St. George's; and in Hanover only acts of violence originating in no regular plot, and instigated merely by the circumstances of the moment. In proof of this, he entered into a minute examination of the evidence, and shewed its direct and palpable contradiction in a great variety of instances,\* and that no conclusion could be drawn from it but that the whole was a mass of fraud, perjury, and imposture. He could not therefore but agree in the conclusion of his Hon. Friend, that these trials exhibited such a total perversion of law, such a gross violation of justice, as merited the marked censure of this House, and called for an immediate and effective reform. In the annals of this country there was only one parallel to these atrocious proceedings, that of the popish plot, speaking of which Mr. Hume had said thus: "Titus Oates began by stating a little, and finding that his statements gained credit, he soon furnished an improved version of his plot. In the same way Bedloe began by degrees, and enlarged his tale as he found the reward likely to increase." In this case, as Mr. Hume remarked in that of Titus Oates, "the bountiful reward held out did, as must have been expected, bring forward a great number of witnesses." It was incumbent on the House to avow its detestation of such a system, and to shew its determination to prevent the recurrence of scenes at once so unjust and so disgraceful.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL did not rise to justify the proceedings in discussion, for no man could reprobate more strongly than he did the whole system of the administration of justice in our colonies, as far as the slave population was concerned. He could not understand upon what principle the law should be differently administered when the lives of a black man and a white were at stake; or why any of the forms and securities should be waved in the one case, which were insisted upon in the other. Nor could it be questioned, that we must soon come to an altered state of things, a state in which the slave, upon trial for his life, would be prosecuted under the same restrictions, and defended in the same manner as his master. What was the comparative situation of these two parties at the present moment? If a white person was put upon his trial, no matter for what offence, a distinct charge was necessarily preferred against him, which he would be able to defend himself against, and know how to meet. Now a particular act had not long since compelled, in the case of slaves, the reduction of this charge to writing; but though that act had passed the Legislative Assembly at Jamaica, it had been accompanied with the sweeping proviso, that no objection ever should be raised upon a point of form. Unfortunately, persons in the situation of magistrates in that Island, were very likely not to distinguish accurately that which was matter of form from that which was matter of substantial importance. This was his first objection. He did not mean to say, with reference to the present proceedings, that they were illegal *under the slave law of Jamaica*; but only let the forms of the charges in any of the trials be looked at, and let the house then say whether that system of law could go on to be supported. The prisoners were here charged with being guilty—of what?—of "rebellious conspiracy:" and was that all? No; but there was the addition—and "of *other crimes*." This left the prosecutor at liberty to give evidence of any crime (no matter how unconnected with the main charge) of which the party might have been guilty. The prisoners were charged with "rebellious conspiracy." Every body knew, in this country, that

\* The proofs of contradiction adduced by the Honourable Gentleman were very striking and decisive: they will probably be exhibited on a future occasion.



a man could not conspire by himself; but these charges stated no time, no place, nor any parties, with whom, or against whom, the culprit was accused of having conspired. Would the house, then, fail to say, that this system deserved reprobation in the highest degree? He would now call the attention of the house to another curious point—he meant the law as it related to slave evidence. In the case of an accusation made against one of the white population, slave evidence was not allowed. They were viewed as beings who had no due notion of the distinction between truth and falsehood; and they were not suffered, therefore, to give evidence against a white man. But let the house mark the extraordinary inconsistency which distinguished the system. When a slave was to be tried, when the life, character, or property of a white were not at stake, the evidence of slaves was freely admitted against the accused party; not under the sanction of an oath, but on his bare word, he having previously listened to an exhortation not to tell a falsehood. Now, he would ask the house, could a system of this kind be defended? Could it lead to the ends of justice? He did not blame the persons who acted under this system, but he blamed, in the most decided manner, the system itself. Those individuals were not proceeding contrary to the law; their acts were only in accordance with it. He reproached *not them*—it was the *law* which he condemned. Now let the house look at the charge which was made in the case of Charles Brown, for example. What was it?—It was a charge of high treason. The principal witness on the occasion was the boy William. Was he sworn? No, he was not. He was insensible to the obligation of an oath, and yet he was admitted to give evidence to take away the life of a fellow-slave. Here he begged the house to mark another peculiar circumstance. Was it not, he asked, the universal rule of common law in this country (and he always understood that the common law of this country extended to Jamaica), that hearsay evidence should not be received? Yet, in this case, hearsay evidence was received to a very great extent. The boy William said, “Sterling, my father, spoke such and such facts.” This was the very worst species of hearsay evidence, and yet it was admitted against the prisoner. He understood, that though the law was different with respect to whites, this course of proceeding had been uniformly admitted with reference to blacks. He condemned this system in its general principle, he condemned it also in its mode of working, as it was developed in the cases before the house. But when he stated this, he must declare his conscientious belief, that the persons who were engaged in those prosecutions acted in accordance with what they thought the law of the colony. He could not attempt to defend that system; but still it was due to those who only acted under that system to state the fact. Let the house consider further, the inconsistency which appeared in some of those trials, and which had been very properly pointed out by his learned friend. The boy William declared, before the court, that he knew of large bodies of negroes meeting together; but, in his first examination, he had spoken only of the assembling of five persons. Every body, however, who read the reports of those trials, must perceive that they were very imperfectly given. Indeed, they could form but a very loose idea of the guilt or innocence of the parties accused, from the mere reading of these reports. Those who were present, by marking the demeanour of the witnesses, by observing the conduct of the accused, could form a more just idea of the guilt or innocence of the parties, than any set of men were capable of doing from the perusal, not to say of an imperfect report, but of the most perfect report of the proceedings.\* After some observations, tending to shew that it was not strictly illegal to receive the evidence of a son against a father, or of a wife, so called, if she were only a concubine, against her husband; and after pronouncing an eulogy on Colonel Cox who presided at these trials, the Attorney-General concluded with saying, that he believed the magistrates and juries had acted fairly and honestly under an impression of the existence of conspiracy; and that, therefore, though he would be willing, in the words of the amendment, to condemn the system, he could not agree with his learned friend to pass a sweeping censure on the individuals, who he thought had conscientiously administered the law as they found it.

\* And yet it was on this imperfect report, with all its gross inconsistencies and contradictions, that the authorities in Jamaica ordered these eight to execution.

Dr. LUSHINGTON said, the speech of the hon. and learned gentleman who had just addressed the house, went to this—to the fearful extent of showing, that if the forms of law were but observed—if the forms established in any one of the distant territories of this country, however revolting to humanity, were adhered to—the House of Commons was prohibited from inquiring how far justice was administered in any given case. The hon. and learned gentleman had dwelt on the difficulty which must arise in judging of what had occurred at a great distance, when an incorrect record of the proceedings was before the house; when they had not such an opportunity as the jury had, for sifting and examining the matters alleged against the accused. If that position were well founded, then it would follow, that it mattered not whether those individuals were executed on the evidence of bribed slaves, or of an unsworn boy; or if they had been condemned on half the evidence adduced, the argument of the learned gentleman would have been just as conclusive. He, however, would argue, that the first duty of that house was, to see that justice was administered in a strictly impartial manner, even in the most distant possessions of this country. This was the more important, because in those distant possessions, there was an infinitely greater opening for injustice and oppression, than could, by possibility, be found near the seat of Government. Here, if an apprentice were ill-used, or if any abuse were discovered in a gaol, members of that house were ready to start up, to call on ministers to redress the grievance, or, if they found it necessary, to proceed with the case themselves. In the Colonies, however, all was hidden in obscurity or buried in oblivion. In the present case, they heard of the execution of eight individuals, under most extraordinary circumstances, and they were told, that they were not to inquire into what took place, because, forsooth, it was all in accordance with an old and barbarous system, which had warranted the Duke of Manchester, it was said, in ordering their execution. But was not the evidence on which he had acted, the same which was now before them, and which was the most inconclusive that could be imagined? How came it, he should like to know, that the Duke of Manchester had authorized the execution of eight individuals, found guilty upon such evidence, without having it fully examined by legal men? He might have had the opinion of the Chief Justice of the island, who, well acquainted as he was with English law, would at once have detected the errors with which that evidence abounded. He contended that the whole proceeding was contrary to every idea of substantial justice, and he was astonished to think that any tribunal, consisting of Englishmen, could, in a case of life or death, receive such evidence. He imputed not to the Duke of Manchester or the magistrates any wilful malice; but he did impute to them great carelessness in the performance of their high duties. Dr. Lushington quoted various passages in the papers, to shew that evidence had been admitted at third hand, hearsay testimony three deep, in order to prove the existence of that desperate and formidable conspiracy, on the reality of which Mr. Horton rested his defence of the Duke of Manchester and the magistrates. The Attorney-General had expressed his entire disapprobation of the system of law prevailing in Jamaica; but that law, he argued, had been honestly executed. From this proposition he entirely dissented; nor could he see how a verdict of guilty could have been given, but through the influence of fear or cowardice, or some worse passion uniting men to do injustice to their fellows. His hon. friend (Mr. Horton) had said, that he was authorized by the Duke of Manchester to declare, that none of the witnesses had received rewards for their evidence. And yet what said the Secret Report of the Jamaica Assembly now before them? It recommended to the House to reimburse the parish of St. Mary the sum of £376. paid for the manumission of certain slaves, who had rendered essential service by the discoveries they had made. Did this look like a pure administration of justice, by witnesses free from the influence of intimidation or reward? If any thing could pollute the course of justice and make the verdicts of juries the means of oppression, it was holding out to slaves such a temptation as the boon of freedom to convict their fellows. To prove a plot, testimony was to be obtained in any way; and bribes were to be offered to any man base enough to receive one. It was thus that such miscreants as Mack and Corberand were induced to invent and swear to the most malignant falsehoods. On the single evidence of one of these men, himself an accomplice, who had already been guilty of manifest perjury, and whose evidence was un-

confirmed by any other testimony; did the Duke of Manchester, in one case, that of Leon, order the execution of the final and dreadful sentence of the law. The white people of Jamaica claimed as their birthright the enjoyment of English laws and privileges. How had they enjoyed them? By engrossing to themselves all the advantages of that excellent system, and by placing the blacks under a code of laws in which every feature of injustice and tyranny were disgustingly prominent. It had been asserted, that the conduct of the judges on these trials had been free from all imputation. And yet, though the miserable and ignorant prisoners were without counsel or attorney, the judges had not cross-examined a single witness. Did Colonel Cox, whose humanity was so much extolled, ask, "Have you been promised your freedom?" "Have you been threatened by your master?" Nothing of the sort: and although five magistrates presided, not one had the common honesty, or rather the common humanity, to put a single question to elucidate the truth. In short, if the amendment were carried, it would henceforth be thought sufficient in the Colonies to adhere to the mere forms of law, and to disregard all the obligations of substantial justice. It had been said, that one of the slaves, Cosley, had confessed his crime. He did not believe it. Where was his confession? He begged to ask, whether the following scene had not occurred at the place of execution:—Were not the graves of the miserable sufferers dug beneath the gallows? Was not an offer made to spare the lives of any two who would confess their guilt? and did they not one and all refuse to acknowledge the slightest criminality? That such was the fact, he had from a respectable gentleman, an eye-witness of the scene. In defence of the Duke of Manchester it was said, that the alarm was great, and the responsibility heavy, and that examples were necessary. But before examples were made, ought not guilt to be established? The very laws of Jamaica were framed in defiance of every semblance of justice, as respected the blacks. Hence judges and juries, in the case of blacks, lost sight of what would be mere humanity in the case of a white; and hence the horrible scenes, originating in pusillanimity and hatred, which were last year exhibited. Much had been said of the horrors attending negro insurrection; but even these would form no parallel to the horrors which the whites, professors of Christianity, and acquainted with the forms and principles of justice, had heaped from time to time on the devoted negroes. All the massacres of St. Domingo were not to be compared with the barbarities related by Bryan Edwards to have been perpetrated by the whites of Jamaica on the negroes, and yet, though himself a man of education and talents, he relates them unaccompanied by a single reflection on their needless and wanton cruelty. Conspiracy might be dangerous, but it was not less dangerous to drive a population to desperation by such scenes as these. If they meant to preserve the Colonies, they might administer the laws strictly; but they must do justice and love mercy. No race of men would submit to be quiet, if their feelings were wronged and tortured by oppression. If in our conduct to the negro we followed the principles of Christianity; if we taught him a sense of justice and a knowledge of God; if we afforded him present comfort, and a future hope of rising from his present degraded state, we might keep him quiet; but we could never do so by the operation of the mere fear of terrible punishment. If we looked to past events, and contemplated those likely to arise, we must be convinced, that it was good for all who lived in the distant parts of our dominions, that the doors of this house should be open to their complaints, and that in all cases parliament should shew its readiness to do justice and to punish oppression.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL perfectly concurred with his Learned Friend in all the sentiments he had expressed of a generous abhorrence of slavery as well as in his eloquent denunciation of its abuses; and he most earnestly desired a reformation of these evils; but he could not agree with him as to the gross malversation of all who were concerned in the late trials. The House could not adopt Mr. Denman's resolution without being prepared to state, that the judges, the jury, and the governor, had all been guilty of a perversion of law and a violation of justice. He did not contend that these trials had been properly conducted, but that such as they were, they were in accordance with the laws of Jamaica. Were these trials illegal according to the *lex loci*? That that law was bad and required a thorough reformation, every individual on both sides of the House was agreed. That in all trials the black should be on the same foot-

ing with the white he maintained as strongly as any man; but he would not consent to stigmatise individuals who had only acted according to the existing state of law. They were not to be punished because the law was bad, or because they were not such a nicely balancing jury as a jury of the county of Kent: and yet for this the resolution went to condemn them. He was not prepared indeed to defend these proceedings. He was not prepared to take upon himself the task of threading the ighnography. Still he did not think the judges and governor ought to be censured. It would be injustice as great as any which had taken place in the Colonies if we were to condemn these men for acting under the existing law. The House, he trusted, would execute the duty of amending that law; and he agreed fully with his Hon. Friends opposite as to the hated and accursed nature of the system of slavery, and he went along with them in desiring the abolition of it and its evils; but still he could not vote for the original motion, but must vote for the amendment.

Mr. W. SMITH gave his meed of praise to the force and eloquence displayed by his Learned Friends, (Mr. Denman and Dr. Lushington), and would not weaken the effect of their arguments by repeating them. He fully agreed, however, with the Solicitor General in designating the colonial system as a hated and accursed system. He himself avoided the use of such expressions, but he rejoiced to hear them fall from the mouth of so high an authority. That Hon. and Learned Member, while he denied the dishonesty of the Jamaica Jury, in fact, admitted that the negroes were living in a state of society, the very nature of which required such a system of laws as almost to render it impossible for them to expect justice. If, however, he had examined the proceedings of the courts rather more accurately, he would find that they were not to be justified even on the ground of having administered the law strictly, according to its existing forms. They had not admitted or rejected evidence, on mere technical rules of evidence. They had admitted against the prisoners hearsay evidence, at the third hand; and without attending to mere technical distinctions, which a common or even special jury of the country might not be supposed to know, they had violated principles of evidence so clear that every man must be acquainted with them. In fact, no man of common sense and common humanity could fail to observe the looseness of the evidence on which these persons had been convicted. These trials, however, did not furnish the only instances of the absolute necessity of altering the present laws of the island. Indeed those laws could not be exposed to the view of the British people, without their saying instantly, that such a system could not be suffered to exist in any dependencies of the British empire. The people and the Parliament of this country were disposed to alter this system. The white people of Jamaica said it should not be altered. In what a dilemma, then, was this country placed. The alteration must eventually take place, but in the intermediate time what controul was possessed by the people of England, that an administration of law according to the principles of justice and humanity should be secured to the Colonies? Was there now any other security than that of public opinion? His Hon. and Learned Friend had proposed a resolution, by which the voice of public opinion would be clearly expressed. However the question now at issue between the motion and the amendment might be decided, the discussion, he was convinced, would have done infinite good. It would open to the eyes of the public such scenes as they were not accustomed to see; it would convince them, that the representations made by those who were sometimes falsely accused of misleading the public mind, were true representations; that they had not asserted one fact which was not fully made out when the documents were produced; that they had not put forth one statement which was not confirmed to its very letter; that there was not one single accusation of cruelty which was not fully established. He did not say that the Right Hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Canning) had given, two nights ago, a view of the meliorations in the condition of the slaves which he did not believe to be true; but he thought the persons to whom that Right Hon. Gentleman had trusted for his information had misinformed him. He was quite sure that the meliorations had neither been so numerous nor so important as the Right Hon. Gentleman had stated. The present system of slavery, he it remembered, was not that which Christianity at its first coming had tolerated. It had not, as was alleged

antiquity to justify it; it was of mushroom growth; it had sprung up long, long after the prevalence of Christianity had actually abolished the ancient slavery, and, in his opinion, the existing slavery and the Christian religion were most entirely opposed to, and wholly incompatible with, each other.

Sir ROBERT WILSON agreed with the Hon. Member who had just sat down, and with the Hon. and Learned Gentleman who had brought forward the motion, who he thought was entitled to the thanks of the House and the country, for calling their attention to these gross abuses. The motion of his Learned Friend was more agreeable to the view he took of the matter than the amendment, precisely because he thought the House was called on to pass a vote of censure on the magistrates, the governor, and the whole course of the proceedings; it was bound to censure the judges, the jurors, and all the parties concerned in carrying on these lawless and sanguinary proceedings. The magistrates had not acted under the sanction of the law, but in violation of it. The evidence was such as common justice, common sense, and common humanity would instantly have rejected. He would do the Law Officers of the Crown the justice to say, that they had spoken of the system in those strong terms it merited; but he did not know that the House was as yet aware of all its atrocities—what would Members think of the following case? In 1822, a man named James Simpson was tried at Jamaica, for having chained down a young girl, only nine years of age, and then committing a rape on her person. He was found guilty; but his counsel moved, in arrest of judgment, that the man had committed no crime, for the girl was not a human being, but a chattel, and that as against her the offence was no offence. The case was remitted to England, and he believed the opinion of the twelve judges was required on it, who declared, that, in the existing state of the law in Jamaica, no punishment could be inflicted on the man, and he was set at liberty. The Government had taken the matter up, he also believed, and had made strong representations to the Colonial Legislature on the subject of the law. From such circumstances as these, proving what was the actual state of the law, and what the condition of the slave, he thought we were bound to pursue the total destruction of slavery, reckless of every opposing plea.

Mr. GOULBURN, having had the misfortune to succeed to a property in the Colonies, could not allow the debate to close without asserting, that there were Gentlemen connected with the colonies, who felt as warmly concerning all these transactions as any of the Honourable Members on the other side of the House. It was due to the Colonists to state, that the sentiments of many of them were perfectly in unison with those of the Gentlemen who reprobated these proceedings. He found it the more necessary to make this declaration, because he intended to vote for the amendment, though in most of what had been said respecting the trials, the evidence, the laws of the colonies, he fully agreed with the Hon. Gentlemen opposite. But, though of this opinion, he could not go the length of the original proposition, because he was not prepared to visit with a heavy censure, or to stigmatize as criminal, men, who, living in a state of society quite different from this, whose property and lives being at stake, and who acting under the greatest apprehension, had not conducted themselves quite so calmly, so dispassionately, as Gentlemen would have conducted themselves here. If the resolution of his Hon. Friend went forth with the unanimous approval of the House, it would be impossible for the Colonists to doubt how highly their conduct was disapproved of. They must see, that Gentlemen who agreed on no other subject, had united to condemn the Colonial laws; and such a sentence of condemnation would, he thought, operate as an effectual check against such proceedings in future. The original resolution involved in it a principle that, if applied to the judicial establishments of this country, might lead to enormous evils. It called on the House, with very insufficient evidence, to pass a severe censure on the magistracy of Jamaica.

Mr. BROUGHAM differed entirely from the Right Hon. Gentleman in the view he took of the subject. The opinion of that House, censuring the unjust conduct of the Magistrates, and pointing out that the system was wrong, and required reform, would indeed convince the Colonists that it must be reformed. But as the amendment, though expressing a strong disapprobation of the system, sought to screen those acts of injustice which were not denied, and could not be

denied, which were undefended and indefensible ; as this Amendment not only sought to screen, but actually defended what no single man in that House would stand up to defend, he felt himself bound to take the sense of the House on the subject ; and he should divide against the Amendment, though he stood alone, rather than it should go forth to the public as having received the unanimous approbation of that House. The Amendment attributed all the blame to the system, but assumed that the trials were all strictly according to the regular mode of proceeding ; therefore, it was said, that the system alone was to be amended, and it was not proper to express an opinion on the conduct of those who had acted under it. The Attorney-General had said, he should be the last man to defend the system ; and the Solicitor-General had said, God forbid, that he should deny or defend the atrocities of the system. He was even indignant, that it should be supposed he had looked through the Report, and examined the cases, with a view to defend them. He did not even attempt to palliate, what, all admitted, deserved blame ; but he wished the House to distinguish between the law and the individuals, and only to censure the former. But, in his opinion, the law had been so perverted—the evidence was so inadmissible—the charge so vague and irregular, that it was not possible to defend the conduct of the individuals. Even in Smith's case there was a better ground of defence : he was tried, indeed, by an anomalous Court—by a Court half military, half civil ; but there had been a definite disturbance, and there was against him a specific charge ; but in the St. Mary's case, how were the men put on their trial ? His Learned Friend said they were legally tried ; but all the evidence against them was hearsay evidence, some at third hand—such as would not, as he well knew, be received in this country, or in any country where law was known. His Learned Friend had stated, that the whole had been conducted according to law, and that the law had not been violated. With all due respect to his Learned Friend, he would say, that if the law had not been violated, it had been perverted—that justice had been violated, and that, under colour of law, a gross and a violent act of injustice had been committed. The precipitancy with which the St. Mary's trial had been conducted was most indefensible. “ I thought it my duty (says Colonel Cox) to insist on the Magistrates trying the Negroes that had been taken, immediately : and to send their trial and sentence express, as it will, in my opinion, be highly important for the safety of the parish, and probably, the island, that they should be executed before Christmas :” —no respite—no breathing time, was allowed between the trial and the execution. There was a necessity, it was supposed, to hasten forward the operation—to proceed with the trial, trusting to a conviction, in order that there might be an execution before Christmas. At St. Mary's the men were put on their trial without many of the formalities resorted to in the other trials, and which, therefore, must have been omitted, not from ignorance, but intentionally, or from mere indifference. The charge was vague and indefinite, and the prisoners were condemned on evidence which would not have been thought sufficient in this country to convict the basest of mankind of the smallest penal offence. Those eight men were sentenced to death, to gratify the headlong impatience and alarm of some of their masters ; and to deter others, they were ordered to be executed before Christmas. If the House felt as he knew they must feel, he was sure they would not be satisfied, unless they passed a censure on the judiciary that tried them. But if the proceedings of this judicial body were influenced by their apprehensions, that could not be said of the Governor, who was at a distance, and could not be affected by the vain fears which existed among the people of St. Mary's. These fears were local : and if they afforded a justification of the people on the spot, they afforded no justification, no extenuation whatever, of the precipitancy of the Governor. He received the statement of the trial, read the vague charges, compared the evidence, varying and contradictory as it was ; he was surrounded by his Council, his Secretary, and his Law Officers, and had access to their opinions. And yet even he would give these men no breathing time, would allow them no respite, but by the return of the messenger, dispatched instructions that they should be executed forthwith. There was a similar haste, and a similar irregularity, in the trial of Leon, of St. George's, and similar discrepancies in the evidence of Corberand ; for it was on his varying and contradictory evidence the man was capitally convicted. He considered the whole of the proceedings to be a perversion of the

law, and the convictions to be a gross violation of justice; and if men were placed in a situation where they could be excited by their apprehensions to commit such acts, and where the system was such that they could commit them with impunity, he thought it was so much the more necessary that the House should express a strong opinion on their conduct. If men were placed in a situation in which they might, under the influence of some momentary passion, lend themselves to the commission of irrevocable measures, involving no less than the life and death of individuals, it behoved the House the more strongly to express an opinion which might prevent the recurrence of similar conduct. The House was bound to shew the world, that if justice and mercy were duties, it was no less a duty in those intrusted with power to retain their self-possession and firmness; and it was no less imperiously required of them, not to allow themselves to be led away by a panic or terror, under the influence of which they might shed, or, as in this case, sanction the shedding of innocent blood. He would not think he had done his duty if he had not stated these his reasons for holding that these proceedings ought not to pass without merited reproof. If it were to go out to the West Indies that such proceedings had escaped the censure of Parliament, then the same injustice, the same cruelties, would be committed over and over again with impunity.

Mr. CANNING, in rising to state the reasons why he approved of the Amendment, in preference to the original motion, was anxious to have it distinctly understood that he did not yield to any man in the feelings which those proceedings were naturally calculated to excite, and that he differed from the Gentlemen opposite, only because it appeared to him that the question must be decided upon grounds of a more limited nature.—Even upon the Hon. and Learned Gentleman's own shewing, it would be impossible for him consistently to vote for the original Resolution; and why? Because that Resolution condemned the whole of these proceedings by one sweeping affirmation of a perversion of all law and justice; whereas, his speech went in some degree to discriminate the cases from each other. But the Amendment stated what was true, with respect to all the proceedings, viz.:—That Negro life was put to hazard, and Negro blood shed, by a system totally different from that which was applied to white men. In all these proceedings this was to be lamented, and so, with respect to all, the Amendment was strictly correct. If the Resolution of the Honourable and Learned Gentleman had been couched in such words as these,—“That this House, considering the trials in Jamaica in 1823-4, felt it to be its duty to express, in the strongest terms, its sorrow for the manner in which these trials had been conducted, and thought that the system ought to be altered,” he would have had no objection to it. But instead of this, in his original Resolution, he proposed, that the House should express its “sorrow and indignation at the perversion of law and justice in the proceedings, and at the precipitation in the execution of a sentence wholly unsupported by evidence.” Now, he was not prepared to vote for a resolution containing these assertions. He was not prepared to say, that in these proceedings there was a perversion of law, as usually administered in the Colonies. Undoubtedly, he considered the law as one which ought to be altered; but he was not prepared to affirm that the authorities had perverted the law, such as it was, or that there had been undue precipitation in the execution of the sentence. With respect to the Judges, they had the power to have ordered it without any reference to the Governor at all; yet, in point of fact, they had referred the sentence to the Governor. They were acting under an alarm which pervaded the whole of the white population; and yet, they did not avail themselves of the power of ordering immediate execution, but, of their own free will, they referred the sentence to the Governor; so that, with respect to them, the proposition with respect to precipitation was completely negatived. Then, as to the Duke of Manchester, he was the representative of the Crown in that country, and, among other prerogatives, he had the exercise of that of mercy. Now, as a general rule, he said, with respect to the prerogative of mercy, that he could not conceive a more formidable and dangerous example than that which would be furnished by the House interfering to censure the exercise of the prerogative of extending or withholding mercy. The exercise of that prerogative must be left unquestioned, or the prerogative itself must be entirely taken away; for you totally deprive it of its essence when you make it subject to Parliamentary investigation. If

the Hon. and Learned Gentleman had communicated his resolution to him before it was moved in the House, he would have been happy to suggest such amendments as might have led to an unanimous approbation of it by the House, instead of drawing up, along with others, another resolution expressive of their views, which was now proposed as an amendment. Nay, he might say, that if the original resolution had not contained propositions which he thought unfounded in fact, he would have preferred voting for it; but, as the matter stood, he thought that the amendment would best satisfy—not all the feelings which a perusal of these papers naturally and necessarily excited—not all the feelings which might very properly be expressed in communications between man and man—but that which was most fitting for Parliament to resolve; and this would operate as effectually in the Colonies as a specific censure, while it avoided all the inconveniences with which a censure on the proceedings of a Court of Judicature would be attended. He was particularly anxious to show that there was no difference among them on any other point than an apprehension of the evils that might result from passing a censure upon a judicial and legal proceeding. It was to save that point—to save the public from the danger of such a precedent, that he voted for the amendment in preference to the original resolution. For the precedent might, if once established, ascend from these disgusting tribunals to others of a higher and better description. With whatever disgust, therefore, in a moral point of view, they must look at these proceedings, still, if conducted according to the law of the place, they were not a proper subject for censure in that House. He would not enter into the details of these trials, nor say any thing to blunt the edge of those feelings with which they must be regarded. He only wished to impose this check, not upon the feelings themselves, but upon that undue and irregular mode of expressing them which the original resolution involved.

Mr. DENMAN, in reply, said, he had apprized many members, and among others, the Colonial Secretary, of the contents of his resolution. He certainly felt very desirous that any resolution which it was proper to pass upon this subject, should be adopted unanimously; and he was not so much attached to any particular phrases of his own, as to refuse to adopt other words, provided he could do so consistently with his duty, and with that which he believed the House owed to itself. If he had failed in making the most of his case, his deficiencies had been supplied by his friends around him; and, if they had left any thing undone, that deficiency also had been supplied by the arguments of the gentlemen on the other side; for every gentleman who had spoken on that side, had used expressions as strong, if not stronger, than those contained in his resolution, but had endeavoured to get rid of the natural effect of them, by a quibbling fallacy. It was said that those tribunals proceeded according to the laws of Jamaica, and it was denied that there was precipitation. Now, he would ask, whether it was the law of Jamaica, that the trial should take place in two days after the apprehension of the supposed offenders?—whether it was the law of Jamaica that they should have the assistance of neither counsel nor witnesses?—whether it was the law of Jamaica that eight men should be executed in one morning, in order that there might be executions before Christmas?—whether it was the law of Jamaica that the wife should be called upon to give evidence against her husband on a trial for his life? If the law did not absolutely compel them to adopt such a course of proceeding, then there was here a gross perversion of law and justice. His resolution was founded upon this, that, although some form of law had been preserved, it had been perverted in principle. It was a perversion of the law to precipitate execution under a sentence resting on proof, upon which no human beings ought to be condemned. It was a perversion of the law to execute eight men in one morning, that there might be executions before Christmas. The Attorney-General had said that it was the practice in the Colonies to proceed on hearsay evidence, and that he had found, upon inquiry, that such had been usually received in the trial of slaves. Now, the Common Law of Jamaica was the same as the Common Law of England; and was it the law of England, that persons should be tried and condemned on hear-say evidence? That a wife should be received as a witness against her husband? This was not the law; and, even if it had been the law, that would not have justified these disgusting and infamous proceedings. But,



then, the Attorney-General meets part of the objection in another way, and says that the woman, although she cohabited with the man, might not be his wife: he had made inquiries, he said, to ascertain how the matter stood; but it did not appear that he had got any information, either the one way or the other. But the fact that she was his wife was stated on the record; and if she had not been so, it was not to be supposed that the Judge would not have taken notice of it. It was, therefore, in this case, to be taken that the woman was really the wife of this man, against whom she gave evidence. In these cases, the Common Law had been grossly perverted, and the only reasonable objection to his resolution was, that it did not go far enough—that it did not sufficiently set forth the extent of the violation of law, which had taken place in these infamous proceedings. Then, another point was argued, that the resolution did not discriminate between the several cases. It, however, proceeded upon grounds which were common to them all, as far as respected the perversion of law. Persons were tried and condemned on the testimony of witnesses not sworn, and on hearsay—the wife had been adduced as evidence against her husband—the executions had been indecently precipitated. All these were perversions of law—all of them clearly supported his resolution, and the House would abandon its duty if it adopted any thing short of it. Then, as to the Judges, it was said that they had not been precipitate, and they had almost been praised for not ordering immediate execution, but referring the sentence to the Governor. It was a lame cause which required this sort of bolstering. The Juries were certainly the least blameable, because they had been misled by the Judges. And who was the chief judge in this case? The military commander, who headed the troops which surrounded the Court, who was anxious to have executions before Christmas—who condemned these poor creatures on such unheard-of testimony, and who was said not to have been precipitate, because he did not order instant execution, but referred the sentence to the Governor. Then came the defence of the Governor. It was said, that it would be most dangerous to interfere with the exercise of the prerogative of extending or withholding mercy. But he maintained that it was not a question of mercy, but of justice; for the Governor was bound, in justice, not to have ordered execution in such a case. Suppose a case had come before the Secretary for the Home Department, where persons had been condemned upon evidence clearly bad and insufficient; would he, in such a case, advise execution without further inquiry? And that, too, in order to have execution done, and an example made before a certain day? Then his resolution called for a reform—of what? Not of the law, though that doubtless required it, but of the administration of criminal justice in the island. But, they were told, that the system of law ought to bear all the blame. But, was it to be endured, that public functionaries should thus carry unjust sentences into execution in such a precipitate manner, and that the House should do nothing more than coolly say, that all the blame rested with the system? What was the check upon the administration of the law under such a system? Why, that an English nobleman, having an English education—acquainted with the laws and usages of Parliament, and knowing something of the general feelings and disposition of the English people, stood there like a great sea-mark, not to give effect to the fears of the rabble, but to take care that impartial justice was done to all classes. If he did not act in this manner, he deserved censure, and ought to be censured. The system, such as it was, was still in operation, and it certainly was the more necessary that the judicial proceedings should be strictly watched. Then came the argument of the late Secretary to the Colonies, and he said that this resolution would be a dangerous precedent in other cases. But, was the House prepared to say that it never would inquire into any judicial proceedings, where, although the essence of justice had been violated, the forms had been complied with? What would be said of the case of St. Mary's; what of that of St. George's, in which a person had been condemned and executed, on the evidence of Corberand alone, after the infamy of the witness was manifest? In the trials of Russell and Sydney, the forms of law had been complied with. They had been indicted, tried, and convicted by Juries misled by the Judges. And yet, if their cases were to come before the House, would it be a good ground of argument against a censure upon the Judges who condemned, and the Government who executed, that the mere forms of law had been complied with?

So neither, in the present case, could a compliance with mere forms protect the Judges and Governor, the former of whom seemed almost to be praised by the other side for not doing all the injustice they could have done. With respect to the system, it was quite impossible it could last long, and he was not very anxious about that part of the resolution. But he was sure, that if such conduct as this had been exhibited in Britain, it would have been visited with the utmost severity; and, if these proceedings in the Colonies were to be suffered to pass unreplicated by that House, they would be laying a foundation for the foulest perversions of justice. He could not, therefore, consent to withdraw his resolution.

The House then divided—

For the original motion, 63—Against it, 103—Majority, 40.

After the division, and while strangers remained excluded, Mr. BROUGHAM, referring to the course and temper of the discussion, suggested the propriety of cutting off the latter part of the amendment relative to the inexpediency of impeaching the verdict of the Court, being all that part which followed the words “the year 1823.”

Mr. CANNING assented to the suggestion, and it was agreed *nem. con.* to alter the amendment accordingly.

It then stood thus :—

Resolved, *nemine contradicente* :—“That this House sees, in the proceedings which have been brought under its consideration, with respect to the late trials of slaves in Jamaica, further proof of the evils inseparably attendant upon a state of Slavery; and derives therefrom increased conviction of the propriety of the resolutions passed by this House on the 15th of May, 1823.”

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

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London, 18, Aldermanbury, April 30, 1826.

No. 11.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

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### THE PROGRESS OF COLONIAL REFORM;

*Being a Brief View of the real Advance made since the 15th of May, 1823, in carrying into effect the Recommendations of His Majesty, the unanimous Resolutions of Parliament, and the universal Prayer of the Nation, with respect to Negro Slavery.—Drawn from the Parliamentary Papers which have appeared prior to the 10th of April, 1826.*

On the 15th of May, 1823, the House of Commons resolved, on the motion of Mr. Canning, "to adopt effectual and decisive measures for meliorating the condition of the Slave population in his Majesty's Colonies;" and expressed its hope that "through a determined and persevereing, but judicious and temperate enforcement of such measures," the slaves might be prepared, "for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of His Majesty's subjects;" "at the earliest period compatible with the well-being of the Slaves, the safety of the Colonies, and a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of all parties concerned therein."

In pursuance of this resolution, His Majesty's Government proposed to introduce into all the Slave Colonies the following reforms: viz.

1. To provide the means of religious instruction and Christian education for the Slave population.
2. To put an end to markets and to labour on the Sunday, and to appropriate that day entirely to rest and recreation, and to religious worship and instruction; and instead of Sunday, which had hitherto been the day on which, in most of the Colonies, the Slaves had cultivated their provision grounds, to allow them equivalent time on other days for that purpose.
3. To admit the testimony of Slaves in courts of justice.
4. To legalize the marriages of Slaves, and to protect them in the enjoyment of their connubial rights.

5. To protect the Slaves by law in the acquisition and possession of property, and in its transmission by bequest, or otherwise.

6. To remove all the existing obstructions to manumission, and to grant to the Slave the power of redeeming himself, and his wife and children, at a fair appraisement.

7. To prevent the separation of families by sale, or otherwise.

8. To prevent the seizure and sale of Slaves detached from the estate or plantation to which they belong.

9. To restrain generally the power, and to prevent the abuse, of arbitrary punishment at the will of the master.

10. To abolish the degrading corporal punishment of females.

11. To abolish the use of the driving-whip in the field, either as an emblem of authority, or as a stimulus to labour.

12. To establish Savings' Banks for the use of the Slaves.

Besides these important changes, as to the propriety of which, little difference of opinion has appeared to exist in this country, and even the West-Indian body have generally concurred,\* there were two other points which formed the subject of much discussion, and to the expediency of which it was understood that His Majesty's Government assented.

One of these respected the question of relieving Negroes and persons of colour, from the operation of that unjust principle of Colonial law, which subjects them to be dealt with as Slaves, unless they shall be able to establish, by legal proof, their right to freedom. The other respected the policy of not permitting future governors, or judges, or attorneys-general, or fiscals, or religious instructors, in the Slave Colonies, to be holders of property in Slaves.†

The views which were taken of the condition of the Slave population by His Majesty's Ministers, and by the Anti-Slavery Society, may possibly have differed in some respects, and the former may have been led to think more favourably of it than the latter. But, thus far they were agreed; that that condition was such as to require those sweeping reforms which the above propositions involved, and which virtually conceded to the abolitionists the substance of their case. It was clearly impossible to maintain that such reforms were called for in our Slave Colonies, without admitting that the state of society existing there was at war with every acknowledged principle of natural equity, of common humanity, or of British constitutional law, and with the whole spirit and genius of the Christian religion, and that therefore the most prompt remedial measures were called for.

His Majesty's Government appeared to have felt so strongly the force of this necessary inference from the facts of the case, that a fortnight was not suffered to elapse, after the resolution of the 15th of May, 1823, had been adopted, before brief instructions were sent to

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\* Lord Bathurst affirms repeatedly, in his dispatches to the Colonial governors, that the measures he was anxious the legislatures should adopt, had "in almost every instance, been recommended by the principal planters resident in this country."

† See substance of the debate in the House of Commons, 15th May, 1823. Preface xxvi—xxxiii.

the governors of the different Slave Colonies, to have it forthwith carried into effect; and these were followed, in a few weeks, by further instructions still more ample and peremptory, to the same purport.\* The abolitionists are accused of impatience, because they complain of the delay of three years which has already taken place, and of the much greater delay which, on the present plan of proceeding, is likely to take place before the proposed work of reform shall have even effectually commenced. But what was the language of Lord Bathurst, His Majesty's Secretary of State, as early as the 9th of July, 1823, in conveying to the Colonial governors His Majesty's commands?—"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."

It may be inferred from the language of this dispatch, as well as from that which His Majesty's Ministers held in parliament, that at this time they were not fully aware of the real state of things in the West Indies, or of the general temper and feeling of the Colonists; and that they relied on a ready compliance with requisitions so reasonable and moderate in themselves, and so consonant to the universal sentiment of the British parliament and public. They were in vain warned, by persons who assumed to be better informed upon this point, that they had embarked in a hopeless undertaking; that the Colonists would prove inflexible by any recommendations which could be addressed to them, or, indeed, by any considerations short of authoritative interference, on the part of the Government, and of Parliament; and that the course it was determined to adopt, must end in delay and disappointment, if not in insurrection, and all its concomitant evils.

Even in those Colonies in which (having no local legislatures) the King alone possessed the power of framing laws, it was deemed right not to issue the requisite orders on the subject, but to submit the propriety of adopting the proposed changes to the Colonial authorities, and to await their decision. The result was such as those who knew them best had fully expected. The clamour against improvement was no less loud, the resistance to the Royal recommendations no less unqualified, in the Colonies subject to the Crown, than in those possessing assemblies of their own. The universality of this opposition on the part of the Colonists, the occurrence of tumult in Demerara, the fabricated plots in Jamaica, and the bullying remonstrances which burst concurrently from every part of the West Indies, appear to have had no inconsiderable effect on the measures of His Majesty's Ministers. Instead of coming down to Parliament to complain that the recommendations of His Majesty had not been carried into effect "with all pos-

\* See for these instructions, the Society's Second Report, Appendix D.

sible dispatch," and "in a spirit of perfect and cordial co-operation with His Majesty's Government," and to ask for further counsel, they determined on delay; in the hope that when the existing irritation had subsided, the Colonists would be induced to act from a sense of what was due to the dignity of the Crown and the authority of Parliament, and to the recognized claims of humanity and justice. The single measure, to which, in the second year, they limited themselves, was to embody their plan of reform in an Order of Council, which should take immediate effect in the island of Trinidad, and be presented to the other Colonies as the model of their legislation. This expedient has proved equally abortive with that which was first resorted to; and, at the end of three years, the work of reformation which Lord Bathurst so properly and so peremptorily required should be proceeded in with all possible dispatch, has, as yet, scarcely commenced in any of the Colonies, excepting Trinidad; and even there it was found impossible to induce the Colonists to pursue it in the required spirit of perfect and cordial co-operation with His Majesty's Government. It became necessary to resort to compulsion, as affording the only means of carrying their plans into effect. No discretion was allowed to the local authorities. The Order in Council was imposed and enforced by the peremptory mandate of the Sovereign. Trinidad, therefore, is the only Colony where the proposed reforms have been carried into any thing like effect; and even there they have had to encounter from the first, and they are still encountering the decided and avowed hostility of the whole White Population.\*

As the Trinidad Order has been exhibited to all the Colonies, as the model to which they are to assimilate their Slave codes, it is important exactly to ascertain the degree in which it may be considered to have successfully embodied the various reforms, which were originally contemplated by Ministers, as the first step in their progress towards the final emancipation of the Slaves. To this end it will be necessary to take in succession the different points mentioned above, and to show how far they have been effectively provided for by the Order in Council.

1. The Order speaks of some future time, when effectual provision shall be made for the religious instruction of the Slaves; but it contains itself no regulation whatever either for the instruction of adults, or the education of children.

2. It is not until the effectual provision, thus indefinitely spoken of, shall have been made, that Sunday markets are to cease; and, meanwhile, they are to be held only before ten in the morning of Sunday. The master is at the same time forbidden, except in the case of domestics, cattle-keepers, &c. to compel his Slaves to labour for his benefit on the Sunday; and whatever necessary labour the Slaves may be induced voluntarily to perform for him, on that day, is to be paid for at fixed rates of wages. The Order therefore does not prohibit Sunday markets, except prospectively, and when religious instruction shall have

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\* See the Parliamentary Papers, passim, under the head Trinidad; the Society's Second Report, p. 1-7; and the Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 80. It is the second edition of this last work, which is quoted throughout.

been provided for the Slaves; and yet it institutes no means whatever of such instruction. It further leaves the very important question of the Sunday labour of the Slave, in his provision grounds, for his own sustenance, wholly untouched. It has been most justly assumed by His Majesty's Ministers, as an undeniable position, that Sunday must be considered as a day belonging to the Slave: and this position has been clearly laid down by Lord Bathurst, in one of his dispatches to the governor of Trinidad. A question had been put to him by the planters of that island, as to their right of *compelling* lazy and turbulent negroes to work their grounds on Sunday, "as had," they say, "been the practice hitherto." His Lordship tells them that they are prohibited from using compulsion in this case, because they are entitled only to six days labour of the Slave in the week; and out of the profits of these six days, the Slave must be supported. The master, therefore, can have no possible claim for the services of his Slave on the Sunday, either on his account, or with a view to the sustenance of the Slave. And for the time during the week which he may appropriate to his Slaves for their provision grounds, he can have no claim to compensation; as the arrangement of allowing them land, and sufficient time for cultivating it, is adopted, adds his Lordship, in order to supersede the necessity of purchasing provisions for them.\*

This view of the subject is clear and intelligible; and the fair inference to be drawn from it is that the Sunday should be given wholly up to the Slave, while, to use Mr. Canning's language, *equivalent* time should be secured to him on other days, for cultivating his provision grounds. But this equivalent time has not been assigned to him in the Trinidad Order in Council.

It had hitherto been the practice in Trinidad, and indeed in all Colonies that pursued the plan, which is there pursued, of making the Slaves support themselves by the cultivation of their provision grounds, to allot the Sunday and a certain portion of time besides, varying from 16 to 26 days, for that purpose; the master assuming a right of compelling the slave so to employ not only those week-days, but the Sundays also; and it being often a part of the ordinary duty of the inferior overseers on plantations to visit the negro grounds on Sunday, in order to ascertain and report which of the Slaves were engaged there, and which were not. What precise number of days, besides Sundays, were allowed to the Slaves in Trinidad, for the purpose of raising their own provisions, is no where specified. Had the Spanish law been adhered to, as it ought to have been, the Slaves would then have had 52 week days and 30 holidays, besides the Sunday; which they might have called their own, and which they might have employed in raising food, and in acquiring the means of effecting their own or their children's manumission.† This merciful law, however, has not been enforced under the English government; and it is believed that the number of week days in the year, allowed to the Slave, has at no time exceeded 26, if it has even amounted to so many. If this apprehension be erroneous,

\* See Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 81.

† See for proof the Society's Second Report, Appendix A, p. 72 and 77.



it will be easy to correct it by producing the law of Trinidad on the subject.

What then is the situation in which the Trinidad Slave is placed by the Order in Council? The Sunday ceases to be a day of compulsory labour: Lord Bathurst justly affirms the right of the Slave to its absolute and undisturbed enjoyment; and yet no provision whatever is made by this Order for giving him equivalent time in lieu of it. The Slave, it will, perhaps, be said, may still work his ground as formerly on the Sunday. Without doubt he may. But was this the intention of His Majesty's Government, or of Parliament? Was it not intended, *bona fide*, that the *Sabbath* should be what its name designates—a day of rest, as well as of religious worship, to the Slave? And let the fact be supposed that the clergymen, or missionaries, who visit Trinidad, should succeed in conveying to any considerable number of Slaves proper impressions of the sanctity of the Sunday, and of the duty of devoting it to purposes of religious worship and instruction, would not the effect necessarily be that such Christian Slaves would at once have the pittance of time applicable to their own purposes, (at least, which they could conscientiously thus apply,) reduced from 78 in the year to 26. Seventy-eight week days in the year, however, is obviously the smallest number which, if the supposition that has been made respecting the practice which had hitherto prevailed in Trinidad be correct, can in justice be appropriated to the Slaves for their own use. They will otherwise be placed in a worse situation than before, as to time for cultivating their grounds. The Order in Council specifies no time which is to be secured to them, but leaves them either to the possession of the number of days, whatever it be, which, in addition to the Sunday they had hitherto been allowed, or to the tender mercies of their master for an increase.

The continuance of the Sunday market, even till ten o'clock, is, without doubt, greatly to be deplored, whether it be regarded as a voluntary and unnecessary desecration of that day, by the supreme authority of the state, or as a mere question of policy. The Government clearly possessed the power at once to put an end to this immoral and irreligious practice, and no good reason has been assigned for their not putting an end to it. The limitation of the market also to ten o'clock, while it does not save the day from desecration, imposes peculiar hardships on the Slaves. Many of them have to travel ten, fifteen, and twenty miles, with their loads for sale. In what way is it possible for them to attend the market, and to effect their sales, and to make their purchases, before ten o'clock, without sacrificing a night's rest, after a week of labour, in order to reach the Sunday market in due time? The regulation is therefore a cruel one to the Slaves, if it were possible to observe it; and if the Sunday markets are still to be continued, it can only be wished that the regulation may not be enforced.

The reason for this most objectionable prolongation of the practice of Sunday markets, is said to be an apprehension lest, until religious instruction shall have been provided, the Slaves should abuse the day to purposes of riot and licentiousness. But how is this effect to be obviated by fixing the market on Sunday, and above all by the limitation of that market to ten o'clock? On the contrary, is not this arrangement more

likely than any other to produce the effect which it proposes to avoid? The slaves are drawn together in great crowds, from distant parts of the country, at an early hour on the morning of Sunday; and after a fatiguing walk, the length of which they must again retrace before they reach their homes, and with the money obtained by marketing in their pockets, are they not much more likely to be tempted to spend a part of the day idly and dissolutely, and, perhaps, after getting drunk, to unite for purposes of disorder, than if they had been induced, as they would have been had not the market drawn them to town, to remain quietly at home, to repose themselves after the labours of the week, or to attend to their grounds or to other domestic occupations? It is an arrangement therefore both impolitic in itself, and most injurious to the slave.

The abolition of Sunday markets is made, by the Order in Council, to depend on a very vaguely defined, and most dubious contingency; namely, the making effectual provision for the religious instruction of the Slaves. Until that is provided, much, it is true, may be said for not interfering to prevent their labouring moderately in their gardens, or grounds, on that day; but no good reason can be assigned for continuing on that account the Sunday market.

It is chiefly, however, when the effect of this part of the Order in Council for Trinidad, upon the conduct and feelings of the other Colonies, is contemplated, that its regulations are to be deplored. It is exhibited to them as an *example*; but they do not find in it the proof of any high regard for the sanctity of the Sabbath; on the contrary, Sunday markets are, for a time, expressly sanctioned by it. It contains no provision for giving to the Slave equivalent time in lieu of Sunday, though it forbids his compulsory labour, even on his own grounds, on that day. It, moreover, does not contain a single regulation requiring or enforcing the religious instruction, or Christian education, of the Slaves, in any degree however limited. To those also who are adverse to the abolition of the Sunday markets, being the great majority of the resident planters, it actually holds out an inducement to abstain from providing that religious instruction, on the existence of which the abolition of them is made to depend. Can it then be any subject of surprise, that with this example before them, only one of the Colonies should have abolished the Sunday market? In the unfortunate laxity of their model, do they not find a sufficient apology, at least, for delay? Would it not be unreasonable to blame them for not being in advance of the wishes of Government, as those wishes are to be traced in its own acts? Before improvement in these important respects is to be looked for in any of the Colonies, there must be a revision and correction of those clauses of the Trinidad Order which bear on this subject. Their malign influence on the progress of reform, in the other Colonies, is too plainly visible to be denied. Notwithstanding the appointment of bishops and archdeacons, and additional clergymen, only one Colony, throughout the whole range of the Antilles, has abolished the Sunday market. And, even in the two Colonies, which are the immediate residence of the Bishops, no measures have yet been adopted for abolishing it.

3. The next head, in the list of proposed reforms, is the admission of the evidence of Slaves in courts of justice. When the council of Trinidad were asked what was the state of the existing law on this point, in that particular colony, they replied, in their minute of the 9th July, 1823, that the evidence of Slaves was now received there quantum valeat; and to this rule they do not state any exception. Now, if this be a correct account of the matter, and it does not appear to have been disputed, then the condition of the Slave, in respect of his admissibility as a witness, seems to be deteriorated instead of being improved by the Order in Council. For though it be true that the Order in Council has declared that "nothing therein contained shall extend to take away or diminish any power or authority which any court of criminal jurisdiction now hath to admit, in any case, the evidence of persons being in a state of slavery;" yet it seems difficult to conceive, that the special regulations respecting the admission of the evidence of slaves, introduced into the Order, were intended to have no operation whatever. It is there ordained, that any slave, whom any clergyman, priest, or religious teacher shall certify to understand the nature of an oath, shall be recorded as entitled to give evidence in courts of justice, in all cases civil or criminal, excepting in civil suits where the master is concerned, or in trials affecting the life of a *white* man. Is it not fair to ask, Did these exceptions exist under the old law of Trinidad? If they did not, then a positive injury is inflicted on the Slave by this (so called) amelioration. But it may be said, that these exceptions were not intended to operate in Trinidad, to the prejudice of the Slaves of that island, whose rights have been reserved by a saving clause in the Order, but were inserted in order to furnish a convenient exemplification of the provisions, on the subject of Slave evidence, which it was desired that the other Colonies should adopt. Even on this ground, each of the proposed exceptions is liable to some formidable objections.

In the first place, with respect to the non-admissibility of the evidence of Slaves in those civil suits in which their master may happen to be concerned; it is not denied that a Slave may be liable to a strong bias in favour of his master in cases of disputed property between him and third parties. Neither is it denied, that where an action of debt or trespass is brought by a Slave against his master, a species of suit which the Trinidad Order legalizes, the evidence of his fellow Slaves ought to be received with great caution, whether it be for or against the claim. But to shut out that evidence entirely, instead of leaving the question of its competency or credibility to be decided by the proper tribunal, seems to be a rule of very dubious import.

Another of the exceptions, however, is of a still more objectionable nature, namely, that which renders the evidence of Slaves inadmissible in trials affecting the life of a *White* man. Why, the *White* man, in particular, should be protected against the evidence of Slaves is not explained. If it be on the ground of his freedom, or of his proprietorship, these are grounds which apply with as much, if not more strength, and especially in Trinidad, to the Brown and to the Black who are free, and who are proprietors of Slaves, than it does to the White class. Throughout the West Indies, the judges and jurors, at present, are all

White, and the White class, therefore, possesses, in this very circumstance, a peculiar guarantee against the evil effects which are to be apprehended from the admission of the evidence of Slaves on the trial of free persons accused of capital offences. If any class of proprietors could be regarded as more endangered than another, by admitting the evidence of Slaves in such cases, it would be the Black and the Brown classes, who are at present wholly excluded, in all the colonies, from a seat either on the bench or in the jury-box.

But this novel principle of legislation is liable to a still more formidable objection. The cruelties, mayhems, mutilations, and murders, which have taken place from time to time in the Slave Colonies, have been chiefly perpetrated by *White* men. The very strong feeling which has been excited in this country, in favour of the admission of the evidence of Slaves, has arisen from an anxious desire and hope of thereby guarding against the recurrence of these evils. The exception in question puts an extinguisher on that natural and reasonable hope, for it tends to confer impunity on the very parties whom it was desired, by the admission of Slave evidence, to restrain. A *White* man, under the operation of this exception, might safely murder his Slave, though a hundred or a thousand other Slaves were present. And by the peculiar construction of the Trinidad Order, a temptation seems actually held out to him, (of course undesignedly and through mere inadvertence) to do so in certain supposable cases. If, for example, a *White* man should be accused of cruelty to a Slave, Slaves may testify against him and convict him. If the same man should be convicted, as he may also be on Slave evidence, of a second offence of the same description, he would be condemned to the forfeiture of all his Slaves, and rendered incapable of ever holding such property, or being entrusted with the management of it. Is it not a possible case, that to avoid this ruinous result, he should be tempted to kill the maimed Slave outright? He would then be secure from conviction, if no free persons were present, although the whole of the Slave gang should have witnessed the murder.

It is the more extraordinary that this particular exception should have been admitted into the Trinidad Order, because, in almost every instance where the West India Legislatures have themselves chosen to relax, in any degree, their stern exclusion of the evidence of Slaves, it has included those capital cases in which the Trinidad Order has rendered their evidence inadmissible. In Tobago, for example, the evidence of Slaves has been admitted, against free persons, without exception, in one case and one case only, and that is on their trial for the mayhem or murder of a Slave. In the latest Grenada Act the evidence of Slaves is also admitted against all free persons, but only when they are tried for capital crimes; and the abortive Bill of the Jamaica Legislature limited the admissibility of Slave evidence to capital offences. The Planters themselves in these islands must have perceived the groundlessness of those apprehensions which have led the Government to introduce so dangerous an exception into the Trinidad Order.

But there is a third exception, which has not yet been noticed, namely, that which requires the certificate of a clergyman or religious teacher, in order to entitle the Slave to be heard in evidence in any case,

civil or criminal. Ought such a certificate to be required? Was it required under the Spanish Slave Code? Was it required in Trinidad under the old law? Is it now required in Cuba or Porto Rico? Has it ever been required under the operation of the civil law, in the Colonies planted by Holland? Is it now required of any one of our numerous subjects in Hindostan or in Africa, whatever be the gross and revolting form of idolatry which they practise, or the ignorance in which they are sunk? What could be more decisive than the language which was held, during a late discussion in the House of Commons, by Mr. Peel on this subject? He is reported to have said, that there was one topic above all others, upon which he could not avoid expressing a decided opinion—the qualification of Slaves to give evidence in a court of justice. Of that he would say, that he hoped not one year, no, not even a single session would pass by, without the enactment of some regulation on the subject. For, who were the persons to whom that evidence was to be offered? Why, they were the Whites. Could it be said then, that those who were to judge of the value of such evidence were unreasonably prejudiced in favour of the Black population? Quite the contrary. What he wanted was, that the responsibility of rejecting a Black man's evidence should rest, not on the law, but on some known tribunal. Such a measure would be the first step to invest him with those rights which that House considered it right to bestow upon him. And if they were resolved to carry their intentions into execution, and raise the Black population to the rank of human beings, he could not understand any reason why they should delay giving effect to their views, upon this subject, for a single moment. The Slave would be liable to be summoned just in the same manner as an idiot might be in this country; and it would lie with the jury to determine, when he appeared before them, whether his testimony should or should not be believed. For his part, he could not conceive a mind, even the most deeply imbued with West Indian prejudices, who could see any danger likely to accrue, to the life or property of the White man, by investing the Slaves with such a privilege.

Such is in substance the language which Mr. Peel is reported to have held on the 1st of March, 1826. The language is worthy of his enlarged and liberal mind; and it is most ardently to be desired, that the principle which it maintains may form the basis of all future legislation on this subject, whether by the British Parliament, or by the Colonial Assemblies.

4. The fourth measure of reform proposed to be adopted, was to legalize the marriage of Slaves. This object appears to be effectually accomplished by the Trinidad Order, as far as regards the intermarriage of Slaves with each other—but no provision is made for legalizing the intermarriage of Slaves with free persons.

5. By the Trinidad Order, the Slave is protected in the acquisition, possession, and transmission of property, and is empowered to hold land as well as every other species of property, whether real or personal. This is, without doubt, a most important enactment, and fraught with the most beneficial consequences, provided the equivalent time to which the Slave is entitled, in lieu of the Sunday, is fairly and effectually secured to him; and provided also his industry is relieved from the

cruel restrictions under which the law of Trinidad, in common with the law of every other Slave Colony in the British empire, has placed it. By that law the Slave is prohibited, under severe penalties, from cultivating or selling any of the staple productions of the island,—any articles, in short, of exportable produce. It is perfectly obvious, that under the operation of this law, if it is allowed to remain in force, (and Lord Bathurst himself admits it to be now in force\*) the new regulation, liberal as it is in its terms, which gives to the Slave the power of holding land and of acquiring other property, is deprived of a great part of its value and efficiency, while a powerful motive to industrious effort, on the part of the Slave, is most unjustly withheld from him. At least, this principle of unqualified exclusion, which is now exercised towards the Slaves, throughout the Colonies, with respect to the liberty of cultivating or selling any articles of exportable produce, surely might, without prejudice to the interests of their immediate owner, admit of very extensive modifications.

6. The next point respects the removing of all obstructions to manumission, and the empowering of the Slave to effect the redemption of himself, and of other members of his family, at a fair appraisement. Upon this vital point, the provisions of the Trinidad Order, are, as far as they go, full and effective. They enable the Slave, if he has the means of paying the appraised value, to compel the liberation of himself, of his wife, or of his child. The beneficial effect of this regulation, however, would be greatly promoted, if it were combined with that admirable principle of the Spanish Colonial Code, which enables a Slave to purchase his freedom by instalments, and if measures were also at once taken for fixing, by anticipation, the maximum of price, which could be required for the different classes of Slaves, according to their age, sex, and acquirements.†

7. It was understood that the separation of families by sale, would be entirely prevented by the Trinidad Order.‡ This separation, however, is there prohibited only in the case of *judicial* sales. On what principle it is that the power of separating by sale, or otherwise, husband and wife, parents and children, which is denied to courts of justice, should be continued to the private owner, is not very obvious. On the contrary, it seems to be still more imperatively requisite to restrain the exercise of this cruel power, in the case of private individuals, than even in that of courts of justice. The latter are only occasionally called to interfere in such sales. The former enjoy, and may exercise the power at any time, when interest or inclination may prompt them to use it. There is no restraint on their sales or bequests; and the very threat of a separate sale by the owner may paralyze every exertion of industry in the Slave.

Neither by the Spanish nor by the Portuguese law can the husband

\* See the Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 82.

† See on this subject the Society's Second Report, p. 77—79, and a communication from Mr. Kilbee, the British Commissioner at the Havannah, to Mr. Canning, printed in the Parliamentary Paper, respecting the Slave Trade in 1825. Mr. Kilbee's Report will be found at the end of the Tract, entitled Negro Slavery, No. XV.

‡ See Mr. Canning's Speech on 16th March 1816.

and wife be separated, on any account whatever, except for crime. So jealous is the Spanish law especially, on this point, that it even enacts, (as may be seen in the Cedula of 31st May, 1789,) that "Slaves are not to be hindered from marrying with the Slaves of other masters;—in which case, if the estates are distant from one another, so that the new married couple cannot fulfil the object of marriage, the wife shall follow her husband, whose master shall buy her at a fair valuation, (by appraisers,) and if the master of the husband does not agree to the purchase, the master of the wife shall have the same facility." The same principle is made to regulate the sale of husband and wife residing on neighbouring estates, but belonging to different owners.

How far short of these regulations the Trinidad Order falls, which merely forbids the separation of husband and wife and children by *judicial* sale, it is unnecessary to point out.

The Trinidad Order further provides, that not only the husband and wife and children, but the *reputed* husband and wife and children shall not be separated by judicial sale. This provision seems to render it indispensable, that some subsidiary regulations should be forthwith adopted for ascertaining and recording these relations by repute, and for giving them a legal sanction; otherwise extreme confusion must, in no long time, necessarily arise in carrying into effect the existing law. Such a measure might, moreover, be rendered eminently useful in putting an easy termination to the unlawful and injurious practice of polygamy in all our Colonies.

8. The eighth head of reform proposes to prevent the seizure and sale of Slaves detached from the estate or plantation to which they belong. The Order in Council for Trinidad does not contain any provision to this effect, nor has such been adopted by any of the other Colonies.

9. The Trinidad Order contains some judicious regulations for restraining the abuse of that arbitrary power of corporal punishment, at the will of the master, which is still left to him. It limits the number of lashes which he can inflict on a male Slave at one time, and for one offence, to twenty-five, and no fresh punishment can be inflicted until former lacerations are completely healed. It requires that twenty-four hours should elapse, after an offence has been committed, before it can be punished; and when punishment is inflicted, it must be in the presence of a competent witness, besides the person by whose authority it is inflicted. It further requires that, on all plantations, a record should be kept specifying the crime which has been committed, and the kind and extent of punishment which has been inflicted; this record to be signed by the parties present, and copies of it to be regularly transmitted, certified on oath, to the Governor, and by him to the Secretary of State. The above regulations apply only to punishments which exceed three lashes; but it is not said how often punishments to that amount may be inflicted, nor is the instrument of punishment defined.

One of the clauses connected with this subject, which, in the Trinidad Order, is numbered the twenty-first, is extremely important. It provides that if any owner or manager is prosecuted for cruelly and unlawfully punishing a Slave, and if the Slave, alleged to be illegally punished, is produced in court with the marks of recent flogging or laceration, and

such Slave shall make a consistent statement of the circumstances, then the owner or manager shall be bound to prove either that the punishment was not inflicted by him or with his consent, or that it was a lawful punishment and was lawfully inflicted; and in default of such proof, shall be adjudged guilty of the offence imputed to him.

It is one of the evils of the system of Slavery, that the British Government should thus feel itself compelled to regulate the manner in which private caprice may inflict the torture of the cart whip on the bodies of human beings, without even defining the offence for which it is to be inflicted. It is impossible that a system can long be maintained which is considered to impose on that Government the painful necessity of placing so tremendous a discretion as that of inflicting on a fellow subject twenty-five lacerations of such an instrument, in the hands of an individual, whatever be that individual's character, who may thus combine in his own person the offices of accuser, jury, and judge, and if he will, executioner also. This is, indeed, a dire necessity, the ground of which ought to be anxiously considered by the Government and Parliament of this country, under a sense of the weighty responsibility which is attached to the rash delegation of such a power.

But not to dwell on this painful part of the subject, it seems important to remark, before closing the observations on this head, that the record of punishments is confined to *plantations*. The number of *personal* Slaves, however, in Trinidad, that is to say, of Slaves not attached to plantations, is considerable. *Their* owners are exempted from all the controul arising from the necessity of keeping and returning a record of the punishments they inflict, and from the formalities with which, in the case of plantations, those punishments must be accompanied. But is this exemption either expedient or just? Are a third or a fourth part of the Slaves in Trinidad to be thus abandoned to the tender mercies of their owners, without even that degree of protection which this part of the Order in Council affords to the remainder? Jobbing gangs, the Slaves of mechanics of various classes, and domestics, are all thus left out of the pale of this beneficial restraint on the arbitrary power of the master, while they are subjected to the immense disadvantage of being more under his eye, and therefore more exposed to the effects of his passion and caprice, than the others. Why should not the infliction of punishment in these cases be taken out of the hands of the master, and placed in the hands of the magistrate? It cannot be deemed right that it should remain on its present footing.

10. The entire abolition of the degrading and indecent corporal punishment of female Slaves, which is secured by the Trinidad Order in Council, must be hailed as a great improvement.

11. The abolition of the driving whip is another most important improvement. It would be well, however, if we were informed what is the precise substitute now practically adopted for that powerful stimulus, which the Planters of Trinidad have declared to be so indispensable as to be, in fact, identified with the very existence of Slavery. It is no question of idle curiosity to ascertain this point. It would, therefore, confer an essential service on humanity, if those who deny that the Negroes will work from any other motive than coercion would inform



the public what are the precise means, which, in the absence of the driving whip, and without the temptation of wages, have procured from the Slaves in Trinidad, during the year 1825, the quantity of labour which they have yielded to their owners. It would be important to know the whole process of this extraction; the nature and extent of the task; the criterion of its fairness; the penalty annexed to its non-performance; the advantage accruing from its speedy and correct execution; the proportion which the defaulters bear from day to day to the whole gang, with various other problems connected with the subject.

12. The establishment of Savings' Banks, under proper regulations, cannot be too highly applauded.

On the question of the effect, on the freedom of an individual, of his inability to establish his right to it by evidence, nothing is said in the Order for Trinidad; nor was it necessary: the registry act which is in force there, has settled that point in favour of freedom.

The Trinidad Order likewise recognizes the important principle that a man is disqualified for the office of protector and guardian of Slaves by being himself a planter. But while this principle is recognized, it is much to be regretted that its application should have been so limited as to divest it of much of its utility. It is true, that the protector and guardian of Slaves in Trinidad is prohibited from owning, or from being concerned in managing, a plantation cultivated by Slaves, in that island; but then he is not debarred from being the owner of plantations, and plantation Slaves, in every other Colony in the Antilles. He may be more deeply interested, in the maintenance of the Slave system with all its evils, than any planter in the island; and yet merely because his estates are not locally situated within its limits, they constitute no disqualification for an office, which, of all others, requires to be filled by an impartial and disinterested functionary. Nor this is all. Though he may not possess a plantation, worked by Slaves, in Trinidad itself, he may, nevertheless, not only possess plantations worked by Slaves in other Colonies, but be a master of Slaves within that Colony to almost any extent. He may be the owner of a jobbing gang; he may possess numerous mechanics; his domestic establishment may be filled wholly by Slaves; and though not a *proprietor* of estates within the island, he may, for a number of years, have been a manager of the estates of others, until he has become imbued with the worst prejudices of the system;—but none of these circumstances, nor all of them together, will form a ground of disqualification for this important office.

It may be argued, that without the liberty of holding domestic Slaves, it is impossible to live with comfort in the West Indies. But there is no Colony in the West Indies where domestics of free condition may not be obtained for hire, and in Trinidad especially, where there are 15,000 free Blacks and persons of Colour, the argument is preposterous. But, independently of this circumstance, so long as this country continues to garrison its Colonies with European soldiers, it is absurd to maintain that the requisite number of European domestics may not also be procured by public functionaries. By such a course, a part, however small, of the excess of our population at home would find beneficial employment, while the safety of the Slave Colonies would be promoted

by thus diminishing the disproportion between the free and the enslaved.

To permit the protector and guardian of Slaves, therefore, to hold Slaves of any description, or in any part of the world, is as unnecessary, as it is manifestly unfavourable to the progress of Colonial Reform,

The case is still worse as it respects the assistant guardians, for they are not debarred, by the Order, from being the possessors of plantations, and of Slaves, within the Colony, whether domestic or predial. Now as in all the Colonies, all the larger Colonies especially, the main duties connected with the office of protector and guardian must of necessity devolve on his assistants, it is plain that the whole intentions of the Government may be, and probably will be, frustrated by such an arrangement. The Slaves will be no better off than before. They will be as entirely and unreservedly as ever in the power of functionaries who are Slave-holders, and who will still be without efficient check or controul. The picture drawn by Mr. Dwarris of the operation of the former guardian act of Grenada, will thus be realized in all the Colonies. "It is not," says the attorney-general of that island, "a dead letter," (though the symptoms of its life have certainly not been very visible,) "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 this is said of Grenada, the most liberal and enlightened, as we are told, of all the Colonies. What then must be the case in Trinidad under a similar constitution of things? With an immense list of naval and military officers on half-pay, is it impossible to apply any remedy to this evil? Is there not to be found in that list a sufficient number of highly respectable and meritorious men who, at a small expense, might be most beneficially employed in filling these important offices in all our Colonies, and whose remuneration might be made to depend on the regularity of their returns, and the propriety of their conduct?

There still remain two points of objection to the Trinidad Order in Council, which it will be convenient briefly to notice in this place.

One is that the hours of labour are not fixed. It is possible that there may already exist some law in Trinidad for that purpose: it is desirable, however, that it should be known. But whatever may be the limitation of the hours of field labour in Trinidad, it is manifest that *there*, as in the other Colonies, is superadded the oppressive task (after the labours of the field are closed) of collecting, and bringing to an appointed place, bundles of grass for the horses and cattle on the estate. It is difficult

\* See Mr. Dwarris's Report, p. 96 and 98, and the Society's Third Report, p. 34.

adequately to describe the vexatiousness of such a task; and it is evident, from the returns of punishment in Trinidad, that there is no part of the duties required from the Slaves which leads to more frequent inflictions of punishment than this. Instead of employing, during the day, an individual or two to cut and carry the grass which is needed, the whole gang, men and women, at the close of a day of exhausting toil, under a vertical sun, must be engaged, for an hour or two after it is dark, in cutting and carrying large bundles of grass, perhaps thoroughly wet with rain, for a mile or two on their heads; till having all assembled, (possibly after long waiting,) and delivered their bundles, they are dismissed to their homes; some of them, perhaps, first receiving a few lashes, or being punished with a night in the stocks, on account of the scantiness of their bundles. This is an enormous abuse, which ought not to be endured for a day longer.\*

But there is another, and perhaps a still more important, blemish in the Order in Council. It consists in a supplementary enactment, which directs that upon the complaint of a Slave to the magistrate, of an illegal punishment having been inflicted, the accused, if convicted, shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding ten pounds; but that should the complaint prove groundless or malicious, the magistrate shall return the Slave, with a written declaration of the cause of dismissing the charge, to his master, who thereupon may inflict punishment, at his discretion, to the extent of 25 lashes; or, if deserving of a higher punishment, the Slave may be remitted to the proper tribunal.

It is impossible not to feel that this system of making Slaves liable to punishment when they fail to establish, by satisfactory evidence, the truth of their complaint, (a system which prevails throughout the whole of the West Indies,) is radically vicious, and ought not to have been sanctioned by His Majesty's Government. A Slave fails to prove the truth of a complaint, involving, even if established, a penalty not exceeding ten pounds; and for this failure, the complainant may be subjected to 25 lashes of the cart-whip, inflicted by an exasperated master, and that without his being arraigned, or tried, or having any opportunity afforded him of preparation, or of producing witnesses in his favour, but merely on the ground of what may have transpired before the magistrate, not on an examination of a specific charge against himself, but on the trial of a charge against his master. It may be perfectly proper to punish *malicious* complaints, but surely the punishment ought to follow a regular arraignment, and a regular trial and conviction, after all fair means of disproving the charge of malice have been allowed to the accused. The attorney-general, in a recent debate, expressed most strongly, in common with Mr. Canning and Mr. Peel, his sense of the obligation which lay on Parliament to provide that the Negro should enjoy the same protection from the law, both in its substance and its forms, as the White man. But what can be a more direct contravention of that principle, than the provision that has been

\* See Collins's Practical Planter; Watson's defence of West Indian Methodist Missions; the Tract, Negro Slavery, No. 1; and the Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 30. and p. 86-90.

mentioned; a provision, not only radically unjust in itself, but pregnant with the most disastrous effects on the happiness of the Slave population. Of the extent of those effects, some idea may be formed from the proceedings which took place in Trinidad itself, as detailed in the papers before the House of Commons, in the case of two slaves, Marquis and Regis; but still more from the returns of the fiscals of Demerara and Berbice. In the report of this last, especially, are to be found numerous instances of Slaves having been severely punished on the pretence that, supported only by the evidence of the very individuals against whom they complained, their complaints were unfounded.

It has been necessary to dwell at so much length on the Order in Council for Trinidad, because it is professedly the model on which the Government has declared its intention of acting, with respect to all the Colonies directly subject to its own legislation. It is extremely important therefore that its defects should be understood. In five of those Colonies, however, nothing has yet been done for giving effect to any one of its provisions, although it has been stated to be the intention of Ministers no longer to delay the necessary measures for that purpose. These Colonies are BERBICE, ST. LUCIA, HONDURAS, the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, and the MAURITIUS. Of them, therefore, nothing need now be said; as the legal condition of their Slave population remains still in precisely the same state in which it was on the 15th of May, 1823. In DEMERARA alone has any thing as yet been done for assimilating its Slave laws to those of Trinidad.

It was Lord Bathurst's instructions to the governor of Demerara, that the whole of the provisions of the Trinidad Order should be introduced into that Colony; and it might have been introduced there, as easily as it had been introduced into Trinidad, merely by exercising the same act of the Royal authority in the one case as in the other. It was thought expedient to pursue a different course, and to prevail, if possible, with the Demerara Court of Policy, to adopt and promulgate the new code as their own enactment. Two years were passed in efforts to this effect, until Lord Bathurst was at length obliged to intimate to them, that "however desirable His Majesty's Government might be that the origination of this measure should proceed from the Court of Policy," it was necessary to explain that if they did not adopt his suggestions, His Majesty's Government "would feel it their paramount duty to issue, without further delay, an Order in Council for the purpose of carrying them into effect."\* This intimation led to the adoption, by the Court of Policy, of the draft of an Order, which was transmitted to Lord Bathurst by Sir B. D'Urban, on the 14th of March, 1825; and of which an analysis with observations will be found in a former publication of the Society.†

On the 9th of July, 1825, Lord Bathurst returned this draft to Demerara, with a strong expression of His Majesty's approbation of the zeal with which the Court of Policy had proceeded to give effect to his wishes; and although he admits that the law will be imperfect

\* See Lord Bathurst's letter to Sir B. D'Urban, dated 20th Nov. 1824; and the Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 26.

† Slave Colonies, &c. p. 27—33.

until some important additions shall have been made to it, he nevertheless directs that a law, expressed in the terms of the draft, should be forthwith promulgated; his Lordship being anxious that the chief civil authorities of the Colony should appear to the Slaves to be the immediate authors of the beneficial change in their condition. He guards them, however, against considering the adoption of this course as, in any degree, admitting the claims of the Court of Policy, or compromising the rights of His Majesty, to the legislative authority in Demerara; or, as implying that Government meant to abandon any of the principles of reform enforced and acted upon in Trinidad, as nothing short of a complete compliance with those principles will satisfy them.

These observations are accompanied by a repetition of the arguments that had been already used by his Lordship in his dispatch of the 20th November, 1824,\* in reply to the objections of the Court of Policy; and he closes with expressing a hope, that they will spare him the necessity of introducing, into the Order in Council, regulations which the Court of Policy shall not have previously adopted.

The Court of Policy having taken this dispatch into their consideration, refused to modify any part of their draft, excepting the clause relating to the marriage of Slaves, which they have now agreed shall, when solemnized in the prescribed mode, "be held, and considered binding, valid, and effectual in law; provided nevertheless, that such marriages shall not confer, on the parties or their issue, any rights inconsistent with the duties which Slaves owe to their owners or to the government, or at variance with those rights which the owner or the government are by law entitled to assert over Slaves and their progeny, or subject such Slaves, so intermarrying, to any penal infliction the effects of which might destroy the rights or injure the property of their owners."†

The Demerara Ordinance has been promulgated in this state of mutilation, and came into operation on the 1st of January, 1826.

The defects of the Order in Council for Trinidad, have been already pointed out. These defects, of course, remain in the law which has been adopted in Demerara, and they remain there in greater force in consequence of the omission, in the Demerara law, of several of the most important and most beneficial of the provisions of the Trinidad Order.

On the subject of these omissions, Lord Bathurst addressed the Governor of Demerara, in a dispatch, dated February 25, 1826. The first to which he adverts, respects Sunday labour, various kinds of which, as potting sugar, turning and drying coffee and cotton, &c. the Court of Policy contend it is necessary to continue, compulsorily, and without wages. Lord Bathurst, in commenting upon this statement, observes, that it is necessary to maintain inviolate the maxim that the owner of a Slave has no title to his labour, except during six days of the week.‡ All labour, therefore, on Sunday, for the preservation of the crops, must be *neces-*

\* Slave Colonies, &c. p. 25.

† See Papers of March, 1826.

‡ The transcribing of these and similar expressions, is not to be considered as implying an acquiescence in the justice of the principles which they involve. It would obviously be difficult for the owner to establish, on any very satisfactory ground, his just title to the labour of his fellow-men for six, or for any, days in the week.

sary to that end, and must both be voluntary on the part of the Slave upon any estate, and must be paid for at a regulated rate by the master. This principle of remuneration to the Slave for Sunday labour cannot, his Lordship says, be departed from; and that remuneration must be paid, not in a small portion of the produce, but by ascertainable wages. Lord Bathurst is, therefore, of opinion, that the reasons alleged by the Court of Policy for permitting, in certain cases, the compulsory labour of Slaves without wages on Sunday, are insufficient to justify the practice.

With respect to the Slave's right of property, Lord Bathurst seems disposed to concede, that Slaves should be debarred from cultivating or selling the staple articles of sugar, coffee, and cotton, on the ground alleged by the Planters, both of Trinidad and Demerara, that a permission to cultivate or sell the staple commodities of the Colony, would tempt the Slaves to commit depredations on their owners' property. But even such a restriction as Lord Bathurst proposes would fall far short of that imposed by the law of Demerara, which enacts that "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, or flasks, or *any thing else*; being permitted to sell only vegetables and ground provisions, the produce of their garden, or stock which they are permitted to rear; on pain of their being severely flogged, on the plantation to which they belong, for the first offence; and, for the second, to be punished by sentence of the court, according to the exigency of the case."\*

If this law, or even the modified version of it proposed by Lord Bathurst, is to be maintained, what hope can reasonably be entertained of productive industry, beyond the mere supply of their necessities, on the part of the Slaves? What would be thought of a law in this country which should prohibit labourers, who might be the owners or occupiers of a few acres of land, from cultivating upon it any of the staple articles of production? But the Planters say, that if the existing prohibition were removed, a door would be opened to depredations on the Master's property. If depredation is practicable, the Master will be liable to it, whether such a law exists or not. But even if all the weight were allowed to the argument which is claimed for it, it does seem altogether unwarrantable to make the prohibition, as it now is, universal and unqualified. Why should the slaves of a sugar estate be debarred from growing coffee, or the slaves of a coffee plantation from growing cotton, or the slaves of a cotton plantation from growing coffee, ginger, and other exportable articles? The law, as it stands at present, is conceived in the very worst spirit of a pure and unmitigated monopoly; and if it shall be deemed necessary to continue it, it will only serve to convince the people of this country, more fully than ever, of the untractable nature of Slavery, and of the necessity, on every sound principle, whether of morals or of political economy, to effect its utter extinction. The Court of Policy had also brought forward an array of objections to the allowing Slaves to hold property in land, or to the

\* Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 26.

giving them a power of civil action in regard to their property; to some of which objections it is to be regretted that Lord Bathurst seems to attach sufficient weight to incline him to modify, in some degree, the provisions of the Trinidad Order.

The third grand omission in the Demerara Order respects the right proposed to be given to the Slave to purchase his manumission. On this point Lord Bathurst justly observes, "no system of measures would satisfy the feelings of this country, or execute the purposes of the House of Commons, which did not contain some direct provision, some acting principle, by which the termination of Slavery may be gradually accomplished." He regards therefore the right in question as "a vital part of the whole measure," which "cannot be dispensed with." His Lordship then discusses at some length, and refutes, the reasoning of the Court of Policy on this subject, though occasionally on grounds which are themselves liable to very considerable question, and with occasional concessions which expose even his main principle to the risk of becoming practically inefficient. His Lordship's dispatch thus concludes—

"This principle of emancipation will proceed on presumptive evidence of the Slave having acquired habits of industry which may fit him for an independent existence, while it will secure to the owner that compensation to which it may be found by experience, as the measure advances in operation, he will be fairly entitled; and it is by experience alone that this can be truly ascertained.\*

"A manumission of Slaves under these regulations will be in conformity with the concluding Resolution of the House of Commons in 1823, which declares that the great object of emancipation must be accomplished 'at the earliest period which shall be compatible with the well-being of the Slaves themselves, with the safety of the Colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property.

"But the Court of Policy must recollect, that if, on the one hand, Parliament and His Majesty's Government stand pledged to give the Planters an equitable compensation, they stand equally pledged to take such measures as may ultimately, though gradually, work out the freedom of the Slaves.

"*The Court of Policy may be assured, that from the final accomplishment of this object this country will not be diverted.*

"It remains for me only to add, that I now, for the last time, bring these regulations under the consideration of that Court, with no other alternative, in the event of their declining to admit them, than that of my humbly submitting to His Majesty the expediency of enacting them by direct royal authority."†

\* This proposition is not a very obvious one, although its tendency is scarcely to be mistaken. But, after all, is not the real value of any article, whether it be a machine, or cattle, or the human animal, if we must so degrade him, the amount which it will command in the market?

† See the papers laid before Parliament, March 1826.

The author of a pamphlet, more largely noticed below, has justified the course of referring this matter to the Court of Policy, by pointing out the important in-

There is, however, a fourth most important omission not noticed in the dispatch of Lord Bathurst, though mentioned by him on former occasions, namely, that clause numbered 21 in the Trinidad Order, which directs that on the prosecution of any Owner, &c., for inflicting any illegal punishment on a Slave, if the Slave so alleged to be punished shall be produced in open court, and if the marks of recent laceration shall appear on his person, and if the Slave shall make a consistent and probable statement of the facts, the accused shall be bound to prove either that the punishment was not inflicted by him or with his privity, or that it was a lawful punishment, lawfully inflicted; and in default of such proof he shall be convicted.

But besides the defects belonging to the Trinidad Order in Council, and which are also attributable to that of Demerara, and the further important omissions which have now been noticed in the latter, there are to be found in it some minor but yet material deviations from the Trinidad model, which ought not to be overlooked in any Royal Order it may be necessary to issue.

The interval between an offence and its punishment is altered from the definite period of twenty-four hours in the Trinidad Order, to "after sun-rise" of the day next following that of the offence; which may allow an interval of only six or seven hours. Again, instead of requiring, as in Trinidad, a free witness of the punishment, it is made sufficient that six Slaves shall witness it. It is surely a hazardous innovation to make the witnesses in such a case persons so wholly dependent on the punisher as his own Slaves must be; and the pretence for it, too, seems inadmissible, namely, that it may be impracticable to obtain, in any reasonable time, a free person, White, Brown, or Black, to attend and witness the infliction. If free persons are so extremely scarce in Demerara, as to require such an arrangement, it is only a proof of the importance of imposing additional checks on arbitrary punishment, instead of granting additional facilities for its exercise. A delay of forty-eight hours is allowed in recording punishments, on what account does not appear. The penalty for failing to deliver, every six months, a copy of the record on oath, is only 300 guilders, or 25*l.* sterling.

The hours for *field work* in Demerara are made to extend from six in the morning till six in the evening, with an interval, in the whole, of two hours for rest and meals; being half an hour less than in the other Colonies. But, as has been already observed, *field work* by no means comprises the whole of the labour exacted from Slaves. One of the most onerous, vexatious, and injurious of the tasks daily imposed on them follows after the cessation of field work. We speak not of the labour

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fluence which will be produced, on the other Colonies, by the example of a local legislature like that of Demerara appearing to take into its own hands the *initiation* of such an Ordonnance. But those Colonies are not in ignorance of the real facts of the case. They know them as well as the author of the pamphlet. He cannot throw dust into their eyes on this subject, as they may have done too successfully into his. They well know that, whatever *appearance* may be given to the transaction, both the *initiation* and the *completion* of it belong to His Majesty's Government, and not to the Court of Policy. The attempt, therefore, to exhibit it to them under such a semblance, can serve no rational purpose whatsoever.



of crop, as grinding and boiling sugar, pulping coffee, &c., which are allowed to be continued for half the night, thus depriving the Slaves, for several months of the year, of a great part of their natural rest; but of the prevalent practice, when the field work is over, of obliging the Slaves to collect food for the horses, cattle, and other live stock—a task which necessarily consumes from one to two hours of the evening in a most troublesome and unhealthy occupation; bringing with it also a needless multiplication of penal inflictions.\*

In Demerara the Fiscal has been appointed the protector and guardian of Slaves. The two offices seem not to be very compatible; and if we may judge by the returns, already received from this very gentleman, of his decisions on the complaints of Slaves, they certainly present no satisfactory ground of confidence that he is peculiarly qualified for his new office.

After having pointed out the comparative defects of the Demerara Order, as compared with that of Trinidad, it is but an act of justice to state wherein it has improved upon that model. A record of punishments is directed to be kept not only on all *plantations*, as in Trinidad, but by all persons having gangs of Slaves exceeding six. Those who possess a smaller number are not subject to any such regulation; and yet persons in low circumstances are both less likely to be accustomed to restrain their passions, and less liable to observation than others. Their slaves, therefore, if no record of their punishments is to be kept, ought surely to be exempt from any arbitrary inflictions (at least beyond the three lashes which may be given in all cases without a record), unless by the order of a magistrate.

The Demerara law of evidence is also more favourable to the Slaves than that of Trinidad, inasmuch as it admits the evidence of Slaves in civil suits in which the Owner is concerned, and on the trial of Whites charged with capital offences.

Such, then, is the actual extent of the improvements effected in the seven Slave Colonies subject to the crown. In Trinidad an Order has been promulgated, comprizing many beneficial regulations, but falling short of even that measure of reform which the public had been led to expect. In Demerara an Ordonnance has been published, which, as has been seen, falls, in some very important respects, below that of Trinidad. In the other five Colonies nothing has as yet been done.

The Colonies having Legislatures of their own are thirteen in number. To these the Trinidad Order was transmitted by Lord Bathurst in the year 1824 (full instructions to the same purport having been sent out in the preceding year), recommending it to them, in the strongest manner, to frame their Slave Codes accordingly. The result of these recommendations will now be explained.—Nine of these have done nothing, viz. Antigua, Barbadoes,† Bermuda, Dominica,‡ Jamaica,§ Montserrat, Nevis, St. Kitt's, and Tortola, or the Virgin Islands.

\* See above, p. 143, 144.

† In the paper laid before Parliament, containing a "Statement of Slave meliorating Provisions recommended by His Majesty's Government," and enacted in the Colony of Barbadoes, the word "*none*" is affixed to each separate head of improvement.

In these nine Colonies, therefore, not one of the twelve or rather fourteen heads of proposed improvement specified above (p. 1, 2.) has been adopted, in consequence of the recommendations of His Majesty.

There remain, however, four Colonies in which *something*, it appears, has been done. We proceed to shew to what that something amounts.

### 1. THE BAHAMAS.

The papers laid before Parliament would shew that improvements had been introduced into the law of the Bahamas, passed in 1824, in six particulars, namely, religious instruction, manumission, regulation of punishment, female flogging, marriage, and the separation of families. With respect, however, to the first three of these heads, they ought to have been entirely excluded, for reasons which shall now be given.

1st. All that the new Act says on the subject of religious instruction is to this effect:—"That all Masters, or, in their absence, their Overseers, shall, as much as in them lies, endeavour to instruct their Slaves in the Christian Religion; and shall do their endeavour to fit them for baptism, and as soon as conveniently may be, shall cause to be baptized all such Slaves, as they can make sensible of a Deity and of the Christian faith." Now these words, which form the 9th clause of the Act of 1824, are the very identical words which form the 6th clause of the Slave Act of the Bahamas of 1796, and which will probably be found in every general Slave Act passed before or since. Precisely the same words, without any variation, stand as a part of the Jamaica Slave Act of 1696,\* and have continued to be transferred to each successive Act down to the last which was passed there in 1816. The very same clause, therefore, which is now produced as an amelioration, has stood a perfectly dead letter in the Bahama Code for at least thirty, and in the Jamaica Code for 130 years. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? The clause provides neither time nor means for performing the prescribed duty, and attaches no penalty to its neglect. Be its value, however, what it may—and it is not apprehended that any man will contend that it has had any practical operation whatever—it is not a new or even improved

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‡ In the same paper several particulars are given of a Bill that had been proposed to the Legislature of Dominica, but had not yet passed into a law; but these cannot be regarded in the light of actual, but merely of projected ameliorations, which may or may not be adopted. Dominica has, however, at length repealed its tax on manumission, which Barbadoes has not done.

§ Some trifling regulations have been adopted in Jamaica, which cannot be considered as meeting any one of the recommendations of His Majesty's Government, and which tend rather to relieve the master than the slave. Of what benefit, for example, can it be to the Slaves, generally, that they are free from arrest on Saturday as well as Sunday, unless their masters are pleased to do what they are not now obliged to do—to give them Saturday as well as Sunday for their own use? So, the facilities given to manumission are facilities for the accommodation of the master, in his voluntary acts of manumission, but which convey no rights to the Slave. And as for the power which is given of bequeathing money or chattels to Slaves, it is only permissive to the testator and executors. It conveys to the Slave no right of property even in the bequest which is made to him, and it expressly excludes him from the power of instituting any action or suit at law or in equity for the recovery of such legacy.

\* See Privy Council Report of 1789.

enactment, but one almost as old as the Colonies themselves; standing on their statute books, not as a monument of their zeal for religious instruction, but of the utter inefficiency of all such mere *recommendatory* provisions. The same worthless and wholly inoperative clause meets the eye in the codes of several of the other Islands.

2. The clause with respect to manumission has, if possible, still less claim to be exhibited as an improvement. It professes to *suspend* all acts imposing a tax on manumissions, when, in point of fact, no such acts were in existence. This is gaining credit for amelioration at a very moderate cost. Whoever will take the trouble of looking at a paper ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on the 14th of May, 1823, and numbered among the papers of that year, No. 347, will find there, at p. 151, a return from S. Nesbitt, the Secretary of the Bahamas, dated 5th November, 1821, which states that there are "no taxes imposed on manumissions in this Colony," and that the fee charged for recording an act of manumission is only five shillings.

3. The pretence to improvement with respect to the regulation of punishment is equally destitute of all foundation: The 18th clause in the Bahama Act of 1824, which is quoted as justifying this part of the statement, is to the following effect, being in fact a literal transcript of the 11th clause of the printed act of 1796, viz.—"*In order to restrain arbitrary punishment,*" "no Slave shall receive more than TWENTY lashes at any one time, or for any one offence, unless the owner or employer of such Slave, or supervisor of the workhouse, or keeper of the goal be present;" and these several persons are then restricted from inflicting more than THIRTY-NINE lashes at one time and for one offence. But surely the framer of the abstract of ameliorations which has been laid before Parliament, must have been aware that this enactment was no amelioration, though it is represented as such. Thirty-nine is the greatest number of lashes which any law of any Colony has permitted to be given, at the will of the master. And the number TWENTY, which the driver in the Bahamas is allowed to give, is double the number to what he is now limited in almost all the other Islands, and has been limited in Jamaica for at least thirty-eight years.\*

4. The clause relative to whipping females is to this effect, not that females shall not be flogged, as all Slaves may be flogged, with twenty lashes by the driver, and with thirty-nine lashes by the master, and, if it so please them, as heretofore, on the bare body; but that no female slave, above the age of twelve, shall be so punished otherwise than *in private*. In short, the Bahama Legislators, by way of improving their penal code, have borrowed a leaf from that of the Spanish Inquisition: their punishments of females are henceforward to be in secret.

5. The clauses respecting marriage direct that marriages of Slaves, or of Slaves and free persons, may be solemnized (one free witness at least being present) by *clergymen* or justices of the peace, without publication of banns or licence; but *only on Sunday*, between eight and twelve, a fortnight's notice being given; and provided the parties pro-

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\* See the Jamaica Act of 1788, limiting the driver to ten lashes, and the owner to thirty-nine.

ness the Christian religion, and produce the written consent of their owners. Such marriages are to be registered, and are declared to be valid, and their issue legitimate; "saving always the just rights of ownership, which in no case whatsoever shall be hurt, prejudiced, straitened, or otherwise affected thereby;" and also, "provided that the marital power and authority to be thus acquired, shall in no such case impugn, diminish, or interfere with the rights or authority of the owner or owners in, to, and over such slave or slaves, in any manner whatsoever." It is a remarkable part of this provision that it debars from the benefits of the marriage tie all slaves who are not Christians, or who are married by any religious teachers but clergymen, and this in a colony where but for the labours of the Methodists there would be few if any Christians. The legislators of the Bahamas might have known that, in other parts of the British dominions, among the many millions of our Hindoo and Mahomedan subjects, for example, and even in Great Britain itself, the profession of Christianity is no necessary condition of a valid marriage. Jews and others may there form valid marriages without any such profession, nor is any thing of the kind required even in that most religious part of the empire, Scotland. One would have expected that wise legislators would rather have been desirous of removing all possible impediments to marriage, than of thus multiplying them. The present limitation is one, which, through the utter insufficiency of the clause enjoining religious instruction, must shut out a large portion of the slave population of the Bahamas from the benefit of this provision.

6. The regulation with respect to the non-separation of families is less liable to just exception than any that has been mentioned. Slaves being husband or wife, or reputed husband and wife, and their child, or reputed children under fourteen, *being the property of the same owner*, are not, whether by private contract, or public sale, or by virtue of any mortgage, execution, or other legal process, to be sold separately, or otherwise than in one lot, and to the same person; and the same rule applies to slaves passing by bequest. This law supplies one great defect in that of Trinidad on the same subject, prohibiting the separation of families by *private sale*, as well as by *judicial process*. The remarks already made on the subject of *reputed marriages*, (see p. 13.) are applicable equally to the Bahamas as to Trinidad. Such marriages ought at once to be registered and rendered valid.

It is unnecessary now to refer to the many unjust provisions of the new Slave Law of the Bahamas. They are pointed out in the pamphlet entitled the Slave Colonies of Great Britain. (p. 4—11.) But, besides these, it has not provided for the religious instruction or Christian education of the slaves; or for the observance of the Sunday (equivalent time being given to the slaves on other days); or for the admission of slave testimony; or for the protection of slave property; or for facilitating manumissions; or for preventing the sale of slaves detached from the plantation; or for restraining the power of arbitrary punishment; or for abolishing the corporal punishment of females; or for putting down the driving whip; or for establishing saving banks.

## II. TOBAGO.

Tobago has been the first of the Colonies, having legislatures of their own, to adopt any of the proposed ameliorations. A brief view of some very serious objections to various provisions of its recent act, may be seen in the pamphlet already referred to, the Slave Colonies of Great Britain (p. 78). At present the object is to shew wherein its legislation has been improved. The points in which any improvement is alleged to have taken place are—the observance of Sunday; the admission of slave evidence; the right of property; the regulation of arbitrary punishment; and the sale of Slaves detached from the estate.

1. The observance of Sunday. In this island alone have Sunday markets been as yet abolished. In future the markets are to be held on Thursday. It is not however provided that the slaves shall have the Thursday on which to go to market; neither is equivalent time allowed them in lieu of the Sunday. The allowance of time to the slaves, indeed, for the cultivation of their grounds, besides the Sunday, is more liberal than in any other colony. It amounts to thirty-five week days in the year: but even this is far below what the equity of the case calls for; for the Sunday being now no day of labour, as formerly, the addition to the preceding allowance of week days, whatever it was, ought to have been fifty-two.

2. Slave evidence is admitted, by the Tobago act, in no civil case whatever, and in no criminal case, excepting where a free person is charged with murder or mayhem of, or cruelty to, a slave; and when no free person was present, or can be produced to prove the facts. In that case, if two slaves testify to the same fact, and their credibility be unimpeached, their testimony is to have the effect of the testimony of one White; and the slave suffering the mayhem, &c. may be one of the two.

3. Slaves are declared to be entitled to hold personal property, "*fairly acquired*," and to sell the same, and to bring all actions personal for recovering the same, slavery being no plea in abatement of such action. Here, however, no means are pointed out by which a slave shall proceed in asserting his right, nor any penalty affixed to his being hindered or molested in doing so.

4. The regulation of punishments consists in limiting the power of the owner, &c. to the infliction of twenty stripes, being fewer than any other law authorizes, and in requiring that a free witness should be present whenever the punishment exceeds twelve stripes. Drivers are restrained from punishing without express orders; but those orders, it is obvious, may be renewed from day to day. One clause, the 25th, appoints the President of the Council, the Speaker of the Assembly, and the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, guardians, to inquire into complaints of cruelty towards slaves, and to direct, if need be, their prosecution by the Attorney General. The uselessness of such a regulation may be seen in the case of Grenada as stated above (p. 143). Indeed Grenada has just repealed its Guardian Act.

5. It is said that the separation of slaves from the land was prevented by a former law of Tobago. There is, it is true, a law of some standing which makes slaves, as well as cattle, real estate; but then this appears

to be only for certain special purposes. They are to be real estate, in so far as to descend to the heir at law, and that widows may be endowed thereof; but they are still to be chattels, if the owner's other goods are not sufficient to pay his debts.

Here then we have the amount of improvement in Tobago. No means are provided, and no time set apart for religious instruction. Equivalent time in lieu of Sunday is not given to the slaves. Their testimony is admitted in a very partial and restricted manner. Their marriages are not legalized. Facilities are not afforded to manumission. The separation of families by sale is not prevented. The flogging of females is not prohibited. The use of the driving whip is retained. Saving banks are not established; and free persons are not adequately protected in the enjoyment of their liberty.—And yet the authorities of Tobago declare, in the most peremptory terms, that they have reached their ultimate point in the scale of improvement, and that they will not, in deference to a wild fanaticism, sacrifice their inalienable rights by proceeding another step.

### III. GRENADA.

The points in which, since May 15th, 1823, the Legislature of this Colony has adopted the recommendations of his Majesty, are stated, in the papers recently laid before Parliament, to be eight; namely, religious instruction; the observance of the Sabbath; the evidence of slaves; manumission; the non-separation of families; the regulation of punishment; the driving whip; and the slave's right of property. These different points are mentioned, without doubt, in an act recently passed in Grenada; but how far they merit to be mentioned as ameliorations, will more clearly appear on an examination of them in detail.

1. Religious instruction. On this head, though it is so stated in the abstract, there is really no amelioration. The Grenada slave act of 1788 contained a clause on this subject, which was far more specific than the corresponding clause in the recent act, and had penalties annexed to it which the new act has not. The penalties and specification of the old act have been abandoned, and the barren generalities of the Jamaica act of 1696, the established form of evasion throughout the West Indies, have been substituted. Nay more, the former Grenada acts were prefaced by an imposing preamble, recognizing in solemn terms the obligation to introduce among their slaves a knowledge of the Christian religion (see the act of 1797); and yet so utterly useless, so devoid of all force and vitality has been this parade of legislation, that the clergymen of that island, in making their returns to Lord Bathurst of the state of religion (see Papers printed by the House of Commons in July 1818), admit that very few of the slaves attend divine service. "Sunday is the general public market day," "and almost the only one on which slaves have an opportunity of bartering the produce of the provision grounds allotted to them for other commodities." "These markets are generally at their height during the performance of divine service, and being holden on the Sabbath day, little attention or respect is shewn to the religious duties of the day." "When I remonstrate," says one of these gentlemen, the Rev. W. Nash, "they reply, that if

they come to church they must starve, as Sunday is the only day they have to cultivate their garden. The plea is so reasonable that I cannot oppose it; but I heartily wish their masters would deprive them of it by allowing them one day in each week to labour for themselves." "If they have not time for instruction," he justly remarks, "ignorance is unavoidable"—though "to human beings whose moral feelings and intellectual faculties have been suspended for ages unknown, and at length almost annihilated by an execrable system of oppression, under which, in order to endure existence, it was necessary to suppress every generous sentiment, to stifle every tender emotion, to forget they were men, every consideration that the horror of their situation can suggest, and the benevolence of the Christian religion inspire is certainly due."\*

Now if the more stringent clauses of 1788 have produced no effect, and have never been alleged to have produced any, are we to be deluded into a hope of amelioration by the repetition of words which have been repeated to satiety, and without effect, for 130 years; which point to no means; prescribe no time; and are accompanied by no sanctions? Here the movement is absolutely a retreat and not an advance.

2. At the time that Mr. Nash wrote the report which is cited in the last paragraph, it is obvious that there was in Grenada no observance of the Sabbath, that first preliminary requisite to effectual religious instruction, and which would have done more for religion than all its other specious but hollow enactments.

Had the Slaves come to church, in quest of the religious instruction the act required to be given to them, Mr. Nash tells us, they must have starved, as Sunday was the only day they had to cultivate their grounds. The law, it is true, allowed them even then one day in fourteen out of crop, or about eighteen days in the year. Mr. Nash does not say that those eighteen days, though allowed them by the letter of the law were, like the religious instruction, in practice withheld from them, though his language seems to imply it. But, whether that were the case or not, it is still plain from his statement, that, in his opinion, with fifty-two Sundays in the year at their own disposal, they could not have come to church without the risk of being starved. But what does the new Act do to remedy this state of things? Does it give the Slaves equivalent time for their fifty-two Sundays, so that Sunday may be left for repose and instruction? No. The act merely prescribes, that the Slaves shall have twenty-eight days in the year, that is ten more than they were allowed before. Now, to fulfil the purposes of Government as to religious instruction and the observance of Sunday, and to give the Slaves equivalent time in lieu of Sunday, seventy days in the week ought to be given them, whereas they have only twenty-eight. This is a singular mode of improving their condition and of rendering common justice to the Slaves.

The Sunday market, however, is not abolished in Grenada. Something is said, indeed, about extending the market hours on Thursday, and it seems to have been assumed, by the framer of the abstract, that

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\* This passage, with many others of the same description transmitted to Lord Bathurst at the same time, lay unheeded on the table of the House of Commons for five long years.

the clause on this subject is intended as an amelioration of the condition of the Slaves. But the clause has nothing whatever to do, necessarily, with the Slaves. It is to this effect—

That, “whereas by the laws at present in force” (what are those laws?) “for regulating the public markets, the hours thereby limited may not afford sufficient time for the sale of provisions and other articles necessary for the consumption of the inhabitants, be it therefore enacted, that in addition to the time already appointed for holding such markets,” (what is that time?) “the market hours on Thursday, throughout the year, shall be extended from six o’clock in the morning till six o’clock in the evening.” And what does this clause do for the poor Slaves? Does it give them the Thursday on which to go to market? No such thing. They, for aught that appears to the contrary, are occupied wholly in the field in that day. Nay, it may be even impossible for their masters to allow them on that day to travel to market for fear of arrest. The clause has not the slightest immediate bearing on the condition of the Slaves, except as it serves to throw dust in the eyes of the people of England. With precisely the same effect, as respects them, might the market have been extended from six to six on every day of the week, as well as on Thursday. Sunday would still of necessity be the Negro’s market day. He can have no other unless it is specially given to him by law, or by the special favour of an unincumbered owner. As for the clause that no stores are to be kept open on Sundays, under a penalty of £10 it is an enactment of precisely the same description;—it may do to be read in England, but cannot, in present circumstances, be acted upon in Grenada. A law, precisely in the same terms, was passed in Jamaica in 1816, but it could not be rigidly acted upon, as the markets continued to be held on Sunday. Indeed, how is it possible, that while Sunday continues the market day for the Slaves, and no other has been appointed, that this law can be enforced? If it were possible, it would to them be most cruel.

A clause forbids the employing of the Slaves on Sunday. If this mean nothing more than that they shall not work elsewhere than in their grounds on that day, which is, in fact, working for their masters, nothing is gained by it; for this has always been the law and the general practice in all the islands in which the Slaves are fed from their own provision grounds. But, if it means that they are not to work on their own grounds on that day, then a positive wrong is done to them: they are deprived of their Sunday without an equivalent. So much for the amelioration in respect to religious instruction, and the observance of the Sunday, in Grenada.

3. The evidence of a Slave is only admissible by this new law against a free person on a charge for a capital offence; and even then, he must produce from the clergyman a certificate of baptism, and of competency as a witness, and also of good character from the proprietor, &c., who may be the very man against whom the charge is made. But no free person shall be convicted, unless two Slaves shall clearly and consistently depose to the same facts, and unless their evidence shall be corroborated by circumstantial evidence to the satisfaction of the court and jury. It may be fairly assumed, that few convictions will take place on evidence so fettered.



4. The Slave's right of property. The clause which is cited in the abstract as giving this right, does not in fact give any such right. It merely provides, that if any owner or any other person shall unlawfully take away from, or deprive, any Slave of any personal property by him possessed, such person shall forfeit £10 over and above the value of the property taken away. And this is all. It is not enacted, that a Slave may legally hold and enjoy property, or legally transmit it to others, or may sue for it by himself, or any one else in his name, or that he can cite others as witnesses in his behalf, or that to take it unlawfully from him is theft or robbery, as the case may be; but whatever be the circumstances, the person so unlawfully taking it, forfeits ten pounds. As the matter ought not to be treated as a debt, but a crime; the penalty is rather a protection to the free person against the legal consequences of such a crime, than of the Slave against lawless depredation.

5. In the clause also which pretends to afford facilities for manumissions, all that is done is to permit the owner of an estate, upon which there may be a mortgage, to manumit a Slave, provided he can put in his place another Slave of equal value, to be ascertained by appraisalment. This clause can produce little or no benefit to the Slaves generally. Its chief practical effect will be to enable mortgagors in possession, or their representatives, to redeem their own spurious offspring, or the mother of such offspring from slavery.

6. It is enacted, that no married Slave, or unmarried female Slave, having a child or children under twelve, who may belong to the same owner, shall be sold by judicial process, except together and to the same person. But thus far, according to Mr. Dwaris, Grenada had previously gone. His words are, "Unattached Slaves are ordered to be sold one by one, except mother and child under ten years of age." The necessary condition of being actually married in order that husband and wife may not be separated, is peculiarly hard in a Colony, the returns from which shew that no marriages had taken place there for fourteen years.

7. The regulation of arbitrary punishment, by the master, consists in his not being allowed to inflict beyond fifteen lashes, except in the presence of a free person; or more than ten without a record to be produced only when called for; or more than twenty-five for any one offence on any one day, or till the Slave has recovered the effects of the former whipping. But, if the owner thinks that the Slave's *fault, though not cognizable by law, is of such enormity* as to deserve a more exemplary punishment than twenty-five lashes, it shall be lawful for the owner to carry the offending Slave before ONE or more justices of the peace, *who may direct such corporal punishment, not extending to life or limb*, as the offence shall in HIS or their discretion merit; and all this without appeal. This enactment is itself an enormity. What then are the crimes, *not cognizable by law* (the West India Penal Laws, as they affect slaves, are surely sweeping and comprehensive enough) of which a Slave can be guilty, which shall be of such enormity, as to require that ONE justice or any number of justices, shall have the power of inflicting upon him an exemplary corporal punishment to any extent short of life or limb? Is it impossible to imagine two neighbouring owners or managers, each in the commission of the peace, agreeing to execute this summary and terrible justice on the

slaves of each other, *for crimes not cognizable by law*, and therefore violating no law? Is there not enough in this single enactment to shew not merely the uselessness, but the criminality, of continuing to commit the well being and happiness of so many thousands of our fellow subjects to persons capable of framing, apparently without a feeling of its cruelty and injustice, such a provision as this? And then, with respect to the record of punishment, directed to be kept by the owner or the justice, there is no penalty imposed for its not being kept, and no return required on oath, or otherwise, of its contents. They are to produce it only when called for, but without any penalty for refusing to do so.

8. The 12th clause, respecting the driving whip, affords a happy instance of legislative evasion. It enacts that, "*no Slave or Slaves shall carry any whip, cat, or other instrument of the like nature, as a mark or emblem of his, her, or their authority, while superintending the labour of any slaves on any estate, and the persons so offending, and each and every person who shall or may direct, instigate, or abet such illegal use or exhibition of any such whip, cat, or other instrument, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour, and being thereof convicted, shall suffer such punishment as the Court before which such misdemeanour is cognizable may direct.*" Now, let this miserable, unmeaning, and worthless enactment be compared with the corresponding clause in the Trinidad Order, which the Grenada legislators had before their eyes at the time they framed it.—"And it is further ordered, that it is, and shall henceforth be illegal for *any person or persons*, within the island of Trinidad, to carry any whip, cat, or other instrument of the like nature, while superintending the labour of any slaves in or upon the fields or cane pieces upon any plantation, or *to use any such whip, cat, or instrument, for the purpose of impelling or coercing any Slave to perform any labour of any kind or nature whatever*, or to carry or exhibit, upon any plantation or elsewhere, any whip, cat, or other instrument of the like nature, as a mark or emblem of the authority of the person so carrying or exhibiting the same over any Slave," and then all persons doing so, or authorizing, or aiding, or abetting "*such illegal driving, or use, or exhibition of any such whip,*" shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour, to which is attached *a fine not exceeding £500 nor less than £50 or imprisonment for not more than six months, or less than one month, or both fine and imprisonment*, at the discretion of the court.

In the Grenada act, it will be seen that the prohibition as to carrying a whip is confined to Slaves, as if no one but a Slave could be employed as a driver. The crime prohibited too is not the *using a whip to impel or coerce labour*, but the carrying and exhibiting it as an emblem of authority. The evasion is of so gross a kind as to defeat its object; but it shows the reluctance which prevails to part with the driving-whip.

In one point the framer of the abstract has not done full justice to the Grenada act. He has omitted to notice that it contains a clause *permitting any Slave*, who may be desirous of intermarrying *with any other Slave* belonging to the same owner, to apply to any Clergyman of the Church of England, or any Catholic priest, or "*other persons thereto legally authorized,*" who are required to solemnize the same,

provided a written permission is produced from the owner; and the clergyman, &c. shall consider the Slave to have an adequate knowledge of the nature of the marriage vow. It is unnecessary to repeat the observations already made (p. 153.) on this strange restriction. The clause, however, after all, while it *permits* marriages of Slaves in certain cases, dexterously avoids conferring upon them any legal validity. It was, perhaps, on this account that all notice of it was omitted in the abstract.

Another reason for the omission, no less valid, may have been that this clause, instead of being an ameliorating provision, falls far short of the Grenada law of 1788, which not only authorizes the marriages of Slaves, but imposes penalties on the clergyman who shall refuse to solemnize them; and furthermore imposes penalties of a still heavier kind, on all who shall violate the purity of married females, being Slaves. Thirty-four years after this law had been passed, in the returns laid on the table of the House of Commons, in March, 1823, we are told by one clergyman of Grenada, Mr. Nash, that "the legal solemnization of marriage between Slaves in this island, is a thing unheard of;" by two others, Mr. Webster and Mr. Macmahon, that no application had ever been made to them to marry Slaves. The former, during an incumbency of 12 years, and the latter, during one of 37 years, had "never heard of such a thing" as the marriage of a Slave. And yet, in the ameliorating Slave law of Grenada, the same enactment as to marriage is again inserted, but divested of all the penalties which seemed to afford some chance of its efficiency, and without any provision for giving a legal effect and validity to Slave marriages.

This act sweeps away the whole system of guardians of Slaves, which the legislators of Grenada had exhibited in their former Slave acts, as the very perfection of West India legislation; and which, as they have repealed it, Tobago has taken up. This is another curious illustration of the uncertainty of Colonial legislation. It would be endless to go through the different clauses of this act, in order to shew the gross injustice of many of the provisions which it retains, and which are to much the same effect as those which will be found in the Slave acts of the Bahamas and Barbadoes.\* A few instances will suffice.

By clause 7, The hours of labour are fixed from day-break till sunset, with an interval of two hours and a half for breakfast and dinner (half an hour more than Demerara gives), and slaves are not to be compelled to work beyond that time, except in "manufacturing such produce as necessarily requires night or extra labour," or "in the carrying a bundle of grass or stock meat from the field to the stable or other place where the same is consumed."†

By clause 15, A slave complaining, and whose complaint shall appear to the justices to be groundless, shall be punished, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes.‡—A person taken up as a runaway slave, but claiming to be free, may (by the 22d clause) be sold by order of a meeting of Justices,

\* See Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 4—19.

† See Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 30, and 86, and above p. 144.

‡ See above, p. 144, 145.

even though no one prefers any claim to his services. And this is the more remarkable, because one clause, the 48th, throws the onus probandi on the claimant of a slave in a question of slave or free. But the Justices, by this act, may sell a man to whom no one else can establish a claim, merely because they are not satisfied he is free.

By clause 29, Any person carrying off or attempting to carry off from the island a slave without the owner's leave, shall be guilty of felony without benefit of clergy.

By clause 33, Swearing, committing *any indecent act in any place*, getting drunk, quarrelling, wilfully galloping, cantering, or trotting a horse in the town of St. George, may be punished in a slave with twenty-five lashes by any justice.

By clause 35, Black men and women pretending to communication with the devil, or (clause 37) *compassing or imagining the death of a free person*, may be punished with death.—A slave breaking loose from prison, when committed for felony (clause 38), is punishable with death, without benefit of clergy.

By clause 40, Slaves executed or transported, or condemned to hard labour for life, are to be valued and the price paid to their owners.

Such are some of the barbarous provisions contained in this new act, passed in 1825, and they make it the more to be regretted that Lord Bathurst, while he objects to many of the clauses, should have expressed himself so strongly as he has done in approbation of it. "I cannot but be sensible," he says, "that it falls short of what has been recommended, yet it deserves to be considered as an important improvement of the existing code.\* *Its provisions are all of a beneficial nature as far as they go.*"—I instruct you, therefore, he writes to the governor, "to convey to the legislature his Majesty's gracious approbation of what has been done; to recommend first that they should revise those enactments in the late act to which I have more particularly called their attention in a separate dispatch, and secondly, to take into their serious consideration the important measures which are yet wanting to fulfil the expectations entertained from them."

The acting Governor, Mr. Paterson, who is himself a planter, in a letter dated the 21st Nov. 1825, tells his lordship that there are some points which seem to Lord Bathurst to be indispensable, with which he fears it will be "impossible to comply," namely, "the total prohibition of the whip as an instrument of correction of females, and the right of slaves to purchase their freedom." Other things, he says, may admit of being modified or explained—but to cease from flogging women, or to give a slave a power of purchasing his freedom, are, in the estimation of this public functionary, ruinous innovations. The women, he says, are the most turbulent of the slaves; and to allow slaves, he adds, to purchase their freedom would be tantamount to gradual but ultimate ruin!—Now, what hope can be entertained of beneficial enactments, on these subjects, from men who can thus speak and judge? Mr. Paterson argues against the appointment of a Protector of slaves as unconstitutional: he is "an officer unknown to the British constitution." How such

\* As compared with the act of 1788, it is the reverse of an improvement.

an officer *could* be known to the British constitution which suffers no slavery.—Mr. Paterson will perhaps explain. But what makes this objection on his part the more extraordinary is, that he must have taken a part in renewing, if not in framing, the boasted Guardian Act of Grenada, by which men's eyes in this country were for a time blinded. Now, however, he has acquired new lights on the subject: neither guardians nor protectors are any longer wanted. "The magistrates," he says, "men of the first note," all interested in the welfare of the slave population, "can afford the injured slave more immediate redress than he could receive" from a protector in town. Let the reader look back to the conduct of those Grenada magistrates, as certified by the Governor and Attorney General of the colony (p. 143), and then judge of the delusive nature of the acting Governor's representations.—Equally unsound and delusive is every syllable of his defence of Sunday markets; and if all he says were true, yet how inconsistent is it with his reasoning, to impose a fine of £10 on every one who keeps open his store on Sunday! How are the poor negroes to make their market if that law is enforced on the only market day allowed them? Mr. Paterson does not even pretend that it was meant to give them any other day at present for their markets.—On the subject of the whip, he observes, "that its use was not intended to be prohibited, but the exhibition of it to be interdicted, not only as the emblem of authority, but as an instrument of coercion, excepting when sent for, or taken to the field, for the purpose of punishing an offence previously committed, and requiring immediate correction." This is not a fair representation of the Act, as may be seen by referring to the transcript of it above, (p. 159.) Besides, Mr. Paterson must have known that the principle of immediate correction, for which he manfully contends, and the benefit of which he exemplifies by a reference, (which, we believe, is wholly unfounded,) to the army, navy, and public schools, is in the teeth of the principle of the King's recommendation, that an interval of 24 hours shall always pass between the offence and the punishment.—He defends the discretionary power, given to a single magistrate, of inflicting any punishment, short of life and limb, on offences not cognizable by law, by saying, in the usual style, that "the magistrates are the lawful and willing protectors of the Slaves."—"It would be contrary," Mr. Paterson further tells us, "to the whole system and very existence of Slavery, to admit a right of action in a Slave against his owner, and what no West Indian legislature would or could concede."

Then follows some metaphysical reasoning to prove the wisdom of the Grenada legislation in admitting Slaves to give evidence in the case of *capital* offences, but refusing to receive such evidence in civil suits, or in petty cases of assault, or of trivial crimes.

Is it right that men who can thus reason, and thus feel, should be the representatives of His Majesty in protecting, and in administering justice to so large a portion of His subjects; or should be entrusted with the delicate task of legislating for them?

#### IV. ST. VINCENT'S.

The new act of St. Vincent's resembles that of Grenada in several

respects. It contains a similar clause on the subject of religious instruction. It limits markets to *ten* on Sundays, and yet shuts up shops on that day, under a penalty of £10; appointing no other day for marketing. It does not give equivalent time to the Slave in lieu of the Sunday. It protects the property of Slaves in the same inadequate manner as the Grenada act, and follows it in adopting, in nearly the same terms, the same evasive enactment respecting the driving-whip. It says nothing of manumission, except that free Black and Coloured freeholders are not to be freeholders for any other purpose than that of holding and assigning their freehold property; thus disfranchising, by a stroke of the pen, a large class of His Majesty's subjects, whose only crime is the colour of their skin. It says nothing of preventing the separation of families by sale. Slaves are declared, by an old law now renewed, to be real estate and not chattels, and as such shall descend to heirs, and widows be endowed thereof; but if there be not chattels to pay debts, then Slaves shall be taken and sold as chattels. It does not modify the power of arbitrary punishment by the master, but leaves the Slaves, men and women, subject, in all respects as before, to 10 lashes by the driver, or 39 by the owner or manager. It requires a register to be kept *on every estate*, but it is to be produced only when called for, of all punishments above ten lashes. It requires clergymen to solemnize the marriages of Slaves, producing the consent of their owners, and understanding the nature of the marriage vow; but it gives no *express* validity to such marriages, and declares that they shall confer no rights inconsistent with the duties of Slaves, or subject them to penalties, the effect of which may injure their owners. It admits, in capital cases alone, the evidence of a Slave, provided he produces a certificate of baptism and character; provided also that two Slaves clearly and consistently depose to the same fact, being examined apart, and that the crime is prosecuted within the year. But no Slave is to give evidence where his owner, or manager, or any *White* person, is charged with a capital crime.—How strangely the principles of West India legislatures vary, even on such a point as this. Grenada and Tobago admit the evidence of Slaves in the very case in which St. Vincent and Dominica exclude it. But besides the defects which have been noticed, more numerous and still greater violations of all just and enlightened principles of legislation are to be found in the new law of St. Vincent, than even in that of Grenada.

The whole of the alleged improvements, in the Slave codes of our different Colonies, has now passed under revision, with the exception of Dominica. The parliamentary papers, however, having given only the draft of a bill for that Colony, with the blanks not yet filled up, it would answer no purpose to examine it. And even if, as has been stated, that bill has actually passed the different branches of the legislature, it would constitute no improvement in the legal condition of the Slave, as compared with the act of the same island, passed in 1788. There is nothing in it really new, except that females are not in future to be whipped *in public*, and so as to occasion any *indecent* exposure; and that a register is to be kept of punishments. The clauses in the new act about religion, and the observance of Sunday, fall even below those of

the old act, which are admitted to have been wholly inoperative; while the clauses in the former act on marriage, and the violation of the purity of married females, so much vaunted at the time of its passing, are wholly omitted in the new. The clause on Slave evidence appears to be of the same restricted kind as that passed eight or ten years ago.

Such then is the result of that reference of the great work of Colonial Reform, which was made to the local assemblies nearly three years ago. The most cursory reader will at once perceive how widely different is that result, not only from what was originally proposed by the Government, as the first step in the progress of that reform, but even from the statement recently made, as from authority, in the House of Commons,\* of the ameliorations that had actually been effected.—That statement is reported to have been to this effect, viz.—*That, since May, 1823, of the Colonies having legislatures of their own, EIGHT had taken measures with respect to religious instruction; the observance of Sunday; the giving security to the property of Slaves; the modification of punishment; and the abolition of the driving-whip:—That SEVEN had admitted the evidence of Slaves; and had given facilities to manumission:—That FIVE had legalized marriage; prohibited the separation of families; and abolished the flogging of females:—That FOUR had prohibited the sale of Slaves detached from the estate: and That TWO had established saving banks.*

Now, instead of having this flattering picture of improvement realized, it turns out, that, even if we include Dominica in our estimate, only FIVE of the Colonies, out of thirteen, having legislatures of their own, have done any thing whatsoever towards carrying the resolutions of the 15th May, 1823, into effect; and

Of these five,

NONE have done any thing with respect to religious instruction.†

ONE (Tobago) has abolished Sunday markets.

FOUR (Tobago, Grenada, St. Vincent's, and Dominica) have given a very limited protection, in certain cases, to the property of Slaves.

TWO (Tobago and Grenada) have lowered the scale of arbitrary punishment by the master.

\* On the 28th of February, 1826.

† We are aware of the statements on this head which have been made, both in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons; but they do not go in the slightest degree to invalidate the position, that nothing has been done by Colonial legislation for the religious instruction or for the education of the Slaves, since May, 1823. The passing of a law to regulate the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop, or the raising money to build a church, are both very proper measures; but they do not constitute either religious instruction or education, except in the view of those who conceive that when a clergyman has received 4500 dollars for baptizing 9000 Slaves in a year, or two years, he has made them all Christians. Barbadoes, for example, has had eleven, and Jamaica nineteen, Churches, for at least a century. It is stated, as a proof of the religious zeal of the people of those Islands, that they are about to build another. This is very laudable; but will this twelfth or twentieth church do for the Slaves more than the former eleven or nineteen? The bishops and clergy lately sent may, without doubt do much, if they are so disposed, for the religious instruction and education of the Slaves: but they are appointed by the Crown, not by the Colonies.

TWO (Grenada and St. Vincent's) have made a mere shew of abolishing the driving-whip.

THREE (Tobago, Grenada, and St. Vincent's) have admitted the evidence of Slaves in a very limited degree.

NONE have given to the Slave the power of effecting his manumission by purchase.

ONE (Bahamas) has legalized marriage, and two (Grenada and St. Vincent's) have permitted it in certain cases.

ONE (Bahamas) has prohibited the separation of families, either by private or judicial sale; and ONE (Grenada) has prohibited it by judicial sale.

NONE have abolished the flogging of females.

NONE have prohibited the sale of Slaves detached from the estate.

NONE have established saving banks.

And now, after reading this meagre statement, let any man look carefully at the vain and inefficient, and often contradictory and unjust provisions, by which it is pretended to ensure even the scanty measure of improvement which the most partial advocate of the Colonies can deduce from these papers, and he must feel convinced, that no useful or consistent legislation is to be expected by continuing to pursue the present course. Delay and disappointment can be its only results.

In the first place, the great mass of the enactments are framed in direct contradiction to the admirable principle involved in the following passage of one of Lord Bathurst's letters to the Governor of the Bahamas:—"Since the superiority of rank and education which belongs to the White inhabitant, is an aggravation of the offence committed by him, there is an *injustice* in assigning to the aggravated offence the minor punishment." He also condemns those clauses which enact that a severer punishment should be inflicted on a crime committed by a Slave, "whose ignorance is an extenuation of his guilt," than by others, "for whose guilt no such extenuation can be presumed." And yet it is the uniform character of the, so called, *meliorating* laws which have now been reviewed, that they are built upon this reprobated principle.

The enactments in question are further at war with the important principle laid down in a late debate,\* by such high authorities as Mr. Canning, and the Attorney General, namely, that it was indispensable to the ends of justice, that there should be, both in form and in substance, an equal administration of it to White and Black. These enactments proceed on a totally different principle.

Further, even those provisions of law which wear the semblance of amelioration, are almost all destitute of adequate sanctions, or of an executory principle; and they are all confided to the administration of the very men whose power it ought to be their object to controul, and against whom it is the universal feeling of the country, that the Slave requires to be protected.

In short, if such impotent and evasive enactments, as most of those now laid before the public, are to be represented, under the sanction of the highest authority in the state, as "Slave meliorating provisions;" and if some of the views, as far as we understand them, which have been

\* On the motion of Mr. Deaman, the 2nd of March, 1826.



developed, or rather hinted at, in certain quarters, are henceforth to regulate the measures to be taken in respect to Slavery, the hope of an early and effectual reform, not to say extinction, of that opprobrious condition of society, is, to say the least, very greatly discouraged.

But here the Colonists, and their friends in this country, meet every call for parliamentary interference, by using, in order to combat the expediency of that line of policy, the very arguments which have been advanced in its favour. "It is utterly impossible," they say, "and your own statements prove it, that Parliament can legislate effectively for the Colonies, unless the Colonists become the willing and concurrent executors of its enactments. No benefit can be hoped for, from laws, however excellent, which the courts and juries of a country combine to frustrate or to elude. The feelings and prejudices of the community will triumph over the most skilfully framed statutes."

It would be vain to deny that a very formidable difficulty is here brought forward, and that if it admits of no satisfactory solution, the evils of Colonial bondage are irremediable, except by one of those convulsions which shall suddenly and irresistibly burst the chains that bind the Slave, involving, perhaps, him and his master in one common ruin. For that the Colonists will of themselves frame and execute laws, which shall carry into full effect the recommendations of His Majesty and the wishes of the nation, is what no one, who is acquainted with their sentiments, can be weak enough to suppose. *They* see nothing but ruin in every measure *tending* to emancipation; and they will not, they plainly tell us, be themselves the artificers of that ruin.

But "what," it is asked, "can Parliamentary legislation effect, to obviate this formidable and fatal difficulty?" The question requires, and shall receive, a distinct answer.

1. In the first place, it will be admitted that good laws are better than bad laws. In as far as the Colonial statutes are chargeable with a want of uniformity and consistency; with gross inequality and injustice; and with the absence of adequate sanctions and executory provisions; it would clearly be in the power of Parliament to apply a remedy. The object of Parliament would be to give effect to its own wishes and resolutions: the object of the Colonists, in all the Colonies, is rather to resist, and, if they cannot resist, to elude, their accomplishment. Here, at least, would be a manifest advantage on the side of Parliamentary legislation. And when it is considered how very contracted is the White population of most of the Colonies, and how large a portion of that class are necessarily in low and servile situations; and, of the remainder, how few are qualified, by their rank in life, and by the union therewith of intelligence and high principle, to form wise and enlightened legislators, in points at once so difficult, and so deeply affecting their pride, their passions, and their interests; it would evince an extraordinary disregard of the claims of humanity and justice, if, after experience has so fully confirmed all the deductions of reason on this subject, we should continue to delegate to them the task of legislating for the entire Black and Coloured population of our Colonies.

If it be doubted whether any good may be done by means of checks and sanctions, introduced into the Colonial Acts by some paramount

authority, it is only necessary to refer to the *Trinidad Order in Council*. It is there provided, that the Protector of Slaves shall not be entitled to receive his salary until the returns, which are required from him, have been made in a complete and satisfactory manner. This single provision will serve to illustrate what may be effected by the judicious regulations of willing legislators, in enforcing even those laws which are obnoxious to the general feelings of a community.

2. But, in the second place, however well the laws may be framed, as to their letter, it must be admitted, that if the judicial administration of the Colonies remains on its present footing; if the Judges are still to be Planters, and to be dependent for their salaries on assemblies of Planters; comparatively little good would result from the improvement. But is it not the duty of Parliament to provide, not only that the laws should be good and just, but that they should be justly, and equitably, and faithfully administered? Would it make no difference in the character of that administration, if the offices of Judge, Attorney General, and Fiscal (to say nothing at present of Governors, and of Protectors and Assistant Protectors of Slaves), were filled by barristers of a certain standing, wholly disconnected from Colonial interests, with fixed and suitable salaries, altogether independent of the local assemblies, and receiving their authority and their instructions from the Crown? Would it make no difference, if the whole judicial administration were placed under the superintending care, and the responsibility of such intelligent and independent functionaries, receiving regular reports of every judicial proceeding from the inferior tribunals, and transmitting them, together with their own records, to the supreme authorities of the State, to be by them laid before Parliament? Would not the institution of this universal system of record, report, inspection, publicity, and consequent responsibility, go far, of itself, and still more when combined with the suggested change in the executive department of the law, to reform many of the existing evils of the Colonial system? And is it not in the power of Parliament to follow up its enactments for the improvement of the law, by such improvements in the administration of that law as have now been hinted at? And if in the power, is it not also, the duty, of Parliament to do so?

3. But it will be argued that, though something may be done, by reforming the judicial administration of the Colonies, to correct the existing evils of the Slave system, yet the juries must still be composed of men actuated by the prevailing Colonial prejudices, and equally ready as now to render nugatory every obnoxious law. Neither the Judges, however able and upright, nor the Parliament itself, can prevent the powerful influence of the *esprit de corps* on the minds of jurymen.

This is to a certain degree true. There is, however, a large department of the judicial administration which is entirely in the hands of the judges, independently of juries; and even in that department of it which rests wholly on the decisions of a jury, it cannot be supposed that the presence and dicta of an intelligent and unbiassed judge, and the system of revision and publicity which has been suggested, would not produce a very powerful and salutary effect on those decisions.

Besides this, there is another and obvious palliative at least, if not remedy, for the evil under consideration, in the admission to the jury

box of those free Blacks and persons of colour, who are qualified by their property, and intelligence, and acquirements, to take a share in the administration of justice. Why should *they* be excluded? Have they not interests, and large interests too, at stake? Even foreigners have a right, when tried, to have a moiety of their peers foreigners like themselves. By what strange anomaly in British jurisprudence is it that native born subjects, men possessing a common interest in the state, shall, (not on account of the want of a qualification as to property, or intelligence, or loyalty, but on account of the varying shades of their complexion,) be excluded, as a degraded caste, from the first and dearest right of the British Constitution, a trial by their peers?

That such reforms are in the power of parliament; and that, if made, they would improve the administration of justice, and afford increased security to the slave, and thus obviate the only solid objection to parliamentary legislation, cannot be questioned; and without parliamentary legislation, what hope exists that slavery will either be materially mitigated, or finally extinguished?

The object of these pages has been fulfilled. It would therefore be out of place to enter upon a variety of questions, foreign to its immediate purpose, though connected with the general subject, to which the public attention has recently been directed by various publications, particularly by a pamphlet entitled "The West India question practically considered," and to which rumour has assigned somewhat of an official origin.

That pamphlet, though it be impossible now to enter upon it, may require an early discussion. This remark, however, has no reference to the pains the author has taken to convince the world that the views entertained by the leading abolitionists, in 1826, on the subject of the necessity and expediency of legislative interference with the colonies, has undergone a great change since 1792, and even since 1807. This fact is not only admitted, but stands forward as the very ground of their recent proceedings.\* But if they then placed, it may be, an unwarranted, but nevertheless, a liberal, confidence in the purposes of the colonists, with respect to the improvement of the condition of their slaves, are they, or those who have entered into their labours, to be blamed as wanting in good faith, because the painful experience of twenty years has satisfied them that their confidence was misplaced, and all hope of improvement, except from parliamentary interference, vain and illusory?

On this point the author may enjoy his victory undisturbed. There are other questions however from which not only the Anti-Slavery Society, but the whole British public will dissent, and which are either distinctly stated, or may be deduced as fair corollaries from the reasoning employed in this and some other kindred writings. Such, for example, are the following:

That because the British parliament and people have participated largely in the crime of slavery, they ought not, though convinced of its guilt, to cease from it, lest some of the guilty should cease to profit by it.

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\* See substance of the debate of 15 May 1823—Preface, p. xi.

That because great cruelties are among the *necessary* incidents of slavery, it is our duty not to make a noise about them, but quietly to acquiesce in what cannot be prevented.

That though it is of the very essence of despotic power to be abused, and its existence has hitherto been deemed a curse, yet such is the peculiar character of our colonists, that the most unmeasured despotism ever exercised by man over his fellows is converted, in their case, into a blessing to the subjects of it.

That though it may be proved that the slave population of our colonies are in the singular situation of being a diminishing population, yet we are bound, in common courtesy, to believe that they are leniently treated, moderately worked, well fed, clothed and lodged; because many *honourable* men, the masters of these slaves, have affirmed the fact.

That it is so great an evil to irritate and provoke the colonists, that we must not call the crimes they commit by their appropriate names, but speak of them as the unfortunate accidents of their unfortunate situation.

That on the same principle, we must be content to indulge them for a few years longer, until they can be weaned from former habits, with the privilege of lacerating the flesh of men and women, and of urging them to their uncompensated labour like cattle by the lash.

That though the colonial legislatures have hitherto framed their laws in such a manner as to deprive the Slave of all effective legal protection; and though they protest against giving him any civil rights as utter ruin to themselves; they are still to have the abused trust of legislating for him confided to their hands.

That though it is admitted that slavery is a bad and vicious system, debasing the slave and corrupting the master, and though it cannot be affirmed that those who are born of slaves are incapable of being reared for the duties and rights of freemen, yet the government and parliament of Great Britain are bound to retain, in all the acknowledged vices of slavery, the successive generations of the negro race, until it shall have been ascertained that the value of an acre of land in Demerara may not suffer some depreciation from educating them as freemen.

That for Black men, especially if they live on the edge of forests, and on a fertile soil, slavery is a condition of life infinitely preferable to freedom.

That though sugar planting, as conducted in our colonies, has been proved to be the most deathful of all the branches of slave culture, those, nevertheless, are guilty of cruelty and injustice, who refuse to buy the sugar thus raised at the price of blood, or who protest against paying largely in bounties and protecting duties to enable the planters to continue thus to raise it.

That though this deathful occupation has been over and over again admitted by the planters to be unprofitable, nay ruinous, still we are bound, in deference to their wishes, to apply large sums to its support.

That though our manufacturers are starving for want of a market for their productions, and though India opens an indefinite field for the consumption of those productions, we must dam up this easy channel of relief, lest we should be deprived of the pleasure of paying the West India Planters a compensation, in bounties and protecting duties, for the destruction of Negro life, caused by sugar planting and sugar manufacturing.

That though it cannot be denied, that the free Blacks and people of Colour, of Jamaica, Grenada, Trinidad, &c. (themselves emancipated Slaves, or the descendants of such,) have been growing in wealth, intelligence, and respectability, notwithstanding a variety of heavy restrictions and oppressions under which their industry labours, it still remains a problem to be solved, whether, as a tropical sun is hot, and tropical soils productive, emancipated Slaves will ever think of bettering their condition, or whether, on the contrary, they will not merge again into an inert and savage state.

That although, according to West Indian statements, the Negro Slaves, who are all, of course, well fed and clothed by their masters, and therefore stand in need of nothing, do, nevertheless, while they continue in slavery (such are the blessed fruits of that state), employ their small pittance of time so industriously and to such advantage, that many of them abound in wealth and luxuries; yet, the same Negroes, if manumitted (such is the baneful effect of freedom) would likewise make no effort whatever to better their condition, but would sink into penury, and wretchedness, and into a greater degree of moral degradation than ever.

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.

And lastly, that though some of the executive officers, entrusted with the administration of the Colonies, may entertain and promulgate such views as these, Parliament, and the electors of Parliament, are bound still to wait, in patience and silence, the development, in some future age, of their wise and philanthropic plans.

Leaving these and similar positions of our author and other Colonial writers to produce their effect on the Electors of Great Britain, it will be sufficient to say, that as the Colonial interests have found in him a zealous and certainly an able advocate, so neither will there be wanting, both in and out of Parliament, advocates, if not so able yet no less zealous, of the interests of the Negro race, who will be ready to expose such positions as these to the reprobation they merit. Let justice, indeed, be done (and who resists it?) to the claims of the Planters upon the British nation; but let it not be done at the expense of their wretched bondsmen. These, Mr. Darris, himself a West Indian, has told us, with an emphasis and eloquence we should in vain attempt to rival;—these poor outcasts from the pale of humanity, in one at least of our Colonies, even when “**MAIMED, MUTILATED, DISFIGURED, AND DISMEMBERED;**” have their “**WOUNDS,**” as “**THE ONLY TONGUE TO RELATE THEIR WRONGS.**”—But they will find, in free and happy England, if no where else, some who will put a tongue into those wounds, which will make all the cold-blooded sophisms and unstatesman-like and unchristian paradoxes that have now been exposed, to shrink into their due dimensions of littleness and imbecility.

## THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

THE hostility of this work to the Anti-Slavery cause is well known. An article which appeared in the 65th Number, has been briefly noticed in the Society's Third Report. The 66th Number, which has recently been published, contains a less able but a more virulent article of the same description. It would be impossible in the brief space which is left, to notice a tythe of the misrepresentations, gratuitous assumptions, and false reasonings with which it abounds. We must content ourselves with noticing a few of its false facts, and for that purpose we shall transcribe entire a passage which occupies a little more than a page of the Article, and add in the margin a few brief observations upon it. Our readers will judge how far such a work merits encouragement.

"There is, indeed, one circumstance external to the real merits of the case, which we can easily believe to have some influence—and that, to whatever it may amount, most unpropitious—on the minds of our colonists. We allude to the manner in which their characters are suffered to be assailed, too often without even an attempt at any answer, in the House of Commons.\* It is from that House that they consider the Regulations in question as emanating; can it possibly dispose them the more willingly to accept of such suggestions, to read in the newspapers that such a lawyer and such a gentleman as Mr. Denman permitted himself, and was permitted by others, to speak in St. Stephen's chapel, of *one* of the conspiracies detected in Jamaica, in 1823-4, as, having been '*got up*'—a mere trick in short, a cunning, politic, bloody little jest of a knot of Jamaica magistrates? Is it wonderful that the minds of these men, and the minds of those who know them, should boil with scorn and indignation when the account reaches the colony?—a conspiracy got up! and by whom?—not merely by the magistrates who tried the case, for the evidence in the case was submitted to the Governor of Jamaica, and the sentence executed under his warrant—and it is from the character of the evidence itself that Mr. Denman pronounces the conspiracy to which it refers to have been a trick *ab ovo*.† And what

\* It was the *conduct*, not the character of the Jamaica magistracy which was assailed in the House of Commons on this occasion. And was it by Mr. Denman and the Abolitionists alone that it was so assailed? The Attorney General said, "No man could reprobate more strongly than he did the whole system of the administration of justice in our colonies."—"The system deserved reprobation in the highest degree."—The Solicitor General "agreed fully with his Hon. Friends opposite, as to the hated and accursed nature of the system of slavery, and he went along with them in desiring the Abolition of it and its evils." Mr. Canning said, that "in ALL these proceedings, it was to be lamented, that Negro life was put to hazard, and Negro blood shed by a system totally different from that which was applied to White men." He spoke also of "these disgusting tribunals," and of the "moral atrocities" of the system. Was there any thing in Mr. Denman's speech which could be more offensive to West India feeling than such expressions as these?

† The Reviewer seems determined to blow the coal of hostility between the Colonists and the Abolitionists. He has certainly given an unfair and exaggerated representation of Mr. Denman's speech. The gravamen of that speech, however, in the estimate of the Reviewer, is the clear and decided opinion which it expressed that the conspiracies of Jamaica were "*got up*." And what is there so very offensive in this opinion? Does not the Reviewer himself in the very same number of his work speak without reserve of "the cruel and infamous persecu-

was the purpose that all these worshipful magistrates and their noble accomplice had in view?—Why, according to Mr. Denman, it is their interest that the people of England should believe there are conspiracies in Jamaica! For such purposes, the Gentlemen of Jamaica and the Duke of Manchester commit judicial *murders*! But was there ever such a shadow of pretence for this enormous cruelty? This conspiracy was only one out of *three* that took place in the same island within the same twelve months: the evidence in regard to the other two insurrections, Mr. Denman does not dare to attack—and that in regard to the *Hanover* business, he expressly admits to be conclusive and unanswerable. Were two conspiracies in the year so very scanty an allowance? Were these ‘white devils’ of Jamaica determined to sup so very full with horrors?\*

“In the ‘Picture of Negro Slavery,’ &c. a pamphlet lately published under the authority of the African Institution,† *all* the three‡ conspiracies—that of which *Mr. Denman* admits the proof to be complete and satisfactory,§ as well as the others—are boldly pronounced to have been ‘got up.’|| It is also added, that in none of these conspiracies the pri-

tion, commonly called the Popish Plot, when a vertigo seemed suddenly to possess the heads of the people of England, rendering them incapable of distinguishing truth from falsehood, justice from oppression, or common sense from the grossest absurdity. The Earl of Shaftesbury, the foster father of that most wicked delusion,” &c. (p. 286.) Hard words these, Mr. Reviewer. And why should Mr. Denman be blamed for supposing that, even in the immaculate island of Jamaica, some men as base as Shaftesbury might have found in Corberand, &c. instruments as base as Titus Oates, to work on the fears of the good people of that colony, until *their* heads also were possessed with a vertigo, rendering them incapable of distinguishing truth from falsehood, justice from oppression, or common sense from the grossest absurdity? Men deluded by the knavery of others may be weak, but they are not necessarily accomplices: and therefore, it would be as unreasonable in the whole body of Jamaica Colonists to feel themselves assailed in their character by the allegation that their plots were got up, as it would be in the body of the English nation in Charles the Second’s time, to resent the statement that ‘Titus Oates’s plot was got up.’ The Reviewer, therefore, in his comments on Mr. Denman’s speech, and the Anti-Slavery pamphlet, is acting the part of a mere firebrand.

\* This statement from beginning to end is a misrepresentation of the facts. There were *four* alleged conspiracies in Jamaica, not three. Mr. Denman denied that any of them was entitled to be so denominated, not even the disturbance in Hanover. There, he admitted, that outrages had been committed which justly merited punishment, but he maintained that these outrages were not the result of any preconcerted scheme to which the name of plot or conspiracy could be given, but were produced by the irritation of the moment, and by sudden and unforeseen provocation. He distinctly stated his opinion, that there was as little ground for the alleged conspiracies of St. James’s and St. George’s as for that of St. Mary’s.

† This pamphlet did not proceed from, nor was it sanctioned by the African Institution.

‡ There were four, not three.

§ Mr. Denman made no such admission.

|| The Jamaica conspiracies are represented to have been got up as the Reviewer represents the Popish Plot to have been got up. The cases are remarkably similar. But, it is not true, that the pamphlet in question does not distinguish between the Hanover trials, and the others. It expressly states, (p. 60.) “We must do the gentlemen of Hanover the justice to say, that it is the only affair which wears the semblance of a conspiracy. There we have at least some overt acts of violence—something which, to a certain extent, might justify alarm,

soners were allowed the benefit of counsel :\* a statement in *direct opposition to the truth*, as may be seen by any one who refers to the parliamentary papers, of which this pamphlet professes to be an abstract, and in which the names of Mr. Burke and Mr. James, counsel for the prisoners, occur *passim*.† In *one* of the cases, it is true, no counsel is named as having been present on the part of the accused : but the reason was, that the accused were all the slaves of one gentleman, who had formerly practised at the bar, and who appeared at the trial, without gown or wig to be sure, to do all that any barrister could have done for his dependents.‡

“ Mr. Denman quoted from the record of his ‘ got up’ conspiracy, a letter, in which it was said that, ‘ only one of the wretches confessed the crime before execution.’ Mr. Denman sees in this sentence only the word *wretches*, and expresses his indignation at the magistrate and murderer who could use such a word upon such an occasion. But, after all, why did any one negro, and above all, why did this one negro *confess*?§ —Was Obeah Jack, too—the ringleader—the only one of the set that could not possibly hope for pardon at any period of the investigation—was he, too, with the rope about his neck, a member of the dark-souled junta that *got up* the conspiracy for the purpose of persuading the people of England that parliamentary discussions have an unpleasant effect in the colonies ?

“ It may be as well to remark, that the authors of the African Institution’s pamphlet, entitled “ England enslaved by her own Slave Colonies,” suppress entirely the fact of this Obeah Jack’s confession.|| This conduct is much bolder than Mr. Denman’s.”

Quarterly Review, No. LXVI. p. 516.

and punishment too.” In all the cases, there was at least this presumptive risk of their having been got up, that the principal witnesses knew beforehand that reward awaited the discovery of a plot, and the conviction of plotters.

\* This is another false assertion on the part of the Reviewer. The pamphlet, which he pretends to quote, confines the remark respecting the absence of counsel to two cases, namely, St. Mary’s (p. 41. Note), and Hanover (p. 63.); and the last passage expressly states, that “ in this instance also the slaves appear to have had no legal advocate, or even solicitor ;” meaning, in this instance, as well as in that of St. Mary’s.

† These names do not occur *passim*. They occur only in one of the trials.

‡ “ In one of the cases.”—In which? In that of St. Mary’s, or of Hanover, where alone the pamphlet says there was no counsel? It cannot be St. Mary’s to which the Reviewer alludes, because the proprietor of seven of the St. Mary’s convicts, Mr. Sterling, did not reside in Jamaica, but in Great Britain, and the proprietor of the eighth was no barrister. It cannot be Hanover, because Mr. Malcolm, the proprietor of almost all the convicts in that parish, was himself the prosecutor, and a witness for the crown.

§ Mr. Denman expressed his disbelief, that any one of the St. Mary’s convicts had confessed his guilt. If he did, why were not the particulars of his confession produced? It is not denied that a respite was offered to any one, or two, or three of the convicts who would make a disclosure of the plot. If this “ wretch” really confessed, how happened it that he was executed with the others, and that the promised mercy was not extended to him?

|| This pamphlet is no pamphlet of the African Institution, any more than that before referred to. The name of Mr. Stephen is attached to it. It does not suppress the fact of Obeah Jack’s confession, because it has not approached the subject at all. We suppose, that the Reviewer really meant to attack, not Mr.



## VISCOUNT DUDLEY AND WARD.

THIS Nobleman has of late taken so conspicuous a part as an advocate of Colonial interests, and has laboured with so much zeal to discredit the efforts of the Anti-Slavery Society, that it becomes a matter of some moment to ascertain the degree in which he has acquired a title to guide the public opinion on this point. Without doubt he possesses many claims to respect, distinct from his high rank. He has steered an honourable and independent course in political life. He has sedulously cultivated talents of no mean order. He has distinguished himself by his acquisitions in the science of political economy. And he has ever been forward to promote the general diffusion of knowledge.

But the circumstance above all others which produced a favourable impression of his Lordship's character upon our minds was a speech which he delivered in the House of Commons on the 6th March, 1807. The question was the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

His Lordship, then Mr. Ward, observed, that "The questions which arise upon this bill respect the inhumanity and impolicy of the slave trade. On the former, so strong a case has been made out that it is almost unnecessary to add anything; and with regard to the latter, even if I were convinced that the argument of humanity was groundless, yet I should think myself bound to put a period to it on the score of policy, as I would in cases of robbery, piracy, and other crimes."\*

"The two principal arguments urged in opposition to this measure are the depopulation of the Colonies and the diminution of culture." After expressing his belief that neither of these effects would follow, he added, "*It is a fact which needs no evidence to support it, that the*

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Stephen's pamphlet of "England enslaved by her own Slave Colonies," but the same pamphlet which he has already so liberally misrepresented, "A picture of Negro Slavery," &c. Now, if the facts stated by Obeah Jack, had been given in evidence on the trials either of the St. Mary's or the St. George's conspirators, they might, so far as they go, have added some slight presumption to the manifestly worthless evidence on which these men were condemned. But Obeah Jack's confession was no evidence. It was not made until the men were already hanged whom alone it could affect, if we except indeed Corberand, against whom, and in a spirit of revenge to whom, it appears to have been framed. To whatever weight it may be entitled, it cannot weigh one feather in vindication of previous convictions and executions. But, in our opinion, under all the doubts which naturally attach to its correctness, as to that of another Jack of still more famous memory, Jack Gladstone, of Demerara, it does not merit the very slightest mention as affording any corroborative evidence of an armed conspiracy. Where are the arms? Corberand is still alive. Is he not accessible to a sufficiently high reward, now that his life is safe, to induce him to point out the place of their concealment? Obeah Jack says, that Corberand alone can tell where they lie concealed. What motive can he now have for refusing to make the discovery?

\* How are plain men to distinguish between slave-trading and slave-holding, so that while the one is a felony of the worst order, the other is a guiltless practice? It would, probably, puzzle them to decide which crime was the worst, that of stealing men, women, and children, and selling them; or that of buying these stolen men, women, and children, and dooming them and their posterity for ever to a cruel and hopeless bondage, to interminable and uncompensated toil, and to moral and intellectual degradation, and all for the sake of personal advantage.

*human race is prevented by nothing but ill treatment from multiplying as fast in the West Indies as in every other country where the bounty of nature is not cramped by mischievous institutions."*

As to the discontent which it was alleged was likely to be excited among the slaves by passing this bill, his Lordship remarked, "I can never believe that when you have begun by tearing the African by fraud and violence from his native country, it needs the act of the legislature to inform him that it is done by the violation of all justice. *Why may they not at length learn, that their lives and labours have become more important in the eye of the Imperial Legislature; and that more regard will be paid henceforward to their health and comfort? If the predicted mischiefs were in reality to be dreaded, I fear that they would already have been felt by the planters, for the injustice of the servitude in which the negroes have been held, might not only have been learnt by the perusal of the debates on the subject in this House, but it might have been known by the inspection of the English Statute Book, where slavery is regarded with the utmost abhorrence.*"

He thus concluded his speech, "*These, Sir, are reasons which apply as well to the total abolition of slavery as to the termination of this trade. And if I did not believe that this measure would ultimately tend to the emancipation of the negroes, I should be inclined to oppose it as an improper compromise between the British parliament and the West India planters.*"\*

After such a speech as this, his Lordship, if he has since changed his opinions, might have at least exercised some forbearance towards those who have retained them, and spared a little of the vituperation which is issuing, in the shape of a pamphlet bearing his Lordship's name, from the great Colonial Mart in Albemarle-street. Is it less true now than it was then, that "the human race is prevented by nothing but ill treatment from multiplying as fast in the West Indies as in every other country where the bounty of nature is not cramped by mischievous institutions?" And why should his Lordship charge those with intemperance and exaggeration, who, reasoning on his own principles, affirm, that the continued decrease of the slaves in Jamaica must find its cause in the same unfailing source of depopulation to which his Lordship has so justly referred it? If his Lordship was of opinion in 1807 that it was time the negroes should learn that *the Imperial Legislature was interested in their well-being*, surely a delay of twenty years, during which nothing effectual has been done to improve their condition, does not make the obligation less urgent. Or is the refusal to take the necessary steps for the emancipation of the negroes less a compromise of principle now than in 1807?

At the time the above speech was made, his Lordship had, we admit, the prospect of inheriting a considerable West India property, of which he has since become the possessor. His father was the proprietor of estates in Jamaica, the population of which regularly increased.

It does not appear, however, that the slaves of Lord Dudley and

\* See substance of the debates on the Bill for abolishing the Slave Trade printed for Phillips and Hatchard, 1808, p. 165.

Ward are now any longer distinguished by that rapidity of increase which is his own criterion of good treatment. On the contrary their numbers have of late been stationary, or rather diminishing. In March, 1820, the population of his estates amounted to 640. In March, 1823, it amounted only to 636. We leave this fact for his Lordship to explain without any further comment of ours, or without venturing even to surmise how far his late speculations in sugar planting, and their results, (we allude to his new sugar estate of New Yarmouth, in Vere,) may have operated in checking the increase of his slaves, or may have affected his opinions on West India subjects.

We have given the predecessor of his Lordship credit for the physical comfort which his slaves enjoyed. We will assume that under his Lordship's dominion, as far as the directions of non-resident proprietors can avail, their physical comfort has continued to be anxiously studied. But the notice with which his Lordship has honoured the Anti-Slavery Society justifies us in putting a few questions to him relative to the condition of his slaves in other respects. We beg to ask therefore,

1. Has a single step been taken to give religious instruction to his slaves? A year ago, we learn from good authority, none had yet been taken.

2. Eager as his Lordship has shewn himself for the diffusion of general knowledge, has any, even the lowest form of education, been afforded to the 400 or 500 children, who, since his Lordship's speech in 1807, may have been born on his estates?

3. Has Sunday been a day of repose and instruction to his slaves?

4. Have his slaves, women as well as men, ceased to work under the lash and without wages from morning to night, and during crop-time for half the night?

5. Is not the whip still the instrument of punishment for men and for women? If not, when did it cease to be so?

6. Has a single marriage ever been celebrated among the slaves on his estates?

We put these questions to his Lordship with the less scruple because we believe that on the whole the state of his slaves is more favourable than that of many other planters. Still we are persuaded that a full and candid reply to them would prove all we contend for as to their low and degraded condition.

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*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.*

London, 18, Aldermanbury, May 31, 1826.

No. 12.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

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The "ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER" will be ready for delivery on the first day of every month. Copies will be forwarded, at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent.

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ON the 17th of April, LORD SUFFIELD brought forward the subject of Colonial Slavery in the House of Peers. He spoke to the following effect. His Lordship said that since he had first declared his hope that the motion which he was about to submit would meet with their Lordships' unanimous approbation, nothing had occurred to diminish his confidence. It was a proposition unconnected with any matter upon which difference of opinion was known to prevail. Emancipation itself would neither be protracted nor accelerated by the result of his motion, and although a difference of opinion might exist upon the fittest time for carrying *that* measure into effect, he was happy to say he believed no man in the country, certainly no one in that House—no, not even the Noble Lord who was the most able and ready advocate of Slavery, or rather the most ready and able apologist of the West India system, (Lord Dudley) was prepared to *deny* that Slavery ought to cease throughout the British dominions. Here Lord Suffield took occasion to repel the accusation against the abolitionists of a desire for precipitancy. He was personally acquainted with many of those best known to the public as advocates for emancipation; he had attended many of their private conferences, and it was remarkable that he had in no one instance heard a wish expressed for sudden or convulsive emancipation, nor had he heard one scheme devised for its attainment, by any means that were not cautious and gradual. Next, as he had complained of one accusation, and as very recent allusion had been made to the matter of compensation to the Colonies in the event of emancipation, he could not forbear expressing his own sentiments on that subject. The Abolitionists had been accused of disinclination to compensate slave-owners for their losses; he denied that charge, on his own behalf and on the behalf of the country, if a clear case of damnification could be made out. But the call for compensation seemed to him to come from the wrong quarter; the mother country had, it was calculated during a period of thirty years, added 150 millions to her debt in support of the Colonies; 50,000 British subjects had, during the same space of time,

been sacrificed to the climate, and two or three millions of money were now annually paid to continue the system of Slavery! Surely the mother country should be indemnified for this vast exhaustion of blood and treasure; but it appears in the mean time that the Colonists have become impoverished and not enriched—they have found it unprofitable; they do find it so, and ever will find it unprofitable, as it seems by the ordination of Providence. Then he was quite sure that the people of England would rather pay six millions annually for the discontinuance, than three millions for the continuance of Slavery. Thus compensation, however unreasonable in principle, would readily be granted. One point more on the general subject, and he would proceed with his motion. Some indignation in that House had been exhibited at the assertion that Slavery was *incompatible with Christianity*, and this assertion was fathered on the abolitionists; now, although conscientiously thinking as he did that the principles of the Christian religion were adverse to Slavery, the assertion alluded to he believed might be traced to a different source from that contemplated perhaps by the Noble Earl opposite, viz. to the West Indies themselves, not to the abolitionists. In 1808, the Royal Gazette of Demerara promulgated this doctrine:—"He that chooses to make slaves Christians, let him give them their liberty. What will be the consequence when to that class of men is given the title of beloved brethren, which actually is done.—Assembling negroes in places of worship gives a momentary feeling of independence both of thinking and acting, and by frequent meetings of this kind a spirit of remark is generated; neither of which are sensations at all proper to be excited in the minds of slaves." Again, in 1823, says the same paper, "To address a promiscuous audience of Black or Colonial people, bond and free, by the endearing appellation of my brethren and sisters, is what can no where be heard except in Providence chapel." Such are the sentiments of the Colonists as given in their own newspapers, if correctly quoted in the House of Commons in the course of a debate on the trial and condemnation of the Missionary Smith. Lord S. now came to the subject of his motion:—He did not strive on the present occasion to convey to the slaves *civil rights*; his object was to prevent criminal wrongs, in the words of Mr. Dwaris, (who expressed the same ideas so exactly, he should beg to read an extract to the House from his report now upon the table).—"Lastly," says Mr. Dwaris, "to all arguments drawn from the evils of the system and strangely applied in favour of its continuance, because Slavery is a great or a *necessary*, it ought not therefore to be an *unmitigated evil*; it ought, as it appears to me, to be *softened*, precisely BECAUSE it is contended it cannot with safety and justice be *destroyed*." The attempt entirely to secure persons in a state of Slavery from criminal wrongs, would perhaps be impracticable; but it will be something if we oppose some check to that mockery of justice—that pretence for legal oppression and violence, of which this fallen race have at present to complain.

All who have ever written or spoken in public on the subject of Slavery, all who have directed their thoughts to it, he believed agreed in the opinion that the evils of the system were by no means confined to

the individuals who were slaves—those degraded and unfortunate beings only shared the bad effects of Slavery with their masters, and with all who were in any degree connected with the system. Its baneful influence extended itself over all classes of society within its sphere, and he was confident that he could shew, from papers on the table, that no persons resident in the Slave Colonies, and connected with the administration of the laws, were exempt from the contagion. He would begin with the Colonial Legislatures, and their blind and ill-advised resistance to the wishes and recommendations of his Majesty's ministers; 2dly, he would prove the apathy of the Colonists, relative to recorded cases of cruelty;—3dly, he would shew something very like misrepresentation, at all events gross inconsistency, on the part of a commissioner appointed to inquire into and report upon the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the West Indies; the more unintentional the misrepresentation the better for his argument. Now if he could shew impolitic conduct on the part of the Legislatures—apathy, injustice and partiality on the part of those who had to administer the laws, and unintentional misrepresentation on the part of the commissioners, all these persons being men of undisputed integrity and honour, his case was made out beyond a question.—What better proof could be afforded that persons being owners of slaves are not fit for the high offices which they hold? But if still a doubt could exist, he would lastly quote the opinion of some of the Colonists themselves, high in authority, who had favoured us with their sentiments on the subject, in direct concurrence with the object which was to be accomplished by the motion he had that day to offer to their Lordships. The first reference he would make to the papers in their Lordships' hands, was relative to the blind resistance made by the Colonial Legislatures to the recommendations of His Majesty's Government, who desired the improvement in the condition of the slaves to be the work of the Colonists themselves, and wished the slaves to feel indebted to their masters for any benefits they might receive.—Now let us see what has been the consequence of these recommendations. He would read an extract from a dispatch, signed by the Noble Earl opposite (Lord Bathurst) respecting Jamaica. He selected the observations on Jamaica especially—1st, because it appeared on the face of the correspondence printed and on the table—2dly, because Jamaica was our principal Colony—and lastly, because Jamaica had ready and able defenders in that House upon all occasions when it was, and often when it was *not* attacked.

Lord Bathurst says, "Jamaica has always been considered as the Colony which was most likely to take the lead in every measure which was calculated to improve the state of society in the West India Colonies, and it is a great mortification to those who looked with confidence to the support of that legislature, that there is not any one West India Colony that has not done more than Jamaica, or has not made the example of Jamaica their apology for doing so little."—And now, said Lord S. let us see what the Duke of Manchester thinks of the house of assembly—resident as he has been for some time in the island, and competent therefore, it is to be presumed, to form a pretty correct notion of the sentiments of its inhabitants. "I am afraid," says the Duke of

Manchester in one of his dispatches, "I am afraid after so many repeated trials, that there is no hope of persuading the present house of assembly to do any thing effectual for the relief of the slaves.—I have exhausted all the means in my power to lead them to a proper way of thinking." Can any thing more clearly shew the prejudice which prevails against all improvement? But we will now proceed to examine a summary which Lord S. said he had made with great care, of all that each of the Colonies had done in compliance with the wishes of our Government at home. It appears that *Sunday markets* are prohibited by only *One* of the West India legislatures—viz. Tobago.

That *evidence of slaves* is admitted in Grenada, Tobago, St. Vincent's, and Dominica, but under such qualifications and restrictions as to render it almost valueless. That the *legalization of marriages* has taken place in only one—the Bahamas, and has been permitted in Grenada and St. Vincent's. That a very limited *right of slaves to property* is enacted in four only—Grenada, Tobago, St. Vincent's, and Dominica. That the *power to purchase manumission* is enacted *no where*. And the *non-separation of families* in two only—the Bahamas and Grenada. That the *abolition of the driving whip*—is not professed to be enacted, except in two Colonies; and that of **FLOGGING FEMALES**—no where.

Having now afforded their Lordships a fair specimen of the disposition of the Colonies to comply with the recommendations of this Government, he would proceed to examine the report of the fiscal of Demerara. The record of complaints includes only the short period of three months. It appears that cognizance was taken of 25 complaints in that time—17 of slaves against their masters, six of masters against their slaves, two of slaves against each other. Of the 17 slaves complaining against their masters, 12 were punished *for complaining*, two were restored to their masters, liable of course to similar punishment, and sure to receive it for the same reason—and two of the complaints were redressed, one by the dismissal of the manager, and one by fine, which appears not to have been paid—the remaining complaint seems to have been simply disallowed. Now it happens that of the six complaints of masters against slaves, *not one remains unredressed*—four by flogging and two by imprisonment. The two other complaints, making up the number 25, are of Slaves against each other.

Having no account of the nature of some of the charges, or the grounds upon which the decisions have taken place, little more can be gathered from this document, than an inference from the contrast between the redress afforded to slaves complaining against their masters, and the redress afforded to masters of complaints against their slaves; but surely the partiality of the fiscal was at least made sufficiently apparent. Lord S. then proceeded to the shocking record from the fiscal of Berbice, which he prefaced by observing, that whoever desired to be made acquainted with the condition of slaves in the West Indies, would do well to examine this record with care. Here may be seen a picture of Slavery, though not perhaps in its worst form, because it is notorious that where slaves are worst treated, in the greater ratio does population diminish, whereas in this Colony no such diminution takes place. Then again it is to be remembered, that the record regards only

23,000 persons out of a West Indian slave population of 800,000, and that it relates only to the short period of about four years. The first case his Lordship would cite, would be found in page 39 of the Berbice report. Four women complain that they are not allowed time to suckle their children. Two of them were flogged for the *enormous crime* of suckling their offspring, and their statement was corroborated by the fact recorded by the fiscal, *that their coats were stained with blood.*

The second case, page 39, is that of a woman who was flogged because she was unsaleable; she was sent out by her master to find a purchaser, and because a customer could not be found, on her return home she was flogged.

The third and fourth cases, pages 56 and 57, are of women reported to have been flogged, and to have miscarried in consequence, being pregnant at the time of the flogging. One of these cases especially having been already noticed in public, and remarked upon as being attended with peculiar circumstances of atrocity, has excited a strong sensation in the West Indies, and has been adverted to and combatted, so far as it could be, by those who had the means of ascertaining the facts. It therefore deserved their Lordships' particular attention. It is proved in all its *ferocity of perpetration* by seven witnesses, the only part of the statement made on behalf of the unhappy female disputed is, a *part of the consequences ensuing* from the punishment—not the miscarriage, that remains uncontradicted, but the effect of the flogging upon the *unborn child*, and this is disputed on medical authority. What then remains an undeniable fact is, "that a woman, big with child, was ordered to do work that she was unable to execute—the driver was ordered to flog her for laziness—he a man pretty much habituated, it may be supposed, to severity—even he remonstrated, saying, she is *rather* big with child—the word RATHER was omitted, my Lords, in a former representation of this case, and the omission was made the ground of solemn complaint. He (Lord S.) trusted therefore it would now be remembered that the driver said the woman was RATHER big with child. What was the reply?—*Flog her till the blood flies out!!!* She was ordered the next day to work; she complained of being ill, and the day following she miscarried! Now then how stands the case? Admitting the consequences so far as regarded the unborn child to be misrepresented, and admitting the very important qualification as to the DEGREE OF PREGNANCY, the case, my Lords, shrinks into a *mere act of ferocious brutal outrage* and INFANTICIDE! The 5th case, page 86, is of another woman who miscarried in consequence of ill usage, and she complains also of the harsh treatment of one of her children, who exhibits marks of flogging. The 6th case, page 63, is that of Brutus, who is flogged because he would not consent to the violation of his daughter! A violation however is committed, and proved against the manager by a host of witnesses, who declare that they were posted as watchmen at the door while the crime was perpetrated; and would your Lordships believe it—the omission of this proof, the horrible fact that persons were posted as watchmen, is impudently charged upon those who made allusion to this case also on a former occasion in public, as a culpable suppression of evidence which would have overturned the case!



Upon this, and upon all the cases hitherto cited, no decision of the fiscal is recorded. But as an introduction to a few of those cases upon which there has been a decision, his Lordship said he would next advert to one connected with the last mentioned in some degree, upon which it seems the fiscal had expressed an opinion. It would be found in page 137. It was the case of a negro, Michael, who had been punished on suspicion of a robbery—goods very similar to those stolen were afterwards found on the person of another individual; Michael protests his innocence, and complains to the manager of his unjust flogging—the manager tells him to hold his tongue, or he shall be put in the stocks; he then complains to the master, and he it observed (*this is the same master who owned Brutus, the same plantation, and for aught we know to the contrary, the same profligate manager*), the master, Mr. Kenny, says the unjust flogging was not his fault—it was the manager's; he finally complains to the fiscal for redress, and here of course obtains it. But what is the redress? The manager is *reprimanded* for punishing a slave on such slight suspicion, and Michael gets no redress *because his innocence is not proved*. In England, happily, it is necessary to *prove guilt—innocence is presumed*; but in the West Indies the rules of justice seem to be reversed. It is to be lamented that we have no information relative to the decisions of the fiscal in any of the cases cited except the last; but luckily we find some other cases on which decision has been recorded, and from the nature of them we may form some conjecture of the *weight of punishment* inflicted upon the monsters whose crimes have been represented in the papers before us. First, there is a case, (page 124,) a complaint of fifteen slaves against their master, who had treated them with the greatest cruelty—forced them to work on Sundays, and robbed them of their ducks, fowls, &c. all this was proved before the fiscal—and what was his decision? *awful instance of retributive justice!* The master is absolutely required to make restitution of the stolen property or its value, and as a terrific example to all other masters of slaves, he is *threatened that upon a repetition of his offence he shall be criminally prosecuted*. The second decided case I will quote is in page 92. Mark, a negro, is proved to have been *illegally flogged*. What is the consequence? the manager is *reproved* for three *successive floggings!* The third case decided upon is in page 131. Felix complains of the debauched conduct of the manager generally, and especially with respect to his own wife. The case is inquired into by the fiscal, and it appeared that Felix had not completed his task when he came to complain. The case is proved against the manager, who the fiscal remarks had evidently taken improper liberties with the women on the estate—and what is the consequence? Their Lordships could not believe it if it were not on record in this official document. *Felix, not the adulterous manager, but Felix, the complainant, is ordered to be flogged, and the manager is reprimanded!*—The fourth case was one in page 100. Lambert, a sick negro, complains he could obtain no medicine, and was forced to work night and day; nothing appears in contradiction of his testimony, and he is flogged—why we do not know, but here is the *DECISION*. Again, page 93, 5th case. Michael, an old man, complains of overwork, and it is decided that he shall receive

seventy-five *lashes*. Sixth and lastly, page 137, Ness is ordered to work on Sundays; he does not irresistibly refuse, but complains to the constituted authority. He is, for so doing, punished by the fiscal, not because his tale is untrue, for it appears that although Ness is flogged, the *manager is warned by the fiscal of the ILLEGALITY* of working slaves on a Sunday. From these six decided cases we may draw something like a reasonable inference of the mode in which those other cases were decided, of which we have no information as to the result. In England, when men of education and of superior rank in life are proved to have violated the law, they usually hear from the judge who tries them, that they deserve, from having superior knowledge of their duty, the more signal punishment—and it is notorious that they generally receive it; but in the West Indies, as it has been before observed, the rules of justice and equity are directly reversed. His Lordship then proceeded to point out the inconsistencies, amounting, as he thought, to misrepresentation on the part of Mr. Dwarris, employed by his Majesty's ministers to inquire into and report upon the civil and criminal jurisdiction in the West Indies. In pages 14 and 15, said his Lordship, the Commissioner tells us, that cruel masters were certainly heard of sometimes; he believes he heard of *three such instances in twelve islands!* He says, "the poor slave left to himself is generally contented and happy."—"A little more time and a little less work form the narrow boundary of his wants and wishes."—"He is in the enjoyment of domestic comfort, capable of acquiring comparative wealth, and wearing an *air of independence*, quite *INEXPLICABLE* to those who have never had an opportunity of observing how manners and opinions can control laws." He then speaks of the paucity of crimes and the absence of want. Now really, Lord S. observed, I did not expect to find in page 62, of the same report, that "in this island," speaking of Barbadoes, "slaves are without legal protection or redress for personal injuries." Murder is a capital crime, but "there is no other legislative provision to restrain the absolute power of the master over the slave, or of inflicting punishment upon the owners or OTHERS, in case of mutilation, dismemberment, or cruel treatment."—Here, said Lord S. is a condition in which men may be happy and contented! Mr. Dwarris adds, "A slave who is or thinks himself aggrieved, *looks in vain in this island for a proper quarter in which to prefer his complaint.—He can no where be received!*" The Commissioner surely could not mean the slaves were contented and happy in Barbadoes! Did he mean in Grenada? He particularly speaks in page 16 of the high reputation of Grenada for the humanity of her laws; then in page 66 he tells us that slave evidence can not be received, and to prove the *HUMANITY* of the Grenada law more particularly, he tells us in page 95, that harbourers of felons are to suffer death; in page 96, that any slaves *personally insulting, or in any measure contemptuously treating any white or free person, shall be punished for every such offence at the discretion of any one justice of the peace, not to extend to life or limb*. The happy condition of the slave could hardly have had reference to Grenada. But where is the happy and independent-looking slave? is he in St. Vincent's? Here the Commissioner tells us in page 66, "that there was a *very affecting case, in*

which the dying declaration of a black woman, a SLAVE MURDERED under very PECULIAR CIRCUMSTANCES, was, in consequence of the exclusion of slave evidence, rejected, and an ACQUITTAL rendered necessary." "A little more time and a little less work form the narrow boundary of the slave's wants and wishes," and "he wears an air of independence QUITE INEXPLICABLE to those who have never had an opportunity of observing how manners and opinion can control laws." Now this statement of Mr. Dwarris, if correct, would still appear a little INEXPLICABLE, especially if he meant to refer to Barbadoes, or to Grenada, or St. Vincent's. Did he then mean to refer us to Tobago?—Here perhaps we who do know how manners and opinions can control laws, shall find the case quite satisfactorily explained. In page 89, Mr. Dwarris gives us the evidence of the provost marshal, I think, who states, "a manager to Windward sent all the overseers, all white and free persons, out of the way—he then gave a negro 150 lashes. The negro was brought, IN A STATE OF WHICH HE MIGHT HAVE DIED"—(how very cautiously worded is this by the worthy provost marshal.) "IN A STATE OF WHICH HE MIGHT HAVE DIED, to us the sitting magistrates. We had no means of proving it—and upon this, proposed a bill, either to admit slave evidence, or make the accused purge himself on oath. The bill was not approved.—It is a very COMMON thing," adds the justice of peace, "when they wish to be cruel, to send all the free people out of the way—I HAVE KNOWN MANY SUCH CASES." Still, be it remembered, the commissioner of inquiry tells us, although he heard this testimony, and furnishes us with it, that he only heard of three cases of cruelty in twelve islands. Really this is quite INEXPLICABLE. Then as to paucity of crimes, spoken of in page 16, we have to oppose the testimony of the senior justice of peace in Barbadoes, that he has had 2500 complaints before him, breaches of the peace and misdemeanors, in something more than a twelvemonth! I will, said Lord S. trouble your Lordships with no more of these glaring inconsistencies. I am confident that Mr. Dwarris did not mean to mislead or to deceive, and if he did not, how much must slave-ownership have obscured his faculties! I think, my Lords, I have conclusively now made out the blind and ill-advised resistance of the colonial legislatures, the apathy and the partiality of those who administer the laws, and lastly the inconsistency of the commissioner of inquiry. I have now only to refer, for confirmation of my own opinion, to that expressed by some persons high in authority in the Colonies, and quoted in Mr. Dwarris's report. It does not distinctly appear in page 17, whether an attorney-general, or Mr. Dwarris himself, speaks of the Guardian Act, when he says "the magistrates in the one case and the guardians in the other are themselves owners of estates and slaves, who would resist the intrusion of a stranger upon their own grounds, and therefore will not set an example of interference with the property of others." Page 18. The fault in these cases, it appears to me, is not in the law or the lawgiver, still less is there any mala fides, any deliberate fraud and designed evasion. What is wanting, I conceive, is a DUE ADMINISTRATION—WHICH CAN ONLY BE BY INDIFFERENT PERSONS;; and this conclusion I apprehend will be fully established, and the principles upon

which it depends developed clearly, as the report proceeds. In page 98, his Excellency the Governor of Grenada observes, "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* and *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 on estates under their management?" After the citation of these opinions, I feel, said Lord S. that it would be an unwarrantable waste of your Lordships' time if I were to add another argument in support of the motion which I am about to submit. It is not in our power to do much for the unhappy people whose cause I advocate, but I trust I shall have your Lordships' aid in doing the little that we can. Before I sit down, however, I cannot forbear remarking how sensible I am of the consequences entailed on every one who steps forward to ameliorate in any, even the smallest degree, the condition of the unfortunate slave. In the front rank of these consequences I foresee the sarcastic complaints of the Noble Lord opposite to me, (Lord Dudley), but by him I am sure nothing will be offered which it would be unbecoming in a gentleman to offer, or in a gentleman patiently to receive. From another quarter I am aware that the grossest abuse is to be expected—but my Lords, so long as I draw breath, I will do the best in my power to excite that public feeling through the means of which the extinction of Slavery is to be accomplished. I wish not to excite clamour, but resolution of purpose. To those whose efforts to suppress feeling on this subject are notorious, I shall make no further allusion than to say, in contemplating the consequences of my efforts this day, they are the last and least in my consideration. I now move that an address be presented to His Majesty, praying that in future he will be pleased to appoint to the offices of governor, chief justice, attorney-general, fiscal, guardian, and religious instructor, in the West Indies, only such persons as are not owners of, and have no reversionary or other interest in slaves.

EARL BATHURST replied to the observations of the Noble Lord, and concluded by moving the order of the day. After a few words from LORD ELLENBOROUGH, LORD DUDLEY and WARD, and LORD CALTHORPE, LORD SUFFIELD withdrew his motion.

#### PUBLIC MEETING AT LIVERPOOL.

On Monday, the 24th of April, a numerous and respectable Meeting was held in the Music Hall, Liverpool, pursuant to advertisement, to consider the propriety of Petitioning Parliament for the Amelioration and final Abolition of Negro Slavery. JAMES CROPPER, Esq. the well-known and able advocate of the cause of Emancipation, was unanimously called to the chair, and having stated the object of the Meeting, a letter from Wm. Roscoe, Esq. was read, in which that gentleman stated his hearty concurrence in the objects of the Meeting, and his regret that the state of his health was such as to prevent his attending.

The Chairman then rose and said,

Amongst all the evils with which mankind are afflicted, there is none

greater than to be placed in the situation of our West Indian slaves, and, happily, there is no evil, for the removal of which the means appointed by an all-wise and beneficent Creator may be more distinctly seen. He has made it the interest of every one to do right; he has made it the interest of man to employ the labour of free men rather than the labour of slaves, although there are circumstances and situations under which Slavery may still be continued with profit. These are, a fertile soil which produces great crops with little labour, and a scanty population; when, although labour may be of the most expensive sort, a profit may be made: but a beneficent Creator has decreed, that where land is cultivated by the hand of a slave, that land shall deteriorate, and become barren. I am not speaking of any *miraculous* interposition of Divine Providence, for the operation of this principle can be easily seen and understood; our own soils would become barren, if they were constantly cultivated with the *same* crop; but, happily, the people of England are not slaves; they live in a manner which requires the introduction of cattle, and green crops. Slaves, on the contrary, are not fed on beef and mutton, nor are they clothed (except in a very small degree) with the produce of the cattle. Deterioration of soil is not peculiar to a state of Slavery; wherever man exists in a state of misery and oppression the same thing takes place. When the fertility of the soil is thus destroyed, better management and greater economy become necessary; and in order to make cultivation profitable, man must be restored from the situation of a brute, to which, as a slave, he had been degraded, and raised towards that condition in which his Creator had made him. The energies of the mind, which had been sunk and degraded, must again be called forth to assist and direct the energies of the body: better treatment ensues, and the consequence of that better treatment is an increase in the slave population; and this increase of population puts an end to Slavery; for what inducement could any man have to hold men in slavery in Ireland, where he can have the labour of a man for any time he pleases for the smallest sum which can maintain him? The effects of this contrast are to be seen in Demerara and the Bahama Islands; the one the most fertile, and the other the most unproductive of our Colonies. In the former, the population decreases at about the rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, per annum; and in the latter it increases at nearly the same rate. If the slaves in Demerara were to be so treated as to increase at the rate they are doing in the Bahamas, the population now about 80,000, would be increased in fifty years to 240,000; whilst, at the rate they are now reducing, they would, in fifty years, be only 20,000. Thus are the planters pursuing a system more certainly destructive to their property than the wildest schemes attributed to the abolitionists. Those fine and fertile soils must, in a while, be rendered useless for want of population. In many of our smaller islands they have a population adequate to their present wants; if these increase, how are they to make them of value but by giving them more instruction? by teaching them to make many things which are now imported from the mother country; by following the example of the Colonies of Spain and Portugal, where manumissions have been encouraged by law. There they clay or refine their sugars; they make

their packages for their cotton and sugar; but in these islands, as the increase proceeded, they would become of no value as slaves, and their masters would be ready to give them up just when their exertions to increase their value for their own profit had fitted them for freedom, and when they would emigrate as free labourers in search of employment. It may, however, be said, that if the slaves become worth nothing, then the master's property is gone. Quite the contrary, however, is the fact. Land is worth nothing without people, and as the number of the people increases, the value of the land increases; it is, therefore, only a transfer of value from the slaves to the land. This is strikingly exemplified in the United States: in the State of Maryland, inferior land, more distant from a market, and cultivated by free men, sells for more than double the price of better land in a better situation, under the cultivation of slaves. Instead of suffering any loss by the change, the *slave-owner* becomes a *land-owner*; instead of the uncertain tenure of a property in the lives of his fellow men, worth at most fifteen or sixteen years' purchase, he would have an income from land which would sell for at least 50 per cent. more. Here we cannot but admire the beautiful order which has been established in the nature of things, by which this glorious change might be effected with the greatest benefit to all parties; but the gracious designs of an all-bounteous God may be obstructed by the acts of men. This system would have been changed, and Slavery would have had no existence in many of our Colonies, if it had not been supported by the enormous pecuniary sacrifices made by the people of this country in the shape of bounties and protections. For what are these bounties and protections given? They are either given for the support of a system which would fall if they were removed, or they are absolutely thrown away without any object whatever. With respect to the successful competition of free labour and its effects on Slavery, it is a remarkable fact, that just about the time when the slave trade controversy commenced, the first small supplies of indigo, the effects of British skill and capital in the free labour of India, were arriving from the East; within a very few years the state of South Carolina, where indigo was then extensively cultivated, shut its ports against the further importation of slaves, most probably because they had no further occasion for them. From Caracas our largest supplies of indigo were formerly received. When Baron Humboldt travelled in that country, he states that he found the wages of labour lower there than in France; a certain indication that Slavery was fast approaching towards its end; and there can be no reasonable doubt that the cultivation of indigo by free labour in the East has contributed to that state of things, by which Slavery, in those countries, is to expire with the present generation; and, with respect to the slave trade, if the substitution of free labour had only been one-fourth, instead of at least nine-tenths as it has been, it is plain they could require no more slaves for the cultivation of this article, and hence, as far as indigo was concerned, an end has long since been put to the slave trade.—It will be said by some, that you may have relieved the slaves in the west, and have removed the scourge of the slave trade from Africa; but have you not merely transferred the oppression to the backs of the poor Hindoos in the east? So much the reverse has been

the case, that the effects of the change are scarcely less gratifying in the east than they are in the west. By a gentleman who resided many years in India, and who was well acquainted with the district where indigo is most extensively cultivated, I am informed that a most happy change has taken place in the condition of the natives; they apply to the Europeans resident among them for information as to European discoveries in science; they apply to them to arbitrate their disputes, instead of going to law or appealing to force; and, lastly, for advice and medicine in troubles and sickness. Their prejudices will rapidly give way to the temporal advantages they are reaping from European intercourse, and thus will the way be opened for the introduction of knowledge of far greater importance. To revert again to our efforts to put an end to these evils by laws and by treaties: suppose for a moment we had succeeded in inducing France, Spain, and Portugal to declare the slave trade piracy; but suppose, too, that we had allowed our bounties and protections to remain, it is probable the supplies of sugar to Europe would, for a time at least, have lessened, and the prices would have advanced,—the temptation for smuggling into our own islands might then have been too strong for resistance. We might, indeed, have caught some of these pirates, whom our bounties had been, in part, the means of hiring to the commission of the crime, and have hung them when they had done it: but what must have been our reflections on pursuing this course? Should we not have rejoiced to find there was a more certain, more effectual, and bloodless course: a course accordant with the mild and peaceable principles of Christianity; a course which would be the means of raising from bondage the whole of the 5,600,000 African in the western world, whilst British laws, however effectual, could only reach to the 700,000 or 800,000 in our own dominions.—Commerce has, in the times of ignorance and barbarism, been the cause of much misery, when the inhabitants of the west were destroyed, and those countries re-peopled through the ravages of the slave trade on the African coast. Let us now hope that, under more enlarged and enlightened views, it may be one means, though a secondary one, of preparing the way for the approach of that day when “the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea.”

Several Clergymen and Gentlemen then eloquently addressed the Meeting, and moved and seconded the various resolutions which were proposed. Petitions to both Houses of Parliament were unanimously resolved on, which have since been numerous and respectably signed, and presented.

It is gratifying to be able to record a Meeting of this kind in Liverpool, the existence of the commercial prosperity of which was a few years ago, deemed by many to depend on the traffic in slaves.

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*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.*

London, 18, Aldermanbury, June 30, 1826.

No. 13.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

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The "ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER" will be ready for delivery on the first day of every month. Copies will be forwarded, at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent.

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### REPORT OF THE BISHOPS OF JAMAICA AND BARBADOES ON THE STATE OF THEIR RESPECTIVE DIOCESES.

In one of the communications lately made to Parliament by His Majesty, is contained a Report from the Bishops of Jamaica and Barbadoes, to Lord Bathurst, a brief abstract of which may not prove uninteresting to our readers.

#### I.—REPORT OF THE BISHOP OF JAMAICA.

"The general result," his Lordship observes, in a letter, dated 16th September, 1815, of his and his Archdeacon's observations, "is a hearty desire, on the part of the proprietors, and their representatives, cheerfully to promote, as far as their limited means will allow, any measures which I have thought it my duty to suggest for the benefit of the Church. Public meetings have been called in many parishes, and private subscriptions entered into to promote the same desirable object."

"With respect to the instruction of the negroes," he adds, "I have proposed, by way of experiment, that the children of three or four contiguous estates should, with the consent of the proprietors, be assembled twice in the week, at some given point most convenient for all, there to receive oral instruction from any clergyman or catechist properly licensed. From the best consideration I can give the subject, and from experience, I know of no method, in the present state of public opinion here, liable to so few objections, or better calculated, from its probable effects on the adults, to lay the foundation of permanent good."

In this communication, two points are particularly noticed by the Bishop—what has been done for the benefit of the church, and what has been done for the instruction of the negroes.—On the first point, something appears to have been done. The Bishop expresses great satisfaction in being able to announce that a bill, for placing fully and



*effectually*, in his hands, the ecclesiastical regimen over the clergy, had passed into a law. By this act, he adds, the clergy are exempted from the interference of parish vestries, and the minimum of their salaries is raised to 600*l.* currency per annum,

On the second point, the *instruction of the negroes*, instead of equally effective measures, we have only a very moderate *proposal* on the part of the Bishop, and that only by way of *experiment*. And, to avoid any collision with *the present state of public opinion* in Jamaica, his Lordship limits this proposal to the communication to the slaves of *ORAL* instruction only, intimating clearly that the general state of feeling among the planters is such as to render it unadvisable to teach the negroes to read. How long it may be before even this modest and measured proposal is carried into effect, it were rash to decide. If the process, which the Bishop states to be expedient, should be pursued, some considerable time must elapse before even the *oral* instruction which he ventures to hint at shall be communicated; and the whole existing generation may have passed away before public opinion is so improved as to admit of any thing beyond it. Nay, in a letter, dated Oct. 17, 1825, the Bishop tells Lord Bathurst, that he feels *convinced* "that the erection of additional places of worship must *precede every other* method of instruction." "Schools will naturally follow in the train of churches, and the *prejudices against education* must be *gradually* removed by the effects of regular attendance on the house of God."

What a dark and discouraging prospect does this report of the Bishop hold out to us! Before the negroes can be educated churches must be built; and the prejudices against education must then be *gradually* removed by the preaching which is to take place in those churches, the salutary effect of which preaching is to depend on a regular attendance in the house of God. He does not explicitly state who the parties are who entertain the prejudices which it will require this lengthened and gradual course of public teaching to encounter and remove. We presume they are the planters, and not the slaves. But, in what way is the Bishop to ensure the regular attendance of the planters in his churches: even should the additional churches he recommends be built? If their prejudices be so strong, as they now are, against the end which he proposes, *viz.* the education of the slaves, will they not be equally set against the means by which he proposes to attain that obnoxious end? Of this, at least, we may be well assured, that if the negroes are not to be educated until the requisite places of worship are first built, and then not until the prejudices of the planters against education are removed by the lessons taught them there, we need not indulge a very sanguine hope of any early improvement among them.

We certainly cannot see with the Bishop, that by any necessary connection of cause and effect, the erection of churches "*must precede every other* method of instruction." For our own part, we should have thought, that the negroes *might* be orally instructed, and *might* even be taught to read, though not a single additional place of worship were built. We equally question the correctness of the Bishop's reasoning, when he says, that "*Schools will naturally follow in the train of*

*churches.*" The fact, at least, is against him. Churches have existed in Jamaica for 150 years, and not one negro school has hitherto been erected.

But what, we would ask, in the name of common sense, is to prevent schools from being erected, and children from being taught, before, as well as after, churches are built, or contemporaneously with them? The Bishop himself, if he would speak out, might tell us—he has indeed, already told us so, by implication)—Nothing but the inveterate prejudices of the planters *against education*, that is against the improvement of the negro mind. While the Bishop so far defers to those prejudices, as thus to postpone the work of education, in the expectation of certain vague and hopeless contingencies, he may rest assured, he will continue to meet with that complaisance, on the part of the planters, which has given him so much satisfaction, and which has led them so heartily to promote his measures for *the benefit of the church*. They will even subscribe, and give their money for such a purpose, as freely as they now contribute it, notwithstanding *their limited means*, to the secret service-fund of the West Indian Committee at home, or to that for rewarding the labours of Mr. Macqueen;\* provided the Bishop will be content to postpone the work of educating the negroes until additional churches have been built, until schools have followed those churches, and until the planters have been gradually preached out of their prejudices against the education of their slaves.

The Bishop proposes his limited plan of instruction as an *experiment*; and by way of recommending it to adoption, observes, that "from the best consideration he can give the subject, and from *experience*," he knows no method, "in the present state of public opinion, liable to so few objections, or better calculated from its probable effects on the adults, to lay the foundation of permanent good." Where he can have obtained any *experience* of the efficacy of such a plan, we know not.—When he says it is liable to few objections, he must mean, of course, on the part of the planters; and this may be very true, for without doubt, it is as inefficient a plan as even they could desire or hope for. But still, we do not very well comprehend how this plan, which is a plan for bringing together *children* for oral instruction, is to operate on the *adults*, and, through its effects on them, to lay a foundation for permanent good.

The Bishop, in his solicitude to accredit the efforts of the planters of Jamaica for the improvement of their slaves, has transmitted to Lord Bathurst what he seems to think a document of some importance. It contains the answers of the overseer of an estate, called Golden Grove, in the parish of St. Thomas in the East, the property of Mr. Chaloner Archdeckne, to certain questions put to him by the Bishop respecting the treatment of the slaves under his charge. The answers of this overseer (who is in fact a witness in his own cause) are evidently, and very naturally framed in such a manner, as to produce what he conceives will be a favourable impression of his own conduct, and of the comfort

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\* The assembly of Jamaica voted a sum of 3000*l.* to this gentleman, in their last session.

and happiness of the slaves he governs; and, this is clearly the impression made upon the Bishop. These answers, however, disclose some facts which when duly weighed ought to have a very different tendency, and which will be found to throw light on some of the difficulties the Bishop experiences in promoting education among the slaves. This overseer describes the "men" and the "women" as employed in cutting canes, digging cane-holes, and doing the hard work of the estate; the "boys" and the "girls" as employed in planting canes, &c.; the "children" as employed in weeding the young canes, and doing other light work; and the *younger children*, just old enough to be taken from the nurseries, as employed in picking and carrying hog-meat, till they are big enough to be put into the gang above them. The first two gangs are followed by drivers, the last two by driveresses. Now does not this detail give a picture of continuous and compulsory labour, reaching from the full grown men and women to mere children, which sufficiently accounts for the reluctance of the planters to incur that waste of precious time which education must cause? If the children are in school, the weeding of the canes, and the picking of hog-meat, must of course be suspended while they are there.

But this overseer tells us that in the administration of punishment on this estate the whip is not now used for females, but only confinement in the stocks, or switches; for switches, he says, do not *lacerate* the skin; implying of course, that the cart-whip *does* lacerate the skin. And yet, while he allows that the switch answers every purpose of work and discipline with the women, though they, the women, "are always more refractory and difficult to manage than the men;"—yet he tells us, in the same breath, that the men continue to be punished with this lacerating whip. We should like to know whether these switches are the ebony bushes, which, though they do not lacerate the skin, yet make the blood to start at every stroke.

This overseer further tells us, that "the treatment of the slaves is greatly improved, less labour is exacted from them, they have larger allowances than formerly, more time to cultivate their provisions, and much less punishment;" and "though much certainly remains to be done," yet a stricter attention is paid "to their comfort and happiness." Such has been precisely the language to which our ears have been accustomed, from the commencement of the slave trade controversy to the present hour. There has never been any present tense for cruelty in the statements of the planters and their friends. They will admit the justice of the charges formerly made against the system, but that system they affirm is now perfection itself. Now let it not be forgotten, that these charges were formerly repelled as vehemently and indignantly as they are repelled by the present race of planters, and, it may be justly added, with the same truth. In opposition to this overseer, we assert as an undeniable fact, that since the year 1816, there has been no beneficial alteration in the laws of Jamaica affecting the slaves, for the purpose either of ensuring to them better treatment, or larger allowances; or for abridging their hours of labour *in the field*, which continue by law from five in the morning to seven at night, exclusive of grass-gathering, the night work of crop, &c. &c.; or for

increasing the time for cultivating their provision grounds, which is still only twenty-six days in the year besides Sunday. And when we contemplate the universality and continuity of labour on this picked and selected plantation of Golden Grove;—how from earliest infancy the slaves are bound down to incessant drudgery,—can we wonder that the colonial bondsman should grow up in a resemblance rather to the brute than the human animal? And yet it must be admitted, that in St. Thomas in the East, from which this example is selected, the slaves have possessed for years very peculiar advantages. They have had the benefit of much faithful Christian instruction, both from the excellent rector of the parish, and his assistant, and also from the Methodist Missionaries; and they are therefore greatly advanced beyond their fellows. But after all, what a picture of toil and degradation does even this plantation exhibit! What must it be under masters less humane than Mr. Chaloner Archdeackne, and in those parishes of which the Bishop tells us, “The parishes in the interior are absolutely without the semblance of the forms of religious worship?”

But what is above all remarkable in this document, on which the Bishop lays so much stress, is the slight manner in which the progress of population is adverted to. We have been told by Viscount Dudley, (himself a Jamaica planter,) that the infallible test of the good and humane treatment of the slaves, is the increase of population. Now what has it been on Golden Grove, this selected instance of good and humane treatment? In March, 1820, the slaves on that estate amounted to 717. In March, 1823, they amounted only to 677; being a decrease, in three years, of forty, or nearly two per cent. per annum. Even if we deduct a certain proportion of the thirty-two, who are said to have fallen victims to the measles, we shall here have still a decrease for which to account; while in the United States, slaves increase at the rate of two and a half per cent., and almost as rapidly even in the Bahamas, where no sugar is cultivated as in Jamaica. Let us not deceive ourselves. It is not to any temporary cause, as the measles, to which this perpetual waste of the lives of the wretched negroes is to be ascribed, but to incessant and excessive labour. The women equally with the men perform all the hard toil of the estate, besides losing their rest in crop time. The boys and girls labour according to their strength. The children are made to stoop down all day, weeding canes, or performing similar work. And the very infants, when able to run about, are placed under a driveress, and have their tasks assigned them. Human life in such a climate cannot possibly increase under such a continuity of compulsory labour, from morning to night, and from infancy to age.

Besides this report of the overseer of Golden Grove, from which so much is to be learnt, we are also favoured with a report from the Rev. H. Beams, respecting the parish of St. James, in Jamaica. This gentleman resides on Montpelier, an estate of Mr. Charles Ellis, now Lord Seaford. He gives no account of any attempt which has been made to teach the children to read; only, once a week, on Sunday morning, (the children, we presume, being, like those of Golden Grove, in the cane-holes on other mornings,) some attend to be taught *orally* the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the ten Commandments. Mr. Beams labours

hard to establish a difference in natural capacity between the children of African and of Creole slaves: holding that the negroes improve in intellect and capacity, and perhaps in moral habits, (such are the happy fruits of slavery and the cart whip, or its substitute, the ebony bush!) as they diverge from the African stock. Mr. Beams tells also some absurd stories about the modes in which the negroes procure abortion, though it is plain he can know nothing about the matter; indeed, he admits that he speaks from the information of others. He proposes likewise some absurd plans, which would go to postpone almost indefinitely, the work of negro instruction. "Polygamy is a vice to which *slaves*," Mr. Beams further tells us, "are attached; but," he adds, "it is found chiefly among the men." Has it ever been found, then, among the women?

A still more important document, however, than the report of Mr. Beams, is a tabular statement, by the Bishop himself, of the ecclesiastical condition of his diocese. We there find that, for the accommodation of a population which, including all classes, amounts to about 400,000, there are churches and chapels belonging to the establishment capable of containing only about 11,500 individuals. This is exclusive of Baptist, Methodist, and Moravian meeting-houses. The schools for the education of free persons contain nearly 700 scholars; being about one in eighty or ninety of the free population. The bishop does not state that there are any schools *for the slaves*.

Such is the Bishop of Jamaica's ecclesiastical account of his diocese.

## II.—REPORT OF THE BISHOP OF BARBADOES.

The Bishop of Barbadoes makes a report, if possible, still more discouraging than that of his brother bishop. He was received, indeed, in the different islands of his diocese with great respect, and with assurances of a readiness to co-operate with him on the part of the planters: some of whom have explicitly stated, that they hail his appointment as "a happy means of defeating the designs and refuting the calumnies of their self-interested enemies." The planters of Barbadoes assure his Lordship, that they have "the most sincere desire to afford the blessings of religious instruction to their slaves;" though, weighed down as they are, they cannot "consent to such a subtraction of labour from the cultivation of their estates, as would lead to a material reduction of income." They cannot, that is to say, spare the children from the cane-field and the hog-meat gang. Accordingly we find, from the parochial returns sent to the Bishop, that the whole of the religious instruction given, or likely to be given, to the slaves in Barbadoes, consists in this—that on about half of the estates in the island, either a clergyman or catechist visits the estate once a month, or once a fortnight; or an overseer or book-keeper acts as his substitute, for the purpose of teaching the children to repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the ten Commandments. We have also such remarks as the following respecting particular estates:—"The negroes *have been* lectured by the Rector."—"It is *expected* the white servants give *daily* instruction to the children."—"These *have been* attended by a Moravian

missionary."—"These *have been* attended by a Methodist missionary." Now, as we know that no Methodist missionary has appeared in the island of Barbadoes since Shrewsbury's expulsion in 1823, this mode of expression throws the whole of the Bishop's statement into great doubt and ambiguity. Does he mean to say, that some three or four years ago the Rector gave a lecture to the negroes, on a particular estate, the savour of which, like the attendance of the Methodist missionary, has endured ever since? Again, when the report says, "it is *expected* the white servants give daily instruction to the children," what are we to understand by this statement? The extent of instruction, however, even where any instruction at all is given, is, for the most part, confined to the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Commandments, once a month, or once a fortnight, by the overseer, or by a clergyman. On some there is an occasional lecture, and the Catechism. Only on one estate do the young negroes appear to be taught to read, namely, Mr. Leacock's. The exception is most honourable to him.

The Clergyman of the parish of St. Lucy states his having opened a school in his parish; and the language he uses, would lead a common reader to infer that the slaves were admitted to it. "All children," he says, "are admitted into the school without distinction of rank, age, or sex." Yet it appears that the applications for admission come from the parents of the children that are admitted, and not from their masters, as must be the case if they were slaves—a proof that the persons admitted are not slaves, but free. Of the planters, all that is said is, that some of them have visited the school, and have been so much pleased with it, as to express a *wish* to adopt it. Why should these statements be involved in so much obscurity? Why should it not be explicitly stated, whether the children educated are slaves or free? The omission may be accidental, but the purpose that may be served by it is obvious.

The Bishop applies to Government for the following articles, viz:—Twelve churches, ten chapels, thirty parsonage-houses, nineteen school-houses, seventeen clergymen, and thirty catechists; and he says he has pressed most earnestly on the local legislatures, and on individual proprietors, the expediency of an increased number of places of worship, together with residences for the clergy, and schools for the religious instruction of the young. He does not say that his urgent recommendations have been complied with. In not one of the islands of his diocese has he stated that there is a single school for slaves, connected with the establishment, nor one even for free coloured persons, except in Barbadoes. There it is mentioned that there are six, though of their nature and objects, and of the number attending them, no explanation is given. We trust soon to receive a more gratifying account of the progress actually made in the work of instruction, than either of these reports exhibit.

Before we quit these reports, shall we do wrong in adverting to some of the gross misrepresentations, respecting the state of slavery in the West Indies, which they are calculated to expose? A large octavo volume has recently made its appearance in this country, entitled "A Practical View of the Present State of Slavery in the West Indies," &c. by Alexander Barclay, lately, and for twenty-one years, resident

in the West Indies. Among a variety of very palpable mis-statements, to which we may hereafter advert, he gives us the following favourable picture of negro improvement: (p. xxii.) "Twenty years ago, the churches were scarcely at all attended by the slaves; since then, the number of churches or places of worship, of one kind or other, has been more than doubled, in fact, nearly trebled; and yet, in the districts where I have had an opportunity of seeing them, they are fully attended, and principally by slaves." Now, the Bishop distinctly tells us, that in the whole island, there are not places of worship belonging to the established Church capable of containing more than eleven or twelve thousand individuals, the whole population being 400,000; and that "*the parishes in the interior are absolutely without the semblance of the forms of religious worship.*" The dissenting places of worship erected in the island have afforded some additional room to the slaves; but still, can any statements be substantially more at variance than those of Mr. Barclay and the Bishop?

Again Mr. Barclay affirms, that in Jamaica "Sunday is strictly, a day of rest." Yet it is the market-day throughout the island; and the very Slave-law now in force there states, that slaves are to be allowed twenty-six days in the year, *exclusive of Sundays*, for their provision grounds. Act of 1816, § 4.

The looseness with which similar statements are made by gentlemen who may be considered as having stronger claims on our confidence than Mr. Barclay, is worthy of particular notice. At the late Surrey election, one of the candidates, Mr. Pallmer, is reported to have said, that he had been the instrument of introducing within the pale of the Christian Church a thousand slaves, not nominally, but really. The statement, coming from that gentleman, surprised us not a little, because we can have no doubt whatever that it is altogether untrue; and that he has suffered himself to be deceived by his informant. Such an event as this occurring, in any one of the parishes where Mr. Pallmer's estates are situated, in which, until 1825, if even then, there had been little or no instruction, could not have escaped the notice of the Bishop, or of his eye, the Archdeacon. So desirous was his lordship of collecting every fact creditable to the planters, that in October last, in giving an account of the very parishes in which this great religious revolution must have taken place, if it took place at all, while he notices the fact, that on Halse-hall estate (belonging to Mr. De la Beche) a Methodist Missionary attended once a fortnight, he says not one word of Mr. Pallmer's thousand new and *real* converts to Christianity. We should be glad to have some more distinct specification of this most extraordinary transaction; time, place, circumstances, and means, clearly pointed out; for the facts, if true, deserve to be recorded in the most authentic form, and with all the requisite proof.

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*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.*

London, 18, Aldermanbury, July 31, 1826.

No. 14.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

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

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### ANTI-SLAVERY PETITIONS AND MOTIONS.

The number of Anti-slavery petitions which have been presented to the House of Commons in the last session amounts to 674. Several more would have been presented on the last day of the session had an opportunity been afforded. A like number was presented to the House of Peers. Many of these petitions conveyed the sentiments (almost always unanimous) of large county and other meetings, at which the whole subject of Colonial Slavery was fully and freely discussed; and all of them were numerously subscribed by persons of every class. The petition from London contained, 72,000 signatures; that from Manchester, 41,000; that from Glasgow, 38,000; that from Edinburgh, 17,000; that from the county of Norfolk, 38,000; and from other places in a like proportion.

Various attempts have been made to detract from the weight due to these petitions as a fair expression of the public feeling on the subject of slavery, but with no success. They could not justly be said to *precede* inquiry, for they followed three years of active discussion, during which no one can truly reproach the friends of slavery with having been inert in pleading their own cause, or in counteracting the efforts of their opponents. The merits of the great question at issue have been fully canvassed; and the effect of its thorough exposure has indubitably been a growing, and it may even be said an almost universal conviction, on the part of the public, that the slavery which prevails in our colonies is opposed to the spirit of our holy religion, to the genius of the British Constitution, to the principles of humanity and justice, and to every sound view even of our commercial interests.

It has been alleged indeed that great pains were taken by the Committee in London to excite the public feeling, and that much unfair artifice was employed by them to get up petitions from all parts of the country; while the identity in their language and structure sufficiently shewed them to have been formed on some common model which had been supplied from the Anti-Slavery Office.



In reply to these charges it may be sufficient to state, that all the publications circulated by the Society are easily accessible to its bitterest enemies, who may be challenged to cite a single passage therein contained which is opposed to fair dealing, or which is chargeable with undue excitement. If they can find such a passage, let them produce it, that the public may judge between the parties. Such an enquiry, it may be said with confidence, will prove most clearly that the Society has not transgressed the limits of truth and soberness, either in its appeals to the country, or in the statements on which those appeals were founded. Of course, the Society cannot be made responsible for any rash or exaggerated statements of individual writers or orators, who may have espoused their cause.

With respect to the charge of identity in the language of the petitions, the refutation is equally easy. Of the 674 petitions presented to the House of Commons, 376 have been printed in the Appendix to the votes of that house. A very cursory inspection of them will prove, that on no occasion have so many petitions, relating to one subject, and uniting in the same general prayer, manifested so clearly that they spoke the unprompted and spontaneous feelings of the petitioners, and that they were not servilely copied from any model. And, in point of fact, no such model was supplied. So far indeed is this charge from being true, that it might be shewn that not a few of the petitions contain statements in which the London Committee would not have concurred. Some of them, for example, express their satisfaction (a satisfaction certainly in which the Committee did not participate) with the measures that had been adopted in Demerara for ameliorating the condition of the slaves, and with the provisions generally made for their religious instruction; while many of them omit all mention of the impolitic restrictions in favour of Slave culture, or of that enormous injustice by which the people of this country are made to contribute, in bounties and protecting duties, to the maintenance of a system which they detest and reprobate.

From the commencement of the Slave Trade controversy, it has been the uniform practice of the West Indians to endeavour to depreciate both the number and the value of the petitions presented to parliament on the subject. In like manner the journals which now support Slavery have been anxious to represent those presented in the last session, as small in number and identical in language. One journal speaks slightingly of them as amounting only to 45; and this false statement is copied into the colonial newspapers as if it were true, and is made a ground for encouraging the Planters in their resistance to Government. This fact, however, only evinces more clearly the impression of the importance of those petitions, and the apprehension of their effect, which are entertained by the Colonists.

These common and unworthy artifices of the avowed advocates of Slavery may well be disregarded. We deem it incumbent upon us, however, to advert at greater length to objections coming from another and a more respectable quarter,—not from a friend, but from an avowed opponent of Slavery, whose high official situation gives scarcely more weight to his observations, than they acquire from his splendid talents and commanding eloquence.

On the 20th of April last, a motion was made in the House of Commons by Mr. William Smith, the object of which was to urge on Parliament the expediency of placing the administration of the Colonial Slave Laws exclusively in the hands of men unconnected with Slave property. On this occasion Mr. Canning, advertng to the numerous petitions which had been presented to the House, and which he admitted to convey an unequivocal expression of the prevalent wish of the nation for the mitigation and extinction of Slavery, is reported to have thus spoken :—

“Such aid” (as it is alleged these petitions afford to the Government) “rather adds to our incumbrance than increases our power. What are our difficulties? On the one hand, overweening expectations of too sudden results;—hopes of wrong placed enthusiasm inculcating impracticable measures. On the other, alarms for property and life.—Resolutions at public meetings add to the enthusiasm of the enthusiasts, and, threatening those at a distance, make obstinacy more obstinate and apprehension more fearful. On one side enthusiasm is increased. On the other angry passions are aroused, and alarms are quickened; new opposition is engendered; new difficulties are created; old ones are aggravated, and obstacles multiplied. If the question now were whether this system should be upheld or not; if there were any lingering reluctance to acknowledge its enormities; if any attempt were made in this House to uphold the system, the object of bringing forward facts and cruelties to excite abhorrence and disgust would be just and necessary. But this is not the object to be obtained. No man upholds the system; all agree that it is necessary to amend it; and these facts are only brought forward to excite enthusiasm which requires controul, and which can lead to no practical good; while they excite in the colonies determined resistance which must be overcome before our purposes can be effected.”

The above passage is without doubt very forcibly and eloquently expressed. It is also well adapted to excite a prejudice against the abolitionists. It is not, however, too much to affirm, that it is neither accurate in its statements, nor sound in its anticipations.

In the first place, is it true—on the contrary, is it not the very reverse of truth, that, now, “no man upholds the system,” and that there is no longer “any lingering reluctance to acknowledge its enormities?” Or is it true, that the facts which serve to excite an abhorrence of slavery are brought forward by the abolitionists *only* for the reasons said to be assigned by Mr. Canning? Have they not of late been brought forward *only* or chiefly in self defence? The abolitionists have been charged again and again with the crime of calumniating slavery. This charge was renewed with great vehemence on the very evening on which Mr. Canning’s speech was delivered; and the mildness and humanity of the system were again and again affirmed. Is no reply to be made to such representations? And what reply can be so summary and effectual as a reference to facts that are matter both of public and authentic record, and of recent occurrence? “No man,” says Mr. Canning, “upholds the system;” there is no longer “any lingering reluctance to acknowledge its enormities.” Mr. Canning’s numerous and important avocations have doubtless prevented his knowing how little such an averment cor-

responds with the reality of the case. He cannot be aware that the whole of the West Indian periodical press, and a considerable part of that of Great Britain are regularly employed in attempting to *uphold* Slavery, to palliate, if not to deny its *enormities*, and, in some instances, to prove it to be a humane and beneficent institution. If he had read the Quarterly Review, or Blackwood's Magazine; of the pamphlets reported to be demi-official, which the last year has produced; or the voluminous reports framed by persons more or less connected with the Colonial department, which load the table of the House of Commons; all tending to the same point;—to abate the disgust and horror of Slavery, to retard its extinction, and to fritter away the pledges of Government and Parliament on that momentous subject, he would have somewhat qualified this allegation.

“No man upholds the system.” For what object then are large sums raised, by the West India Committee, on all West India produce imported into this country, of the appropriation of which no account is given? What mean also the thousands of pounds voted by West Indian Legislatures, or subscribed by West Indian communities, and lavished on writers whose claim arises from the dexterity with which they varnish the deformities of the West Indian System, and the virulence with which they blacken and revile its adversaries?

But, although Mr. Canning may have been unapprised of the extent and efficacy of all this combination of means (and we have only glanced at some of them), which are at work to “uphold the system” and to abate the feeling of its enormities, yet he must be cognizant of what passed within his hearing in the House of Commons. On the very night on which he is said to have uttered the words in question, no fewer than five or six West Indians rose in their places to charge the abolitionists, in strong but general terms, with misrepresentation, exaggeration, and falsehood. Against such charges how are the abolitionists to defend themselves; how are they to prove that they have not misled the public; how are they to vindicate their own character for fair dealing, except by not only referring to the latest colonial enactments, but by citing recent and authentic facts, facts which stand on the unexceptionable testimony of West Indian authority, as fully bearing out all that they have asserted of the cruelty and oppressiveness and undiminished malignity of the system?

Much more might be said on this subject did our limits allow of it; but we pass to another assertion contained in the above passage, which appears equally unfounded with that which has now been commented upon. The abolitionists are there charged with indulging “overweening expectations of too sudden results, and hopes of wrong placed enthusiasm;” and with “inculcating impracticable measures.”

We have not the slightest conception what those impracticable measures are to which Mr. Canning alludes. We have searched for them in vain in the speeches of Abolitionists in Parliament, and in the publications of the Anti-Slavery Society. In point of fact, the identical measures, originally recommended by Mr. Buxton, were those, which, with only one material exception, were adopted by Government, and recommended in his Majesty's name, by the Earl Bathurst, to the Colonial autho-

rities. The exception related to the emancipation of children born after a certain period. But even this point has not been brought forward in Parliament, the abolitionists having consented that, in furtherance of the well-known resolution of the 15th of May, 1823, those measures should be adopted in the first instance, on the expediency and beneficial tendency of which no difference of opinion existed between them and his Majesty's ministers. Those measures may be briefly stated to be,

1. To provide the means of religious instruction and Christian education for the slave population.

2. To put an end to markets and to labour on the Sunday, and to appropriate that day entirely to rest and recreation, and to religious worship and instruction; and instead of Sunday, which had hitherto been the day on which, in most of the Colonies, the slaves had cultivated their provision grounds, to allow them equivalent time on other days for that purpose.

3. To admit the testimony of slaves in courts of justice.

4. To legalize the marriages of slaves, and to protect them in the enjoyment of their connubial rights.

5. To protect the slaves by law in the acquisition and possession of property, and its transmission by bequest, or otherwise.

6. To remove all the existing obstructions to manumission, and to grant to the slave the power of redeeming himself, and his wife and children, at a fair appraisalment.

7. To prevent the separation of families by sale, or otherwise.

8. To prevent the seizure and sale of slaves detached from the estate or plantation to which they belong.

9. To restrain generally the power, and to prevent the abuse, of arbitrary punishment at the will of the master.

10. To abolish the degrading corporal punishment of females.

11. To abolish the use of the driving-whip in the field, either as an emblem of authority, or as a stimulus to labour.

12. To establish Savings' Banks for the use of slaves.

It had been previously intimated, that as soon as the requisite information could be obtained, means should be taken to reform the administration of justice in the Colonies.

Wherein then have the views of the abolitionists so differed from those of his Majesty's ministers, as to justify Mr. Canning in designating the former as visionary and impracticable, while the latter must, of course, be assumed to be judicious and practicable? For our own parts, we know of no such difference, and it is for those who prefer this charge to verify it by a specification, founded on some authentic exposition of the sentiments of those whom they impugn. A difference, it is true, has existed, not, however, as to the measures announced as to be immediately adopted, but as to the mode of carrying those measures into effect. Government proposed to submit them to the adoption or rejection of the Colonial authorities. The abolitionists, instructed by experience, could see nothing but disappointment, delay, and disaster, in committing the work of reform to their deliberation. They had learnt, from Mr. Canning himself, to distrust "the masters of slaves in what concerns legislation for Slavery;" and that "in the nature of absolute authority, in the relation

between master and slave, there is something 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."

Mr. CANNING, therefore, must have been greatly misinformed, if he were led to suppose that the object, either of the hundreds of thousands of petitioners who approached Parliament with their supplications on this subject during the last session; or of the Members of Parliament who, from time to time, agitated the question of Slavery in the House; was to inculcate *impracticable* measures, and not the very identical measures to which the resolutions of Parliament, and the instructions of Lord Bathurst had pledged the Government. They were anxious, indeed, that these measures should not continue to be frustrated by the resistance of the Colonial authorities. They were further anxious, that the just expectations of the people and Parliament of this country should not be eluded by the shew without the substance of reform. They saw, with regret, that an erroneous estimate had been formed of the dispositions of the Colonists. Their efforts, therefore, were directed to enlighten the Government and Parliament on this point, and to induce them to adopt the only practicable means of executing their own benevolent purposes, by clearly and authoritatively prescribing, in the case of all the Colonies, as in that of Trinidad, the course to be pursued. More than three years have already been sacrificed to the vain effort of obtaining the concurrence of the Colonies in any effective measures of reform. The threat which was thrown out in the last session may, we admit, produce a shew of compliance with the wishes of Government, and a partial adoption of some fragments of their plan; but beyond this, beyond that degree of acquiescence which, it may be conceived, will furnish a pretence to Parliament for postponing its direct interference in the work of Colonial legislation, they will not be willing, unless we are greatly mistaken, to proceed a single step.

In 1788, in 1797, and again in 1816, the Colonial legislatures were induced, by a similar apprehension, to adopt some ostensible improvements of their slave codes—but to all of these improvements, might, with truth, be applied the report made by Governor Prevost, in 1805, to Lord Camden, respecting a clause in the Slave law of Dominica, "The Act of the legislature, intituled 'An Act for the encouragement, protection, and better government of Slaves,' appears to have been considered," observed that gallant officer, "from the day it was passed until this hour, as a political measure to avert the interference of the mother country in the management of slaves. Having said this, your Lordship will not be surprised to learn that clause seven of that Bill has been wholly neglected."

Since the renewed agitation of the question in 1823, a course not very dissimilar has been pursued; and where resistance has been deemed unsafe, an illusory compliance has been substituted. The most exaggerated statements have been made of the progress of Colonial Reform, which a very slight examination of the subject has served to disprove. But yet, so complete was the illusion that Mr. Canning was led to believe, and, on the 1st of March last, to state to the House of Commons, that since May, 1823, of the Colonies having legislatures of their own,

*eight* had taken measures with respect to religious instruction; the observance of the Sunday; the giving security to the property of slaves; the modification of arbitrary punishment; and the abolition of the driving-whip;—That *seven* had admitted the evidence of slaves; and had given facilities to manumission; That *five* had legalized marriage; prohibited the separation of families; and abolished the flogging of females; That *four* had prohibited the sale of slaves detached from the estate; and that *two* had established saving banks.

At the time when Mr. Canning was so far misled as to exhibit to Parliament this flattering picture of improvement, the fact was, That *none* of the thirteen Colonies, having legislatures of their own, had passed any Act for the religious instruction of the slaves; or for facilitating manumission; or for abolishing the flogging of females; or for prohibiting the sale of slaves detached from the estate; or for establishing saving banks;—That only *one* had abolished Sunday markets; or legalized marriage (two others permitting it); or prohibited the separation of families by sale (another prohibiting it by judicial sale only);—That only two had lowered the scale of arbitrary punishment, or made even a show of abolishing the driving-whip;—and that only *three* had admitted the evidence of slaves, and that in a very limited degree. Besides all which, at the very time when vehement charges of exaggeration were making against the abolitionists, laws were enacting, and atrocities were perpetrating in the Colonies, which loudly reprehended our heartless indifference to the claims of humanity, and our criminal tardiness in enforcing those reforms which all agree ought to be enforced, but which are as yet scarcely begun to be adopted even on paper.

Is it possible, for any man who calmly weighs these circumstances, or who contemplates the strong language in which the Colonists express their persuasion of the utter ruin to their interests, which must attend the adoption of the plans of Government, still to hope for their honest, cordial, and effective concurrence?

Here, then, is the grand difference between his Majesty's ministers and the abolitionists. The course pursued by the former has hitherto left, and is likely still to leave their own measures, however excellent in design, wholly ineffective in operation. The course suggested and urged by the latter, alone holds forth a hope of redeeming the solemn pledge given to the country—that effectual and decisive measures will be adopted for so ameliorating the condition of the slave population in his Majesty's Colonies, as to raise them, at the earliest safe and practicable period, to a participation in the civil rights of his Majesty's other subjects.

We leave it to our readers to decide, which plan is best entitled to the designation of *impracticable*.

But the abolitionists forsooth are enthusiasts! An enthusiast, we have always supposed, to be a person who believes *without* evidence, or even *against* evidence. If this be a correct definition of the term, then we ask to which party is the charge of enthusiasm most justly applied;—to those who *against* all evidence, as well as *against* all sound conclusions from general principles, believe that the masters of slaves may be trusted in “what concerns legislation for slavery;”—or to those, who,

proceeding on the ground of fact and universal experience, supported by the justest deductions of reason, affirm, that "despotism in all cases, and under all circumstances, must be an incompetent and unsure executor, even of its own provisions in favour of the objects of its power?"

But the abolitionists are further charged with "overweening expectations of too sudden results."—No charge can be less founded: in fact, they expect no results whatever but delay and disappointment from the course which has been taken, should that course be persisted in. They complain not of the measures, as far as they go, which Government has proposed to accomplish, but only that those measures have hitherto been, and, so long as it looks to Colonial legislation for their accomplishment, will continue to be, ineffective. And even from parliamentary legislation, supposing it to embrace every measure of improvement originally proposed by his Majesty's ministers, they expect no *sudden* results: they only consider it as the effectual commencement of a reform, which otherwise will never be effectually commenced, but which even then can proceed only by slow and progressive steps to the consummation which all desire, and to which Government and Parliament are solemnly pledged. The more slow however is likely to be the progress of reform, the more anxious they naturally are, that it should be early and solidly and effectively, and not delusively, commenced.

There is another point indeed to which the abolitionists extend their views, and which they deeply regret is not embraced by the plan of his Majesty's ministers, but which is called for by the interests both of the Colonial slave, and of the manufacturing labourer of Great Britain, namely, the removal of those bounties and protecting duties which powerfully maintain, while they cruelly aggravate the evils of Slavery, and are alike injurious to our distressed manufacturers, and to our Colonial bondsmen. It will not be alleged by statesmen professing and acting upon the commercial principles of his Majesty's Government, that the views of the abolitionists on this point are either "enthusiastic" or "impracticable."

Mr. CANNING objected to the loud and concurrent expression of the public voice on the subject of Slavery, and to the speeches and resolutions which led to the petitions that have crowded the tables of both Houses of Parliament, for this reason, among others, that the effect of them would be to make the obstinacy of the Colonists more obstinate; to rouse their angry passions to greater fury; to quicken their alarms; to engender new opposition; to create new and to aggravate old difficulties; to multiply obstacles; and to excite determined resistance which must be overcome, before the purposes of Government could be effected.

And yet, without the efforts of abolitionists, and the loud and concurrent expression of public feeling which these have called forth, can any man believe that we should have obtained the solemn Resolutions of the legislature as to the expediency of abolishing Slavery; or that a single step would have been taken to that end? And even supposing such Resolutions to have been passed, what weight would they, or the speeches which might accompany them in Parliament, have had in the West Indies, unbacked by the awakened feeling, and the firm and conscientious

determination of the country at large? They would have been utterly disregarded. And let it here be remembered, that the highest paroxysms of fury, and the most vociferous threats of resistance and even rebellion, on the part of the Colonists, preceded that universal manifestation of the public sentiment which the last year has exhibited, and were excited, not by public meetings and inflammatory speeches and resolutions, but by those calm, sober, temperate, and *practicable* measures which Mr. Canning announced in Parliament, and which Lord Bathurst recommended to the Colonies. The Colonists, at that time, entertained a hope by their clamours to turn Government from its purpose, and they were willing to incur considerable risk in order to effect that object. This hope it was which gave augmented vehemence to their protests and remonstrances, and which made them exult in every symptom of insubordination among the Slaves, and magnify it, however trivial, into conclusive evidence of an insurrectionary movement. And this policy, to a certain degree, served its purpose. It produced delay and hesitation, and at one time, it threatened to paralyze if not wholly frustrate the efforts of benevolence. But the country has maintained its ground without flinching, and has now spoken, in terms that can no longer be mistaken, its determination that Slavery shall cease; and in proportion as this determination has become more general and less equivocal, has the violence of the Colonists abated, and they have begun to consider by what degree of reluctant compliance it may still be in their power to avert the dreaded and threatened interference of Parliament. The view, therefore, which we are now combating, was both philosophically unsound and experimentally untrue; and that it was so, is strongly confirmed by the whole tone and tenor of the recent Newspaper communications from the Colonies, the change in which is most remarkable. Their policy, it may be apprehended, will now be to yield such a partial acquiescence in the wishes of Government, as without materially either mending their system, or forwarding the great end of the ultimate extinction of Slavery, may still furnish, to their dexterous advocates in this country, a plea for continuing to delegate, to the Colonial authorities, the performance of that work which belongs to Parliament, and which Parliament alone is competent to carry into effect.

We might quote many passages, from recent West India journals, to prove, that the effect produced in the Colonies by what has taken place in this country, during the last twelve months, both in and out of Parliament, on the subject of Slavery, has been correctly described; but a single extract must suffice as illustrative of the fact. It is taken from the Jamaica Gazette of last May.

“As we think it essential at the present critical crisis, that no means should be omitted, which can be safely adopted, likely to convince the clamorous opponents of the West-India system, that we are willing to concede every reasonable point that may tend to bettering the condition, or improving the morals of our Slave Population, we insert the following letter from a Member of Parliament, fully acquainted with the political manœuvres of both the Ministerial and Opposition benches, to shew that, if we cannot conquer the popular prejudice, which in-



pedes the passing of the Slave Evidence Bill, we shall in the end be subjected to the degradation of having it forced upon us by external legislation.

“London, March 13, 1826.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“Since my last I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you. I enclose three newspapers containing the reports of the debates in the House of Commons, on Mr. Buxton's presenting the petition of the City of London for the Abolition of Slavery—and on Mr. Denman's Resolutions, respecting the trials of the rebel Negroes in Jamaica—and in the House of Lords, on the reference to them of the Resolutions of the Commons of 1823.

“They are three most important debates. You will observe in the first of them, that Mr. Buxton asked for an explanation from the Government of the course which they meant to pursue, in consequence of the non-compliance of the Colonial Legislatures with the recommendations sent out from the Colonial Office; and that Mr. Brougham had announced his intention to bring in a bill, to enact, throughout the Colonies, the regulations which had been carried into effect in Trinidad under the Order in Council. Mr. Canning declared it to be his intention to resist Mr. Brougham's bill, but in answer to the inquiry from Mr. Buxton, he declared it to be the intention of the Government to embody, in several bills, the several regulations of the Order in Council, and to send them out to the Governors with instructions to have them introduced into the several Legislatures, so as to bring the question of the adoption or rejection of each to an issue in the next Session of the Assemblies, and before the next Session of Parliament; and he further declared it to be the intention of Government, in case of the reception of these bills proving unsatisfactory, to come down to Parliament for counsel as to the course which it would then be proper to pursue. You will perceive in Lord Bathurst's speech in the house of Lords, a material difference in his statement of the course intended to be pursued by the Government. Lord Bathurst stated it to be their intention to class the several regulations of the Trinidad Order in Council under separate heads, and to send out instructions to the several Governors to submit those regulations so classed to the several Colonial Legislatures, to be by them framed into bills, and modified according to the circumstances of the several Colonies. In the interval between the debates in the House of Commons and House of Lords, representation has been made to Lord Bathurst and Lord Liverpool from the Planters and Merchants, stating our apprehensions that the sending out the bills, ready formed, might be felt by the Colonial Legislatures as an act of dictation, and might create an additional obstacle instead of facilitating the adoption of the regulations. Whether the altered plan of Government was the result of this representation, or of their own consideration, I will not presume to say.—You will observe also that, in the whole course of these debates, there is not one person who did not admit the extinction of Slavery to be the whole object of Parliament and the Country—an object which they were determined to accomplish, and that the only difference was as to the means and time of its accomplish-

ment. Nobody ventured to contend that the state of Slavery ought to be maintained for ever: Even the Lord Chancellor, who spoke most strongly as to "the due consideration for the rights of private property," expressed his entire approbation of the Resolutions of the House of Commons, and his concurrence in the object of putting an end to Slavery. In a word, this feeling has become so universal throughout the Country, that any opposition to it would be quite hopeless. The Ministry are committed to the Trinidad Order in Council, and the Country are determined to have measures adopted in the Colonies, which shall afford some *certain* means of putting an end to Slavery, though they may be content to agree to their being gradual and slow in their operation. They are also very much dissatisfied with the Colonial Legislatures. They would, I believe, *now* have applauded any measure of rigour which the Government might have been disposed to adopt for enforcing the Trinidad regulations; and, if the Assemblies should not adopt them all (or with few or unimportant exceptions,) the Country and the Parliament will drive the Government to some strong measures of coercion.

"Seeing how violently and how rapidly the torrent of public feeling is running, I am convinced the only chance of preserving the independence of the Colonial Legislatures is by the adoption of the regulations which are about to be sent out in their next Session. It is difficult for Gentlemen, resident in Jamaica, to be fully aware of the force of public feeling in England; but you may depend upon it that my representation does not fall short of the truth, and you cannot do a more important service than communicate the same throughout the whole circle of your acquaintance.

"You will have observed, that in the debates in the House of Commons very few West Indians spoke. In the first—which indeed could scarcely be styled a debate—it was the general opinion that the best policy would be to leave the question as it stood after Mr. Canning's speech, which had embarrassed the Saints so much, as to make Brougham almost withdraw the notice of his bill. On the question of the trials, there was but one feeling in the House, that such a state of law was utterly indefensible. You can scarcely form a conception of the strong impression which these trials have made on the public mind, or of the force with which they have told on the rejection of the Evidence Bill, to the prejudice of the Assembly, and, I am sorry to add, of the cause of the West Indies generally. The two combined have done more in advancing the views of our enemies, than their own exertions had previously done in the last ten years.—This opinion was expressed to me by an impartial spectator, very capable of judging, and much disposed to be our friend. It is only wanting to complete their triumph, that the Assembly should pursue the same course in the next Session as in the last. But I trust, that, when they consider that the object of the Saints is to take all legislative controul over this question out of their hands, and the object of Government to leave it in their hands, on the condition of their carrying into effect what is the wish of the whole English nation, and that there is no middle alternative; they will not commit such an act of suicide, as to refuse their compliance."

It must now, we apprehend, be evident that neither the public meetings which have taken place, nor the discussions which have been raised in the House of Commons, have had the effect attributed to them, of hindering and embarrassing his Majesty's ministers, instead of aiding them. Certainly the ungracious manner in which those petitions were spoken of surprised us not a little, firmly believing, as we do, that Mr. Canning is really desirous to put an end to Slavery. That distinguished Statesman is also a warm friend to the Catholic claims. Now let it be supposed that there had been, in the course of the last year, the same universal expression of public opinion in their favour which has been witnessed on the question of Slavery. In that case, would not Mr. Canning, and Mr. Wilmot Horton, and all who think with them on the subject, have felt their hands strengthened by such a demonstration, instead of deprecating it as injurious to the cause they espoused? And would they not also in that case have comparatively disregarded the clamours of their opponents, however loud; and have looked forward with exultation to a safe, and happy, and early accomplishment of their favourite object, of Catholic Emancipation? We pronounce no opinion on that much agitated question; but certainly no man, who knows how these Gentlemen feel upon it, would expect beforehand, that they would frown on the expression of a strong and general concurrence in their views, on the part of the country at large.

One word, before we conclude, respecting the different motions which were brought forward in the House of Commons, by the abolitionists, during the last two Sessions, and which Mr. Canning is said to have thus reprehended: "They have been hazardous to adopt, not fit to be discussed, and calculated to retard not accelerate the purposes for which they are professedly brought forward. They are not judicious, as they disturb the temper. They are not fair, as they interrupt our course, and break down a large subject into mean and insignificant details. They divide into fractions what Parliament has resolved to treat and promote as a whole."

To these observations, the letter of the West Indian gentleman inserted above is perhaps a sufficient reply. But their inapplicability will further appear, by merely mentioning the subjects of the several motions thus condemned.

1. Mr. Brougham's motion on the trial and sentence of the Missionary Smith.
2. Dr. Lushington's on the deportation of Lecesne and Escoffery.
3. Mr. Buxton's on the expulsion of the Missionary Shrewsbury from Barbadoes, and the demolition of the Methodist Chapel there.
4. Mr. Denman's on the trials of the alleged insurgents in Jamaica.
5. Mr. Buxton's on the Mauritius Slave trade.
6. Mr. Whitmore's on the Sugar duties and bounties.
7. Mr. W. Smith's on the expediency of placing the administration of the Slave laws in the hands of men who are not slave holders.
8. Mr. Brougham's motion expressive of the dissatisfaction of the House with the proceedings of the Colonial Assemblies, and pledging it to an early consideration of the subject in the next Session.

Of these eight motions, the first five were cases of flagrant outrage, and of violation of the law, which Mr. Canning himself admitted to call either for enquiry or reprehension; which stood on grounds quite apart from any general measure of the Government; and which, in no view that can fairly be taken of them, deserve to be branded with the harsh terms that were applied to them. It was partly their object, and certainly it was their effect, to enlighten even his Majesty's ministers as to the real nature of the Colonial system, and of Colonial feeling.— Again, the question of the sugar duties and bounties, and of the effect of free and slave labour on the cost of productions, was surely a large and substantive question, which required a distinct and separate discussion. The motion of Mr. W. Smith went only to point out to the Government a provision which was indispensable to the efficiency of their own plans of reform, and without which those plans would be paralyzed and frustrated; and it went in no degree to censure or disturb them. Mr. Brougham's motion which stands last, and which brought before the house a general view of the Trinidad and Demarara Orders in Council, and of the recent elusory enactments of the Colonial legislatures, was the only one which could be regarded as hostile; and this Mr. Canning himself expressly excepted from his general censure.

Besides these different motions, notices were given, but afterwards withdrawn, by Lord Nugent, for improving the administration of justice in the Colonies; and by Dr. Lushington, for examining into the state of the free people of colour. These however were points not at all comprehended in the general outline of projected reforms, submitted to Parliament by his Majesty's ministers.

It will not be denied that all these motions were important, while not one of them, excepting Mr. Brougham's, interfered with the declared purposes of Government. But then we are told, that "they disturb the temper." Whose temper do they disturb? Are acts of cruelty and crime not to be exposed, lest the temper of the cruel and the criminal should be ruffled? Or is a great question of national justice and policy, like that of the Sugar duties, not to be discussed, lest those who profit by those duties, though tending to aggravate alike the wretchedness of the Slaves and the distress of our manufacturers, should resent the discussion?

We regret that it should have fallen to our lot to make these remarks. Entertaining as we do a cordial respect for Mr. Canning, and firmly believing him to have at heart the effectual mitigation, and the early and final extinction of Slavery, we feel real pain in ever differing from him; but it seemed to be a duty absolutely incumbent on us, to vindicate the abolitionists, whether in Parliament or out of it, from the opprobrium which the expressions attributed to that Gentleman, if uncontradicted, could not fail to attach to them and to their cause.

#### BARBADOES.

What has occurred in Barbadoes goes fully to confirm the above reasoning. In March last, several new slave bills were introduced into the Assembly of that Island. Mr. Hinds, who brought forward one of them, introduced it as *an attempt to reconcile their slave code with their practice.*

He then speaks of the mildness of the actual discipline in Barbadoes, and the happy condition of the slaves, who, he affirms, are better protected, have more comfort and enjoyment, and less of toil, exaction, and anxiety, than the same class of the population in perhaps any other portion of the universe. In Barbadoes, the evils of Slavery he states to be abstract, the blessings positive.\* Still, he argues, the proposed amendments in the laws are necessary because Great Britain expects them. "Is there no danger," he asks, "in irritating the Ministry, the Parliament, and the people of Great Britain, by conceding nothing to the public voice *so unequivocally expressed*? I do not mean the mad cry of that reptile knot, which has been engendered by the coitus of saint and radical, but the voice solemnly pronounced *of the reflecting classes of Great Britain*; of the West India Committee themselves." "I have heard the West Indian body in England," adds Mr. Hinds, "accused of ignorance of the circumstances here. They may retort the charge and accuse us of ignorance of the immense sensation caused by this question at home; of ignorance of our peril and weakness, or, as Mr. Canning expressed it, the omnipotence of England, and the utter helplessness of the Colonies." "If we hesitate, Mr. Canning's financial punishments will infallibly be inflicted." "Let us then enable the King's Ministers to say from their places in Parliament, *'the Colonial legislatures have complied with our suggestions AS FAR AS LOCAL CIRCUMSTANCES WILL PERMIT. They have seriously set to work to ameliorate the condition of their slaves. We have confidence in their intentions. We are determined henceforth to ALLOW OF NO FURTHER INTERFERENCE IN THEIR DOMESTIC POLICY. Satisfied that much has been done and DONE VOLUNTARILY, WE LEAVE TO*

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\* The ears of the people of England, must have become by this time, sufficiently acquainted with this kind of cant, to appreciate its value. It is unnecessary to recur to the barbarous slave code which has always existed in this Colony, and some of the worst enactments of which were renewed in 1825; nor to the unpunished atrocities recorded by Lord Seaforth, in 1804; nor to the wholesale massacres of 1816; in order to disprove the statement of Mr. Hinds. We need only refer to the Reports of Mr. Dwaris, the Royal Commissioner, himself a West Indian, and of the Bishop of Barbadoes. Mr. Dwaris affirms that "the 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." Except for murder, "there is no legislative provision restraining the absolute power of the master over the slave, or inflicting punishment on the owners or others, in cases of mayem, mutilation, dismemberment, or cruel treatment." "No tribunal is specially appointed for inquiring into their wrongs." The complaint of a slave "can no where be received." "No man or set of men, has legal power to call a master or delegate to account for working his slave as long as he likes; for whipping him as much as he pleases; for chaining—for starving him." "A master has uncontrolled, undefined and absolute power." Compare this statement, written in 1824, with that of Mr. Hinds.

Again, the statement as to "toil" and "exaction," is most directly contradicted by the Right Reverend the Bishop, who gives us to know, that no time in the week days, can be spared by the planters for the instruction of the children, for though they have "*the most sincere desire* to afford the blessings of religious instruction to their slaves," they cannot consent to the requisite subtraction of labour from the cultivation of their estates. See Reporter, No. 13.

THEM THE PROGRESS OF THE IMPROVEMENTS THEY HAVE SO WELL COMMENCED.”

This is precisely the kind of speech which we supposed that the Colonists would be desirous of putting into Mr. Canning's mouth; for what they have evidently at heart is not to raise the slave to a participation in the rights of his Majesty's other subjects, but to extract from *him*, to the confusion of saints and radicals, such a declaration as Mr. Hinds has kindly framed for him. The preceding part of this number, containing our anticipations to this effect, was written before we received the speech of Mr. Hinds. How pointedly it confirms those anticipations will be perceived without a comment.

The measures proposed to the Barbadoes Legislature comprise, 1st, a Bill for the encouragement of Baptisms and Marriages among the slaves; 2nd, a Bill to afford increased facilities to the manumission of slaves; and 3rd, a consolidated Slave Bill. This last Bill is intended, it is said, to abolish the whip in the field and the flogging of women, and to grant to those slaves who are *qualified*, and properly certified by the *clergyman of the parish* and the master, the right of bearing testimony in courts of justice. But it is not intended to prohibit the separation of families by sale; and to the erection of saving banks for the slaves, says Mr. Hinds, “I never can consent,”—and for this strange reason among others, that, “not only has it never been, but it never could be, practicable for a master to deprive his slave of his honestly-gained peculium.” This is also to be a valid reason, we presume for enacting no law for securing to the slave his property. Yet, what says Mr. Darris? “For the punishment of general oppression there is no provision by any law of Barbadoes.” The master may sell him, may chain him, may starve him; he possesses over him uncontrolled, undefined, and absolute power. And yet, says Mr. Hinds, it would be *impracticable* for a master to deprive a slave of his property. Is it possible, we ask, to put any faith whatever in such representations? If there be any one truth more clearly ascertained than another, in respect to the condition of the Colonial bondsman, it is that his property is entirely and absolutely, by law, in the power of his master. This point may be proved by the most conclusive West Indian testimony, in one stream, from 1788 to 1826.

#### TRINIDAD.

We have been amused with tales of the cheerful acquiescence of the Planters of Trinidad in the Order in Council, which enacted, we were told, only what was before the practice. Such, too, was the language held to the Government by the West India body at home. With respect to them, indeed, it may only prove that they were themselves deceived by their agents, and were thus led unwittingly to deceive the Government. The clamours of the resident Planters, however, instead of diminishing, seem to become louder and louder every day; and so they will continue to do, so long as there is the slightest hope of inducing Government to relax from its declared purposes, and to modify or abandon its solemn pledges. The success they have already had will encourage them to

persevere. Several points have already been given up, and a recent proclamation has so modified the law of evidence as greatly to diminish its value. The whole efficacy of the Order in Council, the defects of which, as compared with the measures first proposed by his Majesty's Government, have always been considerable,\* may thus be frittered away, and things may almost insensibly revert to their ancient state.

#### ST. VINCENTS.

The following extract from the Gazette of St. Vincents of the 20th of May, 1826, contains an exposition of the actual progress of moral and religious culture in that island; and will be found, if the truth were told in other places with equal frankness, to exhibit a faithful picture of its progress in every island from the Bahamas to Trinidad, as far, at least, as the efforts of the Planters in general, or of the local legislatures, are concerned. Let us not be amused, not to say deluded, by such unmeaning reports as were abstracted in our last number, and which, prove that the Bishops are as liable to be imposed upon as the West Indian body at home. The extract we allude to is as follows:—

“ We understand that the Lord Bishop has signified his intention of paying this island a second visit in two or three weeks, although we see no preparations making for his reception or accommodation. We cannot imagine to ourselves the surprise and disappointment that will be felt by his Lordship on his arrival, to find that of the various measures of improvement, or addition, to our clerical establishment suggested by him on his first visit, not one has yet been carried into effect; no additional place of worship provided; no school establishment provided, or means devised for giving additional impulse to the moral or religious feelings of the lower classes: in short, that we are precisely in the same state his Lordship left us, except, as one of our correspondents has lately suggested, considerably worse, no doubt, from the combined inroads of time and negligence.”

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\* See, for a full elucidation of these defects as compared with the originally declared intentions of Government, the pamphlet, entitled *The Progress of Colonial Reform*, p. 1—18.

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\* \* \* Though we have doubled the size of the Reporter, we are under the necessity of deferring many important articles of information.—Our readers will be happy to learn that Anti-Slavery Associations, and particularly of Ladies, are multiplying, one of whose objects it is to discourage the use of slave-grown Sugar, (that is to say, of West Indian and Mauritius sugar,) and to promote the substitution of that grown by free labour.

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

London, 18, Aldermanbury, August 31, 1826.

No. 15.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

The "ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER" will be ready for delivery on the first day of every month. Copies will be forwarded, at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply, are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent.

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### COLONIAL OPINIONS ON THE PROPOSED REFORMS, EXEMPLIFIED BY MISCELLANEOUS EXTRACTS FROM THEIR OWN RECENT NEWSPAPERS.

WE propose to follow up the remarks in our last number, respecting the views and purposes of the Colonists, by extracts from their own publications during the months of May and June last. The first we shall give are drawn from a confidential communication of Mr. Macqueen, the editor of the Glasgow Courier, to the editor of the Royal Gazette of Jamaica, which the latter has thought proper to publish to the world in his paper of the 27th May, 1826. (p. 18.)

"I deeply regret to say," observes Mr. Macqueen, "that prospects are not mending for you; Government, rest assured, are bent upon general and ultimate emancipation, and this they conceive they can accomplish by a train of measures concocted by themselves without any advance of money on the part of this country. In these views they are certainly wrong, but in the present temper and feeling of the people, who is to point out to them their error?" "You cannot depend upon the Government, because it has adopted erroneous notions. You must not trust your friends here, because, besides their natural and invincible apathy, the leading men among them, I assure you, go into the views of Government above mentioned. The conduct of the West India members in Parliament is sickening and distressing; it is to be regretted that your Legislature did not pass the Slave Evidence Bill in some shape or other. It would have satisfied Government, and withdrawn part of the venom of your adversaries. At the same time, I am aware that it matters little what laws you pass, as nothing but early and complete emancipation will satisfy the spirit which now animates a vast portion of the population of this country; all the dissenters, and what is called the evangelical party of the clergymen of the Established Church are enlisted, and embarked in the cause against you. Their exertions and influence are very great, and the whole of this has been brought about by the activity of your enemies, and the inactivity and apathy of your friends. Even at this moment the latter will not look at or acknowledge the danger which so broadly assails them." "Your affairs are wretchedly managed in this country. The affections of the people are alienated from you, and Govern-



ment suffer themselves to be misled and influenced by a parcel of idle theorists, all of whom are your determined enemies.”\*

In the Jamaica Royal Gazette of the 3rd June, 1826, (p. 4.) the editor inserts, with apparent approbation, another communication, which he tells us is from “a considerable holder of West India property, in London.”

“Our adversaries,” says this correspondent, “lay great stress on the rejection of the Slave Evidence Bill, as proving all their allegations against us.” “I think that question might be tried on a limited scale, upon inferior cases in petty courts.”† “Were the whole new light to burst upon them (the slaves) at once, it would do *them* no good, and *us* much harm; and this is the object of the saints, who would rejoice to see the ruin and destruction of both the one and the other consummated at one blow.”

He then is at great pains to convey to his friends abroad some politic counsel :

“As our adversaries are ever on the watch, to catch, as it were, from our own mouths evidence, nay, the very sentiments of our hearts, if they could, and torture them into some malignant form, *it becomes us to be most careful against letting out any thing of our SECRET reflections of which they can take advantage.* From our knowledge of negroes, and experience of their disposition and temper, and readiness to break through their present bounds, *we all must have a secret feeling for confining their privileges as much as possible within the law of subordination. But it won't do to expose our motives to their friends and our enemies.*”‡ “Our Legislature must act fearlessly,” “and beware of going great lengths in concession, as their former conduct will then be imputed to contumacy; and the more they concede the more they will be required to do until they meet the rigid views of the Saints.”

This prudent and cautious writer next proceeds to give his opinion *seriatim* on the different heads of reform, proposed by Mr. Canning. To Slave Evidence he had already adverted, “Religious instruction, and the due observance of the sabbath, (meaning the abolition of Sunday markets) *are points of no importance to give up.*” “Marriage: let the clergy celebrate it as they do baptism, that will be sufficient.” Other points, as security of property, facilities of manumission, separation of families, and savings banks, are things to be cautiously adventured upon, and strictly guarded. On the abolition of the whip, as a stimulus to labour, and the flogging of females, he is more precise in his instructions:—

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\* Mr. Macqueen, it seems, had made every effort in his power to establish a paper in London, but “such were the apathy and indifference of those in England, connected with the Colonies, and the disunion reigning among them on the West Indian cause,” that he could not find any reasonable prospect of support: “The rancour of the leading sect,” he says, “is dreadful against me.” “But never mind,” he adds, “truth will at last prevail, and the friendship and support of the Colonies will enable me to treat their vengeance with scorn.” Is it with a view to enhance his merits with the Colonies, and to extract from them fresh largesses that he thus exhibits himself as a martyr to their cause?

† Why in petty courts, except that they are not courts so open to observation as the great courts?

‡ Mr. Macqueen may well say that the affairs of the Colonists are wretchedly managed; when such letters as his own and those of this cunning planter, are permitted to come before the eye of the British public. At the same time we cite not these letters as carrying any weight of authority with them, but as exhibiting sentiments which seem to suit the meridian of Jamaica.

"Blending," he says, "these two items, suppose, as the whip of *one tail* seems to be such a terrible symbol of authority, and the cat-o-nine-tails such a tolerable one, that the latter, as used in the army and navy, be substituted for the former, *restricting the use of it in the field to six stripes for minor offences*, under the sanction of the overseer or book-keeper; referring delinquencies of more serious character to the master or manager; at the same time, not withdrawing all the authority from the driver. *Allow him the exercise of a rattan as I have seen sergeants in the army carry and use*. Then, with regard to females, for offences requiring *beyond the rattan*, let them be referred as before; and let them be punished according to their misconduct on the back with a rod, and in the presence of women only, or by nightly confinement in the stocks for a time proportionate to the misdeed."<sup>\*</sup>

Having thus given a specimen of the sentiments which are confidentially transmitted to the Colonies by some at least of the Colonial partizans at home, we shall now suffer the Planters residing abroad to delineate their own views and feelings on the present crisis of their affairs. The following violent observations of the Trinidad press, on the rejection of the Slave Evidence Bill in Jamaica, are transcribed with evident approbation into the newspapers of the other Colonies:

"The spirited decision on the part of the Jamaica Legislature will, if we mistake not, bring at once to a crisis the important question, whether the British Colonies are in future to be dictated to in matters of internal legislation." "If Jamaica possess the power to maintain the ground she has assumed, she has acted wisely and magnanimously. No man acquainted with the texture of our society, can, for a moment, suppose that such a law is required for the general protection of slaves. Laws deeply implanted in our breasts by the Divine Creator, afford them sure and ample protection as a body."<sup>†</sup>

Let us next turn to Barbadoes, in the newspaper of which Island, of the 7th March, 1826, is given the speech of a Mr. Pile, on a Bill which had been brought into the Assembly for the abolition of Sunday markets.

"My opposition," says this gentleman, "is chiefly levelled against the *total* abolition of the Sunday market. It is a well-known fact, that the places of worship in this country, were they well attended, are not more than sufficient for the reception of the *free* population; and that there is no single place of worship of the *established religion* set apart for the slaves. That such places *will be* built I cannot doubt." "But we shall retard and defeat, and not advance our object by closing the Sunday markets before the churches are opened.‡ The slave is now encouraged to industry by the certainty of a market where he can dispose of the produce of his garden, his stock, &c., and procure luxuries in return: the necessaries and comforts of life being furnished him in abundance.§ But if the

\* Need we go further than the reluctant propositions and expedients of this *considerable* proprietor for a confirmation of all that has ever been asserted of the driving system, and the flogging of women, as parts of the West Indian system?

† It has been often remarked, that the statements and reasonings of many West Indians (such is the hardening and blinding effect of the possession of unlimited power), actually assume as their basis, that those who administer the system of Slavery in the Colonies are not men but angels.

‡ Has any thing stronger and more decisive been ever said by the most intemperate abolitionists than this Barbadian planter, in his uncontradicted statement, has here affirmed, of the absolute destitution of religious instruction which has hitherto generally prevailed among the slaves of Barbadoes?

§ There are men, however, who pretend to an intimate knowledge of all the *moral and physical* circumstances of the negroes, who affirm that in the *lowlands* of the West Indies, negroes will not be "encouraged to industry" by any motives beyond that of supplying

Sunday markets were closed, they would be dependent on masters and overseers for time to attend the market during the week, which would damp their industry, and change for the worse their present habits; and Sunday would be passed in idleness, which might lead to indolence and vice, and even crime, to discontent and insubordination." "In what manner too are the adults to pass the Sunday? They cannot employ it in their accustomed traffic, and we must not force them to attend our places of worship, lest we should stand charged with the sin of forcing them to act the part of hypocrites." "Even if Churches were erected, I contend, on the score of justice and right, we ought not totally to abolish the Sunday market. *If we take from the slave that day, we ought, in justice, to grant him another.\** But never could we consent to such a glaring violation of the right of property. Who is not either a debtor or creditor? *Who is not embarrassed?* If we take from an estate a day for the slave to attend market instead of Sunday, we necessarily diminish the proceeds of that estate, or we must compel our slaves to do that labour in five days which they now do in six; and if the proceeds be diminished, the security of the creditor is diminished; and while the proceeds are lessened, the expenses are not lessened."

the mere necessities of nature; and that their indolence is so inveterate, that it cannot be overcome by any such motive as that of a desire to better their condition, or by any motive in short but that of physical force. Such is one of the positions anxiously insisted upon through many a weary folio page, by one who assumes to be a great authority in these matters, we mean Major Moody. (See his reports *passim*.) But what does Mr. Pile tell us in the sequel of his speech? The slaves in Barbadoes, according to him, work *six* days in the week for their masters; who supply them abundantly with all the necessaries and comforts of life, (the only wants which can, according to Major Moody, stimulate the negro to the reluctant labour of even one or two hours in a day); and yet, though thus amply supplied, and thus *compelled* to labour for *six* days, they are so wrought upon, it seems, by the desire of bettering their condition, and of procuring even the luxuries of life, as voluntarily to employ their brief intervals of rest with such industry and effect as to raise from their gardens the means of gratifying this desire. If this be true, can we credit those who tell us, that they will not work voluntarily even for liberal wages? Though worn with the labours of the week, they will work, in order, from the uncertain and distant return which their gardens may yield them, to buy luxuries;—and yet they will not work for money paid down, which will, with no less certainty, and far more speedily, procure them the same luxuries! Such are the inconsistencies into which men fall who think themselves bound to maintain, by a shew of argument, the cause of injustice and oppression.

\* This is a perfectly correct view of the case, and is precisely what reason and justice call for. Sunday ought to be, and we trust will henceforward be a day of rest to the Barbadian slaves. For the purposes to which Sunday has hitherto been irreligiously applied, namely, the cultivation of their gardens, and the attendance on market, the smallest reparation which can in common equity be made them, is now to give them equivalent time during the week. And this is required, not by the spirit only, but by the very letter of Mr. Canning's original pledge on the subject, a pledge however, still unfulfilled even in Trinidad. And if this pledge be fulfilled, if this act of bare justice be performed, and a market day be appointed by law instead of Sunday, to which the slave shall have the same right as he now has to Sunday, then Mr. Pile's main objection to the abolition of Sunday markets will be obviated. But this act of justice to the slaves, Mr. Pile goes on to affirm, will be a robbery of the master, "a glaring violation of the right of property;" and the master, to do justice to himself and his creditors, (for who among the Barbadians, he asks, is not embarrassed?) must compel the slave to execute in *five* days the task of *six*. Thus the usurpation of the sabbath, that impious violation of the laws both of God and man, is unblushingly maintained as a legitimate possession, and is held up as a bar to prevent the Parliament and people of England from restoring to the wretched slave his inalienable right to the benefit of that merciful dispensation, which *made the sabbath for man*. Can any Act of Parliament be pleaded for *this* practice! If not, it is an abuse, for which, even if Slavery were a lawful state of society, the Planters, instead of claiming indemnity

The Editor of the Barbadian newspaper of the 18th of April, 1826, thus reasons on the state of the Colonial question :

"Ten years have passed away of an alarming and unprecedented interference in our internal legislation on the part of the British Parliament and people." "The consequences which followed upon the agitation of the Registry question in 1816, we can none of us recollect without horror—yet the registration has proved a useful measure." In the expression of our opinions on the awful questions which have excited general alarm in the West Indies, and have almost given the death blow to all our affectionate predilections for the mother country, we have given way perhaps too much to our indignation." "Against the encroachments of a most extensive *faction* in England, which it would be ridiculous to deny has made a powerful impression on the minds of his Majesty's Ministers—we raised our warning voice—we lost no opportunity of exposing their *duplicity*, their *self-interestedness*, their *mischievous intentions*." "We have vindicated our countrymen—we have endeavoured to hold up the Anti-colonial faction to that *scorn* and *abhorrence*, which their cruel hostility, their calumnies and falsehood so justly entitle them to. All this we have done, certes, not in a remarkably cool and temperate manner."† Now, however, "we are determined to be as cool as possible." "Government professes the most anxious desire that every measure of amelioration should proceed from the local legislatures. They point out what is the declared wish of themselves and of Parliament should be done; and they urge most earnestly that the slaves should receive the boon of amelioration from ourselves. This is the last trial: one only alternative is held out. 'Do it yourselves, and do it with a good grace, or in obedience to the declared sense of Parliament, in conformity with public opinion, which neither we, the ministers, nor yourselves, can safely despise, we must try the efficacy of an Act of Parliament. This last step we are most unwilling to resort to—it depends upon yourselves.' In justice to his Majesty's Government, we are warranted in believing that they will never countenance the monstrous injustice of emancipation, *if EVER the slave population should be fit for it*, without fair remuneration. Can the Colonial legislatures then any longer safely resist the force of public opinion? Do not their *own interests* now clearly point out the necessity of meeting the wishes of Government, which may annihilate their functions in a moment?"

We now return to Jamaica, from the Royal Gazette of which (June 3, 1826, p. 17,) we learn that at a public meeting held in Trelawney, with a view to the approaching dissolution of the Assembly, Mr. STEWART, the father of that house, and one of their present representatives, thus addressed his constituents :

"He would take leave," he said, "briefly to state his views of the alterations which might be made in the next session, to meet the wishes of his Majesty's

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for its abolition, are bound to make reparation to the slave. They have been enjoying for ages that to which they have not the shadow of a title, even on any of those dubious grounds on which they assert a title to the slave himself; and now they claim to be paid for discontinuing this flagrant and lawless outrage.

\* Thus has it uniformly been. The abolition of the slave trade was vehemently opposed as bringing ruin with it to every West Indian interest. Now, all West Indians concur in applauding that act. The registration of slaves, which was opposed with still more violence, and with a clamour still more deafening, has proved, it seems, not a hurtful but a useful measure. May it not be fairly presumed that the present propositions for Colonial reform, which have proceeded from the very same parties, will, ten years hence, appear equally entitled to commendation, on the part of the West Indians, with those other measures which, however obnoxious in the first instance, they have found, by experience, to be not only not injurious but beneficial?

† They have repeated, that is to say, a second and third time, the same unfounded allegations, and the same furious invectives which they had already employed to prevent measures which they now pronounce good and useful.

Government. The Slave Evidence Bill, which, under certain restrictions, was introduced last session, was so guarded that no injury could possibly have arisen to the White Population by its enactment.\* Different views were, however, taken of the question, and it was rejected. In respect to the instruction of the negroes in the principles of religion, it was not sufficient to build extra chapels for their accommodation; it was also absolutely necessary, if we were sincere in our desire to improve the moral condition of the slaves, that Sunday markets should be abolished altogether, and another day in the week be allowed the negro for the cultivation of his land, and the sale of his provisions.† The mode of punishment of the female slave, he considered, might also be changed. In lieu of being punished with the whip, he thought that the cat or switches might, in many instances, be substituted. The women, by their tongues, often caused much mischief, and frequently led on to riot; it might be well to punish some of their offences by solitary confinement, where they could use their tongues *ad libitum*, but only to their own annoyance. Our enemies in Great Britain complained of the use of the whip in the field as an instrument of coercion. He would not propose to abolish it; but as the smacking of it by the drivers was so hurtful to the sensitive feelings of the Anti-Colonists, who assimilated it to the use made by the waggoner in England to excite his team to work, he was of opinion, that it would be prudent to take it from the hand of the driver to be hung up in the overseer's house, and only used on offenders in presence of the white people and a portion of the estate's negroes, and this not sooner than twenty-four hours from the commission of the offences to be punished.‡ “The next subject was the separating parents from children, and selling them like cattle at a market, under writs of venditioni exponas. He would not blame our ancestors, for having, a hundred and fifty years ago, permitted this,” while the slave trade lasted; “but now the times are changed,” and though “it would not be fair to make the operation retrospective as to existing judgments, yet our legislature might, by a salutary and beneficial enactment, attach the negro to the soil.” “To manumission by purchase, when voluntary and agreed to by the owner, he did not see any objection; but not to be made compulsory.§ Any measure tending to general emancipation should be deprecated, because voluntary labour, we know, is not consistent with the negro character. His general character is that of idleness, and he cannot be kept to work but by continual superintendance.|| In the

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\* He might have added with equal truth, “nor any good to the Black population.”

† Here, again, observe how clear and decided Mr. Stewart is as to the obligation of allowing to the slave an entire day in the week, “for the cultivation of his land and the sale of his provisions,” in lieu of the Sunday. And yet this equitable arrangement has as yet been adopted in no one Colony, not even in Trinidad, though placed under a law framed by the King's ministers, who had themselves previously recognised the expediency and justice of such an arrangement.

‡ We see how even this respectable Colonist clings to the corporal punishment of females, and to the driving whip, as indispensable, even though, to meet the wishes of his Majesty's Government, they may be subjected to certain restraints and modifications. *Driving*, however, be it remembered, is not the punishment of an offence, but the enforcement of labour. To confound the one with the other as Mr. Stewart does, (we do not in his case say purposely,) is one of the arts by which the more subtle advocates of Slavery try to disguise its abominations.

§ If not made compulsory on the master, when the slave has the means of effecting his manumission by purchase, we may abandon all hope of any termination of Slavery, except by a convulsion. In this view of the subject, we trust his Majesty's Ministers will remain firm. Much, however, is still wanting to give to this important principle its due and effectual operation.

|| Compare Mr. Stewart's statement with that of Mr. Pile, as given above. Is idleness then not the universal character of human nature till prompted by necessity, or called into action by still nobler motives? Mr. Macqueen charges the masters of slaves with the same vice as natural to them. Is it fair in Mr. Stewart, and such reasoners as he, to have kept the negroes in bodily and mental degradation for successive generations; to have denied them all intellectual or moral culture; to have allowed them not even the pretence of

United States, where negroes acquired their freedom to a great extent, they were at length found, from their vicious and dissolute course of living, to become a pest to society. The American Government have gone to great expense in fitting out vessels and conveying these free negroes to the coast of Africa. A settlement of them was formed at Cape Mesurado, but in the course of a few years they became the most abandoned vagabonds, and wandered about from place to place. Some have since gone to St. Domingo, where the wretched treatment they experienced was ten times worse than that of the slaves in this country.\* The southern states of America possess an immense slave population for the cultivation of rice and tobacco, which, owing to the swamps and climates could not be carried on by Whites. No attempt has been made or hinted at to emancipate these slaves. If such a subject were touched upon it would occasion a breach of the union.† The negroes in St. Domingo acquired their liberty by rebellion.‡ We are informed, by persons lately arrived from that island, that in the short space of twenty years, the population has decreased 100,000.§ The people there, are in their manners and habits, depraved and vicious, and their government is most wretched. In lieu of the whip they are kept to their work

a motive to exertion, except the base fear of the lash; and to continue to bind them down without a hope of release in this state of brutal debasement;—and then to turn round upon us, and contemplating their own work, say, “the character of the negro is a character of idleness: he will not work but under the lash: he is incapable of voluntary labour: stripes may move him, wages will not?”

In the *New Times* of the 7th instant, a Grenada planter is very indignant that slaves should be thought not to possess property, as the fruit of their own industry. They possess, he affirms, and so do the slaves generally, a large amount of property. Is not this property then the fruit of voluntary labour?—Of voluntary labour, too, under circumstances which prove the negro to be industrious, and to be susceptible of the force of other motives than those either of mere hunger, or of the fear of the lash, in at least an equal degree with any other portion of the human race?

\* Every syllable in this statement is incorrect. An examination of it will shew us the slight dependence to be placed on the representations even of such respectable men as Mr. Stewart, when they labour under the influence of prejudice, or have interests of their own to serve. The American Government have gone to no expense whatever for conveying the free negroes of the United States, those alleged pests of society, to the coast of Africa. A few benevolent individuals, pitying the state of degradation in which they saw the free people of colour held, in a country where, in the face of the constitutional assertion of the equal and indefeasible rights of man, a community of social and civil privileges is denied to all who are of African descent, formed a project for inducing some of them to migrate to their original country. Several hundreds, out of hundreds of thousands, accepted the offer. They have encountered many hardships in endeavouring to effect a settlement, but they have succeeded; and the settlers, instead of having abandoned it and become vagabonds, as Mr. Stewart asserts, are, according to the last accounts, in a fixed and prosperous state. A small body of free persons of colour also accepted an offer to migrate to St. Domingo, where, instead of experiencing, as Mr. Stewart affirms, “wretched treatment ten times worse than that of the slaves of Jamaica,” it is admitted by Major Moody (in his last Report) that they were received with kindness and hospitality; that every promise made to them was punctually fulfilled; that their failure arose in no degree from the ill treatment they met with; but from their own misconduct, or from their unreasonable and overweening expectations.

That in the United States the emancipated slaves and their descendants are kept in a state of wretched depression and degradation is too true. But this is not *their* work, but that of the dominant whites, who, in some states, have even constituted it a high crime to teach a slave to read, and who exclude the negro and coloured races from participating in the common rights of citizenship.

† What does this prove, but that nothing in the way of effectual reform is to be hoped for from the masters of slaves? The legislators of the Southern American States, and the legislators of the Antilles are both of this class. In both, the whites alone legislate for the blacks and mulattoes. If therefore, unwarned by the example of America, our Government should persist in committing the work of reform, to Colonial legislators, what can we expect but that no sincere or effective attempt will be made, nor step taken, to emancipate their slaves? Indeed, Mr. Stewart tells us so in plain terms.

‡ They acquired it, in the first instance, by a decree of the national convention. They won it afterwards by their blood and valour, in fair conflict with one of the best appointed armies of Bonaparte.

§ Mr. Stewart lives in an island which is only twelve hours sail from St. Domingo; and yet he suffers himself to be deluded, and he deludes others, by such false representations. Instead of having decreased by 100,000 in the last twenty years, the population of St. Domingo has nearly doubled its numbers; and at the last census in 1824 amounted to 935,000 souls!

only by military authority.\* If we look to this island (Jamaica,) we shall find that the Maroons who have been free for years, are sunk into the depth of idleness and debauchery. They have no desire to improve their condition, and they only labour sufficiently for their immediate subsistence.† Emancipation, even at the distance of twenty or thirty years, is a wild and visionary scheme.‡ The slave has a hold on his master. If the master wishes to shake him off, he exclaims, "Massa, you belong to me, and I wont leave you."§ What would be the effect of indiscriminate emancipation? The lame, the diseased, and the blind, who are now provided for by their owners, would be abandoned as the poor Irish are to wretchedness and starvation.|| If the ulterior views of the visionary philanthropists in Great Britain are to lead to general emancipation, let us atonce tell them that we will not proceed farther than we conceive can be done with safety to ourselves. Should the British Government carry its threat into execution, and legislate for us, we must yield, but let us protest before God and the world against such an act of injustice. He pledged himself to support only such enactments as might be made with safety to the property and persons of his constituents."

We have given the more space to Mr. Stewart's observations, on account of the weight which the respectability of his character will naturally give to them, and which has made it also the more necessary that they should be met by a refutation. What remains will occupy much less room.

In the Royal Gazette of Jamaica, of June 3rd, 1826, are inserted several important communications.

One writer remarks, that "as the mother country has the power, it is needless to question her right to force upon them her proposed measures

\* Even if this statement were true, which it is not, being as directly the reverse of truth as the assertion last commented upon, how infinitely preferable would be the legitimate exercise of even military authority, to the impulse of the cart whip in the hands of private caprice, or sordid cupidity?

† Have the legislators of Jamaica taken a single step to civilize the Maroons? On the contrary, has not the whole current of their policy been directed to prevent their elevation? They are constituted the human blood-hounds of Jamaica. They are tempted by rewards to occupy themselves in tracking runaways. No means of education are afforded them. They are studiously insulated from the rest of the community. And we might judge from the actual state of things, that the safety of Jamaica was considered as bound up in the ignorance, profligacy, and heathenism of the Maroons. And yet with all their incivilization, the Maroons increase rapidly, while the slaves around them decrease.

‡ The redemption of the female slaves, according to a plan inserted in the Appendix to the second Report of the Anti-slavery Society, would not put an end to slavery till after the latest of these periods.

§ And yet what is the bribe held out on all occasions to tempt the negro either to gallant daring, or to any wished-for disclosure? It is emancipation. What is it that he thinks cheaply purchased by the earnings of a life of toil and self denial? It is emancipation. Against what passion is it that the penal statutes of the Colonies point their sharpest vengeance? It is against the desire of liberty. An attempt to escape from the island is visited with death. Even a few months escape from the cart whip into the adjoining woods may be punished capitally. And yet the slave, Mr. Stewart would persuade us, shrinks from accepting the boon of freedom.

|| Does Mr. Stewart believe that even the poor, wretched, starving Irish would change conditions with his slaves? Let him try the experiment. Let him subject the naked body of the Irish female to the cart whip, or the back of her husband to the driver's lash, and both to the brutal debasement of negro life, in the West Indies, and he would see how they would spurn his service, even if they were sure to wallow in the abundance of plantains, yams, and salt herrings. But there are "the lame, the diseased, and the blind" to be provided for. In a climate and soil, however, where the West Indians tell us, *as a reason for keeping men in slavery*, that a week's labour in the year will supply all the necessaries of life, we are now told that they must be kept in slavery, lest "the lame, and the diseased, and the blind" should starve. Is there then no natural affection among negroes? Or how are "the lame, and the diseased and the blind" among the Maroons of Jamaica, or among the 40,000 emancipated slaves and their descendants in that island, now supported? It cannot be that there should be no "lame, and diseased, and blind" among them; and yet do they not subsist without any compulsory provision, and without any burden on the community? Let Mr. Stewart tell us how many of those 40,000 who really require aid are supported by a poor rate, or by any bounty, excepting that of their own class. And supposing the case were otherwise; could not a wise and considerate government take care to make the due support of the infirm, a condition of emancipation? Such reasonings, therefore, only serve to expose the miserable weakness of a cause which is forced to employ them in its service.

of reform," which also, he thinks, ought not to be rejected because proposed by her, but if proper in themselves, ought to be adopted.

"Our labouring classes, it is true, are not now capable of appreciating the advantages of religion—they are *happy*, but they are *ignorant* ;\* but the sooner the work of instruction is begun, the sooner will it be accomplished. The House of Assembly therefore ought not only to abolish Sunday markets, but oblige proprietors and overseers to see that the Negroes go regularly to a place of worship on the Sabbath. Friday might be substituted for the market day, and every other Saturday given for the cultivation of provision grounds, and Sunday set apart exclusively for devotion and rest. † *The Negroes would feel this a great boon, and a few years would produce a great improvement in their moral character.*" ‡

"Another measure I should like to see carried into execution, *if possible*, is the abolition of the whip, *in a certain degree.* § But such is the character of our labouring classes, that how repugnant soever it may be to the feelings of their masters to resort to this expedient, it is feared that it cannot be dispensed with entirely. || Put a Negro in the stocks, or send him to the workhouse to be punished, and you are deprived of his labour, while you are obliged to support him, and pay a fee (for the workhouse flogging) of 2s. 6d. ; and when he comes home he pretends he is unable to do any thing *for three or four days.* ¶ On plantations, if the Sunday market is changed to Friday, the whip might be abolished as regards women, and confinement in the stocks on that day and their own Saturday substituted. \*\* But in towns, where an allowance is given to domestics for their support, in lieu of cultivating their grounds, the abolition of the whip is scarcely practicable. It is manifest to every individual in the least acquainted with this Colony, *that the dread of the whip is the only prevention of idleness and insolence.*" †† "The Slave-evidence Bill I consider fraught with the greatest mischief : by its voluntary enactment our Colonial Legislature will lay the foundation of its own ruin." "Let opposition then be made to this Bill, not because it proceeds from the mother country, but because our Assembly, being more competent judges, conceive it likely to subvert our institutions, and endanger our safety. ‡‡ Let the mother country be told respectfully, but firmly, that it is impossible to adopt such a measure, unless a pledge be given to us for a full and ample compensation, not only for our Negroes but lands, in the event of her interference producing those results which the Colonies clearly foresee." "Let the West India motto be, 'Full and ample compensation.' Let the call for this be repeated and loud. On this is our only hope ; with it, we will do *every thing* the mother country shall require—without it, *nothing.*" §§

The two succeeding extracts, and they are all we shall have room for, will evince the altered tone which begins generally to predominate in the West Indies, in consequence of the unequivocal display of public feeling which the last year has witnessed in Great Britain on the subject of Slavery.

"At this awful crisis," says the Royal Gazette of Jamaica, "it becomes the

\* Can they be indeed happy, if ignorant of what it most imports immortal beings to know ?

† This writer concurs with Mr. Pile and Mr. Stewart in conceding the indispensable obligation, if Sunday is to be made a day of devotion and rest, of giving the slave, *by law*, another entire day in lieu of it, for markets and the cultivation of his grounds.

‡ This is most true ; they would feel it a far more important boon, than all that has been given them besides. But the measure, though promised, has no where, not even in Trinidad, been brought into operation.

§ See how they, one and all, cling to the whip.

|| Undoubtedly it cannot be dispensed with entirely, if men are to work for the benefit of others, and not for their own, unless another stimulus be substituted. If no reward be given for voluntary labour, how is it to be obtained for another's benefit, even in Great Britain, but by compulsion ?

¶ We may judge from this expression of the severity of these work-house floggings, inflicted by the desire, and at the caprice of, a master, or manager, without any reference to a magistrate.

\*\* In other words, punish them by starving instead of flogging.

†† While the whip continues the only spur to exertion, the dread of it will, of course, continue the only preventive of idleness and insolence.

‡‡ How these Colonial doctors differ !

§§ We see from this specimen what we have to expect on the part of the Planters as to claims for compensation. The Council of Trinidad demand it in return for giving up the labour of the slave on Sunday, and providing him with equivalent time, though not for conceding the right of evidence. Mr.



boudden duty of those to whom our interests are, or may be, confided, to look at the subject calmly and dispassionately, rejecting *all angry or violent counsels*, and regarding with contemptuous indifference every thing like menace or intimidation. Whatever communications are made to the House of Assembly, should be received with the respect which is due to all subjects recommended by the Crown, and disposed of separately according to their respective merits; and where it may not be expedient to accede to them, temperate and judicious reasons should be assigned for a non-compliance. At all events the question should be fairly met, and not postponed, from time to time, on various pretences, but proceeded in at once." May 27th, 1826.

Another writes, "I will not take up your time in enquiries as to our *just rights*, but state the situation in which we stand with the mother country. A party there have used every exertion to draw the attention of all classes to us; and I understand they have succeeded in a wonderful manner. The name of a West Indian is almost a reproach; and the word Slavery is made use of to excite every angry feeling against us. We all know the power of public opinion." "Yield to public opinion—by that means you will save yourselves from ruin. Let the people of England see that you elect men to represent you, who will fairly consider every proposition made by His Majesty's Ministers, and accede to them when they can do so. Let every unkind feeling be banished; and let us, by yielding to public opinion, allow the outcry of the party in England to pass over and be forgotten. Let our Legislature endeavour to improve our slave law, and suit it to our present mild discipline. While we have a trial by jury, we need not fear to pass the Slave evidence Bill, and the time will come when we shall wonder why we hesitated."<sup>a</sup>

#### C. N. PALLMER, Esq.—RIGHTS OF NEGROES.

THE election of Mr. Pallmer for the county of Surry, has led to several insertions in the County Chronicle, by some able friend of our cause, who styles himself "a Surry freeholder." In that of the 18th July, appears a letter addressed to Mr. P. bearing that signature, and which evidently proceeds from no weak or unskilful combatant. We transcribe as much of it into our pages as we can now find room for. After adverting to some points of merely local interest, this able writer thus proceeds:

"I shall now give a sketch of those general principles, the value of which it is extremely probable that the obstinacy of the Colonists will cause, at no distant time, to be brought to the test of a competent tribunal. Of the negroes in the West Indies—some are unoffending helpless foreigners, carried thither by an act of piracy, and forcibly detained in a state of slavery, in violation of the general principles of the Law of Nations, which we recognise as a civilized people. That is the only law by which the question of slavery, as it affects them,

Pile prefers a similar claim. Mr. Stewart prefers no claim for compensation either for the day given in lieu of Sunday, or for admitting the slaves to the privilege of giving evidence; and with him the West Indians in England concur. The present writer claims nothing for the day substituted for Sunday; but for allowing slaves to give evidence, there must be "a full and ample compensation secured."—Another writer in the same paper says, "There appears to be one way of escape left—let the amelioration bill be passed with as little alteration as the utmost degree of conciliating prudence can justify. But let there be a clause which shall fix its operation to commence one month after a pledge of indemnity, made on the part of the British nation, shall be officially announced against all loss." A third writer in the Gazette of the preceding week writes thus:—"Compensation must precede emancipation, or any other proposition from the British Government. Mr. Canning cannot forget that the Negro slaves are our own *absolute property*, and that we paid for them, as well as his honour paid for *his horses*; and that we expect a reimbursement of our money; and that *we will not conform* to measures which may prove detrimental to our interests; or, at least, if we are compelled to yield to these outrageous or experimental laws, let it not be said that we have lent a hand to our own destruction."

\* In other words—"Avert the threatened interference of Parliament by soft words and apparent compliances. Mere enactments, unsupported by adequate sanctions, experience has proved to us, may be safely hazarded. Whatever the enactments be it matters not, while the administration rests with us. While we have our trial by Jury, (from which all but the Whites are excluded,) and while our Judges are Planters, what have we to fear? What signify the mere terms of a law, when that law is subjected to the sure operation of the *esprit du corps*, both in Judge and Jury? The more liberal these terms, the better secured shall we be from any efficient controul—and by thus yielding to public opinion, we shall surmount the present crisis, until the outcry of the party in England shall pass over and be forgotten."

can be tried with any shew of justice. Whatever may have been their condition in Africa, we know them only as innocent strangers, who, when they sailed on board British ships before the express abolition of the slave trade, passed necessarily through the jurisdiction of the British Court of Admiralty on the high seas, and from that moment, at all events, became as free as if they had arrived in the River Thames. During the voyage these unhappy human beings could be treated as slaves by no law but that of brutal force, for they were legally free; and, if they were carried on and sold in the Islands, it was as to them an act of piracy, without requiring any declaratory law to make it so, as far as their inalienable rights were concerned. They were harmless aliens, pirated on the high seas, and the piracy and the pirate were continued in the person of the Colonist, who bought stolen human beings knowing them to have been stolen. These helpless foreigners owe no allegiance to the authority which oppresses them; they are still under the protection of the law of nations, a fact which would quickly be brought to our notice by the able and accomplished diplomatists of the Black republic of Hayti, if they should discover that any of their own people were so detained. Among civilized nations, the natural rights of unoffending aliens are not the less sacred and unextinguishable, because no powerful arm is stretched out to support them. If they are held in slavery, it can only be by a most cruel and violent usurpation, because they are weak, and not by any law which can, by the remotest possibility, impose obligations on them. If they are put to death for asserting, or indeed for *talking about* asserting their natural rights, the act is as entirely an act of murder as when a pirate fires upon his prisoners because they are not willing to submit to his injustice. Those of the negroes who are not aliens are the born subjects of the British Crown, held in slavery, incredible as it might seem, by other British subjects; and in many instances these oppressed victims are also Christians. Born within the King's allegiance, whatever may be the colour of their skins, they possess, as their birthright, all the general rights of Englishmen; they owe an allegiance to their King, with which a state of slavery is incompatible; they are only British colonists of a darker complexion. If the strong hand of oppression has degraded and brutalized them to its purposes, the rapid progress in intellectual advancement made by the people of Hayti, within these few years, may serve to shew of what the negroes are capable in a state of liberty. The total loss of all mental and moral energy, which marks the condition of the enslaved captives of the piratical States of Africa, may also shew that white men, reduced to the same deplorable situation, have little superiority to boast of, excepting those who may have had the advantages of previous education, or are buoyed up with the hope of a speedy deliverance. But the rights of our Black fellow subjects are forcibly withheld from them, because our own Municipal Courts have no authority out of England; and in the Colonial Courts justice is denied them by the law of the strongest. It was because the barbarians at Algiers acted on the same principle towards foreigners, that England laid their town in ruins, and raised to the dignity of a viscount the brave man who was made the minister of her wrath. That we should be equally alive to the sufferings of British subjects in our colonies is neither quackery nor hypocrisy. The Colonial Legislatures have not, and never could possess in their petty jurisdictions, a power to make laws extinguishing the civil existence of unoffending British subjects by thousands and hundreds of thousands—a power not within the competence of the Legislature of the mother country itself to exercise or to delegate to others. Such a power would at once annihilate the British Constitution, and scatter our social compact to the winds. Have the colonists yet to learn that their powers, like those of the States of Jersey and Guernsey, or indeed like those of every parish and corporation, are limited to regulations by which no paramount rights are invaded? Do the inhabitants of those colonies, which we possess by conquest, imagine that, in time of war, they could vote themselves the adherents of those countries to which they formerly belonged, on the ground that their ancient laws and privileges were guaranteed to them? Have the conquered and the settled colonies yet to learn that their buccaneer pretension to make what laws they please, might with as much propriety extend itself to the right, founded on the old practice of holding white men in slavery, of sending to labour in their fields as slaves the crews of French or American vessels driven by stress of weather into their ports, and of condemning their ships as lawful prize? This pretension has no limits; it is not

allegiance, but independence; and when it consigns British subjects or unoffending foreigners to a state of slavery, it is the independence of Algiers. But it is said that England has herself, by Acts of Parliament, created negro slavery: this, to the best of my recollection, is not a correct statement of the fact, though it is, I am afraid, too true that this country has in several of her Statutes, recognized the slavery of British subjects, as an existing state of things in our colonies, by a sort of indirect connivance. This does not vary the general question; it only affords ground for a fair claim to compensation. Beyond this indirect connivance the Legislature of England could not go, and this strange anomaly of its having gone so far can only be explained by the supposition that, at the time, the House of Commons was well stocked with slave owners, whose ideas of the true principles of the British Constitution were confused by conflicting principles, imbibed during their residence in the West Indian Islands, and confirmed by the long habit of treating their fellow-subjects as mere goods and chattels. A custom has grown up among us, which permits persons who hold their fellow-subjects in slavery to become the Legislators of the freest country in the world; but it is a custom liable to the most serious objections, and one which all men who take the principles of the British Constitution for their guide will at all times view with jealousy and dissatisfaction. Of the virtual disqualification there can be no doubt; but this is high matter, and will appear with more propriety in a general address to the Electors of England, on the great increase of slave-owners in the new Parliament."

#### RESTRICTIONS ON TRADE, IN FAVOUR OF SLAVE-LABOUR.

THE following communication on the ruinous effect of the restrictions on trade, and especially of those intended to favour the produce of Slave-labour, is extracted from a late number of the *Times*.

Sir,—I have read with deep interest your remarks on the distress of our labouring population. You have adverted to the evils of pauperism, which are continuing, without even an attempt at a remedy, to destroy the comforts and morals of our peasantry; you have also dwelt on the evils arising from the monopoly of corn enjoyed by the landholders. But you have overlooked another subject, highly worthy of your attention as connected with the existing distress: I mean the monopoly in the trade of tea, sugar, and coffee,—next to corn, the articles of most general consumption. If China were thrown open to our commerce, and its immense tea trade were set at liberty, a powerful impulse would be given to our manufacturing industry. For this, however, we must probably wait till the expiration of the East India Company's charter. But can any adequate reason be assigned for continuing the protecting duties, in favour of colonial produce, of 10s. per cwt. on East India sugar, and 28s. per cwt. on East India Coffee—a tax equal to fifty per cent. on the prime cost of these articles, and therefore in reality a tax equal to fifty per cent. on the export of our manufactures to that country? The export of our manufactures to India, since the partial renewing of the trade to that country, has already increased at a prodigious rate, and it is obviously checked in its progress, only by the want of returns, in effect by the absurd restrictions which forbid us to receive and consume their sugar and coffee. Is it not absolute infatuation thus to shut against ourselves, to such an extent, the market of a hundred millions of consumers, who are also our fellow-subjects, in order to favour a handful of planters in our slave colonies, who have no claim upon us for such a costly sacrifice, except that it is required to repay to them the destruction of human life which slavery causes? And this policy is the more to be deplored, because, while it serves to starve our manufacturers, and to depress our eastern empire, it aggravates the miseries and swells the mortality of the unhappy slaves in our colonies. The interests of humanity are here most clearly in unison with the dictates of that sound and enlightened policy which his Majesty's ministers, except when impeded by the parliamentary influence of colonial slave-holders are solicitous to pursue. Even if we were disposed to make light of the sufferings of the slaves, or of the claims of the Hindoos, we surely will not turn a deaf ear to the cries of our famished and perishing population.

1826  
London, 18, Aldermanbury, September 30, 1826.

No. 16.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

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

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### THE BERBICE FISCAL'S OFFICIAL VINDICATION OF HIS REPORT RESPECTING THE COMPLAINTS OF NEGROES.

MANY of our readers, without doubt, retain a lively recollection of the atrocities which the Report of the Fiscal of Berbice, printed last year by order of the House of Commons, shewed to have been perpetrated in that Colony. In the postscript to a pamphlet, entitled "The Slave Colonies of Great Britain, or a picture of Negro Slavery, drawn by the Colonists themselves,"\* a brief view was given of its details, which were described as admitting "us into the interior, the very penetralia of the slave system, there exhibited, in all its height, and length, and breadth, and depth of deformity."

The exposure of these atrocities has powerfully excited the indignation of the Colonists, not against the perpetrators of them, but against those who called to them the attention of the public. Even some Members of Parliament, while they expressed disgust and horror at the revolting details contained in this Report, took pains to weaken their effect, by attempting to throw discredit on the motives of those who published the abstract of them just referred to.

Since that time, a more formidable adversary has appeared in the person of the Fiscal of Berbice himself, the very officer on whose authority the whole statement rested. The Council of that Colony, at a meeting held on the 11th of January 1826, Resolved, on the motion of the Hon. Simon Frazer, "That, in consequence of the very injurious observations reflecting on the character and conduct of the inhabitants of this Colony, arising from certain reports of his Honour the Fiscal, relative to complaints made to him by the negroes, transmitted to his Majesty's

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\* This postscript will be found entire in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 5, which will equally serve the purpose of reference with the pamphlet. It is the second edition of the pamphlet which is always quoted.

Government in a most imperfect state, they thought it but just, that the Colonists, who were not only disposed to court inquiry, but anxious for the strictest scrutiny, should have every opportunity afforded them, to *rebut the charges of their calumniators*;\* and that, therefore, the Governor should be requested to call upon the Fiscal for a detailed report of the nature of the inquiry, instituted either by him, or the Court of Criminal Justice, into the complaints alluded to, as also of the final judgments in each case, in order to meet, fairly, the unqualified attacks, which there is too much reason to believe, will be levelled against the West India character, founded on garbled and imperfect documents."

In obedience to this Resolution of Council, the Fiscal drew up a second report, which having been transmitted to Lord Bathurst, has been subsequently printed by order of the House of Commons. A copy of it is now before us, and we would say of it, in general, that instead of at all serving the purpose of its prompters, which was to *rebut the charges against West Indian humanity and justice*, founded on the original report of the Fiscal, it tends to confirm, and even to aggravate those charges.

This report, thus produced with the view of whitewashing the Colonial System, is accompanied by a letter from the Fiscal to the Governor, which merits particular attention. It is dated the 21st January, 1826.

"My Lord Bathurst," he says, "was pleased to desire his Excellency, Lieutenant-Governor Beard, to direct me to forward, for the purpose of being laid before the House of Commons, copies of the complaints of slaves, made at my office from the year 1814, to the date of his Lordship's dispatch.

"It is with deep regret that I have perceived from many of the public prints in Great Britain, that garbled statements of some of these complaints have been made public,† and from the inflammatory manner in which they are stated in the speeches at a meeting at Norfolk, cannot fail to excite indignation against the discharge of the duties of my office, as well as the *most unfounded* prejudice against individuals of respectability in this Colony. Together with some of the complaints of slaves transmitted by me, are the refutations; but *in all cases brought forward*, such are carefully kept in the back ground.‡

"In cases where I found there was foundation for complaint, I deemed it my duty to bring it before the Court of Criminal Justice, the supreme tribunal of the Colony, where his Excellency presided, and when once removed there, the complaint and decision upon it became a matter of public record, and consequently totally unnecessary to form any part of the private memorandums, which, as I stated in my letter to the Lieutenant-Governor, I merely kept, for my own satisfaction, my office not forming one of public record,§ nor were the slightest memoranda handed to me of the proceedings of my predecessors. This, I hope, will account for the apparently imperfect state in which these complaints were transmitted.

"In corroboration of these assertions, I now beg leave to hand your Excellency statements of the proceedings, and explanations on many cases quoted at the Nor-

\* The "charges of their calumniators" were neither more nor less than a few extracts from the Fiscal's official report of the complaints of the negroes. If, in making this report, circumstances were omitted by him which were necessary to his own vindication as a minister of justice, or, to the full understanding of the different cases brought before him, the fault was his, not that of the Anti-Slavery Society.

† The Fiscal evidently alludes to the Society's pamphlet, *the Slave Colonies, &c.* He ought, in fairness, to have specified the instances in which his statements have there been garbled.

‡ We take it upon us to say, that this accusation is untrue. Being made, it ought to have been substantiated; but no instance is adduced by the Fiscal to support it.

§ It is a heavy reflection on the administration of the Slave Laws, that their infraction should not be matter of record.

folk meeting. In regard to the assertions of some of the speakers at this meeting, that they had their information from the Fiscal, I positively declare, I never directly or indirectly, held any correspondence or communication with the gentlemen in question;\* and as to the unfounded assertion, that negroes, coming to my office to complain, were generally flogged by way of redress, I hesitate not to say, is a malicious falsehood.† I have sixteen years discharged the duties of my office in a conscientious manner, consistent with my duty to my Sovereign; and I have great pleasure in stating, that in none of his Majesty's Colonies, are the slaves better treated than in this;‡ every facility is afforded them to prefer their complaints, and when they are founded, the records will shew the exemplary manner in which transgressors are punished.§ It is unnecessary for me to observe to your Excellency, how much negroes are in the habit of exaggerating their complaints, and, indeed, how very often they are unfounded; nine times in ten they proceed from the most indolent and worthless negroes on the estates, and are generally contradicted by the better behaved negroes.|| I will only trespass further on your Excellency's time, by observing, that when complaints are once transferred by me to the superior tribunals, I am no longer a judge in such cases but merely the prosecutor; and, as I deem it my duty, in cases of importance, to resort to this mode of proceeding, it will further account to your Excellency for my decisions not being noted in many cases.¶

Let us now proceed to examine this pretended vindication of the inhabitants, and of the *judicial* administration, of Berbice, and see to what it amounts.

1. The case of Mrs. Sanders, (see Slave Colonies, p. 104, 105.) is stated in nearly the same terms as in the first Report, p. 5; any variations being merely verbal. The only part that is new, is the *result* which is thus given: "From the foregoing examinations, it was *proved* by the evidence of the overseer, on oath, that Mrs. Sanders had not confined any of the negroes in shackles: the other charges appeared to be satisfactorily made out." Now the evidence of the overseer,

\* The Fiscal seems to have strangely supposed that Lord Suffield and Mr. Buxton, in saying they had their information exclusively from him, meant to impute to him the unpardonable offence of privately corresponding with them. They alluded entirely to his official report.

† The Fiscal does not tell us where or by whom this *malicious falsehood* was uttered. On referring to the pamphlet above mentioned, we find five instances only specified out of thirty or forty, in which the Fiscal redressed the complaint by flogging the complainant. So far is it from being true, that any such charge was made *generally* against the Fiscal in that pamphlet, that it is there expressly stated, (p. 104.) that his decisions have not been given "except in a few cases."

‡ We are not at all disposed to question the truth of this statement. The slaves in the other Colonies are, we believe, no better off than those of Berbice; and, in some, we have no doubt, that if like authentic details were given of the nature and result of their complaints, we should have a disclosure of at least a fair proportion of similar horrors.

§ Why has he not given us those records? They have been anxiously called for. The order of the House of Commons was to produce records of *all* proceedings with their results, in cases of complaints of masters and slaves. The first return to this order is admitted by the Council of Berbice to have been imperfect. In fact, we had there nearly 200 cases of complaint in which no decision whatever was notified. But the second Report which we are now considering, and which was intended expressly to supply the imperfections of the first, does not give us any additional information, except in ten of those two hundred cases; and the information which it does give not only throws little additional light on the subject, but aggravates, in a high degree, some of those cases, and serves to illustrate still more strongly the inherent cruelty and injustice of the whole system, as we shall shew by a careful induction of particulars.

|| All this ought to have been matter of proof, not of assertion. Why is not the testimony of these better behaved negroes before us? If Mr. Bennett had given us facts as established in evidence, we should have been wholly independent of his opinion, which, whether we regard him as a Planter, or as a Judge whose own conduct is in question, is liable, in this instance, to be biased by the circumstances in which he is placed.

¶ This forms no apology whatever for the imperfection of the returns. The decisions were called for, and ought to have been given, whether they were recorded in the office of the Fiscal, or in that of the Court of Criminal Justice. And why are they not *now* given?

*proves* that he was regularly absent from home, attending the wood-cutters in the woods, from Monday morning to Saturday night; and was at home only from Saturday night to Monday morning. He says, that in Mr. Sanders' life-time, he had often seen the slaves confined in shackles, their ancles and wrists cross-ways; but he had never seen it since. Again, he says, "I never *saw* it, or heard of it, since Mr. Sanders' death;" and this statement, made by a man who admits that he had no opportunity of witnessing how Mrs. Sanders may have acted towards the negroes, except on the Sunday, is considered by the Fiscal, as *proving* that the concurrent testimony of nine negroes, who are found to have given correct evidence in every other particular, (their other charges having been satisfactorily made out) was untrue in this. It is absolutely impossible to read the consistent statements of these nine negroes on the subject, and compare it with the overseer's merely negative testimony as to one fact, and that under circumstances which made it impossible he should be cognisant of it, without astonishment at the Fiscal's conclusion. Whenever the overseer had any opportunity of knowing the facts, he confirms the testimony of the slaves. In the only case, in which he had no such opportunity, his statement that he knew nothing of it is admitted as *proof* of the falsehood of the charge.

It is, however, satisfactory to find, that Mrs. Sanders did not escape on this occasion with impunity. She was convicted of starving and neglecting her slaves, and of forcing them to work on Sundays; and was therefore made to pay a sum of 1,812 guilders, of penalty and costs, being nearly 140*l.* sterling. This is a fact now communicated for the first time: the money however, was paid, not as a reparation to the slaves, but as a fine to the public treasury.

2. No attempt is made to explain the reason why various other atrocities, perpetrated by the same lady, met with no punishment. (See *Slave Colonies*, p. 105, 106.) "The Fiscal," (p. 8, of his 2nd Report) says he, "can trace no minute of decision thereon, nor any charge of expences incurred for investigation. He therefore *concludes*, that the complaint was groundless, and was dismissed accordingly." This is certainly a very hasty conclusion, as his own minutes, contained in the first Report, will clearly testify. These exhibit internal evidence that his present hypothesis on the subject is directly opposed to fact. One of the complainants, the Fiscal himself admits (1st Report, p. 32), to have the proof of his complaint "visible on his posteriors," and the charge of *forcing* the slaves to work on the Sundays is fully admitted by the son of their mistress, the manager of her estate. (*ib.* p. 54.) In the Fiscal's anxiety to exculpate this lady, he suggests a very charitable, but untenable construction of a part of the evidence, given in the 1st Report, (p. 61.) Her son had said, that "*David had been flogged under his feet with tamarind rods, on account of his back being cut up.*" Oh, says the Fiscal, "this does not imply that the negro's back was sore from any punishment he had received from Mrs. Sanders, but *in order to shame David.*" He ought, however, to have told us why flogging *on the feet* should be regarded, by the poor slave in Berbice, as more *shameful* than flogging on those parts which, every where else, it is thought the *most* shameful to expose and lacerate.

3. The next case is that of four women, on Plantation Guilderland. (See Slave Colonies, p. 106, and the Fiscal's 1st Report, p. 13.) The result which was withheld in the first report is now given. "The Fiscal," we are told, "has a perfect recollection;" (the occurrence, be it remembered, had taken place seven years before; we may therefore fairly distrust the perfectness of his recollection, in a case where his own character is at stake, and where there can be no fear of contradiction.) "The Fiscal has a perfect recollection of having attended on Plantation Guilderland, in consequence of these complaints, which were greatly exaggerated." He does not state in what respect they were exaggerated, or what proof there was of exaggeration. "He examined the field work, and found that, on such of the coffee-beds as were weeded by women having children, there was on each such bed additional hands." Now, though this may have been the case on the day on which the Fiscal visited the estate, how can he certainly infer from that circumstance, that on the previous days to which alone the complaint of the women related, it had not been otherwise? The only evidence he adduces, in answer to the heavy charges preferred by the four women, (namely, that they, though suckling or pregnant, had been driven to keep up with the gang, and punished for failing,) is that of the parties accused,—the driver and the overseer. After hearing this evidence, "the Fiscal interposed his authority, directing that the children, in future, be given in charge of careful nurses; and the complaint was herewith dismissed." Nothing can be more unsatisfactory than such a result of such a case, even upon the Fiscal's own shewing.

4. The case of Jane (Slave Colonies, p. 106, and 1st Report, p. 14.) is thus explained: On the 10th of February, 1826, (seven years after the transaction had occurred) Mr. Bourmester, the master of Jane, "is required to attend at the Fiscal's office, and inquired of," (there being evidently no record remaining) "if he had any remembrance of the result of this investigation, he having answered it on behalf of his house-keeper, Grace. He stated, that he perfectly recollected the case to have been exaggerated;" (doubtless, that would be his impression,) "but not having been able to prove to the Fiscal's satisfaction, that the complaint of the negress Jane was unfounded,\* the Fiscal had insisted on his paying a fine on behalf of Grace;"—the amount of which fine is not mentioned.

5. The next is that shocking case of the negress Minkie. No one who has once read it can have forgotten it. It will be found at p. 107, of the Slave Colonies, and p. 14, of the 1st Report of the Fiscal. This Minkie is the wretched creature of whom the Fiscal says, that she exhibited her posteriors, which were covered with a plaister, and lacerated to that degree that the Court directed her not to uncover it. The result of this case, which is now given us for the first time in the 2nd

\* This is a very peculiar mode of stating that a complaint was fully proved; for if it had not been proved, Mr. Bourmester would not have been fined. Jane had been sick; she had had a blister on her belly; she was still ill; she had been kicked and beat with pieces of crab-wood; and in this state made to work. She produced two living witnesses to the truth of her complaint, besides the still less dubious evidence of her emaciated figure, and blistered and beaten body. No wonder then, that Mr. Bourmester should fail in satisfying the Fiscal that the complaint was unfounded.



Report (p. 10,) furnishes another most striking illustration of the cruel and oppressive nature of the West India system, and which alone was wanting to complete the picture of horror which the previous details of it had presented. "His Honour, the President, and the Court," we are told, "were highly indignant at the treatment of this female. No evidence, however, could be obtained to convict the proprietor (Mr. Jones) of having inflicted a severer punishment *than that prescribed by law.*" It is added, "the Court are fully satisfied that the unfortunate female slave has been flogged *in a most severe and cruel manner,* and to her sufferings, by her master's own confession" (who indeed, seemed to glory in his barbarity) "was added the breaking of her mouth in a most brutal manner." Her master was then directed *to take her from the custody of the under sheriff, on payment of the fees.* She was returned, that is to say, into the power of this monster, by order of the Court.

Now, consider all the horrors of this clear and unambiguous case of cruelty, and the impunity which has attended it, and then say, whether the detestable system of *law* which can screen such conduct (not denied, but avowed) from justice, is any longer to be endured. That we should have endured it so long, may well make us tremble when we recollect that God is the avenger of the desolate and oppressed.

But the savage master was not proved, it seems, to have offended against the *law*,—this is true; nay, he had done nothing more than the law expressly authorises every master to do. At his own caprice, for no earthly crime that even he himself could specify, he lacerated "in a most severe and cruel manner," the naked body of this unprotected and unoffending female; but so long as it could not be proved that the number of stripes exceeded thirty-nine, however "well they were laid on," to use his own brutal expression of triumph; however deep they cut into the flesh, and though he broke her mouth besides;—no punishment could reach him; nay, the law, (what a disgusting mockery of law!) the law actually protected and sanctioned his crime. And yet, says Mr. Bennet, the Fiscal, and we believe him, "in none of his Majesty's colonies are the slaves better treated than in this." Let the full import of these words be weighed. We have been told, by no mean authority in colonial matters,\* as a palliation of these evils, that atrocities are perpetrated in England as well as in the West Indies; but we challenge all the advocates of the colonial system, whether in or out of office, to produce any case, be it in law or practice, which will bear the remotest comparison to this transaction. It deserves to be well studied. It is an admirable illustration of the innate flagitiousness of that abominable institution, which still finds so many plausible and cold blooded advocates among us, and which, owing to their false and delusive statements, is still permitted to flourish in most mischievous vigour in one of the fairest portions of the British Dominions.

6. Tommy's case is not adverted to in the pamphlet called the Slave

\* How deeply did we regret to hear Lord Bathurst, himself, in his reply to Lord Suffield, on the 17th of April, 1836, having recourse to such an argument as this! See also, a pamphlet entitled, *The West India Question* practically considered.

Colonies, but it will be found at p. 9, of the Fiscal's first report. Tommy, a cooper, had been flogged, not, it seems, in the opinion of the Fiscal who inspected him, with any *peculiar* severity, though after the flogging, his buttocks had been washed with brine, and he locked up in this state of laceration every night in the stocks. Let any one but picture to himself the torture a poor wretch must endure confined in the stocks, night after night, with the very part of his body which a sitting posture must chiefly affect, lacerated with the cart-whip; and this torture inflicted, not by any grave judicial sentence, but by the caprice of a certain Mr. William Fraser, himself accuser, judge, jailor, and executioner. When Tommy, however, was flogged, a white man happened to be present, who had taken the pains, after a time, to count the lashes. His testimony is thus given: Tommy had appropriated to himself, in the boiling house, where he was at work, *about half a pound of sugar*.\* "Mr. Fraser ordered the drivers, Tommy, and Acarra, to flog cooper Tommy. He was tied down to stakes and flogged. To the best of my knowledge he received *forty-one* lashes: I counted them. He appeared much cut. I have seen negroes flogged before, but never with so much severity. *I did not count the previous cracks of the whip,*" (Tommy had affirmed that a hundred lashes were given him,) "*but the forty-one lashes, which I can correctly speak of, I counted as those which cut him on the bottom.*" Thus far the Fiscal's first report went. In his present report, he gives us the *result*. This result consists partly of a letter from the Fiscal, dated 10th February, 1826, (*seven years after the investigation had taken place,*) announcing to William Fraser, that, having punished his slave Tommy excessively, he must pay a fine of 300 guilders, with sixty-nine guilders for costs. If there be no mistake in the date of the Fiscal's letter, it would appear as if the infliction of the fine had only been thought of in consequence of the clamour excited, in this country, by that gentleman's first report. But even supposing it to be otherwise, how strongly does the circumstance mark the capricious inequality of the law! The master of Minkie receives no punishment, because, notwithstanding all the other aggravating circumstances of the case, it cannot be proved that he exceeded thirty-nine stripes. Mr. Fraser is fined because it is proved that he inflicted two more than that number. But that this punishment should have been sustained by him not in 1819, but, as the Fiscal's letter would indicate, in 1826, is not a little extraordinary. Notwithstanding however, the grossness of the case, and the very disproportionate severity of the punishment, had Mr. Fraser spared the two last strokes of the whip, he would not have had one guilder to pay.

7. The case of Brutus is given at p. 108, of the Slave Colonies, and at p. 30, of the Fiscal's 1st Report. It is the case of a father, who alleged he had been flogged for having refused to subject a young girl, his daughter, to the manager's lust. The *result* of this atrocious case is now given. The manager, Robert Macdermott, denied having flogged

\* The value of half a pound of sugar in Demerara is about one penny and one farthing. It is as if a person in this country, employed to gather apples or pears in an orchard had put two or three into his pocket to give to his children at home. Two drivers were required to punish this enormous offence.

Brutus on any other account but the neglect of duty. The particular neglect however, is not specified for which he had flogged him. With this exception, he does not deny any one of the facts of the case. He does not deny, that is to say, that on the Friday he asked Brutus to prostitute his daughter to him; that Brutus refused to do so; and that on the next day, Saturday, he flogged Brutus. He does not deny this: he only says, the flogging was not for the refusal of his daughter's person, but for neglect of duty. The moral presumptions, however, were so strong against him on this point, and independently of this, his actual and admitted delinquencies had been so flagrant, that we might at least have expected he would have been removed from the estate. No such thing: the Fiscal refers the matter, it seems, to the attorney of the estate, Mr. Bethune. Mr. Bethune assures the Fiscal, as we are now told, "that he had been on the estate, and had used every endeavour to discover if Brutus had received punishment on account of his having refused his daughter to the manager, but had failed; and on the assurance of the attorney, that, if this charge could have been brought home, he would have instantly discharged the manager from the estate, the Fiscal forbore inquiry, after admonishing the manager on his conduct." Oh, most lame and impotent conclusion! The Fiscal deposes the duty of investigation in this atrocious transaction to another, an extra-judicial person, perhaps a friend of the accused, and, on his neutral statement, he himself forbears all further inquiry. He even takes no pains to ascertain the crime for which this poor old man had actually been flogged. In short, the only evidence produced in opposition to the direct and consistent testimony of several witnesses on the other side, fully establishing the overt acts, and to all the probabilities of the case, is a mere negation, unsubstantiated by any one circumstance whatever, on the part of the accused, of the motive attributed to him; while his statement on this point is divested of all claim to credit by the admitted profligacy of his whole conduct. And yet, on such grounds, does the official protector of the slaves forbear all further inquiry into this aggravated case of injury and outrage.

8. The case of seven slaves, belonging to Mr. Elwes, will be found at p. 109, of the *Slave Colonies*, and p. 17, of the Fiscal's 1st Report. The case is one of very peculiar aggravation. The *result* is contained in a letter from the Fiscal to the President of the Court of Criminal Justice, in which he states that he found the complaints of compulsory labour on the Sunday, and of harsh treatment, fully substantiated. "I therefore, prohibited him," he says, "from *insisting* on their doing work on Sunday." "I also prohibited the further use of the Carracarra, in the presence of the gang; and directed that if these orders were not punctually obeyed, they should cause the same to be represented to the next Burgher Officer." No penalty of any kind was exacted in this case of varied outrage, and of admitted violation of Colonial law.

9. We now come to the case of the four negroes of Mr. Katz, which is stated in *The Slave Colonies*, p. 109, and in the Fiscal's Report, p. 19. In the Fiscal's *second Report*, the statement contained in the *first* is repeated without variation or addition; why, we know not. We naturally expected to find some good reason given for the Fiscal's hav-

ing punished the complainants, one with fifty, and three with seventy-five lashes each, in his own presence, in the market place. But no reason is given that is at all satisfactory. One of the complainants is said to have *prevaricated*, but even if seventy-five lashes were deemed an adequate infliction for an act of prevarication, (the particulars of which are not stated,) yet the four ought not to have been punished for the prevarication of one. The testimony against them, and on which they were thus severely lacerated, was the testimony also of the accused parties, and that not given on oath.

10. The case of seven negroes belonging to Rosehall, (Slave Colonies, p. 110, and 1st Report, p. 20.) is repeated verbatim. The only addition is a note from the Fiscal to the Burgher Officer of the district, desiring him "to visit the plantation, and investigate the complaint, and if the grievance does exist, afford redress; or, *if unfounded, direct such punishment as the case may appear to require.*" We are left in the dark as to the result. From the tenor, however, of the Fiscal's communication to the Burgher Officer, he appears to have most unfairly prejudged the case. On the ground of a letter from the manager, the very man of whose oppression the slaves complained, the Fiscal deems it *probable*, that "the complaint is unfounded," and refers the complainants, with the weight of this most unwarranted prejudication hanging over them, to the decision of his delegate.

11. The next case has made much noise in the world, and has led to much abuse of Lord Suffield and others, for having cited it precisely as it stands in the Fiscal's first Report. It is the case of Rosa or Roosje, whom the manager, Mr. Grade, had ordered the driver to flog "till the blood should fly out." She was then far advanced in pregnancy; and was delivered three days after of a dead child. (Slave Colonies, p. 110, and first Report, p. 25-27.) In the second Report, which we expected would have explained away the whole affair, we have a mere repetition of the chief details contained in the first. As this case has been adduced as a proof of unfairness on the part of the abolitionists, we will give the whole of it as stated in the later and deliberately amended report of the Fiscal. The grossness of the details must be excused in consideration of their importance.

"Roosje states, she was sent to pick coffee in the logies, by order of the manager; she represented to him she was too big (too far advanced in pregnancy) to stoop. Manager directed her to comply with the order; she went and picked coffee\* on her knees. At eleven o'clock our work was examined, and the manager directed the driver, Sondag, to flog us; it was done with the whip doubled. When Sondag, the driver, came to me, he said to the manager, this woman is rather big with child; the manager replied, give it to her till the blood flies out. I was flogged with the carracarras. This happened on Friday: I went to the field on Saturday. I told the driver I could not work as I had a pain in my loins: he directed me to go to the manager. I did go, and was sent to the hospital; remained there a day; the doctor examined me, and said there was nothing the matter with me, and that sitting down was not good. I went to the field, was put upon a row with another to help me; on Sunday evening I miscarried; I was five months gone with child; the labour was heavy; the mid-

\* "The picking here alluded to," the Fiscal observes, "is not in the fields, but sorting of the cured coffee in the logies, preparatory to its being shipped."

wife had to force the child from me; the child was dead, one eye was out, the arm broken, and a stripe visible over the head, which must have been done by the whip doubled. The doctor came to attend me on Monday morning; the child was not seen by him, it was buried; he prescribed for me; the child was seen by Ariaantje, Claartje, and Mary Anne; I was assisted by sister Claartje; the regular midwife, Mary Anne, did not attend me, as I was taken suddenly; she was sent for, however, and saw the child.

"The evidence of J. H. Eenhuys, assistant surgeon to Dr. Westerveld, practitioner and medical attendant of plantation L'Esperance, states, that he visited the woman Roosje, early in the morning of the 14th March: she informed me she had miscarried the evening before; I examined, and prescribed for her. A few days previous to this occurrence, I saw Roosje in the sick house, she was complaining, and pregnant. I thought, between three and four months gone with child. I experience that many women miscarry from not taking exercise, and contracting lazy habits: thinking this was the case with her, I directed her to take exercise. I did not see the child, I believe it was buried. I enquired if she had been delivered of the after birth, and being informed by the midwife and an old woman she had, I directed something for Roosje, and went away.

"Evidence of *Sondag*, driver of plantation L'Esperance, states, that the women were put to pick coffee, a certain quantity was required, which was not got. The overseer told me, by order of Mr. Grade, the manager, I was to range the women out on the plankier, and told me to begin and flog them from one to another; I began, and went on till I came to the woman Roosje, I gave them about twelve or thirteen stripes with the whip doubled; on coming to Roosje, I observed to the manager this woman was pregnant; the manager said, go on, that was not my business: I did so, she did not get more than the rest; I did not flog her with a carracarras, it had broken before I came to her: she received her punishment with the whip doubled. She miscarried a few nights after this punishment took place; it was inflicted at breakfast time, at eleven o'clock. I did not see the child. Claartje told me the child was in ———. The question being put to him, 'Whether the manager on his (the driver's) representation, that Roosje was pregnant, had made use of the words, *never mind, flog her till the blood comes*;' he replied, 'yes, he did.'

"Evidence of Jonas, Mary Anne, Ariaantje, George, and Claartje, all belonging to L'Esperance, heard and corroborated the circumstances in the statement made by Roosje."\*

\* The evidence which is here merely referred to, is too important to be omitted, especially as this case has been made the occasion of so much acrimonious and illiberal attack on the abolitionists. It is as follows. (See Fiscal's first Report, p. 26 and 27.)

"Evidence of the negro woman Mariana, states, I was sent for in the night to come to Rosa, who was taken in labour, (trouble had come) I went. She was not yet delivered. I assisted another woman to deliver her. The child's arm was broken; one eye out, bruised, and sunk in the head. It was a fine male child, quite formed, in every respect perfect. Thinks the child was more than five months, from its perfect form and appearance. Claartje and George reported it to the manager, that Roosje had miscarried, and he gave no directions respecting it. I buried it. The child was seen by the father and mother, and two other women, Claartje and Ariaantje. Roosje told the doctor the state the child was in. He replied, "I suppose you have been eating green pines." Roosje denied it, saying, it was from the flogging she got.

"Evidence of Ariaantje; states, that Roosje is her sister; was called in the night to come to Roosje who was in labour: I went. I got there before Mariana. When the child came, it was a male, perfect; the arm broken, the eye out, the head broken, and bruised. After the miscarriage, I went away. Being asked why she had not mentioned it to the manager, the doctor, or the Burgher officer, she said it was not her business:

"Evidence of George; states, he is husband to Roosje; corroborates her evidence as to the flogging she received, and the expressions used by the manager to the driver about flogging her (till the blood came.) This happened on Thursday. Sunday night she miscarried. The child was a male, perfect: it was born dead; the arm was broken, one of the eyes out, and the head bruised. States this to have been occasioned by blows his wife received from the driver with the doubled whip. Reported this miscarriage to Mr. Grade, but did not mention to him the state it was in. Roosje told the doctor, who replied, 'You must tell a lie; you have been eating green pines, I believe.' Inquired why he had not gone to complain either to the Burgher officer or Fiscal: says, he was cook, and could not leave his work. Being re-examined, he said, he told Mr. Grade the child's arm was broken; and that it was in consequence of

Lord Suffield was charged over and over again with misrepresentation and exaggeration in his statement of this case: his representation of it, however, actually fell below that which stands recorded in the Fiscal's book. Besides, not one of the *facts* there detailed are at all questioned, whatever doubt may exist as to the causes assigned for the child's mutilation. These may have been incorrectly assigned: of that, we are no judges. We give the Fiscal's own report of the facts as they stand on the uncontradicted and consistent evidence of eight individuals.

In his first Report the Fiscal left us in entire ignorance of the *result* of this investigation. The present report, to our surprise, is equally defective. All he states respecting it is this: "The Fiscal deemed it his duty to bring the complaint before the Court of Criminal Justice, and after collecting all the evidence and information that could be obtained, he filed his criminal demand against C. J. Grade, which with the Court's sentence in the above cause, is hereunto attached." (2nd Report, p. 16.) The fact is, however, that these documents are not given. We have searched every line of this report for them in vain. We are still, therefore, left in utter ignorance of the punishment which Berbice justice may have inflicted on Mr. Grade; or whether he has received any measure of punishment whatever, for the enormities so clearly proved against him.

12. Another case is that of two slaves on an estate of Mr. Katz. (Slave Colonies, p. 109, 110, and 1st Report, p. 46. and 58.) With respect to one of them, the defence of that gentleman is, that Amsterdam, the negro whom his manager had so heavily punished, that even the Fiscal, no novice in these matters, on inspecting his posteriors,\* pronounced him to have had "*a severe flogging*," was not the *property* of Mr. Katz, but merely *hired* by him; as if this circumstance extenuated, and did not rather aggravate the cruelty.

The defence set up with respect to the other slave, named Murphy, is a perfect ~~lie~~, well calculated to impose on the careless reader. Murphy's complaint to the Fiscal bears date the 7th July, 1823. (Fiscal's 1st Report, p. 58.) For making some noise, he says, "I was locked up, both legs in the stocks, extended as far as they could

the flogging she got. Mr. Grade said, 'It is a lie.' The overseer was present. The manager asked him how his wife had miscarried, he replied, 'It was from the flogging you gave her.' Manager said, 'You lie, I did not flog her.' Overseer said, 'I did not either.' I said, if neither of you did, who did then? Says his wife has had seven children for him, and never miscarried before.

\* Evidence of Claartje; states, that she is sister of Roosje, was sent for at night to Roosje, who was taken in labour. The child was born dead. It was a male, perfect; the arm was broken, one eye bruised, and hurt; it could be seen it was done with the whip, and the hand broken. The father reported its death. Manager said, to bury it. The father dug the grave. Marianne took it out. She did not tell the manager of the state of the child, thinking Marianne would do it. George mentioned it to Mr. Grade; does not know what he said.

"Justus Von Steiniss, overseer; I was present when the women were ranged out in the drogery, they were flogged by Zondag. Mr. Grade said, if they did not pick coffee enough, he, the driver would be confined in the stocks. I saw him punish some of the women; Mr. Grade was not present; did not hear Zondag say any thing to Mr. Grade as to the child having a broken arm: never said any thing to him himself."

\* What a singular state of society is that of the West Indies, where one of the grand qualifications of a judge must be his skill in counting the number, and ascertaining the length and depth of the incisions made on the posteriors of the men and women that come before him! Is there not enough in this single circumstance, and in the careless, perfunctory, off-hand manner, in which it is perpetually adverted to, to excite the unmingled disgust of every feeling mind, and to deepen the conviction of the necessity of an early and radical reformation of the system?

be. In this position, I was kept all Sunday and Monday. On that evening I made my escape, and came to complain." "Did you go to your master, Mr. Katz," asks the Fiscal, "to complain?" "No, I did not;" answers Murphy, "and my reason was, that three negroes had gone to complain to Mr. Katz, and without sending for the manager they were flogged and sent back, and the next day one of them was again flogged by the manager." The Fiscal, in his manifest anxiety to exculpate Mr. Katz from all imputation on his treatment of his slaves, brings against Murphy, as a justification of the above proceeding, a charge of mutiny, supported by the affidavit of two of Mr. Katz's overseers. It is somewhat singular, however, that he should not have taken care to produce an accordance in the dates, at least, of the different documents. Now the affidavit in question is dated on the 12th of August, 1823, and refers to a disturbance which the two deponents swear to have taken place on the 2nd of that month, nearly four weeks after the Fiscal had heard, and disposed of, that complaint of Murphy which alone was in question. The two cases, therefore, cannot be the same, but necessarily must be perfectly distinct, though the Fiscal strangely confounds them. The sentence he pronounced on Murphy, in the latest case of the two, will certainly not be blamed for its leniency. "*He was punished with fifty lashes, and worked in chains attached to his ancles for three months.*" We shall be glad to learn after this, what was the punishment inflicted on Mr. Grade, in the case of Roosje.

13. On the case of Laura, (Slave Colonies, p. 111, and Fiscal's 1st Report, p. 24.) no new light is thrown.

14. The complaint of Philip and Leander, (Slave Colonies, p. 111, and 1st Report, p. 45.) that the manager of Bertingdigheid, Mr. Luyken, had killed all their hogs, stands uncontradicted. The Fiscal, however, while he professes to *regret* this harsh proceeding, is at great pains to extenuate, if not vindicate it. We hear much, from the West Indian party, of the right of property conceded to slaves, if not by law, yet by custom. Here, however, we have an instance of a manager destroying their whole stock of hogs by his own mere fiat; and not only is he not called to indemnify them for the loss, but the official protector of the slaves vindicates the act. If, in this country, a man is guilty of any undue severity to animals trespassing on his grounds, the proprietor may bring his action for the injury. What remedy can a slave have against his master or manager? The law affords no redress whatsoever. We are told of the indolence of the slaves, and of their unwillingness to make any effort to better their condition,—can we wonder at the fact? Here great efforts had been made, and a valuable property had been accumulated, which, in one hour, is annihilated by the merciless and irresistible act of the petty despot of the plantation, whose will in this case is law.

15. The complaint of the negress Jenny, (Slave Colonies, p. 112, and 1st Report, p. 45, 46.) detailing a most atrocious case, we are now told by the Fiscal, was referred by him to the Court of Criminal Justice. "His criminal demand and conclusion having been filed, the honourable Court decreed the sentence hereunto annexed." Again, however, the Fiscal has disappointed us; the documents which he professes to give are not annexed; we are therefore still left in utter ignorance of

the result of this most aggravated case. Jenny was pregnant; her mistress, Mrs. Elizabeth Atkinson, (her name deserves to be recorded) tied her up and beat her, then kicked her, and trampled on her belly, locked her hands and feet in the stocks, and beat her again. In half an hour the poor creature miscarried. Her child, Philip, was also extremely ill treated, and not allowed to come near her. The child was exhibited to the Fiscal, "*with marks of severe flogging over the whole body.*" We wish the Fiscal had told us what the punishment was which this inhuman mistress was made to undergo, or whether she received any.

16. The Fiscal attempts to defend himself for his severe conduct towards one of Mr. Calmer's negroes, (See Slave Colonies, p. 113, and his 1st Report, p. 46, 47.) but he gives no proof in his defence but his own assertion, he himself being the party implicated. The complaints of the negro against Mr. Calmer, which were of a very revolting kind, are wholly unnoticed, and we conclude, therefore, that they led to the infliction of no fine on that gentleman.

17. The complaints of General Murray's negroes (Slave Colonies, p. 113, 114, and 1st Report, 49, 50, 66.) are said to have been "*greatly exaggerated.*" These words run glibly from the pen, but no proof or even specification of the exaggeration is given. By way of exculpating General Murray, the Fiscal states that Hopkins, the manager, was dismissed for his misconduct. (See 2nd Report, p. 28.) But if so, how will the Fiscal vindicate himself for having inflicted seventy-five lashes on two of the complainants against this man, merely *because* they failed to prove their complaints; (See 1st Report, p. 50.) and although he had previously been obliged to reprimand Hopkins for his cruelty to the slaves placed under him. (*ib.* p. 49.) There is scarcely any one of the cases detailed in this remarkable report, which shews more strongly the oppressive and untractable nature of the slave system than this very case of Governor Murray, when it is carefully examined; nor any in which the Fiscal appears to less advantage.

18. The complaints against William Ross, (Slave Colonies, p. 114, 116, and 1st Report, p. 60 and 58.) are dismissed in the same summary, and most unsatisfactory manner, only that we now learn, for the first time, that *the complainants* were punished, we are not told how or wherefore. This might have been anticipated indeed, from the Fiscal's prejudicating instructions to his deputy; instructions so framed (See Slave Colonies, p. 116.) as almost infallibly to ensure such a result.

19. The complaint against Mr. Spangenburg, (Slave Colonies, p. 111, and 1st Report, p. 37.) is met in the present Report, (p. 18.) merely by a statement of the accused, without any attempt at proof, lauding his own management, and denying the charge of over-working, of under-feeding and clothing, and of cruelly treating his slaves, which had been preferred against him.

20. The case of Scipio (1st Report, p. 11.) is repeated in the 2nd Report, (p. 19.) without the slightest variation; why, is not very obvious.

21. The complaints of the negroes on Plantation Berenstein, are simply said to have been "*greatly exaggerated.*"

22. The complaints of the negroes of Plantation Profit, (Slave Colo-



nies, p. 117, and 1st Report, p. 64.) are said to have been refuted. The medical practitioner denied that *he* had *neglected* the sick; and the *result* is, that the complainants having "*failed to prove* any part of their statements, two of them were flogged, by the Fiscal's order." This is West India justice! And yet on the face of the very facts brought forward by the Fiscal, as exculpatory of the manager, Mr. Hutchinson, and the attorney, Mr. Munro, much of the complaints of the slaves is satisfactorily established. They complained, on the 27th of October, 1823, of a want of clothing. The refutation of this charge consists in a statement, that on the 22nd of March, 1822, more than nineteen months before the date of the complaint, each *man* had had a jacket, a hat, one yard of Salampore, and four yards of Osnaburgh; and each *woman* a jacket, a hat, five yards checks, and five yards of Osnaburgh. And this was their clothing for nineteen months!! Again their complaint of a want of salt fish, is answered by an evasive statement, that in forty-three weeks, 10181 lb. of fish had been *purchased for the estate*. How much of it was *distributed* is not stated, and yet the complaint was not that fish had not been *purchased*, but that, though it had been purchased, and there was fish on the estate, it was not distributed. But, even if the whole which was purchased had been distributed, it would only have afforded the regular allowance of three pounds a week to seventy-eight slaves. Now we understand, (if we are wrong in this fact, the Fiscal can set us right,) the number of slaves attached to the estate is at least double this amount. But clothing, it was said, was coming from England, and if the slaves had waited a little longer they would have been supplied. Still their complaint of an actual want of clothing is only the better established by this apology; and to flog them, therefore, for making that complaint, seems a most monstrous act of injustice.

Having now gone through the various particulars of the Fiscal's attempted vindication, we would take a general view of the facts attending it.

A motion was made in the House of Commons for a return of the proceedings of the Fiscal of Berbice, in regard to the complaints of masters and slaves respectively, during the preceding ten years. The return embraced only four of those years, namely, from 1819 to 1823. In by far the majority of the cases specified in this return, (in at least we may say three-fourths of them,) the Fiscal gave the facts as they stood in his minutes of evidence, without stating the decision to which he had come on a full consideration of those facts. Of about fifty cases to which his decision was annexed, it appears, that only nine were so far decided in favour of the complainants as that they escaped punishment, for having failed to prove their allegations; and, in forty-one cases, the complainants underwent severe punishment by the sentence of the Fiscal, on the ground that their complaints were either unfounded or exaggerated; in short, that they had not been fully proved. Out of this immense number of cases, therefore, even with the aid of the Fiscal's second report, we, as yet, know *certainly* only of *nine* in which the complainants were not sentenced to punishment; and in which, therefore, the judgment of the Fiscal must, on the whole, be considered as favourable to them. But of these nine, we, as yet, know *certainly* of

only THREE where any punishment has been inflicted on the persons proved to have been guilty.\*

But this was not all. The Report contained a vast variety of details, stated in evidence before the Fiscal, and minuted by him, to which no contradiction was given, or even doubt appended, but which it was utterly impossible to peruse without feeling, in common with Lord Seaford (late Mr. C. R. Ellis,) the most unmingled horror and disgust. It was to be presumed, and we conceive is still to be presumed, that these uncontradicted statements are substantially true; especially as by far the most atrocious and horrific of them are incontestably proved, and also admitted to have been true. Taking, however, such only into account as have been thus established, they have not only confirmed all that the abolitionists had asserted of the nature and effects of West India Slavery, but they have actually surpassed every thing which their fear of being charged with exaggeration had permitted them to attribute to that system. Those who doubt this have only to point out the single work of the Anti-Slavery Society, which can bear a moment's comparison with the Berbice Fiscal's official report, in exciting the abhorrence and indignation of the reader, as he peruses its unvarnished details. To the sickening influence of those details on the mind, no declamation can add force. They beggar the most intense epithets; and produce an impression, which no description, however eloquent, could hope to rival in poignancy and effect. And it is the climax of these horrors that most of them are not only not judicially punished, but are not legally punishable.

Then these transactions are recent. We had been accused of referring for our facts only to obsolete times. And, when quitting details, we took our stand on those impregnable general principles, which are of all times and countries, we were met with hardy affirmations of such improvements in the treatment of the slave, as placed him in point of com-

\* It is impossible not to be struck with this very suspicious disproportion between the measures of punishment wherewith master and slave are visited; although the slave is, in almost all the cases, not the accused, but the accuser; nay, the *voluntary* accuser of his master or manager, under circumstances which might well deter him from complaint, unless driven to it by flagrant and intolerable oppression. One would have thought that the known liability of the slave to be remanded *in every case* (we speak of Berbice,) even where the complaint had proved to be well founded, into the power of an irritated owner or overseer, would have operated with sufficient force to deter him from rash or groundless charges; and that the fifty or seventy-five lashes, by which it appears to be so much the ordinary practice of the Fiscal to visit the complainant, might be spared. Let us reflect what the case would be with apprentices, or journeymen, or labourers, or servants in this country, if on every occasion of complaint, either of harsh usage, or of breach of contract, in which they might fail to make out their case in evidence, they were liable to the tread-mill, or to whipping, or to a heavy fine; and this too, not after a regular charge, examination, and trial, with the usual formalities, and the usual opportunities of exculpation and defence; but on the ground of the incidental discovery, by the magistrate, on the trial of another person, of some unexplained difference between the charge and the evidence adduced to support it. The prosecutor is thus placed in greater peril than the defendant. Such a principle is utterly unjust, and we shall never cease to lift our voices against it, whilst it continues to pollute and disgrace our Colonial Statute books. How deeply do we lament that His Majesty's Government should have so hastily given their sanction in the Trinidad Order in Council, to such a principle as this! It is directly at war with those better principles which have been so clearly enounced by Lord Bathurst in various dispatches; and by Mr. Canning, Mr. Peel, and the Attorney General, in their speeches on Mr. Denman's motion in the House of Commons, respecting the Jamaica trials. "These three agreed that, *'it was indispensable to the ends of justice that there should be, both in form and substance, an equal administration of it to black and white.'*" And Lord Bathurst, over and over again, marks it as gross injustice to inflict a severer punishment on a slave, "whose ignorance is an extenuation of his guilt," than on those "for whose guilt no such extenuation can be presumed." If slaves, indeed, prefer *malicious* complaints, let them be punished; but then let it be after <sup>the</sup> same fair and regular trial and conviction which are required in similar cases in this country.

fort above the British peasant. In our misplaced philanthropy, we were told, that we were actually wresting from the happy negro the enviable state of repose and prosperity which his benevolent owner had been employing the plenitude of his power to secure to him. "Look at the facts of the case," said they, tauntingly, "Listen to the Governors, the Judges, the Magistrates. Hear their unqualified eulogies, in one accord, proclaiming the tender and sympathizing and sleepless humanity of the master; and the lively gratitude and confiding joyousness of the slave, who would not exchange his chains for freedom if he could." Alas! alas! that such an illusion could possibly, even for one moment, have influenced a single mind that is considerate enough to appreciate the necessary effects of despotic power both on master and slave! In whatever degree the illusion prevailed, it must have vanished before the Berbice Fiscal's report. We feared, however, that when the sudden and palpable effect on the public mind, produced by that report became known, we should look in vain for further reports of the same kind. But we did not sufficiently comprehend the obtuseness of feeling which a familiarity with such scenes is calculated to generate: for we have here a second Report from the same source, not drawn forth reluctantly like the first, by a mandate of the House of Commons, but spontaneously proposed by the Council of Berbice, and, in compliance with their requisition, furnished by the Fiscal, for the declared purpose of repelling the calumnies which some wicked persons in England had been so malignant as to vent against that pure, lovely, and beneficent system, denominated Negro Slavery.

Of the success of the second report of the worthy Fiscal in accomplishing its declared object, those who have accompanied us thus far are in a capacity to judge for themselves. But we do not anticipate one note of dissent, when we state that, for our own parts, we have risen from its perusal with every previous conviction of the enormity of the Colonial System deepened, and with every resolution to promote its early and final extinction strengthened. That vile system cannot last. The press may pour forth in the next year, as in the past, pamphlets rich in *practical considerations*. Voluminous reports, which no one reads, may again load the table of Parliament, and may again bring forward the very strongest *physical* reasons for *coercing the labour of Africans in tropical lowlands*. The changes may continue to be rung on the increase of *national wealth*, to be derived from this coerced labour, which it nevertheless requires the sacrifice of an immense sum annually on the part of the public to maintain. In this course we may possibly persist for some time longer, notwithstanding the misery and waste of our slave population, and the deep injury to our own manufacturers, which are its direct and inseparable consequences;—but the day *must* arrive, and it cannot be far distant, when these refuges of lies will be swept away, and, in despite of all opposition, the oppressed slave, in every corner of the British dominions, will, at the persevering call of religion, humanity, and justice, be rescued from the yoke of his cruel bondage. May the Almighty hasten that happy period!

London, 18, Aldermanbury, Oct. 31, 1826.

No. 17.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

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### ON THE BOUNTIES AND PROTECTING DUTIES, AND THE RESTRICTIONS ON TRADE, INTENDED FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE SLAVE SYSTEM.

AFTER a struggle of nearly twenty years for the abolition of the Slave Trade, and the lapse of nearly as many since its abolition, the hopes that this measure would lead to an amelioration in the condition of the slaves in our Colonies, and finally to the extinction of Slavery itself, are still unfulfilled. After persevering endeavours for fifteen years to induce other nations to abandon that infamous traffic, we have the mortification to see that it is still carried on to a greater extent than ever; and that, even in one of our own Colonies (the Mauritius) the laws enacted for its suppression are violated with impunity. Again; after nearly four years of exertion for the mitigation and abolition of British Slavery, little has yet been done towards improving the condition of our miserable fellow-subjects who are held in bondage; and no plan has yet been adopted for putting a period to that cruel state. The Government have tried, in vain, the methods of recommendation and persuasion with the different Colonies. Equally in vain have they held out to them "an example" in Trinidad. Three years have thus been consumed to no purpose. In the fourth they have sent out propositions of reform to the Colonial legislatures for their *adoption, rejection, or modification*. These bodies will, doubtless, avail themselves of the accommodating alternative of *modification*, and, keeping within its large scope, they may make specious and delusive alterations in their laws, without bettering, in any material degree, the condition of the slaves, or forwarding the period of their enfranchisement.

But even if our prospects of effectual reformation were much more flattering than they are, we ought to bear in mind that not one step has been taken, nor has any thing specific been proposed by the Government for putting a final date, however distant, to Slavery in the British Colonies. For any thing which is yet in progress, or even distinctly and seriously propounded, Slavery may continue to pollute the national character for a century, or even for two centuries to come.

It was, indeed, at one time, proposed by the friends of emancipation, that

all children born after a certain day, should be entitled to their liberty; and it has also been proposed to purchase the women and make them free, their children, born afterwards, being, of course, free likewise.\* The difficulties which might attend either of these plans, many very intelligent persons believe might be easily obviated; but little disposition has been evinced on the part of the Government and Parliament to surmount those difficulties, or resolutely to adopt any other definite plan for extinguishing Slavery in the British Colonies. Nor has the country at large, though strongly desiring the final abolition of this evil, earnestly or concurrently urged the adoption of any such plan.

Some of the West Indian advocates say that the negroes would not labour, if made free, in situations where land is so abundant and cheap, and where so little labour is necessary to supply their wants, as in the Slave Colonies; and that the lands of Demerara especially cannot be cultivated by freemen until there is a vast increase of labourers. If, however, the Blacks are unwilling to work for more, or for much more than an adequate supply of their wants, they only resemble, in this respect, the bulk of mankind, few of whom, either White or Black, are disposed to work hard without a powerful motive. But by what means do these gentlemen propose to obtain this increase of labourers? Not surely by a continuance of the present system of Slavery, under the operation of which, instead of an increase, there is a large annual decrease. Nor will they venture, it is presumed, to propose a renewal of the African or even of the intercolonial Slave Trade. On their plan, therefore, we can never hope to see an end of Slavery, until cruelty shall have inflicted its final stroke by the destruction of the last of its victims.

If then the extensive and fertile soil of Demerara is ever to be cultivated, it must be by free labourers, and the only way to obtain these is by the adoption of those measures of amelioration and emancipation, which were expected to have followed the abolition of the Slave Trade, and which are now invoked by the friends of that cause. These measures would, it may be hoped, produce such an increase in the slave population of our Colonies, as is now taking place among the slaves in the United States, and in our own Bahama Islands, and among the free Blacks in Hayti and in Jamaica, and even among the slaves on a few estates in our own Colonies, where they are well and leniently treated. Such an increase would soon produce, in many of the smaller islands, a surplus of labourers. Enfranchisement would be the inevitable consequence, and the Blacks thus freed, like White men in thickly peopled countries, would emigrate in search of employment, which they would be sure to find in such an extensive and fertile region as that of Demerara.

The abolitionists looked forward, at the period of the Abolition, to an extinction of "Slavery in the Colonies, to be accomplished by the same happy means which formerly put an end to it in England,—namely, by a benign, though insensible revolution in opinions and manners; by the encouragement of particular manumissions; and the progressive amelioration in the condition of the slaves, till it should glide insensibly into freedom;—they looked, in short, to an emancipation, of which not the slaves, but the masters, should be the willing instruments or authors."

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\* See Appendix to the Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society, p. 168.

Disappointment has attended the past; and difficulties which there seems no sufficient disposition in either the Government, or the Parliament, or even perhaps in the country to surmount, seem to darken the future. It is time, then, to examine the causes of this *disappointment*. One of these causes may possibly have been an unwillingness, on the part of the abolitionists, to investigate sufficiently the nature of the difficulties to be encountered. We need not be surprised that such an investigation should not be immediately entered upon. We cannot wonder that a mind of any sensibility should rise from the perusal for example of such a detail as that of the Fiscal of Berbice, (commented upon in the last number of the Reporter,) with feelings of indignation, and should be struck with horror and disgust in the contemplation of the obduracy and blindness of persons who could exhibit such documents as a triumphant vindication of their conduct. We cannot wonder that benevolent men contemplating such atrocities should say, "Away with all calculations of profit and loss, of policy and impolicy. Beings endued with reason, and especially Christian Britons, can never suffer any such cold calculations to enter their minds. A system so full of abominations must be extinguished forthwith. A British public and a British Parliament must not, and will not, suffer such enormities to continue, but will sweep them away at once, and for ever." In coming to such a conclusion, however, we should not sufficiently consider that interest is a more powerful motive with multitudes than justice and humanity; and that, therefore, whilst any considerable number of persons conceive a particular system to be profitable to them, it is not likely, without much opposition, to be relinquished, because it is unjust.

Is then the system of Colonial Slavery really a profitable system? Abundant proof might easily be adduced to the contrary. But even were this wanting, we could not believe that the All-wise Creator and Governor of the world had, in this case, deviated from his general laws, and had made it the interest either of individuals or communities to oppress their fellow men, and to persevere in a course of cruelty and injustice. If this were indeed the case, it would the less surprise us to see men clinging to such a system on account of its large gains, and refusing to renounce it. In the present case, however, the gains are all factitious, and they are obtained at our cost. It is we ourselves who create, by our misplaced and mischievous munificence, the powerful feeling of interest which here stands opposed to the claims of humanity and justice, and so strangely perverts that natural order of things which connects the general prosperity of any community, with the happiness and freedom of all its divisions. The bounties and protections which we ourselves pay to the Colonists, have alone supported their destructive system, which must have fallen if left to itself. Indeed, there is no evil which the arrangements of Providence tend more visibly to discourage and destroy than Slavery. The soils on which slaves labour become barren under their culture; and this deterioration of soil tends to make economy and a better treatment of the slaves necessary, and thus to increase their numbers, and, through that increase, to destroy Slavery itself. But all these beneficent tendencies are frustrated, for a time at least, in the case of *our* Colonies, by the bounties and protections we afford to the produce of slave labour. While we continue, therefore, these means of support,

thus encouraging and rewarding the perpetuation and aggravation of Slavery, we make the crime our own, and we set ourselves in direct opposition to the beneficent designs of the Almighty towards these his oppressed creatures.

Can we wonder that disappointments and difficulties should continue to obstruct our efforts to abolish Slavery, while we ourselves continue effectually to counteract our own professed purposes and wishes, and to support, with our money, the very system we are associated to destroy? Let us clear our hands of this guilty participation; and when we have done this, a more solid foundation will be laid for future progress, and we shall find that many of the obstacles to our success will be removed.

It is obvious, for example, that few circumstances could tend more directly to improve the moral and social state of the West Indies than the residence of the Planters and their families on their own estates. But bounties and protections enable the Planters to pay for the waste of property and life occasioned by their own absence and neglect, and by the substitution of hired agents. Remove these bounties and protections, and our Planters would be compelled, like other classes of men, to attend to their own concerns. In this, and a variety of other ways, the removal of bounties and protections would tend to the mitigation and extinction of Slavery,\* and would obviate many of those obstacles, chiefly of our own creation, which now impede the progress of Reform.

The direct pecuniary sacrifices which this nation is now making for the support of Slavery, are great and mischievous. But great and mischievous as they are, they probably fall far short, in their injurious effect, of those limitations and restrictions which our commerce is forced to bear for the maintenance of that criminal system.

Our manufacturing population have lately been, and still are suffering most severely. Amongst the variety of causes which have been assigned for this reverse has been that of our having over-traded. If, however, our operative manufacturers have not had too much work, this over-trading could have had no reference to them. It must, most obviously, have arisen from a want of demand; in other words, from the want of a market for the produce of their labour. It is true, that extremely low wages of labour, and greatly depressed prices of goods, will tend, in some degree, to quicken demand; yet, a return to a sound and healthy state, to fair wages and fair profits, can only be effected by our having a market sufficiently extensive to give to our people that full employment which they enjoyed when we were said to be over-trading. Wages, it is clear, can never be adequate whilst any considerable proportion of labourers is unemployed; nor can the manufacturers be obtaining fair profits on their capital whilst any considerable proportion of their mills and machinery is standing still. Nothing therefore, is more manifest than that, if there was *over-trading*, it arose from this that we had made too many goods for our *present* customers, and that, if we can find no more customers, fewer goods must be made,—unless, indeed, we should be induced to resort to the principle of our

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\* See this subject fully discussed in a Paper, entitled "The Impolicy of Slavery," and in the Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society.

Colonial System, by giving bounties and protections for the support of worse systems of labour, of the hand-loom for instance, in preference to the steam engine.—And if it were allowable in any case, by such means, to check the progress of improvement, surely the distresses of the poor weavers in the hand-loom entitle them to it, at least as much as any other class of the community. But we hear nothing of any such extravagant proposition, as that of giving a bounty on the produce of the hand-loom, or of charging a protecting duty on the produce of the power-loom.—If the weavers, however, are to have no share in the favour bestowed upon slave holders, their necessities, to say no more, call loudly for justice. If this reciprocity is denied them, they ought not at least to be taxed in the price of their sugar, or their coffee, (if either of these luxuries fall now to their lot); nor ought they to be excluded from extensive markets for the produce of their labour; for the sole purpose of supporting the slave system in our Colonies, and enriching the masters of slaves, at their expense.

If the earth was incapable of supporting its inhabitants, or if our people were unwilling to labour, then might their distress be without remedy; but the case becomes one of aggravated hardship and cruelty, when this distress is the work of human legislation; and when they are deprived of obvious and effectual means of relief, by regulations which cramp their industry by preventing the free interchange of commodities between different parts of the world, or even of our own empire.

Of the nature of these regulations which thus prevent the interchange of commodities, in direct opposition to the general interests of mankind, and especially to those of our own population, we may form some idea from the following facts:

1. For the express purpose of supporting slavery, we charge a protecting duty of 10s. per cwt. on all Sugar, and of 28s. per cwt. on all Coffee, imported from our Indian dominions, and thus force our manufacturers, for the sake of supplying the miserable allowance of clothing to 700,000 slaves in the West Indies,\* to forego the supply of eighty or a hundred millions of people in India.

2. Instead of encouraging that competition of free labour, which would as effectually destroy the trade in slaves for the cultivation of Sugar, as it has already done for that of Indigo, and thus remove the great barrier to our intercourse with 70,000,000 of people on the continent of Africa, we prohibit, by extravagant duties, the importation of any Sugars grown there, and we charge an extra duty of 28s. per cwt. on Coffee produced in the Colony of Sierra Leone, which by discouraging cultivation must retard the progress of civilization also.

3. A bounty was long paid on the exportation of refined sugar, the effect of which was, to raise the price of all Sugar in the British market 6s. per cwt., equal to 1,200,000*l.* per annum. At the close of the last session, this bounty was reduced about one half. Now it is clear,

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\* The value of this trade may easily be imagined, when we find it stated in the vindication of the report of the Fiscal of Berbice, that a supply of clothing to each negro not worth more than 10s. once in nineteen months, was deemed sufficient, and the poor negroes who complained of it were punished, as preferring a groundless complaint. See Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter, No. 16, page 238.



that the effect of this bounty is not to increase our trade but to lessen it; to make Sugar dear to the people of England, and cheap to the people of the Continent. And whilst it is on all hands acknowledged that the great expedient for extending our commerce, is to find consumption at home for the produce received in return for our manufactures, we actually are paying our money to transfer this advantage to foreigners, and to facilitate their consumption, while we abridge our own. In short, so far as Sugar now comes within the reach of our distressed manufacturers, we thus, in point of fact, are taxing them, in such a way also as to diminish their already too scanty employments!

Let us take another view of the subject. Agriculture affords no adequate employment for the population of Ireland, and for want of such employment two thirds of that population are in a state of misery which is most opprobrious to the Government under which they live. Manufactures seem their only resource, but where are they to find a market whilst the trade, even with a large portion of our own dominions, is restricted by the most impolitic regulations? We need not insist on the benefits India would derive from the removal of these restrictions. They are too obvious to require it. Independently of the direct benefits which must follow from a free trade, the idolatry, superstition, and ignorance, which still pervade our vast dominions in that quarter, could not fail to give way before a more liberal and extended commercial intercourse. The culture of Indigo by European settlers has already produced the happiest effects, and these must be promoted by every increase of our commercial relations with them.

That such an injurious policy as that which has been exposed above, should be pursued in an age and country so enlightened as this, would appear incredible, if the facts of the case were not so incontestable. And what is more surprising is, that this policy is not pursued from ignorance on the part of those who administer the Government; for the King in his speech, at the opening of the session of 1825, recommends to his Parliament to persevere (as circumstances may allow) in the removal of all restrictions on commerce, and assures them of his "cordial co-operation, in fostering and extending that commerce, which whilst it is, *under the blessing of Providence*, a main source of strength and power to the country, contributes, in no less a degree, to the happiness and civilization of mankind."

This is the speech of a monarch, whose government extends to nearly one-seventh part of the human race. It is the language of a government possessing the power, beyond any other, of promoting the "happiness and civilization of mankind;" and yet we have seen that this vast power, instead of being exerted to promote, is actually so employed as to prevent, the happiness and civilization of its own subjects.

Why are the obvious means of giving employment to our own suffering manufacturers, and to the miserable people of Ireland, as well as of enlightening and civilizing India and Africa, to be still pertinaciously withheld from them? For no other purpose that can be assigned, but to pay the expence of holding, in cruel and degrading bondage, 800,000 of our fellow men!

Our Government speak of the removal of restrictions on commerce as the means of promoting "the happiness and civilization of mankind," and

yet they maintain laws and regulations which are directly at variance with these undeniable principles. They speak of "the blessing of Providence," while, in pursuing a course which goes to uphold slavery, they are acting in direct contradiction, not only to their own acknowledged principles of policy, but to the laws of Him whose favour they recognize as the source of national prosperity. But let it not be supposed that we charge the authors of this speech with any insincerity or inconsistency which is not still more attributable to the people at large, so long as they are content to acquiesce in this state of things, contrary to their own enlightened convictions of its pernicious tendencies.

Let us then think chiefly of our own share in the guilt of upholding this system. Let us bring the matter seriously home to ourselves, and determine to do our own duty. We are now paying for the support of slavery. It is we, the nation, who do, in fact, support it. Do we wait till the Planters shall decline to receive our money before we manifest our unwillingness to pay it? The Government have avowed *their* principles, and they have begun cautiously to carry them into effect. They have already taken off about half the bounty on the exportation of Sugar, but they are obstructed on every side, in their progress, by the monopolists, who, (however those who suffer by their monopoly may be torpid,) are sure to be industrious, and at their posts. In this they set an example which the friends of suffering humanity would do well to imitate. Let these come zealously and actively forward, to give to the Government the support which is requisite to enable them to pursue, steadily and perseveringly, those liberal views of policy, the very annunciation of which has so much raised them in public estimation. Enough has already been done to encourage perseverance. Enough yet remains to be done, to require that our efforts, instead of being relaxed, should be greatly increased.

And if we fail, by all our exertions, to obtain any national act for the extinction of slavery, there is surely no reason why we, as individuals, should continue participators in the crime. By their individual exertions the friends of humanity may still do much; and if they can do nothing else, they may, at least, more generally than they yet have done, encourage the consumption of the produce of free labour. Many have already discontinued the use of the produce of slaves' labour, without any regard to its mere economical results, on the same conscientious principles, on which men abstain from the use of smuggled goods, or from giving encouragement to what is in itself morally wrong. Many more would doubtless be willing to substitute the use of the produce of free labour for that of slave labour, if they were aware of the good effects which such a substitution is capable of producing. To these, it may be said, that, if a tenth part of the people of this country were to use only Sugar or Coffee, the produce of free labour, such a measure could not fail to give a great impulse to their cultivation, and they would thus become so important, as articles of return for the rapidly increasing shipments of our manufactured goods, that the protecting duty could not be much longer maintained; and thus a fair trial, would ere long, be made between the produce of slave labour and that of free labour, of the beneficial result of which we can entertain no fears.

However deeply men may feel interested in any cause, the hope of

success is requisite to encourage their exertions. The exertions which have been made to abolish slavery, compared with the little that has yet been effected, are doubtless discouraging; but if every individual among us would now make it his own work, we should feel that, though our progress might be small, we were still contributing some thing towards its final extinction.

Let associations then be multiplied in every part of the country for raising permanent funds to promote Anti-Slavery objects, and for encouraging the use of the produce of free labour. Those who abstain on conscientious principles from the use of slave produce will, of course, cordially join in these associations with those who do so solely in the hope of producing a beneficial effect. And let it be borne in mind, that though the concurrence of a majority may be required to bring about any effectual reformation by means of Parliamentary enactments, yet much may be done, even by a small minority, in the way now suggested. And in pursuing this course, let it not be supposed that we are changing our object: we are, on the contrary, removing the difficulties which stand in the way of those parliamentary enactments that are necessary to carry the wishes of the country, on the subject of slavery, into full accomplishment. Finally, we have all been witnesses of the recent and general alarms which have prevailed throughout all the walks of commerce, and of the extreme sufferings of our manufacturers, which are as yet but very partially relieved. If we continue to acquiesce in that system of bounties and protecting duties, and in those impolitic restrictions on our commerce, to which we have now adverted, we shall thereby greatly aggravate the distress of our countrymen at home; prevent at the same time the alleviation of the misery and oppression of hundreds of thousands of our fellow subjects abroad; and instead of contributing to the general happiness and civilization of mankind, as we have the power of doing beyond any nation under heaven, we shall, in fact, be found impeding the progress of both.

#### FREE LABOUR SUGAR.

After the discussion in which we have been engaged, it seems not inappropriate to remark, that we fear that many of our friends, who have been desirous of encouraging the produce of free labour, to the exclusion of that of slave labour, have been grossly imposed upon by those in whom they have confided to supply them with the former. We have now before us a Grocer's Bill, in which is the following item, viz.:—  
 "One bag Mauritius sugar (free) 1 cwt. 2 qrs. 21 lbs. at 66s., £5. 11s. 4½." Now be it known to all our readers, that MAURITIUS sugar is not only not free sugar, but that it is raised at a much larger expense of negro life than even the sugar of the West Indies. The Mauritius sugar is wholly different in its appearance from that of the East Indies. It is also differently packed, the bags containing it being made of a kind of straw or rush, while those from India are made of cotton. It is further admitted at a lower duty, paying only 27s. per cwt., while that from India pays 37s. To substitute the one for the other, therefore, must be an act of deliberate dishonesty.

London, 18, Aldermanbury, Nov. 30, 1826.

No. 18.

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### WEST INDIAN CONTROVERSY.

DURING the last two months considerable discussions have taken place in various newspapers, and particularly in the Morning Chronicle and New Times, on the subject of Negro Slavery. In the latter paper, the chief advocate of the slave system has been a gentleman who signs himself "a Dominica Planter," and who, in a series of ten letters, has laboured hard to reconcile the people of England to the slavery of the West Indies. He has been met by several writers, who have controverted his positions, and thus brought many of the leading points of the subject to issue. We leave it to the "Dominica Planter" to bring his own views of the question before the public. We mean to confine ourselves to the task of bringing together some of the most effective of the statements and arguments employed to refute his positions.

The "Dominica Planter" had affirmed that in a work published by a Mr. Barclay, of Jamaica, all the positions contained in the 1st volume of Mr. Stephen's *Delineation of Slavery*, had been severally refuted, and he even affected to quote the pages in Mr. Barclay's book, in which these refutations severally occurred. One of his opponents called upon him, deliberately to point out a single position of Mr. Stephen's which had been so refuted. After carefully examining every page in Barclay which had been referred to, "I cannot discern," said this writer, "even the slightest approach to any thing like refutation. In the first place, Mr. Barclay has wholly mistaken the very drift and intention of Mr. Stephen's volume, which is exclusively a delineation of the state of slavery in point of law. Mr. Stephen, it is true, has announced, in his title page, an intention of delineating that state, not only as it is in law, but in practice also. But his first volume, which

alone has appeared, is actually stated in that very title page, to be confined to an account of slavery, as it is, *in point of law*. The second volume, not yet published, is to relate to the *practice* of slavery. Now, throughout Mr. Barclay's work, he makes no attempt to shew that Mr. Stephen has given an erroneous view of the *law* of slavery, the only thing Mr. Stephen had professed to do in this volume; but he attempts to refute Mr. Stephen's *law* by hardy assertions, resting either on his own authority or on that of some nameless informant, as to his experience of the *practice* of slavery. It is idle therefore, for any man who has access to both the books, to say, that the one contains a refutation of the other. In the one, the *law* is given on the very best, that is to say, the Colonial authorities. In the other, an individual, without attempting to prove that the *law* is untruly stated by Mr. Stephen, only affirms, on his own authority, that such and such, in his limited and partial experience, was the *practice*; and then he assumes that he has refuted Mr. Stephen. Mr. Barclay's assertions, however, are no *proofs* even of his facts, much less are they any proofs that Mr. Stephen's account of the *law* of slavery is incorrect. That account can only be refuted by an appeal to the law itself. I will exemplify this in two or three instances cited by the 'Dominica Planter,' wherein he asserts, that Mr. Barclay has refuted Mr. Stephen's positions.

"1. 'Property of Negroes,' Mr. Stephen's position on this point will be found at page 58, and is as follows:—'*Slaves have no legal rights of property in things real or personal; and whatever property they may acquire belongs, in point of law, to the master.*' Now I ask the 'Dominica Planter,' if this be not a perfectly correct view of the law of the case. It is fully confirmed by Mr. Dwarrris, to whom he refers as an authority; and it is implied in the proposition of Mr. Canning, assented to by the whole body of the West Indians in Parliament, requiring the Colonial Legislatures to frame enactments which shall 'protect the slaves *by law* in the acquisition and possession of property, and its transmission by bequest or otherwise.' Surely it is no answer at all to Mr. Stephen to say, that *some* slaves *do* acquire property—or that their masters seldom directly touch it. It is still no less true that the slaves have no *legal* right of property, not even in themselves, much less in any thing else. It is still no less true that a master or overseer may destroy his slave's property with impunity (see a recent instance in the Berbice Fiscal's report) on slight pretences. It is still no less true that a master may imprison his slave, and may sell him at pleasure, and then what becomes of his property, his house, his garden? This is a fair specimen of Mr. Barclay's *refutation* of Mr. Stephen.

"2. 'Sales of families and slaves, and choosing a master.' It would be easy to furnish from any one Jamaica gazette, sufficient proof that, in *practice*, slaves are now sold in Jamaica without regard to family ties.\* But we are told that Mr. Barclay has refuted Mr. Stephen's positions on this point also. What, then, are Mr. Stephen's

\* In a letter from the Duke of Manchester to Earl Bathurst, dated 4th of March, 1826, is the following passage, which is quite decisive of this question. "I am not aware of any law" "by which the separation of husband and wife, or of parents and children, by sale or otherwise, is rendered unlawful."

positions? They are these (p. 62.) 'The slave, in the British Colonies, is at all times liable to be sold, or otherwise alienated, *at the will of the master*, as absolutely, 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 satisfaction of the debts of a living, or the debts or bequests of a deceased master, at the suit of creditors or legatees. In consequence of a transfer in either of these ways, or by the authority of his immediate owner, the slave may be, at any time, exiled, in a moment, and for ever, from his home, his family, and the colony in which he was born, and in which he has long been settled.'

"Such was *the law* prevailing in the British Colonies, when Mr. Stephen's book was published, in 1824; and such is *now* the law, with one alteration. Thanks to the British Parliament, not to the Colonial Authorities—an Act, brought in by Dr. Lushington, and passed in 1825, has prohibited that exile of slaves, from one colony to another, which had previously been permitted. In other respects, the law remains in its former opprobrious state. A master may *still* sell his slave when and how he pleases. The slave is *still*, at all times, liable to be seized, and sold for the debts of his master; and he may *still* be as effectually exiled from his family and home, especially in such an island as Jamaica, as if the ocean rolled between them. He *may be* carried from St. Thomas in the East, to Westmorland. Is this, or is it not, the law of the case? 'No,' says Mr. Barclay, 'a law was passed in the reign of George II., which forbids the separation of families, by sale.' A law, it is true, passed in 1735, numbered 105, for regulating sales of slaves by the Marshal, *when taken in execution*. It directs, that whenever husband, wife, and children, are *taken* together, they shall also be *sold* together in one lot, and the rest singly. Now this refers solely to *Marshal's* sales, not at all to sales at the will of the master. It merely provides, that when certain members of the same family are levied upon together, for their master's debts, they shall be sold together; and, so far, it is well. But it is perfectly notorious, that, in the great majority of Marshal's sales, a single individual only of a family has been seized, a father, or a mother, or a child; and it seldom happens that the whole of a family are taken together. In all other cases but this, of what avail is the law? It provides for a contingency which rarely occurs, and leaves all other sales to be regulated by individual cupidity or caprice. And at a public sale to the highest and best bidder, what can give to a slave the choice of a master? Certainly the *law* does not give any such choice, neither does it prevent the separation of families, by sale, excepting under judicial process, and even then, only in a case which, if the 'Dominica Planter' will carefully peruse the Jamaica Gazettes, he will find to occur but rarely.

"3. The 'Dominica Planter' affirms that Mr. Barclay has refuted Mr. Stephen's position, relative to the education of slaves. Now, what is Mr. Stephen's position? It is this (p. 200.) 'The education of slaves is shamefully neglected in the laws and institutions of our Colonies.' To this position, what is the reply of Mr. Barclay, at p. 116, to which the 'Dominica Planter' so triumphantly refers in refutation of Mr. Stephen? 'There would be a want of candour,' he says, 'in not ad-

mitting that school learning is yet but very little known in the Colonies.' This is evasive, indeed, but still it is decisive. Mr. Barclay cannot state that a single legislative measure has ever been adopted on the subject.

"4. I could take each head of the 'Dominica Planter's' summary in the same manner, and shew how utterly unfounded is his boast respecting Mr. Barclay, and how little claim Mr. Barclay has to be listened to as an authority in this controversy. But I will confine myself to one more example, his attempt to refute Mr. Stephen's position respecting the neglect of giving Christian instruction to the slaves. Here the Report of the Bishop of Jamaica\* completely disproves Mr. Barclay's attempted refutation, and amply confirms Mr. Stephen's position—a position which is not to be shaken by a splendid list of subscriptions for the erection of an additional place of worship. The Bishop's statement, made in October, 1825, is to this effect: That in the whole Island of Jamaica, containing about 400,000 inhabitants, there are not places of worship, belonging to the Established Church, capable of containing more than 11 or 12,000 persons; and, that the parishes in the interior are absolutely without the semblance of religious worship.

"And here I would beg to recur to a statement of the 'Dominica Planter,' respecting the *decorous* observance of the Sabbath. The statement stands on his own authority. As far as that is entitled to credit, it might be met by any man's counter assertion. I have now before me a letter, from a gentleman of Jamaica, of a recent date, which contains the following passage:—'But I must not forget the state of the Sabbath-day! I hope all the friends of true religion will urge this upon Government and upon Parliament. Let them consider nothing done in the West Indies so long as this is the market-day, or occupied, with the shadow of legal warrant, for any thing but a holy rest. It is my opinion this point will stand unredressed longer than any by our Planters; and there is nothing by which they are so much offended, as by an appeal to their conscience on this point.' I do not give this as *evidence* but as an *assertion* equivalent at least to that of your correspondent.†

"If the 'Dominica Planter' insists upon it, I have no objection to go more fully into an exposure of his statement, that Mr. Barclay has refuted all Mr. Stephen's positions. I affirm, on the contrary, that he has not shaken one of them. If the 'Dominica Planter' thinks otherwise, let him select his point, and he will find me ready to meet him."

The answer of the Dominica Planter to this challenge, was, in substance, that he had no intention to cavil with Mr. Stephen or his advocate, as to the *laws* quoted by the latter, but that the *laws* and *facts* were at variance, and like many laws in England, though not repealed by statute, they had become obsolete in practice. The Anti-Slavery Society, in having declared that Mr. Stephen's work would enlighten "the public mind as to the *true* condition of the slaves," had "confounded the *Law of Slavery* with the *condition of the slaves*." "Mr. Stephen's book, it had been said, contained only the *Law of Slavery*."

\* See Reporter, No. 13. † On this point, if proof were wanting, see Williamson, Cooper, Stewart, Bickell, De la Beche, &c. &c.

Mr. Barclay's book on the other hand, contained a fair statement of the *actual condition of the Slaves, shewing them to be a very happy population, with the power and practice of accumulating property, and protected in their rights and privileges as the people are HERE.* As the *inference*, however, drawn from Mr. Stephen's book, was, that it contained a statement of the condition of slaves, which Mr. Barclay's book also does, and which latter disproves all the *inferences* drawn from Mr. Stephen's book, he considered that Mr. Barclay's work, as containing *matter of fact*, had completely refuted Mr. Stephen's work, as one of theory and inference."

In a few days, a reply appeared to this statement of the Dominica Planter, which was to the following effect:

"The 'Dominica Planter' asserted, that Mr. Barclay, in his 'invaluable work,' had refuted all the positions contained in Mr. Stephen's delineation of slavery. I proved that this assertion was untrue, and I challenged him to produce even a single instance in which it could be verified. In reply to this challenge he declines to produce even the single instance I demanded of him, but he pleads that it is not necessary, for this reason, that the 'Anti-Slavery Society,' and by their means 'the public,' 'had confounded the *Law of Slavery* with the *Condition of the Slaves.*' Does he mean to say, that a principal point in ascertaining what is the true condition of the slaves is not their *legal* condition? We may fairly, I think, assume, from his reluctance to enter on the subject, that he is conscious to himself that Mr. Stephen has correctly described all that he professed to describe, viz. the *law* of slavery; for he is forced virtually to admit that that gentleman's exposition of the law of slavery in the British West India Islands is unassailable, and he declines to specify a single instance in which that law has been misrepresented by him. The 'Dominica Planter,' nevertheless, blames the Anti-Slavery Society for having given it as their opinion, that Mr. Stephen's work '*Would essentially promote the object of enlightening the public mind as to the true condition of the slaves.*' He blames them, that is to say, for conceiving that a correct exposition of the *legal* rights, and the *legal* wrongs, of the slaves; of the power over them which the *law* confides to others; and of the kind and degree of protection which the *law* affords them, would throw much light on their true condition.

"'But,' says this gentleman, 'the laws and facts are at variance.' This may be very true in more senses than one. For example, the law, in some islands, limits the power of flogging to thirty-nine lashes. Mr. Dwarris tell us of cases in which that limit was greatly exceeded, and, owing to the state of the law of evidence, with impunity. This, however, is not the sense of the 'Dominica Planter.' He means to say, what he has not at all proved, that the practice is much more lenient than the law. But this is a mere assumption, unsupported by any satisfactory evidence whatever.

"The law allows the manager of the 'Dominica Planter's' estate to give a certain number of lashes to every negro under his charge, for any reason, or for no reason. Does he mean to say, that *here* the law and the practice are at variance, and that the manager *never* flogs a negro, a



his own caprice, and without the intervention of a magistrate? It is obviously impossible for him with any truth to assert this. He cannot know that at the very moment when he is giving so confident a report of the happiness of his slaves, some of them may not be writhing under the lash of his driver, for not having completed their tasks for his sole benefit.

“ But ‘ the laws and the facts,’ he tells us, ‘ are at variance.’ Has it then ceased to be the law, that a master may compel a slave to labour for his profit? Or has it ceased to be the practice that the slaves are so compelled? In this grand point, at least, the laws and the facts are not at variance. Both in law and in fact, the negroes are compellable, and are compelled, by brute force, by the power of the lash, to work for the sole benefit of their masters. Will he venture to deny this?”

Some other of the “Dominica Planter’s” statements were thus met;

“ 1. He asserts that, ‘ it is not the *practice* in the West Indies to sell slaves separately from their families—that they choose their own masters,’ &c. This assertion I deny, and that on no lower authority than that of the *Royal Gazette* of Jamaica, of the 5th of August, 1826. At the 8th page of that paper, I find no fewer than seventeen slaves, fifteen of them creoles, who are advertized to be sold, from the workhouses, *singly*, by public sale, ‘ to the highest and best bidder,’ no one having claimed them. Some of the details are curious—‘ James, an elderly creole negro-man, grey beard.’ ‘ James Thomas, an old grey-headed creole.’ ‘ Edward, a young creole negro-man, *marked* P C on left shoulder.’ ‘ John Williams, a mulatto.’ ‘ Mary Herbert, an old grey-headed creole *marked* W O, on *shoulders*.’ ‘ Robert Henry, a young creole negro-man *marked* M R. on *shoulders*.’ Not one of these seventeen appears to be connected by family ties with any of the others that are advertized. Nay, they all belong to different owners. It is quite impossible, however, being creoles, that they should have no family connexions. Again, I find, at the bottom of p. 13, that on the 8th of August last, there would be put up for public sale, ‘ Henry Thaxter, a mulatto, a cooper, distrained on for taxes due from Snowhill; and Smart, a sailor negro, distrained on for taxes due from B. Redman.’ Are not these men sold separately from their families? At p. 14, in the same paper, I find eight more slaves who are advertized to be sold, singly and separately; some of whom are thus announced: ‘ Take notice that I shall put for public sale,’ &c.—‘ the above negroes *and horse*, levied upon, under, and by virtue of, the foregoing writs of *Venditioni exponas*.’ Here then we have twenty-seven separate sales of individuals, advertized in a single week; and this practice there exists no law in Jamaica, as we are told by the Duke of Manchester, effectually to prevent.\*

“ 2. Flogging, he tells us, ‘ is seldom applied ’ to the slaves, and his proof is a vindictory report of an assembly of St. Vincent’s planters in 1823! Who ever heard (except, indeed, in the West India controversy) a plea of *not guilty* adduced as a proof of innocence?

“ 3. ‘ The slaves are not branded with a hot iron: when the offence occurs, it is punished by law.’ In proof of this, the ‘ Dominica Plan-

\* Since the above was written, still stronger and more revolting facts on this subject have appeared in Parliamentary documents.

ter' boldly refers to the Jamaica Slave Law of 1816. I have examined the law carefully, and can find no clause which prohibits *branding*; and I take it upon me to affirm, that *branding* is not forbidden, or punishable, by any law of Jamaica. If the branding, indeed, should be of a *cruel kind, like that of the man who applied a red hot iron to the breasts of a female*, so as to inflict on her a lasting injury, such an act may be punished as *cruelty*, but not as *branding*. No punishment of any kind is attached to *branding*, unaccompanied by what a West Indian jury would deem *cruelty*. Let the law to that effect, if any, be produced.

"4. 'Tortola has never cost the British Government a shilling for protection.' This is obviously more than the 'Dominica Planter' can have a right to affirm. Tortola has, at least, cost its due proportion of the naval and military expenses incurred for the general defence and protection of the West Indies.

"5. The 'Dominica Planter' objects to its being said, that 'A planter may brand, flog, and deliberately kill, a negro at his pleasure.' And may he not do so, wherever negro evidence is rejected? See to this effect the report of Mr. Dwarris.

"6. 'The Governor's despatches laid before Parliament prove,' he tells us, that fanaticism was the cause of the insurrections in Barbadoes, &c. The Governor's despatches, respecting the Barbadoes insurrection, have never, to this hour, been laid before Parliament.

"7. 'The negroes,' he tells us, '*have wages in kind.*' So have our horses and dogs."

But, notwithstanding all this, we find the "Dominica Planter" strenuous in affirming that Mr. Barclay has satisfactorily proved to us that the negroes of Jamaica are a "VERY HAPPY POPULATION, *protected in their rights and privileges AS THE PEOPLE HERE ARE.*" He further maintains in substance respecting the slaves in Barbadoes, and in the other islands, that they are much more happy, better fed, better clothed, and enjoy more comforts—in short, are in all respects better off than the peasantry in this country; that there the slaves are a laughing, dancing, joyous race of beings, always cheerful; and they are all well attended to in sickness, never treated with cruelty, and that their state has been gradually very much meliorated.

To support these positions, he has adduced a long list of witnesses, some of them unconnected, he says, with colonial property, whose evidence, taken on oath, is annexed to a Report of the Council of Barbadoes, dated 23rd July, 1823. These witnesses are Sir E. Williams, K.C.B., Lieutenant Colonels Popham and Berkeley, Dr. Teggart, Captains C. Cruttenden and Spink; Sir R. A. Alleyne, Bart, (owner of four estates), Foster Clark, Esq. and W. Sharpe, Esq. planters and attorneys, Drs. Richards, Leacock and Thomas, and the Rev. S. Hinds, all of Barbadoes. On behalf of the other Islands, he cites Drs. Greenaway, Johnstone and Spalding, Mr. Cotts a Wesleyan Missionary, a Catholic Curé, Sir C. Brisbane, and Major General Nicolay.

To these large and sweeping affirmations of the "Dominica Planter's" witnesses a reply has appeared, the object of which is to shew that they are not deserving of the credit which he claims for them. Of that reply, we mean to quote nearly the whole, because it embraces in a brief space a large portion of this momentous question.

"I do not mean," says the writer, "to deny that there are many humane masters of slaves, who, when they happen to reside on their own estates, may do much to correct the evils of slavery, and to alleviate the sufferings of their slaves; but I mean to deny the truth of the above statements as applying to the general condition of our colonial bondsmen, and to give some reasons for this denial, which even the 'Dominica Planter,' will be compelled to allow to have some weight.

"When the Privy Council first entered on an examination of the Slave Trade in 1788, testimonies as respectable and decisive were given in favour of the humanity of that trade as any now adduced by the 'Dominica Planter' in favour of the treatment of slaves in the West Indies. Let him look at Part II, of the Privy Council Report, and he will there find it stated, by one witness (Penny), that 'the slaves are comfortably lodged in rooms fitted up for them.' 'They are amused with instruments of music, and when tired of music and dancing they then go to games of chance.' 'They are indulged in all their little humours.' 'Particular attention is paid them when sick.'—'They are frequently seen perfectly reconciled to their condition, and as happy as any of the crew;' their treatment in general is 'proper and humane.' 'no regulations are wanted to enforce kinder treatment, it being the interest of the captain and officers to take care of them.' Another witness (Norris) confirms all this, and tells us 'that the slaves do not suffer from sleeping on boards,' he might have added, and in chains in a rolling vessel. 'The song and the dance are encouraged among them.' 'Interest blended with humanity secures them every possible care, tenderness, and attention.' Similar evidence is given by various others, and a British Admiral (Edwards) among the rest, tells us that, in a Guineaman, 'the negroes usually appeared cheerful and singing. The arrival of a Guineaman is known by the dancing and singing of the negroes on board.' Does any man now credit this evidence, or allow to it the very slightest force? Or does any man think that it ought to have retarded for a moment the abolition of the Slave Trade? And yet, is it not as decisive as that which the 'Dominica Planter' has quoted from the proceedings of the Barbadoes Council, of 1823? In truth there is no weight, at any time or in any circumstances, to be given to such evidence, when adduced for such a purpose.

"In the same year, 1788, nearly forty years ago, various naval and military officers were examined by the Privy Council respecting the condition of the slaves in the West Indies. Their testimony in favour of the happiness of their condition, will be found to be even much stronger than that produced by the 'Dominica Planter.' (See Part III.) Lord Rodney, for example, said he knew all the islands, he never saw any other than humane and proper treatment of the slaves; he never saw any instance of cruelty; with respect to lodging they are better off than the poor at home; they are not overworked in any respect; he had often wished the poor in this country were in so happy a condition; they had all the appearance of happiness and vivacity, dancing and singing. Such was Lord Rodney's testimony to the condition of the slaves from 1761 to 1788; and Sir Peter Parker, Sir Joshua Rowley, Admiral Hotham, Lord Barrington, &c. &c. entirely concur with Lord Rodney. Admiral Barrington goes so far as to say, that 'the

slaves appeared to him so happy, that he often wished himself in their situation.

“ Innumerable testimonies to the same effect, at the same period, might be produced, in favour both of *the Slave Trade* and the then existing *Slavery*. If those respecting slavery were at all worthy of credit, they would go completely to disprove all that has been since said of amelioration; for what could have been done to make happiness more perfect than it was then described to be? Independently of this, we now know that, in the very period when the condition of the slaves was thus eulogised, the mortality among them was dreadful, and that both the law and practice of slavery were in the very worst imaginable state. And yet, what more credit is due to the statements that have been given on this subject in 1823, than to those which were given in 1788? They both use the same terms; they are both branded with precisely the same characters of exaggeration; and the more recent statements are as manifestly untrue, when they assert the blessedness of the lot of the slaves of Jamaica and Barbadoes, as those of 1788. I proceed to prove this.

“ And first, as to those of Jamaica, the ‘Dominica Planter’ gives us, here, only the testimony of Mr. Barclay, the value of whose alleged refutation of Mr. Stephen’s work has already been seen. Now if Mr. Barclay’s testimony were of much value, I might oppose to him not only the Rev. Mr. Bickell, but Mr. Stewart and Mr. De la Beche, both planters and friends of the colonial system. I will refer, however, at present, only to a single statement of Doctor Williamson, who resided fourteen years in Jamaica, and is also a strenuous advocate of the colonists, but it is a statement big with meaning, and which stamps falsehood on many a vague and imposing eulogy. ‘*If, in a warm day, we pass a gang,*’ says the Doctor, ‘*when they are uncovered behind, it is a reproach to every white man to observe on them the recently lacerated sores, or the deep furrows which, though healed up, leave the marks of cruel punishment.*’ Vol. II. p. 225. But this, it may be objected, was twelve or fifteen years ago. Yes, it was—but I happen to have before me a letter from the same gentleman, on his return to Jamaica, on the Medical Staff, after an absence of ten years, dated at Stoney Hill, July 20, 1823. I quote from it, by permission of the person to whom it was addressed, the following passages:—‘The Sabbath is still a day of traffic, marketing, revelling, among negroes under the bond of slavery.’—‘I cannot understand, that in the interior any improvement has taken place among the planters.’

“The ‘Dominica Planter’ has pressed the testimony of one Methodist Missionary, though uselessly to his object, into the service of the slave system. Let me avail myself of that of another for a directly opposite purpose. It is that of Mr. Gilgrass, then residing in Jamaica, and it will shew how little foundation my opponent had for denying that family ties might be broken in that island by sale. ‘A master of slaves,’ he says, ‘who lived near us in Kingston, exercised his barbarities on a Sunday morning, while we were worshipping God in the chapel, and the cries of the female sufferers have frequently interrupted us in our devotions. But there was no redress for them or for us. This man wanted money, and one of the female slaves having two fine

children, he sold one of them, and the child was torn from her maternal affection. In the agony of her feelings, she made a hideous howling, and for that crime was flogged. Soon after he sold the other child. 'This turned her heart within her,' and impelled her into a kind of madness. She howled day and night in the yard—tore her hair—ran up and down the streets rending the heavens with her cries, and literally watering the earth with her tears. Her constant cry was, 'That wicked massa Jew! he sell my children. Will no Buckra massa pity negar? What me do? Me no have one child!' As she stood before the windows, she said, 'My massa, do, my massa minister, pity me! My heart do so (shaking herself violently,) because I have no child. Me go to massa house, in massa yard, and in my hut, and me no see them;' and then her cry went up to God."—Watson's *Defence of the Methodists*, p. 26.

"As to Barbadoes, it will be sufficient to quote the 'Dominica Planter's' own witness, Mr. Dwarris, a gentleman, himself also a planter, who was specially commissioned to inquire into the state of the law in some of the islands, and whose report is even now scarcely a year old. Amidst much of general and declamatory praise of the planters, he tells us, that in Barbadoes, 'Slaves, 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.'—'A slave who is, or thinks himself, aggrieved, looks in vain, in this island, for a proper quarter in which to prefer his complaint. It can no where be received.'—'For the punishment of general oppression and mal-treatment of a slave, there is no provision by any law of Barbadoes. If inflicted by the master, it would be dispunishable; if perpetrated by a third person, the *owner* would have *his* remedy by civil action, but the slave would still be without redress.'—'A wicked or cruel master, or delegate, may inflict on him any degree of severity of punishment. No man, or set of men, has legal power to call him to account for working his slave so long as he likes—for whipping him as much as he pleases—for chaining—for starving him.'—'A master has uncontrolled, undefined, and absolute power.'—'In the case of even very grievous bodily injury, inflicted on a slave by a manager, the sufferer himself, or his slave brethren, who were present, cannot give evidence, even though all the free evidence should have been designedly sent out of the way. In such a case, a slave is not allowed to be a prosecutor. Maimed, mutilated, disfigured, dismembered, his wounds must be the only tongues to relate his wrongs.'—Dwarris's first Report, p. 62, 66.

"Now, it is in the face of these statements that the 'Dominica Planter' asserts, and produces his respectable witnesses, by their voluntary and extra-judicial affidavits, to prove, that the slaves in Barbadoes are happier than the peasantry in this country!!!

§ 3. "But the Council of Berbice are, to the full, as strong in repelling every imputation of inhumanity on the institutions and inhabitants of that colony, as the Council of Barbadoes. And yet take, as an illustration of the validity of their defence, the following case, furnished by the Fiscal of Berbice himself.

"Complaint of the woman Minkie, belonging to Thomas C. Jones: says, 'Mr. Jones took me out of the barracks on Tuesday. He sent

me to Mr. Henery; he would not buy me. He sent me to another gentleman. Both said my master asked too much money for me, and sent me back. I begged for a pass to look for an owner. He said no, he would put me down, and cut my ——. I was then laid down, and tied to three stakes, and Chance flogged me with a cart whip. I got a severe flogging. I have marks of severe punishment visible on me; old and recent floggings, all inflicted by Jones.' She exhibits her posteriors, which are covered with a plaster by order of the doctor, and apparently lacerated to that degree, that the Court judged it expedient not to uncover it. Mr. Jones being called upon, said he *had* flogged her, and also broken her mouth for her insolence. He had had thirty-nine laid on her, and they were *well* inflicted. When he sent for her he had no intention of flogging her, but, after sending her to three persons for sale and not succeeding, he told her she had often deserved a flogging. He then directed her to be flogged, and that it should be well laid on, which was done."—Berbice Fiscal's First Report, p. 14.

"In his second Report, the Fiscal tells us, that 'his Honour, the President, and the Court, were highly indignant at the treatment of this female. No evidence, however, could be obtained to convict Mr. Jones of *having inflicted a severer punishment than that prescribed by law*, although the Court were fully satisfied that the unfortunate female slave had been flogged in a severe and cruel manner, and to her sufferings, by her master's own confession, was added the breaking of her mouth in a most brutal manner,' p. 10. And what was the result of all this accumulation of horrors? The punishment of Jones? No. Jones was directed 'to take her (Minkie) from the custody of the Under Sheriff, on payment of the fees.' She was returned, that is to say, into the power of this ruffian, by order of the Court. Such is the *law and practice* of slavery in Berbice! Cruelty of the worst and most revolting description, followed, not only by the entire impunity of the perpetrator of it, but by forcibly replacing in his power the wretched and lacerated victim of his barbarity!

"But it is unnecessary to multiply instances of this kind. If we wish to have an adequate view of the utter falsehood of the statement, that the Slaves are better off than the peasantry of Great Britain, let us only imagine, that the police and institutions of Jamaica, for example, were transferred to this country. Let us only suppose, that in England, every proprietor of land, or of manufactories; every bailiff, or overseer, or head of an establishment, having servants under him; every attorney, guardian, executor, or administrator, connected with such an establishment; every overseer of a workhouse, and every keeper of a gaol, might legally, at his own discretion, and without the necessity of assigning a reason for so doing, for any offence, real or imaginary, (a misconstrued word—a misunderstood look,) or from the mere wantonness of power, like Mr. Jones, cause to be stripped naked, and fixed prone to the earth, any or all of the men, women, or children, employed under him, and either publicly or privately, inflict, upon their bared posteriors, 12, 20, 25, or 39 (whatever the number may be) lacerations of the cart whip, and then subject the sufferers, with their bleeding wounds, to the stocks and hard labour at pleasure;—let us suppose too,

that all these different proprietors and functionaries had the power of delegating to their underlings, their foremen and turnkeys, the same privilege of flogging, though to a more limited extent;—let us further suppose, that the whole of the labouring class were debarred, by law, from giving evidence in the case of any abuse of power committed by their superiors; and though allowed, in such a case, to prefer a complaint before a magistrate, (the magistrate being liable himself to have similar complaints preferred against him before his brother magistrate,) yet, if they failed in proving the truth of their complaint, by evidence that was admissible, they might be punished with thirty-nine lashes at the discretion of the magistrate, for the very act of complaining;—suppose, moreover, a driver, armed with a whip, to be placed over our reapers in the field, or our spinners in the cotton-mill, which whip he might apply at his pleasure, to quicken *industry*, or to punish neglect; and that neither their time, nor their rate of exertion, nor the choice of their employment, nor the kind or measure of their food, or of their clothing, nor their hours of rest, nor their hours of labour were their own, but under the absolute direction and control of their master or overseer, and for the sole benefit of others, without wages:—Suppose all this, and what should we think of the state of our peasantry?—And what would they think of it?

It is obvious that such a state of things, if it could be supposed for one moment to exist in this country, must give birth to innumerable abuses, at least as many as in the West Indies; probably more. We do not believe that those who administer the West India system are guilty of greater cruelty and inhumanity, than would inevitably be practised by the generality of people among ourselves, were they to be cursed with the same system transferred to England. Even with all the protection which equal laws can afford—with an enlightened and disinterested Magistracy—with a press perfectly free—and with the control of public opinion, abuses are still to be found amongst us. But supposing these important guards to be taken away, and that only every fifteenth man in the community was capable of giving evidence of wrongs committed, would any man, in his senses, predicate of the people of this country, that they were a happy people? And do the West Indians so far exceed us in high moral principle; are they such superhuman and angelic beings, that, with them, such a constitution of things, instead of being pregnant, (as it ever must be when administered by *men*,) of misery to its subjects, should be productive only of happiness and enjoyment? And yet, this is what the 'Dominica Planter,' and his array of witnesses, on oath, would have us believe.

“One word, however, about *clothing*.—The negroes of a Plantation in Berbice, called Profit, complained to the Fiscal, in October, 1823, of a want of fish and clothing. I will not now go into the matter of the fish, though that, too, might well illustrate the *comforts* of West India Slavery, but confine myself to the other point. The answer of the Manager, to the complaint of a want of clothing, was, that nineteen months before, each man had had a jacket, a hat, one yard of Salampore, and four yards of Osnaburg. This was deemed so adequate a supply, by the Fiscal, that two of the complainants were selected by him and flogged, for 'having failed to prove' their complaints. And yet, it

would be difficult, for the most ingenious tailor in England to contrive to make even half a suit of clothes for the merest beggar who treads our streets, out of this entire supply of a man-slave for nineteen months, and for not being content with which the said man-slave was flogged.

“And then let us look at the value of this nineteen months’ clothing of a grown man! The four yards of Osnaburg *two shillings*, the yard of Salampore *one shilling*, the hat *fifteen pence*—the jacket would be valued high at *five shillings*; in all *nine shillings and three pence*. Why, it would do no more than pay for a single pair of shoes and stockings for one of our comparatively wretched peasants.

“We may appreciate the value of the other comforts, so loudly vaunted by the ‘Dominica Planter,’ and his Barbadian witnesses on oath, from this last illustration, confirmed as it is by the ninth section of the Law of Barbadoes itself, passed in 1825, which fines an owner of an estate in the mighty sum of *thirteen shillings sterling*, who leaves his slave unclothed for a whole year.

“But there is one important remark which applies to the whole of that imposing, but most fallacious catalogue of comforts which the ‘Dominica Planter’ has exhibited to us, and has supported by his long file of witnesses on oath; and it is this, that they are all precisely of the same description with those enjoyed by the horses he either rides, or drives in his carriage. At the very best, and supposing all his allegations, and those of his witnesses, to be true, universally, and to the very letter, they give us a view of nothing beyond the merest physical, the merest animal, enjoyments; nothing beyond the comforts of the horse, the cow, or the dog. I will take the ‘Dominica Planter’s’ horses as my example, and compare their state as to lodging, feeding, clothing, and medical treatment with his negroes, and shew, that even in these points, which constitute the alleged happiness of the slaves, they fall below his horses.

“1st. As to *lodging*.—The quadrupeds, I will venture to say, are infinitely better lodged than the bipeds. His four or six stall stable would pay for a dozen of his negro cabins; is better protected than they are against the inclemency of the seasons: and is infinitely more comfortable; while the horse’s bed of fresh straw far surpasses, in comfort, the board or mat of the slave.

“2nd. As to *feeding*. His horses, I doubt not, have their regular three or four feeds of corn daily provided for them, besides hay to satiety, without any trouble on their part, either in growing or preparing their food. His slaves (I speak of Dominica) grow their own food, by the labour of their Sundays, and a few days in the year besides; and, with the exception of breakfast, which is cooked and eaten in the field, the cooking of it is thrown on themselves, in addition to the labours of the day.

“3rd. As to *clothing*.—Each of the horse cloths which covers his horses from head to tail, costs more, I will also venture to say, than the clothing for nineteen months, of the man, belonging to Plantation Profit, who was flogged for daring to complain of it as scanty: and the very shoes of one of his horses cost more in a twelvemonth than the shoes of his whole gang.

“4th. As to *medical treatment*.—I have before me the expence of a



plantation, containing 208 negroes, in Jamaica, for medical attendance and medicine for twelvemonths. It amounts to 63*l.* sterling, being at the rate of about six shillings for each slave, and this is above the average rate. I should like to know how much each of the 'Dominica Planter's' horses has cost, during the last year, for farriery and physic, for bleeding and drenching.

"But, notwithstanding all I have said, in support of my own views of this subject, I shall be thought to have treated very unceremoniously the solemn statements both of the 'Dominica Planter,' and of the various highly respectable witnesses who have testified, on their oaths, to the perfect happiness and comfort of the negroes. I think it necessary, therefore, to produce one more witness, in refutation of their testimony, to whom even the 'Dominica Planter' will be disposed to defer. I mean Major Moody. The Major tells us, that he has profoundly studied this question. He had a full opportunity of understanding all its moral and physical relations during the years he had the task assigned him of 'coercing the steady labour' of Mr. Katz's 1,500, or 1,800 slaves. His attachment to Colonial interests cannot be disputed. He is deemed by the Colonists one of their ablest, and most skilful, and most influential advocates. And what is *his* evidence? It is this:—'In the West Indies, the climate renders agricultural labour more disagreeable to the African than similar work is, in England, to the English labourer; therefore, 'the African will not voluntarily exert himself, to the same extent,' for wages. (2d Report, p. 16.) Hence 'the formation of a code of laws, with a view to coerce the labour of the Africans,' (p. 17.) and hence, the necessity of this coerced labour to the creation of wealth, and to steady and productive industry, which the Major enforces through many a folio page; for the free negro, he says, 'is almost invariably found recoiling from the *pain* of steady labour in the sun,' (p. 54.) Nay, 'the Black and Indian races, whose constitutions are most adapted to agricultural labour, recoil from it, beyond that moderate degree of exertion necessary to procure their subsistence,' (p. 55.) In order to *voluntary industry*, the negro, he tells us, must not only 'encounter the *pain* of labour in the sun,' but must also 'be able to resist firmly the seducing pleasure afforded by repose in the shade'—'the enjoyment sought for and prized by all around them.' 'By what motive then,' he asks very *feelingly*, 'are these men to be withdrawn from the enjoyment of that pleasure of repose which has a value so much higher in the torrid zone than in Europe? Any man,' he adds, 'may convince himself, that this enjoyment of repose is a high pleasure, by honestly examining his own inclination for any laborious exertion in the open air, when the sun in Europe radiates a heat measured by 80 degrees of the thermometer.' It appears to Major Moody, therefore, to be impossible to induce any free negro, 'to work *eight* hours in a day for another man, in return for ordinary wages, in a country where the labourer could more easily obtain the same value in subsistence, by working for himself only half an hour, or an hour, or two hours.' In warm climates, 'where repose is one of the most strong desires of men,' 'to obtain, without coercion,' the steady labour of uncivilized men, he conceives will, 'in practice, be found to be most difficult,' (p. 60, 61.) In short, he deems it vain to "expect voluntary,

steady, continuous, and moderate industry in the low lands of the torrid zone' without coercion; for, he adds, 'in the torrid zone, where steady labour in the sun is *painful* from the physical influence of heat, time cannot altogether remove the *pain* felt, though it prepares the bodies of some men to endure it. No dexterity in the use of tools can diminish the heat of the sun's rays, and, at the end of forty years, as at the end of four months, the pleasure of repose in the shade is found to be most powerful in diminishing voluntary steady industry.' (p. 77.)\*

" *These physical facts*, however, are not produced by Major Moody as a reason for sparing the negro the agony of intense labour in the sun; or for giving him wages by way of compensating this *pain*, and tempting him to labour; but for coercing him, and for placing him under the power of that effective instrument, the cart-whip, which he seems to hold to be indispensable, not only for the slave population, but for all those African captives, on whom repeated acts of the British Parliament have conferred freedom. I am not now, however, considering the justice and humanity of Major Moody's inferences, (his 'Philosophy of Labour,' as he calls it) but merely the facts themselves, which, whatever I might say, I presume, the 'Dominica Planter' will admit to be true; and if true, what do they prove? Do they prove, with the 'Dominica Planter,' and his array of witnesses on oath, that the slave population of the West Indies are *happy*? Do they not prove the reverse? The slaves, Major Moody gives us to understand, hate labour in a tropical sun, to such a degree, that wages cannot bribe them to undertake it. It is '*pain*,' it is '*painful*' thus to labour. To do so is to do violence to nature, which, in such a burning climate, intensely desires repose in the shade. And yet all the institutions of the West Indies, and particularly the driver with his cart-whip, and the overseer with his arbitrary power of thirty-nine lacerations, and confinement in the stocks, are skilfully framed, so as to compel them to this *painful* labour by the means of a still more *painful* infliction, the torture

\* "A curious contrast to the views of Major Moody is to be found in the pages of another strenuous advocate of the Colonists, Mr. Macqueen, who, in the *Glasgow Courier* of the 12th of October, 1826, endeavours to prove, by the following extract of a letter from Kingston, in Jamaica, of the 1st of August preceding, that 'the genial warmth' of a tropical sun is quite refreshing to the negro, and remarkably fits him for the performance of the work, which the Planters require at his hands:—'In England one hears such expressions as this—'the wretched negro toiling under a burning sun!' and this appears to describe a most pitiable case; but how contrary to the fact! The heat that would kill one of us, is but a genial warmth to the native of another latitude. You may often see a negro by sunrise, when, perhaps, the thermometer is at seventy-eight degrees, with his head and ears tied up in a handkerchief, and shivering with cold; but as the sun acquires force, the handkerchief, is thrown aside; he becomes more and more active, and at noon he seems a different being from that you saw in the morning. In fact, you frequently hear the negroes complain of cold, but seldom if ever, of heat.'

"We have here exhibited to us, a specimen of MOST EXTRAORDINARY ADVOCACY on the part of these two champions of the Colonial System, who are ingenious enough to make the most contradictory statements contribute equally to the support of their favourite cause. Major Moody grounds the *necessity* of Slavery on the pain arising from the very same facts, which Mr. Macqueen alleges to be sources of pleasure, and which he therefore adduces in proof of the *humanity* of the System.

of the lash well laid on, or the dread of that experienced torture. They are *forced*, not by the sweetening influence of reward, or by any of the hopes which elsewhere stimulate man to labour, but by the application of a superior degree of *physical pain*, to do that, steadily and continuously, which it is *painful*, according to Major Moody, to do at all. To take the laws of Jamaica as a specimen of the rest. They authorise the master (see the law of 1816, sec. 20, 27) to compel, by brute force, this *painful labour in the field*, from five in the morning till seven in the evening of each day—I say *in the field*, for these hours do not include the time consumed in the morning in going to that field, and in the evening in returning from it, nor the time consumed in procuring, and bringing home grass for the cattle, after the labour of the field is over; so that at least fifteen hours of *painful labour* in the day, with the interval of two hours and a half for meals, are regularly exacted by the superior *pain* of the cart-whip, or the dread of it; and during four months of the year, namely, in crop-time, four more hours must be added to this number, making in all nineteen hours out of the twenty-four, extracted from beings, to whom every such hour, according to Major Moody, is *painful*. And yet the slaves of Jamaica are happy!!! What can so obliterate every trace of right feeling in the mind of any man, as to make him pronounce such a condition happy, or persuade him that he can make the public believe that it is so? I am aware that the labour of the slaves, *painful* to them as Major Moody shews it to be, is to their masters at least, productive sometimes of very pleasant results. To this they may owe their stately mansions, their gilded apartments, their elegant furniture, their dashing equipages, their beds of down, their sumptuous tables, and their rich and sparkling wines. But are these enjoyments never disturbed by such impressive facts as Major Moody has so laboriously established?—the *pain*, the *lassitude* of the poor negroes;—the denial to them of that *intensely desired repose in the shade*, while the sun radiates not eighty only, but it may be ninety or ninety-five degrees;—that reluctance of outraged nature which even ‘forty years’ of habit, according to the gallant Major, cannot subdue; and, above all, the coercion, the stripes, or the dread of stripes, by which alone all these obstacles to the master’s power of obtaining his varied enjoyments, are to be overcome? If they do not, what does it prove, but what has been over and over again affirmed, that there is something in the administration of the West Indian System, which produces a state of feeling akin to that which permits the negro to laugh, and sing, and dance, and revel, beneath the lash and the chain.”

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

London, 18, Aldermanbury, Dec. 30, 1826.

No. 19.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

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

### STATISTICS OF SLAVE COLONIES.

MUCH important information has recently been laid before the House of Commons, in the shape of Returns from the Slave Colonies, ordered to be printed on the 9th of May 1826, and forming a volume of 760 folio pages, numbered 353. These Returns embrace a period of five years, from the 1st of January 1821, to the 31st of December 1825, and refer to a variety of particulars, such as *the marriage of slaves; the separation of families; the value of slaves; their manumission; Colonial pauperism; the general population, &c.* From six of the Colonies indeed, *viz.* Antigua, Bermuda, the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, Montserrat, and St. Lucia, there are as yet no Returns. The information that has been obtained therefore, and of which we propose to give a brief abstract, relates exclusively to the other fourteen Colonies.

#### I. MARRIAGES OF SLAVES.

1. *Bahamas.* In these Islands SEVEN marriages of slaves have taken place in the five years, from 1821 to 1825 inclusive, besides eight marriages, in which one of the parties was free and the other a slave. The slave population amounts to upwards of 9000.

An Act of this Island, passed in 1824, authorizes the celebration of marriages between slaves, but not without the consent of their owner in writing, which consent he may withhold at pleasure, and without assigning a reason; and it makes such marriages valid, always saving the authority and rights of owners. (Clauses 10—13.)

2. *Barbadoes.* The slave population of this Island is about 80,000. ONE marriage took place among them in these five years, none having been celebrated before. This marriage was solemnized, in the parish of St. Lucy, by the Rev. W. Harte. The singular boldness of this clergyman, in committing such an act, deserves to be recorded, especially as we understand that it has brought upon him the censure of the Barbadian public. The incumbents of the other ten parishes have escaped the reproach he has had to encounter. *Their return is uniformly the same,*

*viz.* "NIL." What a state of domestic purity and blessedness, does the large slave population of Barbadoes exhibit, with only one marriage in five years! The new Bishop, on landing in this island, we are told by his relation and secretary, was hailed by a chorus of sable damsels, singing these enchanting lines,

De Bishop is coming, de Bishop is coming,  
De Bishop is coming to marry we ;  
De Bishop is coming to marry we all.

We will not attempt to account for the failure of these fond hopes : for even the single marriage which has been celebrated, and which is said to have excited almost as great a commotion in Barbadoes as the appearance of a Methodist missionary would have done, took place some weeks before the Bishop's first arrival there.

The President of the Island, in a letter dated March 14, 1826, tells Lord Bathurst, "that there is no law existing in Barbadoes, by which the marriage of slaves is authorized or sanctioned."

3. *Berbice.* The return from this Colony, containing 22,000 slaves, is still more summary than that from Barbadoes. NO marriage of slaves has taken place there ; and the learned legists of Berbice are in doubt whether the marriage ordinance of the Colony, being "the Egt Reglement en de generaliteit of their high mightinesses of the States of Holland," has to do with slaves.

4. *Demerara.* In this Colony, containing 75,000 slaves, no marriage has taken place among them.

5. *Dominica.* This Colony contains about 15,000 slaves. NO marriage has been celebrated by any Protestant clergyman between slaves ; but three have been celebrated where one of the parties was free, and the other a slave. By the Catholic Curé, however, M. Jean de Lahos, 129 marriages of slaves have been solemnized in five years.

The Dominica authorities were required to state what are the laws of that Island, "by which the marriage of slaves is authorized and sanctioned, and their connubial rights, recognized and secured." Their return to this requisition affords a curious and edifying specimen of the reliance that is to be placed on representations proceeding from parties interested in the maintenance of slavery.

They cite, as their answer to the requisition, the following clauses of "an Act passed in 1788, for the Encouragement, Protection, and better Government of Slaves," *viz.*

*Clause 4.* "And be it and it is hereby enacted and ordained, by the authority aforesaid, that all owners, renters, managers, or overseers of all the slaves who may be arrived at the years of maturity, and who may be desirous of entering into a connubial state, shall encourage and exhort such slave or slaves, to receive the ceremony of marriage, as instituted under the forms of the Christian religion : and in neglect of doing so, the said owner, renter, manager, or overseer, shall be subject to a fine of five pounds."

*Clause 22.* "And be it, and it is hereby further enacted and ordained, by the authority aforesaid, That any white person, or free person of colour whatever, who shall take away and cohabit with, the wife or

wives of any of the slaves of this Island, shall, on conviction thereof before any three or more magistrates, be subject to a fine not exceeding the sum of fifty pounds." (£25 sterling.)

This is one of the most unblushing attempts we have ever witnessed to impose on the people and Parliament of Great Britain. This Act, passed in 1788, was repealed in 1821, and has therefore now no operation whatever. Nor in the Act which was then substituted for it, nor in any subsequent Act have those clauses been renewed, which are now brought forward for no other purpose that we can discover, but to blind the eyes of the Parliament and people of England. An Act passed in 1818, it is true, permits *Curates*, meaning we presume, the Catholic Curés, to solemnize the marriages of slaves, receiving a fee of one pound for each; but as for the above cited clauses, they have no existence.

The Dominica Assembly has long signalized itself by a sort of legislative dexterity. In 1788, it outdid all the other Assemblies, in their pretended measures of reform; witness the above clauses. But in 1804, sixteen years after, when Lord Camden required General Prevost the Governor of Dominica, to inform him, what had been done in consequence of the 4th and some other clauses of the meliorating act of 1788, the honest soldier bluntly answered, that the clauses had not been carried into effect. Not one slave had been married; not one penalty had been enforced; and the Act itself "appears," he tells us, "to have been considered, from the day it was passed until this hour, as a *political measure* to avert the interference of the mother country in the management of slaves."

But though the above provisions were to all intents and purposes a dead letter, it was thought unsafe to retain them. Accordingly in 1821, a new slave Act was passed, expressly to *amend* the former, in which not only were these and several other fair sounding clauses omitted without any other being substituted, but at the very close of the new Act, a brief and summary clause is introduced, (the 35th) entirely repealing the Act of 1788. And yet, when the House of Commons in 1826, calls for "a copy of any law, by which the marriage of slaves is authorized and sanctioned, and their connubial rights secured," the Dominica authorities have the hardihood, we will not say the disingenuousness to produce as such law, the clauses of an act which a subsequent act of their own had totally repealed; thus taking credit for provisions, which, while they existed, were a dead letter; and which they themselves had deliberately abrogated and annulled five years before.

6. *Grenada*. This Island contains 25,000 slaves. In the several parishes into which it is divided, FOURTEEN marriages of slaves have taken place within the five years. One of the incumbents, the Rev. W. Nash, in reporting that not one marriage had taken place in *his* parish, subjoins some remarks of an exculpatory kind, which will be found to have an important general bearing. He praises two planters, who were solicitous to introduce something like religious instruction among their slaves; and he says, that if such plans were generally pursued, he should have happy presentiments of success, *provided* he

could prevail on the proprietors to attend to certain suggestions of his, such as "That every *convenient* attention be shown to the *temporal* welfare of the negroes. On this the success of the rest" (meaning the efforts made for their spiritual benefit) "will mainly depend. The negroes, dull as their understandings are, have sagacity sufficient to connect moral causes with physical effects. They will say, 'if our masters are really so desirous of promoting our happiness in the other world, why do they not give us an earnest of it, by attending to our comfort in this?' I trust they will do so, while they are sowing the 'good seed' for a future harvest. And although experience forbids me to be very sanguine in my expectations, yet I will believe that some of the seed will grow, and that there will be a harvest. At least if good principles fail to produce good practice, it must be allowed that without good principles good practice cannot be expected. At all events, this acquisition will arise from it, the adversaries of the system will be obliged to desist, or to recede to their citadel the abstract question."

What are we to conclude from this last remark? Is it not that Mr. Nash does not view with perfectly friendly eyes the adversaries of this system? If so, his concessions are the more to be valued.

The Grenada Slave Act of 1825, allows (see Clause 5) slaves to intermarry, provided the owner gives consent, and provided (a most unnecessary provision,) the Clergyman, Priest or other legally authorized person, shall consider such slaves to have a competent knowledge of the marriage vow.

7. *Honduras*. In this Colony there has been only ONE intermarriage of slaves; and three between slaves and free persons. There is no law authorizing marriage.

8. *Jamaica*. In this Island, the Duke of Manchester states, in his letter of the 4th of March, 1826, that he is "not aware of any law by which the marriage of slaves is authorized or sanctioned."

The following are the marriages of slaves, (marriages unauthorized and unsanctioned, and therefore unprotected, by law) which took place in the different parishes of this Island, during the years 1821—1825 inclusive, the slave population being about 330,000.

	Slave population.	Marriages of Slaves.
Manchester,	18000	191
Port Royal,	7000	24
St. Dorothy's,	5000	4
Hanover,	23000	4
St. Thomas in the Vale,	12000	16
St. Andrew's,	16000	no return.
Trelawney,	27000	5
Vere,	8000	1
Clarendon,	18000	2
St. Mary's,	26000	141
St. John's,	7000	3
St. George's,	13000	104
St. David's,	8000	101

Westmoreland, . . .	22000	. . .	2
St. Elizabeth's, . . .	19000	. . .	2
St. James's, . . .	25000	. . .	89
St. Thomas in the East,	25000	. . .	1085
St. Ann's, . . .	25000	. . .	5
St. Catherine's, . . .	8000	. . .	56
Portland, . . .	8000	. . .	57
Kingston, . . .	7000	. . .	601

Some curious circumstances are to be remarked with respect to this list of marriages.

In the first place, except in one instance, (that of Manchester) marriage prevails chiefly where the Methodist preachers have obtained a footing. In Kingston, and St. Thomas in the East, Methodist missions have been established for many years, and these marriages are frequent. In St. Mary's, St. George's, St. David's, St. James's, St. Catherine's, and Portland, where the Methodist missionaries have recently made inroads, marriages are becoming less infrequent. In eleven other parishes, containing 173,000 slaves, there were only 68 marriages in five years, or about 13 in each year. And here it appears to us of the utmost importance to remark, that in the various parishes of this Island, which are pre-eminently distinguished by the paucity of marriages; as Vere, in which only ONE marriage has taken place in *five* years; Clarendon, where two marriages have taken place in five years; St. John's where, in five years, three marriages have been solemnized, and only one marriage had ever taken place before; Westmoreland, where only two marriages have taken place in five years; St. Dorothy's, where only four marriages have taken place in five years; Hanover, where the same number of marriages has been solemnized; Trelawney, where there have been only five marriages; St. Elizabeth, where only two marriages have occurred; and St. Ann's, where there have been only five marriages in five years;—it is most important, we say, to remark, that in these various parishes, not a few of the most influential West Indian Proprietors, filling seats in both Houses of Parliament, who profess their cordial attachment to measures of Reform, and prefer strong claims to the public confidence and respect, possess large plantations, crowded with slaves. We earnestly entreat their attention to the facts now brought before them, and of which they may not have been previously aware, in the hope that they may apply a remedy to the evil.

We now discover that 184, of the 187 marriages, which Mr. Bridges boasted of having solemnized in the parish of Manchester, but which in fact prove to have been only 140, were all celebrated by him, at one time, in or about the month of February, 1823, just as he must have received Mr. Wilberforce's Appeal, and, to furnish a reply to whom, he found that he must have a batch of marriages got up. In the parish of St. Ann's, of which Mr. Bridges is now the incumbent, only five marriages have taken place in five years, though the population is 25,000.

9. *Nevis*. In a population of 9,500 slaves, FIVE marriages have taken place between slaves, and three where one party was a slave and the



other free. There is in this Island no law authorizing or sanctioning marriage.

10. *St. Christopher's*. In this Island there is no law authorizing marriage. The slave population amounts to nearly 20,000. EIGHTEEN marriages have taken place among them in five years.

11. *St. Vincent's*. The slave population amounts to 24,000. FOUR marriages have taken place among them in five years. Until the year 1820, a law existed in this Island, actually prohibiting the marriage of a slave with a free person, under a penalty on the officiating clergyman of £50. and on the free person of £200. or slavery for four years. This strange and whimsical enactment, marking the hostility of the St. Vincent's legislators to all but illicit connections, was superseded by their Act of 1820; but it was not till December 1825, that the marriage of slaves received any legislative recognition. It was then authorized, but under grievous restrictions. The marriage can only be solemnized by a *Clergyman of the established Church*, and he must be satisfied that the parties understand the marriage-vow. What nation is there so savage on the face of the earth, the English Slave Colonies excepted, where the population does not understand the nature of the marriage engagement? This is a proof of the same ill-concealed hostility to marriage, which formerly reduced to slavery a freeman who married a slave.

The clergyman of St. Vincent's, Mr. Lansdown Gilding, apologizes for the small number of marriages on the ground of his previous want of authority to perform the ceremony. He complains too of interlopers. It seems a grievous offence in his eyes, that "vast numbers of slaves have been *clandestinely* married by Methodist preachers," and have not yet applied to him to be remarried. It would appear as if he actually regarded the Methodist preachers as offenders, because they had exerted themselves to check, among their converts, the prevailing habits of licentiousness, by inducing them to form permanent connections under the imposing sanction of a religious ceremony. So far from meriting blame, they deserve for this the highest commendation; and the St. Vincent's legislature owe it to the moral interests of their island to legalize these marriages, instead of leaving them to be thrown into doubt, by permitting Mr. Gilding to require the parties to be remarried by him before they are to be considered as man and wife.

12. *Tobago*. There is no law authorizing the marriage of slaves in this Island, and, in point of fact, no such marriage has ever taken place there. Its slave population amounts to about 14,000.

13. *Tortola*. The return from this island is to precisely the same effect with that from Tobago.

14. *Trinidad*. The slave population of this island amounts to 23,000. The Order in Council of 1824 legalized the marriage of slaves; but the fruit of that order has hitherto been very small. ELEVEN marriages have followed it, there having been only one previously. Of these eleven marriages, nine have been celebrated by the Methodist Missionary, two by the Catholic Curé, and not one by the Church of England clergyman.

Is it necessary to add a word to this striking exemplification of the state of West Indian society and West Indian morals? Is there in the known world any thing to be compared to the profligacy of manners

which it discloses? Nor is the absence of right feeling which these statements evince, notwithstanding the discussions of forty years' duration by which the Colonists have been compelled to consider the question, more remarkable than the absolute indifference they manifest to the benefits connected with an increase of the slave population. "It is the interest of the Planters," we are told, "to treat their slaves well, and therefore they do treat them well." Such is the reasoning by which the people of England are deluded. Is it not then the *interest* of the Planters that their slaves should increase? If it be, is not marriage essential to that object? But, what has their all-powerful sense of interest, to which so much is attributed, done to promote marriage among their slaves? With what extreme reluctance do they even now consent to enactments for that purpose, and what a multiplicity of restrictions do they impose upon it? What can more clearly shew the light in which the whites view the negro race, than this extraordinary, nay almost morbid repugnance to raise them from the debasement of a sexual intercourse resembling that of brutes, (notwithstanding the depopulation produced by it,) to the enjoyment of the charities of domestic life? And does not this very fact solve to us much of the mystery which would otherwise hang over the whole of the Slavery question; while it proves the absolute hopelessness of any *effectual* reform proceeding from the Colonial authorities? Among the White community of the West Indies; and, we admit, it would be precisely the same with any community, placed in the same unfortunate circumstances with theirs; there exists an invincible dislike of every measure which goes to lessen the moral and intellectual distance between themselves and the dependent negro, or to produce an approximation in their social, civil, or political rights. This state of feeling is curiously illustrated in almost every page of the writings of that most zealous of all the advocates of the Slave System, Major Moody; and with his usual inverted mode of reasoning, he employs it to shew, not that Parliament should interfere to correct the evil, but that the negroes are doomed to remain for ever an inferior and degraded caste; in short to be for ever slaves. The prejudice he assumes to be invincible and its cure hopeless, so long as their colour and their smell are unchanged. And is not the very existence of this prejudice an unanswerable argument against entrusting to the men who entertain it, the reform of their own negro code? We do not deny that the Colonists would be content to admit of many ameliorations in the treatment of the slave, of a kind similar to those which might take place in the treatment of their cattle. But from every measure which would tend to raise him in the scale of being to their own level; which would give him equal legal rights; which would confer on him a social and civil as well as a merely animal existence; which would make him a participator in their intellectual pursuits, and in their deathless hopes, they shrink (and in this view of the subject the report of Major Moody bears us out) with a kind of instinctive abhorrence, with a sensitiveness similar to that with which the inhabitant of the lordly mansion shrinks from intercommunion with wretchedness and rags, with filth and beggary. We here speak not of a few enlightened and humane proprietors,

but of the mass of Colonial residents.—But it may be said, “if you admit that the mass of the Colonists are actuated, in these feelings, just as all other men would be actuated (who at least are not influenced by Christian principle, and do not feel that the soul of a negro is as valuable as the soul of a white,) why load the Colonists with reproach and obloquy on that account? The censure ought to fall not on the Colonists but on the circumstances in which they are unhappily placed.”—In reply, we will go still farther than the objector and say, that the Colonists are not half so much to blame, in the conduct they pursue towards the negro race, as the legislature of Great Britain is, who refuse to interfere to prevent by their irresistible fiat, what is, and without its interference ever must be, the natural and almost necessary result of the relative circumstances of the master and slave;—who vainly expect that, in such circumstances, the former should discharge with fidelity and impartiality the high legislative functions assigned to him;—who in short, confide the destinies of the slaves to those who, in the emphatic language of Mr. Canning “cannot execute that trust fairly;” “Whose laws can never reach, can never cure the evil;” there being something, as the same great statesman has well remarked, “*in the very 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.*”

## II. SEPARATION OF FAMILIES.

1. *Bahama*. The Slave Act of this island, passed in 1824, (clause 6) forbids the separation, by sale of any kind whether private or judicial, or by bequest, of husband and wife, or reputed husband and wife, and their children under fourteen years of age, provided they belong to the same owners. No means are given of tracing whether, in the exportations which have taken place to other Colonies, or in the sales by the Marshal of slaves seized in execution, this law has been faithfully observed.

2. *Barbadoes*. It is not stated whether there be in Barbadoes any law to prevent the separation of families. It is clear however, that there is not.

In these papers is contained a Return of forty-four persons escheated to the Crown, in this Island, from 1821 to 1825 inclusive, which discloses some curious particulars.

A negro of the name of John Thomas Atherley, had purchased his own freedom, and had also succeeded in redeeming his wife and four children from Slavery, by the fruits of his own industry; when he died. Though he had been able to pay their owner the price of their manumission, he had not been able, before his death, to pay the enormous tax, which, in Barbadoes, was imposed on manumissions; and he had omitted to make a will. His wife and children, therefore, were regarded as his own slaves, and as such, he having no *legal* heirs, were escheated to the Crown. And they would infallibly have been sold for the benefit of the Crown, but for the interposition of a benevolent individual, who made such representations, on the subject, to his Majesty's Government at home, as produced, at first, a suspension of their sale, and afterwards,

their entire liberation. These poor creatures, however, after all their fears and sufferings, were made to pay the heavy expenses attending the cession of their liberty, as well as *the finding of his Majesty's title* to them. Is it possible to conceive a more cruel case than this would have been, under the operation of the laws of Barbadoes, but for the intervention of the Government?—There occurs one other case of manumission by an order of the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury; and in the case of eighteen more, their fate is suspended till his Majesty's pleasure shall be taken. Surely it cannot be a matter of doubt, what that pleasure will be.—All, however, of these escheats have not been so fortunate as to have their case made known to the Government; and the following statement of the sales of individuals, *for the benefit of his Majesty*, will be read with pain and disgust by every loyal mind.

On the 7th of August, 1823, nineteen individuals became escheats of the Crown; and in eleven days from that time, namely, on the 18th of August, 1823, they were all sold by public auction, with the exception of two who effected their escape, and the net proceeds of their sale were paid into the Treasury of Great Britain. The transaction, bad enough in itself, will be in no small degree aggravated, when we consider all the circumstances of it, and especially the cruel separation of families which was sanctioned by the agents of the Crown. The following are the particulars of this opprobrious sale, as they are given under the official signature of "Lionel Parke, Receiver General of his Majesty's Casual Revenue."

1. Quow, aged 55, father of Cæsar, sold to Thomas Louis, for £45.
  2. Cæsar, aged 27, son of Quow, to Samuel Henery, for £90.
  3. Orange, aged 67, mother of October, to B. T. Young, for £5.
  4. October, aged 44, son of Orange, to C. Crouch, for £46.
  5. Abel, aged 49, husband of Lubbah, and father of Thomas, Kitty, and Becky, sold to Henry Tudor, for £32. 10s.
  6. Lubbah, aged 40, wife of Abel, and mother of his children, sold also to Henry Tudor, for £38. She appears to have been put up separately, and Mr. Tudor appears to have bid high in order to obtain her.
  7. Thomas, aged 16, son of Abel and Lubbah, sold to H. Mozely, for £51.
  8. Kitty, aged 13, daughter of Abel and Lubbah, to Joshua Levi, for £46. 10s.
  9. Becky, aged 6, daughter of Abel and Lubbah, to Mr. Alsup, for £28.
- Again, Deborah, Sukey, Betsey, Polly, and Thomas, are brothers and sisters. Sukey has one child, Betsey three, and Polly one. They are thus disposed of,
10. Deborah, aged 28, is sold to W. Straker, for £15.
  11. Sukey, aged 26, mother of Jas. William, } are sold, in one lot,
  12. James William, aged 1½, son of Sukey, } to Thomas Howell,
  13. Betsey, aged 34, mother of Caroline, } for £51.
  14. Grace, and Medorah, . . . . . } are sold, in one lot,
  15. Caroline, aged 4, daughter of Betsey, } to James Lealted,
  16. Grace, aged 2½, daughter of Betsey, } for £50.
  16. Medorah, aged 9, daughter of Betsey, is sold to William Austin, for £51. 10s.



14. *Trinidad*. The Order in Council prohibits the separation of families only by judicial sale, leaving it to the caprice of the individual to regulate his private sales.

In concluding this head, let us again carefully note the spirit of Colonial legislation, as exemplified, not only in the brutality of the sexual intercourse which has so long been preferred to the marriage tie, but in the reckless indifference with which, in the case of the negro, that legislation has left every tie to be burst asunder, and has assimilated human beings, born in the image of God, and possessing natural affections as ardent as our own, as mere chattels, to the beasts that perish.

### III. PAUPERISM.

1. *Bahamas*. The only establishment in the Bahamas, for the relief of the poor, appears to be an hospital or poorhouse. The expense attending it amounts to from £1,400, to £1,600 a year, but the items of the expenditure are not given, and it is to be presumed, that the greatest part of it consists in salaries to the superintendants and servants of the establishment; because an equal sum appears to be spent in 1825, when there were only ten patients in the hospital, and in 1823, when there were forty-eight. The number passing through the hospital in five years amounted to 141, *viz.*—Seventy-four free blacks and coloured persons, and sixty-five whites; being, on the average, fifteen free persons and thirteen whites. The number of free blacks and persons of colour is about 2400, of whites about half that number.

2. *Barbadoes*. The following is the average annual number of paupers, supported in nine different parishes of this island, as given in the Returns from 1821 to 1825, inclusive, the Returns from St. James and St. Philip being wholly omitted, *viz.*

St. Lucy,	63.	St. Peter,	96.
St. Thomas,	77.	St. Joseph,	18.
St. John,	65.	Christ Church,	130.
St. Andrew,	86.	St. Michael's,	401.
St. George,	62.		

In all 998 paupers, all of whom, with a single exception, are white. The parish returns in general express that there are *no free blacks or coloured persons who receive relief*. The parish of St. Michael is the only exception, and there, *relief* is afforded to ONE woman of colour. From one parish, St. Peter's, the return is that "there are no free coloured paupers;" from another, St. Joseph's, "that no instance of a free black or coloured person being relieved by the parish," has occurred. The return from Christ Church, states that, "at any time that free coloured persons require relief, it is granted from the parish;" but no instance is recorded of its having been required or granted. In one parish, indeed, St. George's, an endeavour is made to represent the annuity paid, by law, as interest on the sums exacted as a tax on manumissions, in the light of parish relief; and thirty-six free black and coloured persons are named, who *thus* receive relief. But this is nothing more than a clumsy attempt at imposition, the sums paid annually by the

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the expenditure appears to have been as follows: for seventeen white persons, guilders 4,139. 10; for two free persons of colour, guilders 534. 16; being for the whites above £300 sterling, and for the free persons of colour under £40.

4. *Demerara*. The free black and coloured population of this Colony amounts to 4,727; the whites, it is supposed, to not above half that number. The number of the latter, who are pensioners on the poor fund, on the average of five years, appears to be fifty-one; of free black and coloured persons twenty-six. Besides this, there is occasional relief given to both classes, in the proportion of about three to one; that is to say, the white paupers receive, in this way, an aggregate amount, which is about three times as much as is paid to paupers of the other class. The accounts, however, are far from being clear and distinct; sufficiently so, however, to shew that, while the free black and coloured population is probably double that of the whites, the portion of relief they receive does not amount to more than one half—although in those five years the poor fund derived, from that most unjust and oppressive tax, a tax on manumissions, no less than 20,400 guilders, or nearly £1,500 sterling.

5. *Dominica*. The white population of Dominica is estimated at about 900; the free black and coloured population was ascertained in 1825 to amount to 3122. During the five years, ending in Nov. 1825, thirty of the former class had received relief from the poor fund, and only ten of the latter; the amount paid to the latter being £1110, to the former £3792; so that we find only one third of the number of paupers in a population of free black and coloured persons which is considerably more than three times as numerous as the whites; thus making the proportion about one to nine.

6. *Grenada*. This Colony furnishes a still more striking exemplification of the independence of the free black and coloured population than even Dominica. They amounted in 1825 to 3486. The last census of the whites in 1820 gave their number 883, and there is reason to suppose that they may have diminished rather than increased since that time. During the five years in question, the expense of the Colony hospital, which alone appears to give relief to paupers, was about £2640 currency, or £1320 sterling, being at the average rate of £264 sterling per annum, and even this includes the salaries of officers, the treasurer having £50 sterling a year. But it does not appear that any part of this small sum was applied to the relief of free blacks or persons of colour.

7. *Honduras*. This small Colony furnishes a further striking proof of the utter groundlessness of those allegations, which are sounded, from mouth to mouth, throughout the whole Colonial party with Major Moody at their head. The white population of Honduras is returned, in 1824, as amounting only to 150, the free black and coloured population, to 1750, (see letter of Capt. M'Lean, House of Commons papers, 18th of June, 1824, No. 439) being about twelve times as numerous as the whites. The return of the Treasurer of the Colony is, that "there are no funds raised in Honduras, for the support of the poor, there being so very few persons who are literally



in distress from poverty; but such as are so, are readily relieved by the Magistrates, and monies allowed them from the public funds of the settlement." The number of free persons thus relieved, has varied in five years, from 6 to 8, eight being the largest number, at an expense of about £100 sterling annually. There appear to have been only two white paupers in the Colony, with the exception of the Poyais emigrants, for whom, a sum of about £4000 currency was disbursed from the public treasury.

8. *Jamaica*. This Island is supposed to contain about 20,000 whites, and about double that number of free black and coloured persons. The return of paupers from eighteen of its parishes (those of Kingston, St. Thomas in the Vale, and St. Dorothy's being omitted,) exhibit the average number of white paupers to be 295, of black and coloured paupers 148; the proportion of white paupers to those of the other class, according to the whole population of each, being as four to one. The payments made to the whites are also very considerably larger in amount, in proportion to the number relieved, than those made to the black coloured paupers.

9. *Nevis*. The white population of this Colony is estimated at about 800, the free black and coloured population at about 1800. The number of white paupers receiving relief is stated to be 25, that of the other class 2; being in the proportion to that of the whites of one to twenty eight.

10. *St. Christopher's*. We have no means of ascertaining the white, and the free coloured population of this Island. The average number of white paupers appears to be 115, of black and coloured paupers, 14, although there is no doubt that the population of the latter class, greatly outnumbers that of the former.

11. *St. Vincent's*. The white population of this Island is stated, in 1825, to be 1301; the free black and coloured population 2824. "We have never had," says Sir C. Brisbane, the Governor, "any poor's rate or other taxes levied for the support of the poor. The few paupers (ALWAYS WHITE) who occasionally resort hither, are generally supported from the town funds."

12. *Tobago*. Neither the white, nor the free black and coloured population of this Island is given. But the point is of small importance, as the Governor, Sir F. P. Robinson, informs Lord Bathurst, that "there is no fund for assisting paupers in this Colony, except that of the Church," (which does not amount to sixty dollars per annum) "and the reason is, that there are no other poor people who require that kind of relief."

13. *Tortola*. In 1825, the free black and coloured population amounted to 607. The whites are estimated at about 300. The number of white paupers relieved appears, to be 29; of black and coloured, 4; being in the proportion of fourteen to one.

14. *Trinidad*. The white population of this Island is about 3500; that of free black and coloured persons amounts to about 15,000. The Treasurer of the Island reports, that no funds have been raised in this Colony for the support of the poor.

In short, in a population of free blacks and people of colour, amount-

ing to from 80,000 to 90,000, only 229 persons have received any relief however small, as paupers, being about one in each 370 persons, exhibiting altogether an example of ease and independence, not to be paralleled in any other part of the British Dominions, or among any other class of his Majesty's subjects. And yet what says that veracious writer the Rev. Mr. Bridges, on this subject? "The free negro and coloured population of these colonies are a slothful race, living without labour or means;" they "merit your commiseration, and should elicit your sympathy." "In age or incapacity they are exposed" "without resource to all the want and misery, which close a life of unrestrained indolence, apathy, and vice."

#### IV. MANUMISSIONS.

In the five years from 1821 to 1825 inclusive, the following manumissions have taken place, *viz.*—

1. In the *Bahamas*, there have been 176 manumissions:—there is here no tax payable upon them.

2. In *Barbadoes*, 408 manumissions have taken place; on seventy two of which a tax of £50 was paid, and on 336 of which no tax was paid, the parties having evaded it by being manumitted in England at an expense of about seven pounds; a conveyance of them to a person in England having been previously executed by their owners, for the express purpose of their being manumitted. The fee for those on whom the tax has been paid is 30s.; on the others, 37s. 6d. Those for whom the tax has been paid, are entitled to an annuity of 8 per cent, or £4. per annum for life; the others to nothing.

3. In *Berbice*, the manumissions have been only 49, for which taxes have been paid to the extent of 17,500 guilders, or £1250 sterling, besides a fee on each of 186 guilders, or £13. 5s. sterling, being altogether a tax of about £39. 5s. on each manumission.

4. In *Demerara*, the manumissions have been 142, the taxes on which have amounted to 20,396 guilders, or £1457 sterling, being at the rate of £11 sterling on each, besides the fees, which are large.

5. In *Dominica*, the manumissions have amounted to 156, on which a tax has been paid of £2904 currency, besides fees amounting to £202. 10s. in all £3106. 10s. currency, or £1553. 5s. sterling, being at the rate of about £10. sterling each.

6. In *Grenada*, the manumissions have been 407; a fee being paid on each of £3. 16s. and no tax.

8. In *Honduras*, 141 manumissions have taken place, the charge on each being a fee of two dollars and a half, and no tax besides. One man pays £250 for his freedom, another £300, another, £225. The father of three children buys them for £280. A man continuing a slave himself, buys his wife for £100; another buys his son for the same sum: several women buy themselves at the rate of £100, and one pays for herself £200.

8. In *Jamaica*, the record of manumissions is so confused, that it is difficult to ascertain the precise number. In many cases the particulars of wills are given directing certain sums to be paid for manumissions, but without specifying whether the provisions of these wills

have been carried into effect. It is therefore a matter of doubt, what the number of manumissions in this Island during the five years in question, actually has been. There is also great irregularity in the dates of the manumissions, many of them bearing that of almost every year from 1805 to 1820, and some even so distant a date as 1796. In short, no account could be more ingeniously contrived to render all correct inference from it absolutely impossible. The number in the five years may be 1500, or it may be 2900. A few curious facts may, nevertheless, be collected from it. One noble lord sells Charlotte and her six children for £700. Another noble lord sells Sarah for £180.; Mary Ann, for £150.; and Eleanor and her child, for £100. A wealthy baronet sells a woman and her four children for £315.; a man, for £200.; four women, for £335.; and two women, for £330. Another baronet, a member of parliament, sells a mother and her daughter for £280.; a mother and two children, for £420.; a mother and four children, for £360.; and a mother and two children, for £185. One proprietor sells two women and a child for £400.; and a woman, for £140. Another, a member of parliament, sells two Elizas, one for £100., the other for £150., and John for £140. Another member of parliament sells Elizabeth Guy, for a "new slave," value £115. If the word "new slave," is to be understood in its ordinary acceptation, it seems fit that the Attorney-General should enquire where such a contraband article was obtained.

Now, it is obvious, that in all these cases the vendors of the manumitted slaves, who are, probably for the most part, the mulatto concubines and children of white men, take advantage of the state of the law, to exact from their keeper or parent, a far higher price than the fair market value of the persons sold. It is plain that but for this, £280 never could have been obtained for a mother and her daughter, or £420 for a mother and her two daughters. And this will more clearly appear, when we come, under the next head, to see what is the fair average value of slaves, when brought into the market, and sold at the market price. The persons disposed of at these enormous rates, if sold by auction, or fairly appraised, would not have brought to their vendors, (we will not suppose the owners to be cognizant of the matter,) above one third of the money that has been exacted for them. And it might be shewn from this very Return, that the same course is pursued, not only where passion or affection may be effectually wrought upon to submit to such exorbitant demands, but where the earnest desire of the hard working slave, to effect his emancipation, enables the master to exact for his freedom double or treble the sum he could procure for him by appraisement. On this principle, we find many male slaves paying for themselves £140, £200, and even £250; and female slaves paying like prices, and one even as much as £300 for liberty. Now if Lord Bathurst's plan of compelling manumissions to be executed at a fair appraisement were to be adopted, such cruel exactions would be no longer possible; and hence, we may presume, in part arises the violent opposition which has been excited to that measure, just and merciful as it is, through the West Indies. We are confirmed in this view of the subject by a letter which

appeared in a late Jamaica newspaper, addressed to its Editor, by Mr. Grossett, the Member of Parliament, in which, while he recommends a prudent compliance with some of the propositions of Government, he condemns this particular provision as big with ruin to the owners of slaves; although Lord Bathurst most truly represents it as altogether indispensable to the hope of advancing a single step towards the ultimate extinction of Slavery.

9. In *Nevis* fifty-seven manumissions have taken place.

10. In *St. Christopher's* the number of manumissions furnished by John Tyson, the Registrar of Deeds, as occurring from 1821 to 1825, is 262. But there is an additional Return from the Registrar of Slaves, W. Thomson, of 513 manumissions between 1817 and 1825, which are not recorded by the Registrar of Deeds, making together 775. The remark of the Governor upon the subject is to this effect. "As the entering of each manumission in the office of the Registrar of *Deeds* is necessary to the legality of the proceeding, many more persons are actually manumitted than appears on the face of the return forwarded from that office; and I therefore enclose a Return of manumissions as furnished by the Registrar of *Slaves*, by which it will appear that near double the number of slaves have been actually manumitted that are not considered so in the eye of the law." This, however, is a great grievance, and some remedy should be forthwith applied to it, otherwise these 513 manumitted persons, may, hereafter, from the want of some required formality, be reduced again to their former cruel bondage. And the omission of this formality is the more remarkable, as the fee attending it does not appear to exceed 22s. 6d. currency, or 11s. sterling. In this island also we find individual slaves forced to pay £100. £150. £200. and even £300. for their redemption, while the average rate at sales is only £48. 5s. There is now no tax in this island on manumissions.

11. In *St. Vincent's* the manumissions amount to 389. The fee on manumission is £8. There is no tax.

12. In *Tobago* the Return extends only from the 1st January to the 19th November, 1825, omitting the preceding four years for which a Return was demanded. The manumissions are only fifteen in number. There is neither tax nor fee in this Island.

13. In *Tortola* there have been 101 slaves manumitted at a cost for fees of 39s. each, of whom at least eighty appear to have been redeemed by themselves or their parents.

14. In *Trinidad* 611 manumissions have taken place, about half of which appear to have been effected by themselves, or by their parents, at prices varying from £25. to £375. currency. The fee on each manumission is £1. sterling, and is paid by the Treasury of the Island. There is no tax.

#### V. VALUE OF SLAVES.

The volume before us contains, among other points of information, a return of the number of slaves taken and sold in execution for debt, or levied upon and sold for taxes, from the 1st January, 1821, to the 31st December, 1825, specifying age, sex, and price, and the names of vendors and purchasers. The inferences to be drawn from these details will be found to be important.

1. *Bahamas*. The slaves sold in execution in this Island amount to 67, and the gross proceeds of their sale to £2867. 10s. currency, being at the rate of £42. 16s. or at the exchange of 200, £21. 8s. sterling.

2. *Barbadoes*. The sales in execution in this Island consist of 1316 slaves, and the proceeds of their sale amount to £53,188. 10s. 3d. currency, being at the average rate for each of £40. 8s. 4d. currency, or at the exchange of 150, £27. sterling. Of the above 1316 slaves, only the *life* estate of ninety-one was sold. These, who, of course, were all females, brought £1697. 10s., or £18. 12s. 3d. each, on the average. Laying these aside, the average of the remaining 1225 would rise to £42. currency, or £28. sterling. In many cases mothers and young children are sold together, and these appear to be the only cases in which regard is paid to consanguinity. In the majority of cases, the slaves, even young slaves, boys and girls, are sold singly.

3. *Berbice*: 446 slaves, sold in execution, bring 561,860 guilders, or an average of 1260 guilders for each, being £90. sterling.

4. *Demerara*: 2705 slaves, sold in execution, yield 3,254,006 guilders, being for each 1203 guilders, or about £86. sterling.

5. *Dominica*: 58 slaves, sold in execution, bring £3487. 11s. currency, being £60. 2s. 6d. or £30. 1s. 3d. sterling for each.

6. *Grenada*: 242 slaves are sold in execution for £14,889. 8s. currency, being for each £61. 12s., or £30. 16s. sterling.

7. *Honduras*. Here 151 slaves are sold in execution for £19,014. 13s. being for each £125. 10s. currency, which would make, if the rate of exchange be the same as in Jamaica, about £84. sterling; or if the same as in the Leeward Islands, £62. 15s. sterling. Individual men were sold as high as £300. £370. and even £400., and women as high as £150. £180. and £205. and one even for £360.

8. *Jamaica*. The Provost Marshal of this Island has given no Return of the sales in execution, and his reason is, that he cannot give it with all the particulars that are required. He might still have communicated as much information as he could, and at least have stated the aggregate number of slaves sold from year to year, with the gross proceeds of their sale. But even this he has withheld. The defect, however, is partly supplied from another source. A Return is given to us of the slaves levied upon and sold for taxes, in the different parishes of the Island. The general result of this return is, that the slaves so sold have amounted in five years to 550, chiefly persons in the prime of life, who have brought the gross sum of £37,630. 14s. 10d. currency; being for each slave £68. 8s. 8d., or, at the exchange of 150, (which, we believe, is the present rate of exchange) £45. 12s. 6d. sterling. When mothers and their children are levied upon together, they appear to be always sold together, but the seizures in most instances are seizures of single slaves, either male or female, many of them young, who are of course sold singly and separately.

9. *Nevis*: 47 slaves are sold in execution for £1630. sterling, or £35. each.

10. *St. Christopher's*: 376 slaves are sold in execution for £17,742. 17s. 9d. currency, being for each £48. 5s. currency, or £24. 2s. 6d. sterling.

11. *St. Vincent's*: 848 slaves are sold, many of them with the land

attached, for £28,437. currency, being not more, on the average, for each, than £33. 10s. currency, or £16. 15s. sterling; and yet this price, low as it is, may be correct, for we find in the same Island, that three adults, sold for taxes, brought only £137. currency, being £45. 13s. 4d. currency for each, or £22. 16s. 8d. sterling.

12. *Tobago*. No prices are attached to the thirty-one slaves, said to be sold in execution in this Island.

13. *Tortola*: 159 slaves are sold in execution for £5638. 18s. 4d. currency, being for each £35, or £17. 10s. sterling.

14. *Trinidad*. The number of slaves sold in execution has been 1086, but no account is given of the prices at which they were sold.

The result of the whole, as far as the materials before us go, is to exhibit the following as the average price in sterling money of slaves in the different colonies, viz.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
1 St. Vincent's, . . .	16	15	0	7 Grenada, . . . . .	30	16	0
2 Tortola, . . . . .	17	10	0	8 Nevis, . . . . .	35	0	0
3 Bahamas, . . . . .	21	8	0	9 Jamaica, . . . . .	45	12	6
4 St. Christopher's, . .	24	2	6	10 Honduras, . . . . .	84	or	62 15 0
5 Barbadoes, . . . . .	28	0	0	11 Demerara, . . . . .	86	0	0
6 Dominica, . . . . .	30	1	3	12 Berbice, . . . . .	90	0	0

Whether any part of these discrepancies are to be ascribed to some inaccuracy in the Returns; or whether in some of the Marshal's sales, as in St. Vincent's or Tortola, the prices are collusively low, it is impossible for us to say. We give the result as we find it.

The cause of the high average in Jamaica, as compared with the other islands, is obviously, in great part, owing to this, that the persons levied upon for taxes are, with few exceptions, persons in the prime of life (from thirteen to thirty-five and forty years of age), while sales in execution embrace all ages from infancy to decrepitude. The market of Jamaica is also more extensive than that of the other islands. With respect to the enormous price given for slaves on the South American continent, nearly three times their price in the islands, it can only be resolved into the superior fertility of the soil of Guiana.

There are men among us who argue that that superior fertility of soil is an advantage to the slave. On this principle it was that so many iniquitous transfers of slaves were permitted, in violation of the acts abolishing the slave trade, from the Bahamas, Dominica, &c. to Demerara. The mendacious allegation of the interested parties was, that, the slaves must starve and perish in the former, while they would enjoy abundance and prosperity in the latter; and by this deliberate misrepresentation they succeeded in imposing on His Majesty's Government, and on some even of the warmest friends of the oppressed Africans. The rapid increase of the slaves in the Bahamas and Dominica, and their equally or still more rapid decrease in Demerara, points no longer disputable, sufficiently expose the impudent and cruel imposture.

Observe also, not only the more deathful influence of rich fertile colonies as compared with poor ones on the slaves—the planter's instruments of production; but the increased facilities of manumission which they enjoy in the latter. A slave may obtain his freedom in Tortola, for

example, at about a fifth part of the price for which he could purchase it in Guiana; in Barbadoes, at one third; and in Jamaica, at one half. It is no wonder that Mr. Pickering and other Tortola planters should have so eagerly sought permission to transport their slaves from that Island; and that their slaves should have been so reluctant to quit it.

And the fact is in exact agreement with the argument. The population of Demerara and Barbadoes are nearly equal, and both colonies impose taxes on manumission; but in Barbadoes, where slaves are £28. each, 408 manumissions have been effected, in the same time in which, in Demerara, where slaves cost three times as much, only 142 manumissions have been effected.

In the Bahamas, where there is no tax, and slaves cost on the average only £21. 8s., 176 manumissions have taken place, in a population of 9500 slaves. At the same rate, the manumissions in Barbadoes and Demerara would have been about 1500, and 1400, instead of 408, and 142.

Berbice contains 22000 slaves, whose average price appears to be about £90, while a heavy tax is imposed on manumissions. The manumissions there amount to 49; while in St. Christopher's, containing 20,000 slaves, where there is no tax, and where slaves appear to average £24, the manumissions in the same time are at least ten times as numerous, and in Grenada and St. Vincent's, they are about seven times as numerous, in proportion to their population. Nay, in Grenada and in St. Vincent's, the population of each of which do not amount to a third of that of Barbadoes, the number of manumissions is nearly as great as in that Island, where a tax of £50. has been continued.

In Dominica, the effect of even an inferior tax is apparent. Its population is 15000; the manumissions 156. At the rate of Grenada and St. Vincent's, it ought to have been about 250, at that of the Bahamas 280, and at that of Tortola 303. The manumissions in Barbadoes and Demerara, if they proceeded at the rate of Tortola, where there is no tax, and slaves average £17. 10s. would be 1616 for the former, and 1515 for the latter, instead of 408, and 142.

It is certainly a ground of serious regret, as respects the Colonial department, that notwithstanding numerous representations on the subject, the tax on manumissions should have continued so long without modification or repeal, in the Colonies of Berbice and Demerara, where the crown is the sole legislator, and where nothing was wanting to put an end to the tax but an order of the Secretary of State.

But if it be true that fertility of soil aggravates the evils of slavery, and multiplies the obstacles to enfranchisement, it follows as a corollary that bounties and protecting duties add greatly to its destructive influence; while they serve, *pro tanto*, to counteract the salutary effects of diminished fertility on the mitigation and final extinction of slavery. But at present we can only glance at this part of the subject.

Another remarkable inference which seems deducible from the facts before us, but on which we cannot now enlarge, is this: that the distress of the planter will be found to run parallel with the fertility of the soil he cultivates, and with the consequent high appreciation of his slaves. If we take the four colonies of Demerara, Berbice, Trinidad, and Honduras, where the average value of slaves is the highest, we shall find the proportion of the slaves taken and sold in execution in

five years, to be as high as one in twenty-eight of the slave population; whereas, in the other eight colonies, from which we have Returns of the sales in execution, *viz.* St. Vincent's, Tortola, Bahamas, Nevis, St. Christopher's, Barbadoes, Dominica, and Grenada, and in which the prices are low, the proportion of slaves, so sold, is only one in sixty; and leaving out St. Vincent's and Tortola, which seem to involve some doubt, it is only one in eighty!

Is there not something in this singular fact, which unavoidably leads the reflecting mind to the presumption that, by the ordinations of a beneficent Providence, the rigorous exaction of servile labour, in despite of all the calculations of a sordid and heartless cupidity, may be expected to issue in the blasted hopes of the oppressor?

#### VI. LIABILITY OF FREE BLACKS AND PERSONS OF COLOUR TO DEPRIVED OF THEIR FREEDOM.

*Barbadoes.* The Deputy Provost Marshal, on the 30th of November, 1825, states, that when slaves are apprehended as runaways, they are confined to the cage; "and after they have been advertised in the public papers for ten days, they are sent to the common gaol and advertised again; and *if no owner or claimant should appear*, they are, at the expiration of three months, sold to defray expenses, and the surplus paid into the treasury, according to the act of the Island, but the latter very rarely occurs." In the case of persons who are really free, it is of course very unlikely that any owner or claimant should appear; but this absence of claim, instead of being admitted as a proof of their freedom, which is the natural inference to be deduced from it, is made the ground for their being sold for the benefit of the Colonial treasury. The Deputy Provost Marshal adds, that he is "not aware that any slaves so confined ever claimed or established their freedom." Did he ever give himself the trouble to inquire into the facts of their history, before he consigned them to interminable bondage? If he did, let him give us those facts.

*Jamaica.* Many cases occur in this Island in which slaves, apprehended as runaways but claiming to be free, were able to establish the claim to the satisfaction of the magistrates appointed to enquire into the truth of their allegations. The following is a specimen of these cases.

Cuffer, alias James Hannah, alias James Hamilton, was born in St. Mary's, belonged to Mr. Samuel Hannah, who raised him, and took him with him to Scotland. He was there four years and a half as a waiting man with Mr. Hannah, who, having no further occasion for his services, recommended him to Captain Hamilton Maxwell, with whom he remained two years and a half. He then went to Sir Robert Grierson, Rock Hall, Dumfriesshire, and stayed there two years and a half. He afterwards lived for some time in Edinburgh. He then engaged with Captain Simpson, of the ship *Isabella Simpson*, as steward, and arrived in Jamaica, in November 1821, when he was taken up as a runaway. The Justices very properly adjudged that this man was entitled to his freedom.

Many other cases are decided with an equal regard to justice. But in what a fearful predicament is the man placed who thus, without



a crime, or the allegation of a crime, stands exposed, on failing to *prove* himself free, though no one claims him as a slave, to the dreadful alternative of perpetual bondage?

But all are not thus leniently dealt with. Nancy Rider, a girl of sixteen, who appears to have had great personal attractions, was held in trust by a Mr. Johnston. A Mr. King offered to purchase her for his own gratification; but Mr. Johnston, being unable himself to execute a legal deed of manumission, arranged with Mr. King that she should be levied upon for taxes and sold, and that Mr. King should become the purchaser, on an understanding that he was to manumit her after he had thus obtained, from the collector of taxes, a legal title to do so. Nancy accordingly became the property of Mr. King, with whom she lived several years. They then quarrelled, and she, thinking herself free, left him. But Mr. King having omitted to fulfil his promise of legally manumitting her, availed himself of the omission to sell her,—while living openly with her mother to whose home she had returned and with whom she continued for some time to reside,—to a Mr. Hansbrow, who had become fond of her person. She, however, disliking Mr. Hansbrow for a lover, refused to submit to his desires, and asserted her right to freedom, grounded on the original stipulation between Mr. Johnston and Mr. King. Mr. King, on his examination, denied the stipulation, but admitted that he had at one time promised to free her, though he had stipulated no precise time for doing so. Neither he nor Mr. Hansbrow denied the other facts of the case. The decision of three Justices of the Peace, and nine freeholders of the parish of St. Ann's, on this apparently profligate transaction, was, that the claim of Nancy Rider is "frivolous, and not warranted by the circumstances of the case; that she is *legally* the property of Mr. Hansbrow, (he having purchased her of Mr. King, in whom the right of sale was exclusively vested,) and the Court, while it admonishes *her* to be obedient and submissive to, and scrupulously watchful of the interest of her master, as the safest and most likely way of ensuring his protection and kindness, trusts *he* will not permit his future treatment of the woman to be influenced by the occurrences of this day, but bury the same in oblivion." The Court which came to this extraordinary decision is called "a Council of *Protection*."

In the Parish of Westmoreland, on the 21st August, 1821, "John Williams, a negro man, a pretended Curaçoa. No evidence of freedom produced. Sold from workhouse in January."

In the Parish of Port Royal, "Joseph Franks, a black, committed as a runaway 9th October, 1821; sold for payment of fees on 6th March, 1822, having no documents."

In the Parish of St. David, "John Paterson committed on 5th December, 1821. After due investigation he could not produce any document of freedom to the magistrates." He was sold accordingly on the 24th April, 1822.

In the Parish of Manchester, "Eleanor Davison committed July 22d, 1824, being able to produce no document whatever, or to adduce any kind of proof of her freedom, was ordered to be sold according to law."

In the Parish of Clarendon, "Fanny committed May 31st, 1821. Sold out of the workhouse as a slave." "Allick Andrea committed December 27th, 1821. Sold out of the workhouse as a slave."

This opprobrious state of law, where the slightest tinge of black blood is made presumptive proof of Slavery, in the absence of direct and positive testimony of freedom, and which constitutes the State a principal partner in this worst species of Slave Trade, is curiously illustrated by two cases occurring in *Trinidad*. We must reserve the details of these cases, as well as the inferences deducible from them for another opportunity; when we hope also to analyze the very important facts which are given in the same Returns on the subject of population; and which shew that, in what may be called, from its fertility and beauty, the garden of the world, the lives of its inhabitants, made bitter by hard bondage, are wasting at a rate which threatens eventual depopulation, and which converts that smiling land into little better than a charnel house.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY PETITION.

A Petition has been presented to Parliament from the Surrey Anti-Slavery Society, which is a model of force and eloquence, and not more distinguished by these qualities than by its truth and justice. We recommend it to universal attention. It sets forth,

“ That the population of our West Indian Colonies consists chiefly of Negroes, who are either unoffending foreigners, carried thither by force, or British subjects, born within the King's allegiance; that these unoffending foreigners possess rights under the Law of Nations which England is bound to recognize and uphold, as a civilized state, and for the violation of which, in the persons of other foreigners, a British fleet was sent only a few years since to lay the port of Algiers in ruins; that England on that occasion justly resented the barbarous practice adopted by the Algerines, of converting their enemies taken in war into slaves, as an uncivilized modification of the right assumed by savages of putting the prisoners to death; that British subjects, born within the King's allegiance, and innocent of all crime, cannot be deprived of their civil existence, and reduced to a state of slavery by any power known to the constitution of this country; that such a power necessarily supposes the annihilation of every principle on which the reciprocal claims of allegiance and protection are founded, and at once destroys the basis of the social compact; that such a power, if it could exist, might reduce to slavery all the born subjects of the king, as justly as any particular portion of them; that while in Russia civil death has been awarded as an appropriate punishment for high treason, and in Algiers slavery is substituted for the savage right of taking the life of a captured enemy, in the West Indian dominions of the British Crown unoffending aliens and unoffending British subjects are deprived of their civil existence by thousands, and hundreds of thousands, solely for the emolument of private individuals, who, for that purpose alone, by a monstrous and illegal usurpation, condemn their fellow subjects to a state of irremediable slavery, and extend the dreadful curse to their children, and their children's children; that the claim set up by the West Indian slave-masters to their fellow-subjects, and to helpless strangers, as their property, rests on no better basis than the claim of robbers and receivers to goods which they have stolen, or purchased knowing them to be stolen; that the crime of depriving an innocent man, whether a foreigner or a British subject, of his civil existence, immeasurably exceeds any one of those descriptions of theft for which the punishment of death is usually awarded in this country, as it includes them all; that it is one continued system of daily and hourly robbery, wresting from the miserable victim his natural liberty, his rights as a man, as a husband, as a father, his rights as a British subject by the constitution of his country, or as an innocent foreigner by the Law of Nations; that the crime is nothing less than that of robbing a human being of all his mental and moral energies, of keeping his mind in darkness lest he should become acquainted with his rights, and of reducing him for all civil purposes to the condition of a murdered man; that the West Indian Negro, though born to all the privileges of a British subject, is allowed no inheritance but slavery; that if he attempts to assert his just claims he is consigned to the gallows or the stake as a traitor, on the principle by which pirates put to death those who do not quietly submit to their injustice, and thus natural death is added to civil death, and judicial murder to robbery in its most complicated form; to robbery momentarily repeated through a life of terror, of scourgings, and of mental and bodily degradation. The Petitioners beg leave to observe that these are no fancied horrors, but positive and admitted facts, and that they are here speaking of the sufferings of innocent aliens, whose privileges are consecrated by that Law of Nations which England has shed her bravest blood to maintain, and of British subjects born in the King's allegiance, whose rights have the same foundation and are as inalienable as those of every Member of the House; that the Petitioners, regarding the slavery of their fellow subjects in the West Indies as an outrage upon all justice, and sensible of the duty of put-

ting an end, with as little delay as possible, to a system which is pregnant with such complicated evils, confide in the wisdom of the House for the adoption of such measures as may be necessary for the speedy attainment of that desirable object; but at the same time they beg leave respectfully to submit, that there is one measure which, while it is unquestionably safe, would also prove a most efficacious corrective of many of the immediate evils of Colonial Slavery, and might be carried into effect without loss of time; the Petitioners allude to the abrogation of the Bounties and Protecting Duties on Sugar; that these Bounties and Protecting Duties prevent Sugar, now become one of the necessities of life, from being imported from various parts of the world, at a price so much below the Sugar from the West Indies as to make a difference to the British public of one penny per pound, or about one million and a half sterling on the aggregate annual consumption of the people of Great Britain and Ireland; that these Protecting Duties have now been in force twelve years, many of them years of great distress to the agriculturists and manufacturers of this country, during which the West Indian Sugar Farmers have received eighteen millions sterling for their Sugars over and above the price at which Sugars might have been purchased in the markets of England if the West Indian Planter had not been protected from the effects of fair competition; that it is from the forced and unremitting cultivation of Sugar in the comparatively inferior and exhausted soils of the British West Indian Islands, excited by the hope of high profits, that the sufferings of the Negroes chiefly arise, and that upon the showing of the planters themselves this forced cultivation is solely kept up by the artificial stimulus of Bounties and Protecting Duties, which impede the Commerce of Great Britain and operate as an oppressive tax on the public; that when the exhaustion of the soils, and the ruinous and expensive system of slave cultivation and of non-residence, prevent the importation of Sugars from the West Indian Islands at the price for which they could be obtained from various parts of the world, the Petitioners humbly conceive that the West Indian Planters have no just claim to Bounties and Protecting Duties to enable them to continue an improvident speculation; that the Petitioners humbly submit that the Bounties and protecting Duties on Sugar, for the benefit of a comparatively few individuals, who hold their fellow-subjects in Slavery, ought not, in justice to the agricultural and manufacturing interests of this country, to be continued; that, next to British farming produce, Sugar is the chief article of domestic consumption, and ranks among the necessities of life; that the effect of abrogating the Bounties and protecting Duties on Sugar would be, to transfer the cultivation of that article to the East Indies, and other places where it can be produced by the free labour of native farmers, and at little expense; that this transfer would tend to increase the growth of the proper food of the Negro British subject in the West Indies, diminish his fatigues, his privations, and his sufferings, and, by rapidly increasing the Black population, would so reduce the price of Slaves, and facilitate manumissions, that the Slave system would gradually become extinct, without violence or commotion; that the Petitioners, therefore, on behalf of the thousands of innocent foreigners, and of hundreds of thousands of their fellow-subjects, forcibly held in Slavery; on behalf of the people of England, whose rights and liberties are invaded in the persons of innocent Englishmen, denied that justice which ought to be extended with rigid impartiality to the powerful and to the helpless, to the black Colonist as to the white; on behalf of the King, nearly seven hundred thousand of whose natural-born subjects are wrested from the guardianship of His protecting hand within His own Dominions, by those who strip their Sovereign of the attributes of His Crown, and annihilate the Civil existence of a portion of His people equal in number to the population of a Principality; on behalf of the consistency and the credit of the Nation, whose cannon so recently swept the ramparts of Algiers, and dealt death to thousands on the African shore, that a barbarous people might be compelled to abstain in future from reducing into Slaves, not the subjects of this country merely, but those of all other European Powers, and to act on principles of which Britain is the public champion, and of which her West Indian Slave-owners are as publicly the unpunished and daily violators; on behalf of the suffering manufacturers of England, whose trade with nearly the whole of South America, with Mexico, with Hayti, with China, with New Holland, and above all with India and her one hundred millions of inhabitants, is checked and stunted in its growth, because Protecting Duties and Bounties prevent those Countries from sending to England their Sugars in exchange for the products of British industry, and this in order that the Slave cultivation of the West Indies may be exclusively encouraged; on behalf of every virtue, and of every interest that is dear to Englishmen, the Petitioners implore the House to take into their earliest consideration the repeal of the Protecting Duties and Bounties granted to the cultivators of Sugar by Slave labour; that whatever difficulties the Slave Question may present under other aspects, the people of England may at least be delivered from the bitter consciousness of maintaining by oppression, and unnecessary premiums, a system of iniquity degrading to the national character, criminal beyond all other modes of robbery and violence, subversive of every legal and every constitutional principle, and equally at variance with the dictates of sound policy, humanity, and justice."

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*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.*

London, 18, Aldermanbury, Jan. 31, 1827.

No. 20.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

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

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### SLAVERY AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

IN the course of the last year an ordinance was promulgated in this colony, similar in its principle and provisions to that which has been established in Trinidad, for regulating the future treatment of slaves. It has generally been supposed in this country, that at the Cape of Good Hope the condition of the slaves was so mild as to call for no such interference on the part of Government. But it might have been assumed with certainty, that the accounts which led to such a conclusion were founded either in gross ignorance or in wilful misrepresentation. Slavery is an institution which, wherever it exists, must produce misery and degradation to all concerned in it; to the master as well as to the slave. Its effect in our West India colonies we are already familiar with. We shall hereafter be called to witness its still more horrid and revolting results as they are exhibited in the Mauritius. At present we confine ourselves to the Cape of Good Hope. Of the state of slavery in that colony, as it existed down to the month of January last, we are enabled to put our readers in possession of some authentic details which have been furnished by a colonist now in this country, on whose information we place implicit reliance. These details first appeared in the New Monthly Magazine for November last: we have satisfied ourselves of their truth, and we give them with confidence to our readers.

*"Cape of Good Hope, Jan. 5, 1826.*

"The mildness of Slavery at the Cape has been much dwelt upon by certain travellers, whose opinions on this subject, being re-echoed by the Quarterly Review and similar publications, seem to be generally admitted in England as perfectly just and incontrovertible. I am now satisfied, however, that the term, except in a very restricted sense, is altogether inapplicable. The general condition of slaves in this colony, compared with some others, (such, for example, as the Isle of France,) may, indeed, be correctly described as less deplorable: but with all its boasted alleviations, and in spite of every sweetening ingredient, slavery at the Cape is assuredly still a bitter and baleful draught.

"Should the comparative mildness of Cape slavery, however, be admitted, what a powerful argument does not this admission make for the

speedy annihilation of human bondage throughout their colonies, by the powers of Christian Europe? If slaves are such wretched beings as I shall soon prove them to be, even at the Cape, what must be their condition in other colonies? What must be the condition of their masters?

“The slaves of this settlement can claim no respite from their masters’ service, except on Sunday; and, as regards the household slaves, only partially on that day. They cannot legally marry, or legitimate their offspring, without the concurrence of their owner—a concurrence which his interests or his prejudices induce him, in almost every instance, to refuse. They cannot claim their freedom on presenting their purchase-money. They are frequently sold by public auction on the death or bankruptcy of their owners; and they are liable at all times, from casualty or from caprice, to be irretrievably separated from their wives, children, and dearest connections. At public sales the distressing spectacle of the wife torn from the husband, and the children from the parents, is so familiar as scarcely to interest the feelings of the spectators. Coarse jocularities and indecent merriment seldom fail, on such occasions, to be rudely bandied between the auctioneers and the rival bidders. Moreover, the slave is liable to be flogged whenever his owner’s arrogant caprice may require it; and should he suffer ill-treatment from his master or the magistrate, he possesses in the laws (at least as they are usually administered) no security for obtaining redress.

“Yet the slave-holders in this colony continually exclaim—‘Our slaves are as well fed and clothed as your English peasantry—ininitely better than your wretched Irish: in what respect, then, can they be considered objects of commiseration?’ If such assertions were undeniable, the deduction drawn from them is not, on that account, the less fallacious. A few facts will show the futility of such arguments.

“In August, 1825, I was walking with a friend in the streets of Graaff-Reinett (a country town about five hundred miles from the capital), when we were accosted, in pretty good English, by a man of the Malay complexion. My companion, whom he addressed by name, asked how he came to know him. The man replied, that he had occasionally seen him at the house of his former master in Cape Town. On farther inquiry, he told us the following distressing story:—

“He was a slave, and had a wife and several children also in slavery. Being an expert waggon-driver, his master was offered a high price for him by a person from Graaff-Reinett. The offer was accepted, but the agreement concealed from the object of it. He was ordered to proceed with the waggon of his new purchaser into the interior, but given to understand that it was on his old master’s business, and that he should return in a few months. On arriving at Graaff-Reinett, however, he was made acquainted with the transaction, and then found that he was for ever separated from all he cherished on earth. Even some little property in money and clothes, which he had hoarded and left behind him, he had never been able to recover, although two or three years had elapsed, and he had made repeated applications for it. The poor man appeared extremely dejected, and his melancholy tale was afterwards fully confirmed to me by other authority.

“Another recent illustration I shall extract from the letter of a friend

(Mr. J. F. Thomas, of the East India Company's Civil Service) who recently spent some years at the Cape.

"While I was residing in the vicinity of Algoa Bay, there came to the house, late at night, an old slave woman, who had fled from the ill usage of her mistress. She bore on her body marks of previous ill-treatment, having had three of her ribs broken at an earlier period of life, when she was in the possession of a former master. She was then in the family of an English resident, who had married a Dutch woman, and had been some years settled at —, within a few miles of Algoa Bay. Her dress was a filthy untanned sheep-skin petticoat, with a few old rags about her head, and a dirty sheep-skin thrown over her shoulders. She had absconded from her master's house the preceding night; and after concealing herself in the day time, had made her way, the night following, to the house where we resided.

"The next morning, the son of the owner came to drive back the old woman before him. When I proposed to purchase from him the freedom of the slave, and stated her advanced age, he said that the work the old creature did was very considerable; and instanced her bringing daily to the house as much fire-wood on her back as any man could carry; adding, that, though he was willing to let the unhappy wretch have rest in her latter years, he could not part with her services under five hundred rix-dollars. Ultimately, however, he agreed to reduce her price to four hundred."

"The poor creature, thus emancipated, by the generosity of a stranger, now enjoys liberty and repose at the Missionary Institution of Bethelsdorp; but how seldom, among innumerable cases of equal hardship, can it happen that a solitary individual is thus relieved?

"Examples, such as these, of the wretchedness of slavery at the Cape, might be adduced without end, for they are of familiar and frequent occurrence. But since the authority of distinguished writers is so often brought forward to prove that in South Africa slavery is little more than a name, let us now produce the evidence of a celebrated traveller on the subject. Dr. Sparrman, a man not less distinguished for his candour and integrity than for his eminence in science, and who, from the familiar footing on which his simple manners and mode of travelling placed him with every class of the inhabitants, was well qualified to form a correct judgment on this point, has given a very different picture of South African slavery from certain recent writers, who, in their slight and soothing descriptions of it, have either intentionally flattered the slave-holders, or their opportunities of observation had never extended beyond the well-dressed and pampered domestic slaves of Cape Town. Sparrman, on mentioning the murder of a planter in the interior by two of his slaves, makes the following just remarks:—

"Yet whatever might be the real reason for committing this dreadful crime, I am convinced that it had its origin in the very essence and nature of the Slave Trade, in whatever manner and in whatever country it may be practised; a motive which I found had as much influence among the Christians, in many places, as among the Turks on the coast of Barbary, to induce the unhappy slaves, and still more their tyrannical masters, to behave very strangely; nay, sometimes, to be guilty of the most horrid cruelties. I have known some colonists, not only in the heat of their passion, but even deliberately and in cold blood, undertake themselves the low office (fit only for the executioner,) of not only flaying, for a trifling neglect, both the backs and limbs of their slaves by a peculiar slow lingering method, but likewise, outdoing the very tigers in cruelty, throw pepper and salt over the wounds. But what appeared to me more strange and horrid, was to hear a colonist, not only describe with great seeming satisfaction the whole process of this diabolical invention, but even pride himself on the practice of it; and rack his brains, in order to find sophisms in defence of it, as well as of the Slave Trade; in which occupation the important post he enjoyed in the colony, and his own interest, had engaged him. He was, however, a European by birth; of a free and civilized nation; and, indeed, gave evident proofs of possessing a kind and tender heart; so that, perhaps, it would be difficult to show any where a greater contradiction in the disposition of man, though in a world composed almost entirely of contradictions."

"Strange and horrid as this anomaly of character appeared to the worthy Sparrman, it is to this day as common as ever among slave-holders,—who, though in other respects humane and good-natured, become, by long practice, altogether callous and cruel-hearted in punishing their slaves. I have myself witnessed many striking instances of

this. I have even known ladies, born and educated in England, charitable and benevolent in their general character, yet capable of standing over their female slaves while they were flogged, and afterwards ordering salt and pepper to be rubbed into their lacerated flesh! It is slavery, corrupting, hardening, brutalizing slavery, that produces this deplorable change in human feelings; and, while it degrades to the dust the wretched victim of oppression, vitiates, by a terrible re-action, the heart and character of the oppressor.—‘Never be kind, nor speak kindly to a slave,’ said another English lady at the Cape, to a female relative of mine; ‘I have found,’ added she, ‘by experience in my own household, that nothing but hauteur and harshness will do with slaves.’

“There is a law, indeed (says Sparrman) existing in this colony, which prohibits masters from killing their slaves, or from flogging or otherwise chastising them with too great severity; but how is a slave to go to law with his master, who is, as it were, his sovereign; and who, by the same laws, has a right (or at least may, by dint of bribes, purchase that right) to have him flogged at the public whipping-post, not absolutely to death, indeed, yet not far from it; and this merely on the strength of the master's own testimony, and without any farther inquisition into the merits of the case? The master has, besides, so far his slave's life in his hands, that by rating and abusing him day by day, as likewise by proper ‘domestic discipline,’ as it is called, such as heavy iron chains, hard work, and little meat, he may without control, by little and little, though soon enough for his purpose, worry the poor fellow out of his life. In consequence of this, the unhappy slaves, who are frequently endued with finer feelings and nobler sentiments of humanity, though for the most part actuated by stronger passions than their masters, often give themselves up totally to despondency, and commit various acts of desperation and violence. Divers circumstances and considerations may, perhaps, concur to induce a wretch in this situation to exempt his tyrant from the dagger which he plunges in his own bosom; content with being thus able to put an end to his own misery, and at the same time to disappoint his greedy master of the profits arising from the sweat of his brow. A female slave, who had been just bought at a high price, and rather prematurely treated with severity by her mistress, who lived in the Roode-zand district, hanged herself the same night out of revenge and despair, just at the entrance of her new mistress's bedchamber. A young man and woman who were slaves at the Cape, and were passionately fond of each other, solicited their master, in conformity with the established custom, for his consent to their being united in wedlock, though all in vain, as from some whim or caprice he was induced absolutely to forbid it. The consequence was, that the lover was seized with a singular fit of despair; and having first plunged a dagger into the heart of the object of his dearest wishes, immediately afterwards put an end to his own life. But how many hundred instances, not less dreadful than these, might be produced to this purpose.\*

“How indeed can it be wondered at, that hatred and revenge on the part of the slave, and suspicion and dislike on the part of the master, should be so generally the result of this unnatural relationship. And amidst the continual effervescence of such feelings, is it surprising that instances of masters flogging their slaves to death, of shooting them in a passion, or cases of still more cool-blooded and revolting atrocity, should occasionally occur? Or is it surprising, on the other hand, that desperate risings of the slaves to murder their masters, and their far more frequent attempts to destroy them secretly by poison, should be equally familiar at the Cape as in other slave colonies?

“That such occurrences are sufficiently frequent and familiar at the Cape, no one who has lived a few years in the colony will deny. It will be sufficient to refer merely to a few recent examples. In 1822, Mr. Gebhardt, the son of a country clergyman, was executed for flogging to death one of his father's slaves. At that time there were five cases of slave murder before the deputy fiscal, all of a more aggravated character than that of this unfortunate young man, though he alone was punished capitally. A far more atrocious case occurred a few years previously (though from some cause or other not brought to capital

\* “Sparrman's Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope,” vol. ii. p. 341.

conviction) of a monster, who actually roasted one of his slaves alive in an oven. In 1824, a young gentleman of my own acquaintance (an Englishman) shot one of his slaves in a passion, and was for this crime condemned by the court of circuit to one year's imprisonment.

"In October, 1824, two attempts of slaves to poison their mistresses occurred within my own circle of acquaintance. In the same year occurred the desperate outrage of a few slaves and Hottentots in the Bokkeveld, who being cruelly treated by their masters, and summarily flogged by the local magistracy, whenever they went to claim redress, at length rose with arms in their hands, and destroyed two or three of the colonists; for which crime several of them were hanged, and others condemned to work in irons for life. In the same year, or in the close of 1823, a slave woman, in the district of Graaff-Reinett, was convicted of having murdered her own child, in order to revenge herself upon her mistress, by whom she had been harshly used. I am not aware whether or not this unhappy wretch was executed, but I read the evidence on her trial at the time in the hands of the Deputy Fiscal.

"The following case occurred in 1822. The daughter of a respectable burgher, residing in Graaff-Reinett, was suspected of having murdered her illegitimate child, in order to conceal her disgrace. The Landdrost, Captain Stockenstrom, (an active and impartial magistrate,) after due investigation of the facts, apprehended the girl, together with one of the female slaves of the colony, and an old Hottentot woman who assisted at the accouchement. The prisoners were finally transmitted to Cape Town to be prosecuted by the Fiscal before the Court of Justice. It appeared from the evidence elicited on the trial, that the mother had either strangled the infant herself, or forced the slave by threats to do so; and that the slave had afterwards carried away and concealed the body. The court condemned the mother of the infant and the slave to capital punishment for the murder, and the Hottentot woman to twelve months imprisonment.

"From this sentence, the friends of the white woman appealed; and the governor, as judge of the Court of Appeals, reversed the sentence in her favour. She was consequently liberated; re-appeared among her acquaintance, as if nothing had occurred, and in a few months was married.

"But what became of the unhappy slave woman, who had been the accomplice of her young mistress in the crime? Who appealed in her behalf? Who implored mercy for her? Not her master: he endeavoured to impute to her all the guilt, and willingly surrendered her life as a ransom for that of his daughter. Not the members of the Court of Justice: they had, as they deemed, duly performed their functions, and would not interfere beyond them. Not the Court of Appeals: it had saved the free woman; it cared not for the slave. Not the public: there is no public voice heard at the Cape.

"The poor slave remained in jail; and was about to be sacrificed alone for a crime, in which (if she assisted at all) it was evident she was not the principal, but merely the blind accomplice of her mistress, whether from obsequious attachment or from servile fear. At this crisis, a friend of humanity---a casual visitor from India, heard of her pitiful case with interest and indignation. He visited her in prison, drew up



a strong statement on the subject, and laid it before the governor. The governor, though he had previously passed it over unnoticed, was now moved; and the poor creature was saved.

"I have stated that mothers and children are often separated by being sold to different purchasers at the public sales. Examples of this are of daily occurrence; but one or two will sufficiently illustrate this part of the subject.

"Advertisement extracted from the Cape Gazette of Oct. 12, 1822:—

"To be sold by auction, to the highest bidder, on the 15th instant, by order of the board of Orphan Masters, in such condition as will then be specified, the buildings on the Loan Place, Brood Kraal, at Berg River, district of Stellenbosch.

"There will also be sold a female slave, named Candasa, of Mozambique, fifty-four years old, with her five children; Saphira, aged thirteen years; Eva, ten; Candasa, nine; Jannetje, seven; and Carlo, five; each to be put up separately."

"The following account of a scene of this kind, is extracted from the letter of a friend of the writer, while travelling in the interior of the Colony:—

"Having learned that there was to be a sale of cattle, farm stock, &c. by auction, at a Veld-Cornet's in the vicinity, we halted our waggon one day for the purpose of procuring a fresh Spann of oxen. Among the stock of the farm sold, was a female slave and her three children. The two eldest children were girls, the one about thirteen years of age, and the other about eleven; the youngest was a boy. The whole family were exhibited together, but they were sold separately, and to different purchasers. The farmers examined them as if they had been so many head of cattle. While the sale was going on, the mother and her children were exhibited on a table, that they might be seen by the company, which was very large. There could not have been a finer subject for an able painter than this unhappy group. The tears, the anxiety, the anguish of the mother, while she met the gaze of the multitude, eyed the different countenances of the bidders, or cast a heart-rending look upon the children; and the simplicity and touching sorrow of the poor young ones, while they clung to their distracted parent, wiping their eyes, and half concealing their faces,—contrasted with the marked insensibility and jocular countenances of the spectators and purchasers,—furnished a striking commentary on the miseries of slavery, and its debasing effects upon the hearts of its abettors. While the woman was in this distressed situation she was asked "Can you feed sheep?" Her reply was so indistinct that it escaped me; but it was probably in the negative, for her purchaser rejoined in a loud and harsh voice, "Then I will teach you with the sjamboc."\* The mother and her three children were sold to three separate purchasers; and they were literally torn from each other. How just the remark of Cowper,—

'There is no flesh in man's obdurate heart—  
It does not feel for man!'

"The following notices of cases between masters and slaves, are extracted from the Annual Lists of trials before the Courts of Justice, and its Commissioners, inserted in the Cape Gazette; and are only a small selection out of a multitude of such cases, in Cape Town and its vicinity, between the years 1817 and 1822. Brief as these notices are, they may suffice, without any comment, to exhibit, in a distinct light, the degraded condition of men in slavery, (even in its mildest state,) and the striking inequality of the Colonial laws and Courts of Justice, as they practically affect them and their masters:—

*Masters v. Slaves.*

"Jacob of Mozambique, slave of W. Ser-vyntyn, for threatening the life of his master, and making resistance against the Veld-Cornet: condemned to be exposed to public view, made fast by a rope under the gallows; thereupon to be flogged, branded, and confined on Robben Island (to work in irons) for life.

"David, of Mozambique, slave of A. Laub-scher, for an armed and violent attack upon his master: condemned to be hanged; which sentence received the sanction of the governor: Remitted, and returned to said mas-

*Slaves v. Masters.*

"Johannes J. Synders, for the cruel treat-ment of a slave, who was said to have died in consequence: condemned to six months imprisonment.

"C. Jansen, European servant of J. R. Louw, on a charge of ill-treatment preferred against him by Diedrik and Joseph, slaves of said Louw: condemned in a penalty of fifty rixdollars (3l. 15s.) on behalf of the poor's box at the Paarl.

"C. A. Marais, on a charge of ill-treatment, preferred against him by his female slave Kaatje: defendant sentenced in a penalty of

\* A whip made of the Rhinoceros' hide.

ter, with information to prisoner, on his release, that it is to his master's kind interference he owes his life, as the law certainly demanded the forfeit of it.

[“ N. B. Had the slave been hanged, it would have been a loss to his master of about 200*l*.]

“ Louis, slave of D. Hugo, for wilfully wounding his master: condemned to be hanged. Sentence remitted by the acting governor.

“ April, Slave of A. de Villiers, on a charge of murder: condemned to be hanged at the village of Stellenbosch, and his head and right hand to be cut off, and exposed to public view on a pole.

“ Hendrik, slave of P. S. Tesselair, on a charge of grossly ill-treating his wife, in consequence of which she was delivered of a dead child: condemned to be exposed to public view, with a rope round his neck, under the gallows: then scourged and branded; and afterwards to labour in irons, without wages, on the public works at Robben Island for life.

“ Jasmyn, slave of Dirk Cloet, on a charge of preferring a false complaint against the Landdrost of Stellenbosch, to His Majesty's Fiscal: condemned to be severely flogged.

“ Asia, slave of Isaac Coetzee, for having brought forward a false charge against his mistress for ill-treatment of the female slave Diana, which was alleged to be the cause of her death: condemned to be severely flogged.

“ Saptoe, (a convict slave,) on a charge of secretly entering a house, with the presumed intention of stealing; prisoner condemned to be flogged, branded, and confined to labour ten years in irons.

twenty-five rix-dollars, and severely reprimanded.

“ A. P. Zeeman and his wife, on a charge of serious ill-treatment, preferred against them by their female slave Theresa: by sentence said slave to be judicially sold, and never to come again into possession of defendants or their relatives.

“ O. C. Mostert, for cruel treatment of a female slave, in consequence of which she died: condemned to be banished from this colony and its dependencies for twenty-five years.

“ P. J. de Villiers, on a charge of ill-treatment of his slave April: condemned to a confinement of three months in the prison of Stellenbosch. Which sentence, however, His Excellency the Governor commuted to a pecuniary fine.

“ P. S. Bosman, on a charge of ill-treatment, preferred against him by his slave July. The complaint having been proved groundless, the plaintiff condemned to be flogged. [This case exhibits the most usual result of complaints by slaves against their masters.]

“ D. Malang, on a charge of excessive ill-treatment of one of his slaves, of which his death was the consequence. Defendant acquitted of said charge, and the plaintiff, Adam, condemned to be flogged.

“ Johannes Tobias Laubscher, on a charge of ill-treatment preferred against him by his slaves Stephen, Marthinus, and Solon: the first and second plaintiffs sentenced to receive each thirty lashes, and the confinement suffered by the third deemed an adequate punishment. The defendant was also sentenced, for reasons moving the Court, in a penalty of thirty rix-dollars. (1*l*. 10*s*.)

“ Such are a few—a very few specimens of the outrages continually recurring on the part either of the oppressor or the oppressed, in a country where slavery is said to assume its mildest aspect. Yet, wretched as is this state of reciprocal enmity and suspicion, still more deplorable, if possible, is the dreadfully demoralizing influence of slavery upon the young, alike of the free and the enthralled population. Marriage and baptism, systematically discouraged by the masters in general, are rare among the slaves. Promiscuous intercourse is common. Illicit connections with the white men are encouraged among the young female slaves—frequently even prescribed by their ‘Christian’ owners. In Cape Town it is notorious as noon-day, that the rearing and educating of handsome female slaves, as objects of licentious traffic with the European, and especially with the rich Indian residents, is extensively practised among slave-holders. If such transactions are now managed with some greater regard to outward decorum than formerly, they are not on that account the less frequent; and I feel no hesitation in asserting, in the face of the authoritative dicta of the ‘Quarterly Review,’ that the practice of this disgraceful traffic is still common in the colony.\*

“ While the female slaves are thus bred up to prostitution, the reaction of their depravity upon the morals of the white population is equally obvious and frightful. Brought up from infancy in collision with a

\* “ A writer in that Journal, in reviewing a little volume, entitled ‘Notes on the Cape of Good Hope,’ in 1821, endeavours to discredit the author's report of the state of morals, and the anecdotes he has given to illustrate the influence of slavery in destroying female delicacy. I know, however, that that author was correct both in his opinions and facts on this point; though I differ from him entirely in his estimate of the comparative happiness of the slave population.”

brutalized race of beings, from whom all enjoyments but those of the senses are debarred, what can the youth of either sex learn earliest but the knowledge of evil—the language and the lessons of licentiousness? Who that has resided at the Cape can be ignorant of the general and premature profligacy of manners among the young men? Who, indeed, but must be sensible that the ruling classes in every slave colony, are (and must necessarily be) depraved to an appalling extent by the early and uncontrolled indulgence of almost all the worst propensities of our nature?—by sensuality, unfeeling selfishness,\* arrogance, rage, revenge? If the African colonists, as a body, are, notwithstanding all this, less corrupted than the mass of slave-holders in some other countries, they owe it chiefly to the comparatively limited extent of their slave population, and to the early marriages, and simpler and purer manners, of the majority of the country inhabitants. I wish not to speak of them harshly. There are, I am well convinced, a great number of pious, humane, and truly worthy people at the Cape, to whom the above observations do not in any respect apply. I am also convinced, that in spite of all their defects and disadvantages, the Cape Dutch, regarded as a body of men, possess many estimable qualities. If they have acquired many of an opposite description, it is because they have been so long doubly debased by the curse of slavery, and the deprivation of a good constitution of government. Let England remove that unspeakable curse, and govern them as she should do,—and *then* I will venture to say with confidence of my fellow Colonists, that there is no moral or intellectual excellence, of which they will not speedily be found capable.”

\* “The influence of slavery, in hardening the feelings, and in destroying even the most powerful of our natural affections, is almost incredible. Such facts as masters selling their own children by slave women, are at the Cape far from unfrequent. I shall mention only one which occurred a few months ago. The wife of an extensive farmer (a person mentioned by Latrobe, and who resides about one hundred miles from Cape Town,) died in 1825, when, in conformity with the Dutch law of succession, the conjunct property was brought to a public sale, in order that the children might receive their respective shares. The old woman had exacted a promise from her husband on her death-bed, that he would emancipate certain slave-children in the household, and not allow them to be sold, because they were known to be the children of one of their own sons, who was now settled on a neighbouring estate. The old man, desirous to keep his promise, was resolutely opposed (incredible as it may seem) by his son, the very father of the children in question. The motive for this opposition to the dictates of nature—to his mother's dying request—and his father's solemn promise—was sordid avarice. If the children were not sold, he would lose his share of their price—of the price of his own flesh and blood! He insisted that they should be produced at the public sale. The law was on his side, and the father could not refuse his demand. But the old man's regard to his last promise to his deceased wife, and his indignation at his son's inhuman conduct, induced him to stand up at the sale, and after mentioning the above details to the whole assembly, to declare his determination to re-purchase the children himself at whatever price, and to grant them their freedom, as he had pledged himself to do. The old man's conduct was approved of, and no one offered to compete with him in bidding for the children; yet the relator of this anecdote, who was present on the occasion, heard neither surprise nor indignation expressed at the conduct of the son, nor any censure passed upon him, with the exception of a remark made by a Moravian missionary.”

\*\* We are obliged to defer our promised remarks on the population of our Colonies on account of the want of some necessary returns.

London, 18, Aldermanbury, Feb. 28, 1827.

No. 21.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

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

### RECENT TRANSACTIONS IN THE SLAVE COLONIES.

WE propose to devote this number of the Reporter to a brief notice of some recent proceedings in the Colonies, chiefly those which have arisen out of the instructions transmitted during the last year by Earl Bathurst to the different Governors, on the subject of the reforms to be submitted to the Colonial Legislatures. We shall soon, without doubt, have a full and official detail of the result of these proceedings laid before the public by His Majesty. In the mean time, it may gratify the eager curiosity which our readers in all parts of the country feel on the subject, to furnish them with a few of our gleanings from the Colonial Journals.

The following appear to have been the propositions of Lord Bathurst:—

1. The establishment of a protector and guardian of slaves.
2. The admission of the evidence of slaves in Courts of Justice.
3. The giving to slaves a power, under certain regulations, of purchasing their freedom.
4. The legal institution of marriage among the slaves.
5. The suppression of Sunday markets and Sunday labour.
6. The conferring on slaves a legal right of acquiring, preserving, and transmitting property.
7. The prohibition of the separation of families by legal process.
8. The abolition of the driving-whip; the regulation and record of punishments; and the abolition of female flogging.

We will not now stop to inquire how far the propositions of Lord Bathurst, in the shape in which they were thus transmitted during the last year to the Colonies, fall short both of the promises originally held out to the public and to Parliament, by His Majesty's Government, and even of the model of the Trinidad Order, in which they were first embodied. That very important branch of the subject we must reserve for a future and separate discussion. We shall confine ourselves, at

present, to a statement of the reception which the Colonial authorities appear to have given to His Majesty's recommendations.

By most, if not all of the Assemblies, the Bills, founded on those recommendations, on being presented, were promptly and unceremoniously rejected. They were rejected on the strange and absurd ground that it was an infringement of their constitutional liberties, for the Ministers of the Crown to propose measures for their deliberation and adoption. Even in the Imperial Parliament, where constitutional liberty is, at least, as well understood and as justly appreciated as in our Slave Colonies, we have never heard such an objection made to any measure, or set of measures, presented to the consideration of Parliament. The absolute folly and inanity of such an objection furnish a fresh proof of the incapacity of these Assemblies for the task of legislation. Who would think of throwing out a bill, for the improvement of our criminal code in this country, because it had been prepared in the Cabinet with the aid of the law officers of the Crown, and introduced to Parliament by His Majesty's Secretary of State?

In thus rejecting, however, (without the slightest reserve, and with furious tirades about that constitutional liberty which they are daily outraging in the persons of others,) the whole of the propositions laid before them by His Majesty, the Assemblies appear to have been quite sensible, that there was peril in adhering to their former declarations against all improvement of their slave code. They accompany their rejection of Lord Bathurst's Bills with a resolution to revise their slave laws, in the view of introducing such ameliorating changes as might be compatible with their own dignity as independent legislators, and with the safety of the Colonies. We shall see presently how their professed purpose has been carried into effect. We shall select for our review the largest of the Colonies.

#### JAMAICA.

##### 1. *The establishment of a protector and guardian of slaves.*

This proposition has been rejected, on the pretence that an adequate and much safer substitute already exists in the local magistracy, and the vestry of each parish, who now constitute by law a council of protection. That is to say, the very persons against whom it is the purpose of the crown and parliament to protect the slaves, their owners and managers, are designated by the Assembly of Jamaica as their sole protectors. This is like constituting the wolf the guardian and protector of the lamb.

All the colonial legislatures, we believe, have been equally unyielding on this point.

##### 2. *The admission of the evidence of slaves in courts of justice.*

The proposition of Lord Bathurst on this subject was, that all slaves of whom any clergyman, or catholic priest, or minister duly licensed, should certify that they understood the nature of an oath, should be recorded and received as competent witnesses in all courts, *civil* or *criminal*, with the exception of *civil* suits in which the owner was interested, and *capital* charges against *free* persons.

The objections to this last exception are obvious enough, and have often been pointed out in this publication, (see especially No. 11. p. 136—138.) But the proposition of Lord Bathurst, however defective, is a large advance in the progress of improvement, when contrasted with the provisions which the Jamaica Assembly have adopted on this subject; and which, whatever be the intention of the framers, it is obvious, in practice must operate very inefficiently.

In the first place, the testimony of slaves is to be admitted only in *criminal* cases; nor can it be received at all without a certificate of baptism. But no measure is adopted for keeping a record of those who are thus certificated, and the certificate must always be ready to be produced at the time of trial.

The certificate being produced, the justice, or the coroner, or the court, is, by an examination of the slave, to ascertain, to the satisfaction of the said justice, coroner, or court, that he is so far instructed in religious knowledge as to comprehend the nature and obligations of an oath; such justice, &c. being, of course, empowered to determine whether he shall be received as a witness or not. And this process of examination and decision is to be only preliminary to, and independent of all those objections to competency which might be legally raised in the case of free persons. And after these obstacles are surmounted, no white or free person shall be convicted on the testimony of slaves, unless two slaves at least, clearly and consistently with each other, depose of the same fact or circumstance, such slaves being examined apart and out of the hearing of each other. Nor can any free person be convicted on the testimony of slaves, if not prosecuted within twelve months after the crime has been committed. Another clause provides, that in order to remove all temptation to perjury, on the part of a slave required to give evidence, the court, in case of the owner being convicted on such evidence, shall not have a power to declare such slave free.

Such is the new law of Jamaica, (the result of much prolonged discussion, and of many high-raised expectations,) on the subject of the admissibility of slave evidence. And although, in one respect, it goes beyond Lord Bathurst's instructions, in not excepting capital cases, it must nevertheless prove very inoperative. Slaves are excluded entirely from giving evidence in civil suits. The individual slave, even in criminal cases, is never to be endowed with a legal competency. On each fresh occasion of his being called to give evidence, he is to be questioned anew, not as to any bias he may have with respect to the particular cause in hand, but as to his religious knowledge. He is to undergo a fresh inquisition on this subject on each new trial, and to be admitted or rejected without a reference to any previous admission, according to the varying judgment of each new inquirer. What a door is here opened for every species of injustice, for the operation of ignorance and caprice, and even of favour to the accused! And then the degree and soundness of the poor slave's religious knowledge are to be appreciated, not by his pastor or teacher, whose attention has been particularly directed to his intellectual and moral state, but by one or more Planters, men distinguished, as we all know, by

their moral tastes and theological discernment. Mark, too, the extreme harshness of that provision (a kind of parting blow at the slaves) which actually shuts out, from the discretion of the Court, the question of emancipating a maimed and dismembered slave from the power of a master convicted of maiming or dismembering him, merely because the slave, in exhibiting his mangled body, may have also borne conclusive testimony against his ruffian owner.

Such appears to be the law of slave evidence which has at length been enacted by the legislature of Jamaica.\*

3. *The giving to slaves a power under certain regulations of purchasing their freedom.*

This proposition is absolutely and entirely rejected in Jamaica, and, we believe, in all the other Colonies having legislatures of their own. The unbending resistance with which this fair, moderate, and reasonable proposition has been met by them all is a decisive proof of the utter hopelessness of the willing adoption, by the Colonists, of any measure which tends, however remotely, to the extinction of Slavery. It is impossible to conceive any measure leading to that end which would be attended with less possibility of any private loss or public inconvenience than that which makes manumission the effect of the steady industry of the slave. The experience of the Spanish Colonies has proved its perfect safety; while the provision which secures to the owner the full value of his slave takes away the very slightest ground of complaint on the score of uncompensated reform. And yet this is a measure to which an uniform and unqualified and most determined resistance has been made in all the Colonies. The Colonies, therefore, are here brought into direct conflict with his Majesty's Government. Lord Bathurst has pressed the measure upon them in the very strongest terms. "No system of measures," he observes, "will satisfy the feelings of this country or execute the purposes of the House of Commons, which does not contain some direct provision, some acting principle, by which the termination of Slavery may be gradually accomplished." The giving to the slave the right of purchasing his freedom, his Lordship declares to be "a vital part of the question" which "cannot be dispensed with." His Majesty's Government, he tells the Colonists, "stand pledged to take such measures as may ultimately, though gradually, work out the freedom of the slaves;" and they may be assured "that, from the final accomplishment of that object this country will

\* In one of the clauses a provision is introduced for ensuring the attendance, in certain cases, of slave witnesses, by confining them in jail. While so confined, the slave is to be allowed one shilling and eightpence a day for his maintenance. We call the attention of our readers to this circumstance, because it forms a curious contrast to the allowance provided by the consolidated Slave Law of Jamaica for the maintenance of working slaves, namely, three shillings and fourpence a week; being, as it were, their board wages in lieu of provision grounds and time to cultivate them. Now, at the rate of the jail allowance, this ought to be eleven shillings and eightpence instead of three shillings and fourpence. On the other hand, if one shilling and eightpence per day be not an excessive allowance, (and why should we presume that it is?) how very scanty must the allowance of three shillings and fourpence per week be to a working slave!

not be diverted." So decided is his Lordship on this point, that he assures the local authorities of Demerara, that if they should persist in declining to admit the proposed regulations respecting manumission, he shall have no other alternative than that of "submitting to his Majesty the expediency of enacting them by direct Royal authority."

The contumacious resistance of Demerara, which called forth these observations, having been followed by all the Colonial legislatures without exception, there seems now to be no alternative but that of either yielding to the waywardness of the Colonists, and abandoning a measure, the forlorn hope of humanity, to which the Government is so deeply pledged; or of "submitting to Parliament the expediency" of giving effect by a positive enactment to its own declared but contemned wishes.

The absurd and extravagant language which the colonists employ in justifying their opposition to this measure, is evidently dictated by mere prejudice and passion, and not by reason or sober calculation. "Compulsory manumission," say the legislators of Barbadoes, "is a direct invasion of the right of property," nay, "absolutely destructive of that right, by investing slaves with the power at their own will, and against the will of their masters, of purchasing their freedom. If this were once admitted, there would be an end of all security to mortgagees and others;"—as if the fair value of a slave in money were not a better security than the slave himself;—"Any attempt at compensation would only prove delusive." "Unless, therefore, it is intended to ruin the colonies, and to convert every plantation into a poorhouse, the plan of compulsory manumission must be abandoned." This blind and infatuated obstinacy, on the part of the colonists, we trust may lead Parliament to consider seriously the basis on which the whole system denominated Negro Slavery rests; and when they find it, as they must find it, to be bottomed in wrong and robbery, to be from first to last an outrage on every principle of justice, as well as a violation of every principle of constitutional law, that they will determine to abate the nuisance by means far more prompt and effectual than had previously been contemplated. The colonists ought to remember that the question lies between them, a handful of planters, and 800,000 of our fellow-subjects, equally with them claiming our sympathy, and equally with them entitled to the protection of constitutional law, and to the privileges and immunities which appertain of right to every liegeman of the British crown. It is vain for them to think of long retaining their present monstrous usurpation over so large a portion of their fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects; and if, like Pharaoh, they harden their hearts against the claims of justice and mercy, and set even the commands of God at defiance;—if they will reject all rational expedients for putting an end to the evil, and "will not let the people go," even when their price is paid;—what is to be expected but some such calamity, the operation of a mighty hand and outstretched arm, as, in the case of that tyrant, effected the emancipation of his bondmen by means which not only could not he control or resist, but which overwhelmed himself in a fearful destruction? It seems, however, as if they would take no warning either from ancient or modern history; either from



Egypt, or from Hayti; and as if they would, like Pharaoh, harden their hearts still more, until the consummation of their present resistance is rendered as fatal as was the termination of that oppressor's contest with Moses.

4. *The legalizing of the Marriage of Slaves.*—A clause has been introduced into the Jamaica Act, requiring and authorizing any *clergyman* only, (and not other ministers as in Lord Bathurst's draft) to solemnize the marriage of slaves *who have been baptized*, and who produce the permission of the owner in writing. If an owner refuses his consent, the slaves desirous of intermarrying may, if they both belong to the same owner, but not otherwise, appeal to the vestry, who are required to inquire into the cause of refusal, and decide whether such marriage shall take place or not. This law, without doubt, may enable slaves, belonging to the same owner, to intermarry; but it makes no provision for slaves desirous of intermarrying, who belong to different owners. And as a considerable number of slaves in Jamaica already have wives, or at least reputed wives and children, on neighbouring estates belonging to different owners, the effect must be that such unions will not be legalized, however long they may have lasted. Indeed, it cannot strictly be said that any marriages of slaves are legalized by the mere permission or authority given to the clergyman to perform the marriage ceremony. Lord Bathurst seems to have thought so, for he had introduced a proviso into his draft, that all marriages of slaves, performed according to the rules laid down, should be *declared* legal and valid. The Jamaica Assembly, on bringing in the bill, omitted this proviso, and it does not appear whether the defect was afterwards supplied. But if not, it will be doubtful whether any connubial rights whatever are conferred on the parties, by the mere *permission* of the marriage ceremony. Besides this, the plan of referring cases of slave marriage, not to a Protector, as Lord Bathurst proposes, but to an assembly constituted as is a Jamaica parish vestry, is throwing such ridicule on the whole affair, and interposing such obstacles, as would render an appeal of this kind not only undesirable, but almost hopeless as to its result, and would also discourage slaves from making it. Some idea may be formed of the scenes likely to occur, on the occasion of such appeals, from the levity displayed, in the Assembly itself, on the discussion of this subject.

Lord Bathurst required that a record should be kept of the marriages of slaves; and indeed, without such a record, the ceremony of marriage must be of little value. The Assembly of Jamaica have omitted this provision also; an indication that the real object which they had in passing this law, was not to give a legal validity to marriage, but to furnish their friends at home with an argument in their favour, drawn from their apparent, but delusive compliance.

5. *The prohibition of Sunday markets and Sunday labour.*

No notice is taken of the subject of *Sunday labour*. A feeble attempt at compliance on the subject of *Sunday markets* is made by a clause which limits them to the hour of ten o'clock. But such a

limitation is obviously wholly impossible, while slaves have no other day allotted to them by law, in lieu of Sunday, for their marketings; and for the other uses to which the Sunday is at present necessarily applied. The law, as it now stands, would be too oppressive to be enforced; and therefore, we presume, it was enacted in its present form. It is necessarily, therefore, extinct before its operation commences, and must be felt to be so by every man in Jamaica. That slaves should travel with their heavy loads ten, fifteen, twenty miles to market, effect their sales, and make their purchases, by ten in the morning, is too absurd to be thought of, and if the law were enforced, would be one of the most severe and oppressive enactments in the Jamaica statute book. But it cannot be enforced, while Sunday continues to be desecrated as the only day fixed for the purposes of universal traffic, among the slaves of the Island. It will not do to say that markets may be held on another day, unless that day is *given* to the slave as Sunday is now given to him, for the purpose of marketing. It was one of Mr. Canning's most distinct and unambiguous pledges, to Parliament and the public, that Sunday markets and Sunday labour should be abolished, and equivalent time in lieu of the Sunday be given to the slave. And the equity of this proceeding, even if we admit that Slavery, as an institution, may lawfully exist, is so manifest at first sight, that one stands astonished at the obstinate resistance almost every where made to its adoption. Lord Bathurst has stated the case with a clearness and force which are irresistible, even on West Indian principles.

"The master," His Lordship says, "is entitled to the labour of the slave for *six* days in the week, but he is not entitled to more; and out of the profits of the *six* days' labour the slave must be supported. The seventh must belong to the slave entirely for his own profit and advantage. I can perceive no difference in principle between the practice of purchasing food for negroes, who are exclusively employed for six days in the service of their masters, for their support during the whole week; and of appropriating an adequate portion of time, *during the six days*, for the cultivation of their grounds." The master, therefore "can have no possible claim for the service of his slave on the Sunday, whether those services be for the execution of work exclusively to be performed for himself; or for the cultivation of provision grounds, by the produce of which he is to be relieved from the support of his slaves. Nor can he be considered as entitled to compensation for that day, which he may permit his slave to appropriate *during the six working days*: for he makes this arrangement to supersede the necessity of purchasing provisions for his slaves." Thus "The master is not deprived of the service of his slave on any day except Sunday; and it is to be hoped, that no christian master will so far forget himself, as to claim indemnity for that which his religion must have taught him he ought never to require."

To this hour, however, this able and unanswerable reasoning of Lord Bathurst has remained without its due effect in any one of the Colonies; and in all but one it has hitherto had no effect at all. In none of them is one of the six working days given in lieu of that Sun-

day, which has hitherto been appropriated to marketing and to raising provisions for the slaves' subsistence. And yet abolitionists are charged with precipitation and unreasonable violence, when they complain of the slow progress of Colonial Reform.

6. *Granting to the slaves a legal right of property, and establishing banks for their savings.*

The regulations proposed by Lord Bathurst on this subject are substantially the same with those which form a part of the Trinidad Order in Council; and the rights which they convey to the slaves, are probably as large and as well secured, supposing slave evidence in civil cases to be admitted, as the untractable nature of slavery will permit.

In the place of these regulations the Assembly of Jamaica have framed a clause which mentions, it is true, the property of slaves, but leaves out all the effective provisions for the security of that property which are contained in the Trinidad Order. The preamble is sufficiently imposing—"And whereas, *by the usage of this Island*, slaves have always been permitted to possess *personal* property, free from the control or interference of their owners; and it is expedient that such laudable custom should be established by law, be it therefore enacted, &c." And what is the enactment which follows? It is not that their right of property shall be established by law, but that any owner or other person taking from a slave any property, of which the slave is *lawfully* possessed, shall forfeit and pay ten pounds, over and above the value of such property, if the fact is proved before three justices of the peace. It is not even 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 in the case of debt, or bequest; and, indeed, being debarred from giving evidence in any civil cause, to grant him a power of civil suit might seem an anomaly. And in the absence of this power, no one is appointed to sue on his behalf. There is no *Protector* to take up his cause. The very *lawfulness* of his possession of property is made to stand on some vague reference to the usage of the Island; and even this indirect and ambiguous sanction is confined to *personal* property; while no Savings' Banks are instituted where security may be given to what he may acquire. The robbing him of his property, however valuable, is not made a larceny, or a felony, as the case may be, but a matter to be settled by a penalty of ten pounds, on the decision of three justices; but no mode is pointed out of enabling him to apply to them. In short, the clause is a mere apology for refusing to admit the proposition of Lord Bathurst on the subject, and the slave is left precisely in the same helpless and unprotected state, as to all essential rights of property, in which he was before the act was framed.

7. *Prohibiting the separation of families by sale.*

Lord Bathurst's requisition on this point is extremely moderate, far too much so to serve any substantial purpose of amelioration. He proposes that no slave having a husband, or wife, or child under a certain age; or reputed husband, or wife, or child, the property of the same owner, shall be levied on, or sold by *legal* process, unless together in

one lot, and to the same purchaser. The obvious defect of this provision is, that it is limited to slaves sold by legal process, and does not extend to voluntary sales by the master; and that it excludes from its operation slaves married, but belonging to different owners. The Jamaica Assembly seemed at first sight inclined to go beyond this limitation, for it was proposed "that it shall not be lawful in cases of sale" (making no distinction between voluntary sale by the master, and sale by legal process) "to separate married people from each other, or their legitimate issue,\* if under ten years of age, provided the parties belong to the same owner; and it shall not be lawful for any collecting constable, the Provost Marshal, or any of his deputies, to levy upon, or sell them separately." This clause, however, was rejected; and the only provision that appears to have been made on the subject, is to render more precise the old law of the 8th of George the 2nd., by which, when slaves are levied upon in execution, IF mothers and children under ten years of age are seized together, they shall also be sold together. Some of the arguments employed in discussing this question, will throw light on the state of feeling, among even the higher classes in Jamaica. Mr. Brown said it would be very hard upon a man who owed a small sum of £50., to have a whole family sold by the marshal. (The hardship inflicted on the slave is made no account of.)—Mr. Batty proposed that families should not be separated by voluntary sale.—Mr. Hilton objected to this, (and his opinion prevailed,) that it would be violating the rights of property to dictate to the master how he should dispose of it: he had a right to sell one, or more, of his slaves, according to his wants and inclinations, in the same way as he had to dispose of any other property. The proposed clause he considered as an invasion of property.—Others argued that such an enactment would be hard on the slaves, as well as on the masters. One slave of a family might become dissatisfied with his master and wish to be sold; one might prefer a town life, another a country life; one might be a notorious rascal whom it was the desire of the rest of his family to get rid of. Such are the reasons which avail in Jamaica to perpetuate one of the worst evils of Slavery!

8. *The abolition of the driving-whip and of the flogging of women, and the modification of punishment.*

It was not even proposed that *driving* in the field, or the flogging of females, should be abolished, but merely that the cat should be substituted for the cart-whip, both to coerce labour and to inflict punishment; and that, in the whipping of women, there should be no *indecent exposure*. Both these propositions however were rejected. If we adopt such an innovation, said Mr. Hilton, on the established usages of the Colony, now that the Duke of Manchester is about to leave the Island, the slaves will imagine that our conduct has been disapproved of by the King, and that we have been compelled to relinquish the whip, and with it every means of punishment and restraint. I disapprove of the law prohibiting the indecent exposure of women, because it is un-

\* How many legitimate children of slaves are there in Jamaica?

necessary, and implies that we allow them to be indecently exposed. But the females require punishment, at least as often as the men. Flogging with the cat is an inhuman punishment, as practised in the army. God forbid that we should have recourse to it.—Mr. Mais declared, that the slaves preferred the cart-whip to every other instrument of punishment, as being more manly; switches, &c. being only fit for children.—Others confirmed the fact of the preference of the cart-whip to switches; but it was evident from the details that the real cause of the preference was, that the law affixed a limit to the number of lashes inflicted with a cart-whip, namely, thirty-nine; and that switches were administered without any such reserve. Now it may be possible that 500, or 200, or even 150 strokes of the prickly ebony, the switch generally used in flogging slaves, may draw more blood, and lacerate the flesh more, and cause severer suffering than thirty-nine lashes of the cart-whip; and also that from the noiseless infliction of the former, much more lengthened flagellations may be given than in the case of the cart-whip which conveys the report of every stroke to the adjacent plantations, and to the traveller as he passes along the road. But what does all this say for the system; a system which continues to place in the hands of individuals, many of them of the lowest description, this tremendous power of punishment? Think what would be the condition of the peasantry of this country if debates in our legislature were to turn on the question, Whether every farmer in the land should have the power of inflicting, on the naked posteriors of his labourers, whether male or female, either the lacerations of the cart-whip, or the sharp prickings of the ebony bush?

A speech of Mr. Barret's embodies the arguments on the other side of the question. He observed that it was no reason for refusing to abolish the cart-whip that its abolition had been recommended by Government. That was no reason for rejecting a measure beneficial in itself.—“But I do deny that his Majesty's ministers alone, or that our countrymen in Great Britain alone, view the cart-whip as a base, cruel, debasing instrument of torture. Every person of humanity in the colony, every being whose heart is not callous, pants for the abolition of this detestable mode of punishment. You are told, that to abolish the use of 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 say, I do not hesitate to declare to all who hear me, that the cart-whip is a horrible, detestable instrument, when used for the punishment and torture of slaves. I do say that 39 lashes with this horrid instrument can be made more grievous than 500 lashes with a cat. Honourable members may raise a clamour against me, but they will do so in vain. They are afraid to hear the truth respecting this odious, this horrid, this detestable instrument. Clamour shall not put me down. The time, I hope, is not far distant when the cart-whip will be abolished even as an emblem of authority. On my own estate I have entirely abolished it, and also the cat. I do not even allow the infliction of the cart-whip on the cattle of my property, so abhorrent

is the instrument to me as an engine of cruelty. Honourable gentlemen contend that the cart-whip is an instrument of punishment less severe than the cat. I shall not determine how many stripes of the latter are equal to one of the former, but I will put the question thus, Whether a given number of lashes by the cart-whip are not more severe and more lacerating than the same number by the cat? You say, a greater number of stripes are inflicted by the cat in the army than are allowed to be given by the cart-whip. But how are the former inflicted? 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 offender's superiors, unbiassed, unprejudiced, and with calmness, deliberate upon the charge brought against him." He might have added that their sentence is also subject to the review of their superiors. "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 at his discretion upon another slave. Sometimes it is ordered by the book-keeper or overseer, or proprietor of the lowest order, men too frequently most unfit to apportion punishment. To me, the predicted danger from abolishing the cart-whip seems totally imaginary. Its use has been abolished in many places, and having been accustomed to witness its spontaneous abolition in many places, there can be no fear, when the measure is made general, and passes into a law, that they will mistake our lenity, or suppose it was forced upon us."

The clause for substituting the cat for the cart-whip, was negatived by a majority of 28 to 12, as was that for prohibiting the indecent exposure of women.

A limitation of punishment, at the discretion of individuals, appears to have taken place in Jamaica. They are said to be prohibited from giving more than twenty lashes at a time, or from confining a slave more than ten days in the workhouse, without the authority of a magistrate.

The prohibition of the driving whip, and the flogging of females, and the record of punishments, have been rejected, not only by Jamaica, but by Barbadoes and the Bahamas. "To forbid," says the Assembly of Barbadoes, "by legislative enactment, the flogging of female slaves, would be productive of the most injurious consequences." In the case, for instance, of domestic females, they argue, that it is quite apparent how objectionable it would be to forbid their being flogged. As for the driving whip, they consider it to be inseparable from slavery. "The recording of punishment by whipping," they add, "being consequent on limiting it to a given number of lashes, and the Assembly being of opinion that *in the hands of a relentless executioner, a given number of stripes may, under the sanction of the law, be so inflicted as to amount to an act of cruelty*"—the Assembly seem to have thought, that the ends of humanity would be best answered, by leaving every man to give as many lashes as he pleased, and by not requiring him to record them; but to refer it to the Justices, on a complaint being made, to determine whether cruelty had been committed or not.

This is a view of the subject, altogether worthy of the Assembly of

Barbadoes! It is a view, however, from which it is but just to say, that the Council of that Island have dissented. They passed a Bill for effecting the very objects which the Assembly think so unnecessary, but it was rejected in the lower house.

The case in Jamaica was similar; and the Council there, desirous of delivering themselves from the discredit of having concurred with the Assembly in rejecting so many measures of amelioration, presented an address to the Duke of Manchester, at the close of the session, exculpating themselves from being parties to that rejection, saying, that they had proposed a variety of amendments, to which the Assembly had disagreed. The Duke nevertheless lauds the Assembly.

In the new slave law of Jamaica, in addition to the changes already noticed, is a clause for obliging owners, who manumize old or infirm slaves, to provide for them, by allowing them ten pounds a year.—The law for punishing cruelty, has also undergone some modification; and to *brand* a slave is now, for the first time, subjected to a penalty not exceeding £100, (£70 sterling,) or a year's imprisonment. In other respects the new law does not differ substantially from the old, of which it retains with some slight change, we are sorry to say, the following unjust provision—"and if it shall appear to the Council of Protection that the complaint of the slave is frivolous or unfounded, it shall be lawful for them to dismiss the complaint, and to direct such slave to be delivered over to his master; or to direct such punishment, by confinement to hard labour, or whipping, or both, as to them may seem proper."—It is still made a capital crime in a slave to *compass* or *imagine* the death of a white person. This is indeed giving to each white the attributes of a despot.

Some improvements are also introduced into the mode of conducting the trial of slaves, but we think it a monstrous provision which excepts, from the necessity of referring to the Governor all cases of capital punishment for his revision prior to the execution of the sentence, the cases of rebellion and rebellious conspiracy; the very cases, of all others, which the ends of justice require should be most calmly and dispassionately investigated.

Two petitions having been presented from a few white persons in each of the two parishes of St. James's and St. Elizabeth's, in favour of the people of colour, an attempt was made, by one of the members of the Assembly, to obtain for them some extension of civil and political privileges, particularly the elective franchise, which it was proposed to confer only on such as should possess freeholds of the value of £100 a year, (the qualification of a white being £10 a year); and also the power of saving deficiencies for estates belonging to whites, on which persons of colour serving in the militia might be engaged as book-keepers or overseers. The attempt however met with no support. The only point gained for them has been the repeal of an act of the 10th of Queen Anne, making it penal to employ a free black, an Indian, a person of colour, or a Jew, in any public office. The heavy fees also which it had been customary to exact from those who, by private legislative acts, were raised to the privileges of the white class, have been abolished.

In former sessions, the House of Assembly signalized their liberality by their largesses to their advocates, the Editors of the *John Bull*, and the *Glasgow Courier*. Their late session produced a resolution of a similar kind, directing their agent, Mr. Hibbert, to circulate gratuitously, in such manner as he may consider most beneficial to the colonies, a thousand copies of "A practical view of the present state of slavery in the West Indies, by Alexander Barclay;" and of a pamphlet by A. H. Beaumont, entitled "Compensation to Slave Owners, fairly considered in an appeal to the common sense of the People of England:"—two works which, whatever claims they may possess to the favour of this illustrious body, have certainly none to the public confidence on the ground of their fairness or truth.

Another instruction given to their agent is still less creditable to their sagacity and ingenueness. On the 14th of October, 1826, there appeared in the *Royal Gazette of Jamaica*, a proclamation pretended to be issued in Hayti, by the President Boyer in April or May, 1826; which, however, has proved to be a forged and fabricated document. It had in substance been issued by Toussaint Louverture in 1799, under widely different circumstances; but it was now vamped up, and in a mutilated and garbled state palmed upon the public as a proof of the severe coercion which was requisite to obtain from the population of Hayti, in the present day, an adequate measure of industrious exertion.

On the ninth of November the subject of this proclamation was brought before the House of Assembly by Mr. Atkinson. They had all seen, he said, a proclamation of the Haytian President,—a document which he considered of material assistance at the present period, when that house was called upon to adopt a parcel of nonsensical measures for the regulation of our slave population, quite incompatible with their habits and customs. This proclamation was without date, but its contents specified that compulsory labour must be resorted to in the state of Hayti, and this circumstance ought to be made known in England. He then commented on the coercive measures resorted to in Hayti to enforce agricultural labour. The proclamation, he added, had certainly come in an unauthenticated shape, and the house therefore could not treat it as an official document. He had, however, subsequently obtained a copy of a printed code of laws, dated in April last, which was in force there, and which embraced the regulations entertained in the proclamation.\* In this code, it is enacted that *free* persons, wandering from the plantations on which they and their parents had been domiciled, shall, in the first instance, be subject to fine and imprisonment, and for a repetition of the offence, to corporal punishment by the military; the extent of which, however, was not mentioned. Many of the minor regulations, he added, were analagous to the laws of Jamaica; the hours of labour of *these free men*, being similar to those of this Island.—He moved that a copy of this code should be transmitted to the agent, for publication in England.—The course proposed by Mr. Atkinson was objected to by several members, and it was sug-

\* The fact is, as may be seen on an inspection of the two documents, there exists no relation whatever between them.



gested to him to withdraw his motion, and to lay the documents before the Committee of Correspondence. This he accordingly did on the following day, the 10th of November; when the Committee of Correspondence, apparently without having taken the slightest pains to enquire into the authenticity of these documents, for the slightest pains would have at once discovered the utter spuriousness of the proclamation, did, on that very day, resolve to direct that the documents should be forwarded to the agent, for the purpose of being published in several newspapers, both in England and Scotland, and a copy to be furnished to every member of the Lords and Commons.

These orders were, in part, faithfully executed by the agent; and accordingly the proclamation, and its attendant extracts from the Code Rural, made their appearance, in due time, in the newspapers of England and Scotland. Whether they have been transmitted to all the members of the Lords and Commons, we know not. That part of the order may have been suspended, by a discovery that the proclamation which formed the main, indeed the only material feature in the case, was not only spurious, but an absolute forgery: Boyer's name having been fraudulently affixed to it, by some one of those through whose hands it had passed.

With respect to the Code Rural, the parties possessing that document, if there be any such document in their possession, have chosen to give us only about 15 or 16 clauses out of at least 200, of which it is implied that the code consists; so that if it be not, as is most probable, as spurious as the proclamation, it is sufficiently garbled and mutilated to render this fragment of it an object of grave suspicion. Even of these most suspicious extracts from an unproduced document, Mr. Atkinson, and the committee of the Jamaica Assembly, grossly misrepresent the purport. There is not the slightest allusion, in any one of them, to corporal punishment, or a single syllable which, fairly construed, implies more than the regulation of the hours of hired labour, and the repression of vagrancy—points which are no where more scrupulously provided for, than they are by the laws of Great Britain. That such a document, supposing it to be real, should be adduced as a proof of compulsory labour, shews the desperate weakness of the cause it is employed to aid; and that it should be appended to a false and forged document, by the very hands which have given it to the world, is a *prima facie* ground of utter discredit, until information can be obtained from some more direct and less polluted source.

The above details respecting recent proceedings in the West Indies are as accurate as we have been able to make them. They are taken in every instance from the Colonial journals.\* Still some variations, either for the better or the worse, may have taken place in the details of some of the enactments, by means of minute and unnoticed amendments, before their being finally passed into a law; of these we shall be anxious to apprise our readers, when the official documents shall be laid

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\* Viz. Royal Gazettes of Jamaica of the 21st of October; 11th and 25th of November; and 2d, 9th, 16th, and 23d of December; and the Barbadian of the 8th of December, 1826.

before Parliament. In the mean time, we have done our best to give a faithful abstract of what has been done by the Colonial legislatures according to the information actually before us. The accounts from the smaller islands furnish no details that can be relied upon.

There is, however, another branch of the subject which is perhaps still more important, namely, what Government have done in those Colonies where their power of legislating is unfettered by assemblies of planters. We say *more* important, because on the fidelity with which Government may have redeemed their own solemn pledges, in cases where they have had free scope for action, must mainly rest our hopes of such a result as shall satisfy the wishes of the nation, and the claims of humanity and justice. We are enabled to form some judgment on this point by the promulgation of their latest edition of the code of Colonial Reform; we mean "The Ordinance for promoting the religious instruction,\* and bettering the state and condition of the slave population in his Majesty's Colony of Berbice," promulgated on the 25th day of September; and, to have effect from the 1st of November, 1826.

We must confess that we have read some parts of this paper with feelings of deep regret. It would have been much more gratifying to us on every account to praise than to blame the acts of his Majesty's Ministers; but it would be unjustifiable, in a case so deeply affecting the happiness of hundreds of thousands of our fellow-subjects, were we, from feelings of delicacy towards any individuals, however respected, to shrink from a frank exposure of the truth.

We fully admit that the Ordinance which has been promulgated in Berbice, by the command of his Majesty, is a great improvement on the previous state of the law in that Colony, and thus far, therefore, we contemplate it with satisfaction and gratitude. We rejoice when any thing is done even to abate, though in a slight degree, the malignant evils of the Slave System, and still more when, as in the present instance, much is done. But it is impossible for us to view, without sorrow and alarm, the progressive deviations which this document exhibits from the principles originally propounded, and the pledges originally given, by his Majesty's Ministers; and the progressive concessions which it too plainly indicates to some of the worst prejudices, and the most unreasonable objections, of the Colonists.

It would seem as if certain individuals had discovered that Mr. Canning, in his speech of the 15th of May, 1823, and Lord Bathurst, in his dispatches of the 28th of May and the 9th of July of that year, (although that speech and those dispatches were unequivocally sanctioned by the West Indian body in Parliament,) had gone too far; and that it therefore had become necessary gradually and cautiously to recede from the ground they had hastily and imprudently occupied. Accordingly no sooner was the Trinidad Order in Council promulgated than it was found to fall short, of the pledges that had thus been

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\* It is remarkable, that the only part of this Ordinance which has a religious bearing, is that which legalizes marriage; while it also legalizes for a time the desecration of the Sunday by markets.

given to Parliament and the country, in some most material respects ; while some of the first provisions of that order have been further diluted and weakened by subsequent modifications. The discussions with the authorities of Demerara, though occasionally manifesting considerable firmness of purpose in the Colonial Department, at least as far as this was to be inferred from the language of their dispatches, have led to the concession, one by one, of some most important principles. And the final result of these previous omissions, modifications, and concessions, we have now embodied in the Ordinance for Berbice, which falls nearly as far below the Trinidad Order, as the Trinidad order fell below the pledges of Mr. Canning, and of the Colonial Department itself in May and July, 1823.

In Number 11, of the Anti-Slavery Reporter\* is contained a brief exposition of the defects of the Trinidad Order as compared with the pledges previously given by his Majesty's Ministers. The code for Berbice contains the defects of the former and some in addition. But our present Number having already swelled to an inordinate size we must defer, till another opportunity, our intended examination of this last ordinance. In the meantime it is very important that the Friends of our cause, both in and out of Parliament, should be aware that there exist objections, and strong objections too, to various particulars contained in it.

Nor is this *our* opinion only. It is the opinion also of the colonists. We have before us at this moment a passage contained in a Trinidad Newspaper, which has been transcribed with approbation, and even with exultation, into most of the other West Indian journals. We can give only a few brief extracts from it.

"The Berbice Royal Gazette contains," they say, "the official promulgation of the new slave code in that colony. In our next Number we shall give our readers an abstract of its contents, distinguishing the points in which it differs from the Trinidad order in council. At present, we shall merely state that several very important distinctions have been made, particularly under the head of compulsory manumission, respecting which the principles of Mr. Wilmot Horton's pamphlet have been adopted in their fullest extent." "Many of the most important suggestions of the Trinidad Committee, in the appeal which they made to Lord Bathurst, though ineffectual in procuring an alteration of their own code, have been adopted by His Majesty's Ministers in the Slave laws of Demerara and Berbice; a conclusive proof that they are convinced of their utility and necessity." Royal Gazette of Jamaica, of the 23d of December, 1826. p. 5.

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\* This Number is, in fact, a transcript of the pamphlet entitled, "The Progress of Colonial Reform," sold by Hatchard.

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*This, and all other publications of the Society, may be had at their office, 18, Aldermanbury; or at Messrs. Hatchard's, 197, Piccadilly, and Arch's, Cornhill. They may also be procured, through any bookseller, or at the depôts of the Anti-Slavery Society throughout the kingdom.*

London, 18, Aldermanbury, March 31, 1827.

No. 22.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

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

MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION:—SUGAR MONOPOLY; EAST INDIA TRADE; MANUFACTURING DISTRESS; EFFECTS OF MONOPOLY ON PLANTERS AND SLAVES; HAYTI, CODE RURAL; OUTRAGE IN JAMAICA; MANCHESTER PETITION, &c.

In the continued absence of all *official* information respecting what has been passing in our Colonies, on the subject of Reform, we cannot better employ the pages of this month's Reporter than in collecting together the substance of a variety of papers which have recently appeared on several important Colonial questions. And, first, with respect to

### THE MONOPOLY ENJOYED BY SLAVE-HOLDERS.

The West Indians have embodied their arguments in favour of this monopoly, in a new periodical work, called "The West Indian Reporter," of which two numbers only have appeared. This work, evidently instituted to counteract the effect of our Reporter, furnishes a satisfactory proof of its efficiency. We will briefly state the arguments of this new advocate, accompanying them with the substance of the answers which those arguments have already received.

- I. *The Corn-protecting Duties of this country are a precedent for the Protecting Duties on West Indian Produce; and this Protection is still more necessary when the Americans refuse to permit the West Indian Islands to be supplied with provisions direct from the country, and subject the Colonists to the heavy additional expense of obtaining supplies from more distant places.*

Although all monopolies are liable to objection on principle, there is still a wide difference between those monopolies which are intended to uphold a useful and influential class of men in their proper station, and those monopolies which raise individuals above their natural condition, and remove them from their true sphere of usefulness. The corn-protecting duties are intended to prevent the English land-owner, who can grow nothing else but produce for home consumption, from being crushed by competition with foreigners in the production, for his own home market, of the universal food of the people. These duties are in-

tended, also, by encouraging the home cultivation, to prevent England from being too much at the mercy of foreigners, especially in the event of a war; and to retain upon their estates (by enabling them to live at home) those country gentlemen, whose absence abroad, from motives of economy, would be a public calamity. Whether the corn-protecting duties be right or wrong, it is clear that the sugar-protecting duties differ *fundamentally* from them, in all these respects:—The intention of the corn-protecting duties is to *encourage* the home growth by protecting the English corn-grower against the foreign corn-grower in the home market. The sugar-protecting duties, by encouraging an exclusive eagerness for sugar cultivation, *prevent* the West Indian land-owners from growing the proper food of the inhabitants, and place those islands at the mercy of foreigners, especially in the event of a war. The cultivation of provisions for their own consumption, and the consequent diminution of sugar cultivation would enable the Colonial Proprietors, generally, to live as the inhabitants of the Bahamas or the Canadas live, in a moderate manner, conformably to their true condition as land-owners in countries purely agricultural; and would place them, according to the different circumstances of the respective localities, on the same relative footing with resident English land-owners subsisting on the produce of their own estates. By the inducements which the sugar-protecting duties hold out to neglect the cultivation of the necessaries of life, for the sake of the sugar-monopoly profits, the West Indian Islands are left at the discretion of the Americans, to starve or to supply them, as may best suit American policy; and this great political error is committed, in order that a few individuals, in and out of Parliament, may, at the expense of the mother country, be encouraged in the almost exclusive cultivation of an article for foreign exportation, and enjoy the profits of a monopoly, which costs the consumers in Great Britain, in the extra price of sugars, from one to two millions annually. This false and extravagant policy, instead of operating like the corn-protecting duties, and inducing West Indian land-owners to reside upon their estates, and promote the happiness of those who depend on them, has the reverse effect of enabling many of them to live at the distance of thousands of miles from their property; to cultivate their lands by means of an expensive agency; to eclipse, even in England, the English land-owner possessing a similar number of acres, in this great commercial, manufacturing, and rich country; and to become Members of the House of Commons; instead of occupying their proper places in the colonial assemblies, where their duty lies. Already the Americans boast, that they have the West Indians in their power, and consequently under their influence, because the improvident colonists cannot afford the expense of procuring the necessaries of life from Europe, and are induced not to raise them at home by the folly of England in granting bounties and protecting duties on their export produce; in other words, in bribing them to run counter to their true interests. The Americans will only supply these colonies on condition of their being placed, in the colonial ports, on the same footing as English traders: in other words, on condition of the islands becoming American colonies, for all purposes excepting the expense of keeping them, which they willingly

leave to England. These are some of the fruits of the protecting duties and bounties in favour of West Indian produce.

II. *The Proprietors could no longer afford to purchase food for their Slaves if they were deprived of the monopoly; and they would be obliged to throw their lands out of cultivation, as they only get a bare subsistence with the aid of the monopoly.*

The negroes do not starve in the Bahamas, from whence no sugar is exported: they do not starve in Hayti, which enjoys no such protecting duties. On the contrary, those are precisely the islands, where the negroes prosper and increase. The owners of lands do not throw them up in Hayti or in the Bahamas, but live upon them as other land-owners, in countries non-exporting and purely agricultural. They do not pretend to live in England, or to enjoy luxuries which belong only to land-owners in great commercial and manufacturing countries.

III. *The Proprietors must be indemnified for immense sums, expended on sugar houses and other buildings.*

They have been indemnified over and over again, by large monopoly profits, while their patent was in force; it has now expired, and they must take their chance in fair competition. All that has been laid out is the result of monopoly profits already realized.

IV. *25,000 British seamen are employed in the West Indian trade, and 230,000 tons of shipping. England derives an annual revenue of 6,000,000, in the form of duties: and 5,000,000*l.* value of manufactured goods are annually sent to the West Indies.*

The same number of seamen and the same tonnage would be requisite, if the sugar were brought from other places; and the same revenue would be collected by Government on the imported sugar. Only from three to four millions' value of goods are sent to the West Indies, of which a large part goes to South America. The *profit* on the remainder bears no proportion to the expense of keeping the islands, which amounts to about £1,600,000 annually, to which is to be added the loss to the people of England of a further immense sum annually, in the extra price created by the monopoly, without which the colonists declare that they cannot afford to cultivate sugar. In other words, it is absolutely necessary that we should indemnify them for the annual waste of negro life caused by sugar cultivation and the cart-whip, both of which may cease, if we cease to support them by monopoly prices. The cost of keeping the West Indies, added to the effect of the bounties and protecting duties, imposes on this country a burden of not less than £3,300,000 annually. (See Note, in the following page.)

V. *Sugar is the staple production of the West Indies, and England ought not to transfer the cultivation, and ruin the West Indian colonies, for the sake of the East Indies.*

Sugar cannot be properly called the staple of a country, which can only afford to produce and sell it under the artificial aid of bounties and protecting duties. When this happens to a country, it loses its com-

mercial staple, and becomes agricultural for home consumption. This transfer would neither ruin the West Indies nor the proprietors, as is evident from the instances of the Bahamas and of Hayti, and indeed of all countries purely or chiefly agricultural. The only result would be, that West Indian land-owners must live upon their estates in a plain moderate style, instead of residing in England, and eclipsing the land-owners of a great commercial country. Suppose the islands were independent, they could have no staple of sugar, for no country would pay the extra price.

VI. *South America, Mexico, Hayti, and China are not British possessions, and therefore no reasonable man would wish to destroy the trade of British proprietors to transfer it to them.*

If the traders of these countries take British manufactures in exchange, it is commercially quite immaterial where they reside, or where the goods are brought into use. The articles are paid for, and therefore the purchase money is spent in England. If the colonial ports are now free to the traders of other countries, the colonial commercial character is at an end; and the colonists are not British proprietors commercially considered, but they are the inhabitants of a neutral country, trading to other countries and also to England. Moreover a sugar trade which can only exist by means of bounties and protecting duties, at the expense of the people of Great Britain and Ireland, is not a trade, but a contrivance for transferring money, from the pockets of the people of England, into those of West Indian proprietors. This dexterous transfer, and not the sugar trade, is their boasted staple. It is no more than a system of pauperism on a large and most extravagant scale.\*

VII. *The East Indian Proprietors can exist without the production of Sugar; the West Indian Proprietors cannot.*

The West Indian Proprietors, by demanding protecting duties and bounties, sufficiently shew that they do not exist by the production of sugar, but by the sums levied on the people of this country, in the form of bounties and protecting duties, to uphold their improvident speculation. Besides, the question is not between the two classes of producers only; the consumers in England have an interest in the matter deserving of consideration. As well might the people of Malta insist on protecting duties to enable them to furnish England with oranges. As

\* The bounty on sugar, which amounts to about three shillings a cwt. (half having been taken off last year,) draws from the Exchequer, for an export of about 740,000 cwt., the sum of about 111,000*l.* The additional price levied on the public on account of our internal consumption, which amounts to about 3,000,000 cwt. is about 450,000*l.*, making together 560,000*l.* The effect of the protecting duty of 10*s.* against East India, and 36*s.* against foreign sugar cannot be very accurately ascertained. If we estimate it at the low rate of 6*s.* a cwt. 900,000*l.* more is thus taken out of the pockets of the British consumers, making a grand total of upwards of 1,460,000*l.* or at the average rate of from 800 to 900*l.* a year to each slave-holding sugar planter. This sum, indeed, is divided among them in very unequal proportions, some of them importing more largely than others; but it may be estimated to yield to the sugar farmer at least eight pounds sterling for every ton of sugar he imports. That is to say, the rich and the poor of this country are burdened to this enormous extent, not only to supply luxuries to about 1800 sugar farmers, but to enable them, with profit to themselves, to go on wasting the lives of their slaves, at a rate which would ultimately unpeuple the world.

well might the corn of Yorkshire be excluded from the markets of London, lest the farmers of Surrey and Sussex should be thereby obliged to sell their corn at a lower rate.

VIII. *The East Indies were not colonized for the purpose of producing Sugar : the West Indies were.*

The West Indies were partly colonized with a view to sugar cultivation; but that was in order that England might obtain it *cheaper*, not *dearer*, than from elsewhere. This argument, like all the rest of the arguments of the West Indians, proceeds upon the notion that the interests of the mother country are altogether undeserving of regard. Even the acquisition of the vast empire of the East is to avail England nothing, in order that a few owners of land in West Indian Islands, may not descend to their proper station as land-owners in countries non-exporting and purely agricultural. The idea of colonising, to purchase, at a *dearer* rate, the tropical productions, is quite new.

IX. *West Indian Protecting Duties were imposed because they were British Colonies, and cultivated by the aid of British capital: and also because the West Indians were not allowed to have their wants supplied from any other source but the mother country.*

And, is no British capital employed in the East Indies? Is it not employed, and most beneficially employed, in the production of indigo, and of every other article which the colonial monopoly allows East Indians to raise, or us to consume? And, even, if it were not so, we must recollect that the real ends of beneficial commerce are attained if foreign countries take our manufactured goods in exchange for their produce. As for the latter objection it does not now apply, as, with some few exceptions, the colonists may obtain their supplies from whence they please. On the other hand, when the English land-owner is obliged to sell his corn at a minimum of profit, he can only be reinstated by the diminution in the price of those other necessaries of life, which he and his tradesmen and labourers must purchase. This he has a right to expect.

X. One argument is employed by the West-Indians against the removal of the Bounty and extra duty, which stultifies all the preceding. They affirm, that *the Bounty does not exist, and that the Protecting Duty produces no effect in raising the price of Sugar to the British consumer.*

If, however, the *Protecting Duty* produces no effect in raising prices, why do the West-Indians contend for its continuance? Does not the very struggle they are making to retain it completely disprove their allegations on this point, even if the case were not otherwise as clear as the sun at noon-day?—As for *the Bounty*, it is true it has been reduced to one half of its former amount in the last year. But that half still remains, and of itself adds somewhat more than 500,000*l.* annually to the cost of the sugar consumed in this country. This has been distinctly admitted in the House of Commons by Mr. Herries, the Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Hibbert, also, the respectable agent of Jamaica, himself engaged in the sugar trade for the last fifty years, thus



addressed his constituents, the Assembly of that island, in a letter dated the 11th of March, 1824:

“ In relation to the alleviation of our commercial distress, it will surprise you, perhaps, that when Mr. Hume stated in the House of Commons the subject of the reduction of the sugar duty, *the members in our interest* did not support him. This arose from a previous assurance from his Majesty’s Ministers that a reduction of the sugar duty could not possibly take place, without at once depriving us of all the advantage which we now enjoy, in the principle and produce of calculating the drawback upon the export of refined sugars, *which, taken altogether, is little, if at all short of a gratuitous bounty of six shillings per hundred weight*: and without also denying us all that they were ready to concede, in regard both to the duty on rum, and to the regulations under which it is collected.”\*

Since that time the drawback has been lessened by three shillings. Of course three shillings remain. This bounty affects the sugars of the East, as well as those of the West-Indies.

#### EAST-INDIA TRADE.

It may here, however, be of use to shew what are the probable capabilities of that East-India trade which is thus discouraged; and what are the precise restrictions under which, with a view of favouring our slave colonies, it is at present laid. †

First, as to Restrictions.

A duty of £10 per ton *more* (being 50 per cent. on the prime cost,) is laid on East than on West India Sugar; the duty on West being £27, on East India, £37 per ton.

£28 per ton *more* is laid on East than on West India Coffee; the duty on West being £56, on East India £84 per ton.

£28 per ton *more* is laid on East than on West India Cocoa; the duty on West being £56, on East India, £84 per ton.

£7 per ton *more* is laid on East than on West India Turmeric; the duty on West being £3, on East India, £10 per ton.

11s. 6d. per gallon *more* is laid on East than on West India Rum; the duty on West being 8s. 6d. on East India, 20s. per gallon.

£6 per cent. ad valorem, is laid on East India Cotton Wool, while West India is admitted free of duty; being the same duty as on American Cotton; although America imposes a large duty of 25 to 100 per cent. on the import of our manufactures; while in India the duty is only 2½ per cent.

There are also higher duties on other articles, such as Dye-woods, Mahogany, Hides, &c. &c. than on similar articles from the West Indies.

\* It is remarkable, that though it appears that this matter was fully and clearly understood by the West-Indians in 1824 and 1825, yet they contended in the House of Commons, in opposition to Mr. Whitmore, that the effect of the bounty was confined to our trifling export of refined sugar, and that even on that quantity it amounted only to three shillings per Cwt.

† We say nothing at present on the monopoly of the China trade, by which not only is the price of tea, now one of the necessaries of life, doubled or trebled to the population of this country, as compared with its price in the United States, but our traders and manufacturers are shut out from any commercial intercourse with three hundred millions of consumers. It is perfectly obvious how strongly that question bears on the existing distress throughout the United Kingdom.

What aggravates the injustice is, that the Mauritius, a small island (ceded to us by France), and which is cultivated wholly by slaves, has lately been selected as the object of favour, and is the only spot in our Eastern empire put upon the footing of the West Indies, with regard to import duties; while the free labour of India is loaded with imposts.

It would seem as if our hearts were so much wedded to slavery, that we search it out in all parts of the world, as the object, not of repression and disfavour, but of countenance, encouragement, and reward. The calamitous effects produced by this strange policy in the case of the Mauritius, we shall have an opportunity hereafter of exposing.

It is no feeble proof of the extension of which our trade with India is capable, that, since the partial opening of it with that country in 1815, the whole amount of exports has been increased from £2,559,000 in 1815, to £4,800,000 in 1822. And of the immense increase which may be expected in our export of manufactured goods, and especially of manufactured cottons, if by equalizing the duties on the products of India, we permit our manufacturers to take freely these products in exchange, some idea may be formed by the following statement, drawn from authentic documents, of the increased export of our cottons to India since 1814.

Year ending 5th Jan.	Yards Printed Cotton.	Yards Plain Cotton.	Total.
1815	604,800	213,388	818,188
1816	806,064	489,384	1,295,448
1817	991,144	714,588	1,705,732
1818	2,848,692	2,468,004	5,316,696
1819	4,227,664	4,614,372	8,842,036
1820	3,714,584	3,414,040	7,128,624
1821	7,602,252	6,724,032	14,326,284
1822	9,979,844	9,940,728	19,920,572

We regret that we have not access to the means of continuing this striking exhibition of our rapidly increasing trade to the present time. We cannot doubt, however, that it would prove equally encouraging. But what might not this trade become, if all the existing restrictions in favour of the slave-holders were removed; and if it did not continue cramped and shackled as it is, for no other purpose than that of propping up their vicious, immoral, and, to the country at large, most impolitic and injurious system? Such are our unquestionable facilities of supplying the hundred millions of our Asiatic subjects with manufactured cottons, in return for their raw produce, that considerable quantities even of cotton twist have recently been shipped to India. Most justly, therefore, has it been observed in a recent publication, that—

“ Nothing connected with the policy of England is more remarkable, than the degree of apathy which her people generally appear to experience, with reference to the affairs of the most important of all her dependencies, her Eastern Empire. At a moment when the influence of Great Britain is felt and acknowledged over the whole continent of India, where an hundred millions of people, directly under our own sway, and millions upon millions besides, who dwell under the nominal rule of their native princes, look to us as the arbiters of their destiny, and the guardians of their happiness; and when it is avowed, that the loss of this influence would affect us more materially than almost any other calamity,

it is surprising to behold the neglect with which every question relative to the proper management of British India is treated. Nor is it less remarkable, that at a moment when the manufacturing districts in this country are suffering most heavily for want of a market for their goods, and when the manufacturers of other countries are treading closely upon our heels, we should not feel the deep injury the people of Great Britain are sustaining from the restrictions, which cramp our trade with *our own Empire* in the East Indies. If we were fully aware of the vast field which India opens for our relief; and of which we are only prevented from availing ourselves to an extent almost unlimited, by *heavy duties* upon imports from the East Indies, beyond what are laid on similar articles from the West Indies, it is quite impossible that parliament and the public should not with one voice demand their removal."

"We have witnessed, on former occasions," says another writer, "the beneficial effects of fresh openings for our manufactures. A few years ago a new trade was opened with about twenty millions of people in South America, and the most extensive benefits were derived from it. Hence we may form some idea of what the effect would be of opening a free and unrestricted trade with more than one hundred millions of our own fellow subjects in Hindostan, and with upwards of five hundred millions, if we extend that trade to the whole population of Asia.

"What was it which prevented us, until lately, from trading with South America? What, but the restrictions imposed on that trade by the Governments of Spain and Portugal?

"And what now prevents our trading with the five hundred millions of China, Hindostan, and the rest of Asia? What, but the restrictions imposed on that trade by our own Government? The removal of these restrictions is not only within the power of Parliament, but is in strict agreement with the very liberal principles of trade which have been avowed, and which, in a variety of other instances, have been acted upon both by them and by his Majesty's Government."

While we have such means within our reach of alleviating the present distress among our manufacturers, it seems like fatuity to overlook them, and to have recourse, in their stead, to such an inordinately expensive palliative as emigration. How much more effective in that view would it be, while the measure would be attended with no expense, to throw open to the expansive power of our capital, and the energy of our merchants and manufacturers, the immense market of British India, containing a hundred millions of customers, and which is now barred against us for the sake of 1800 sugar planters in the West Indies! Every loom in the kingdom would then, probably, in no long time, be put to work; wages would rise, and the effect would be felt in the comforts of our population from one extremity of the empire to another. How much more powerful still would be the effect, if China, the largest associated population in the world, were also opened to our commerce! And if the fetters of our trade were thus removed, we should not only give full employment to our population at home, but we should greatly mitigate the sufferings of our unhappy fellow subjects, the negro slaves in our Colonies abroad. But this part of the subject deserves to be more distinctly dwelt upon.

#### EFFECTS OF THE RESTRICTIVE SYSTEM IN THE WEST INDIES.

It is sufficiently obvious that the monopoly enjoyed by the slave colonies is most injurious to our own commercial interests, and most unjust and oppressive towards our Asiatic fellow subjects. It may be shewn, however, to be scarcely less injurious, unjust, and oppressive to the slave colonies themselves.

We have already seen how the bounties and protecting duties operate

to increase the culture of sugar, and to diminish that of provisions, leaving our colonies dependent for their food on the United States, and thus incurring the risk of being starved; and how they also serve to create a non-resident proprietary, whose slaves are left, in their absence, to the care of hirelings. But these are not half the evils with which the protecting system is pregnant. Without this it would not have been possible "that the slave colonies should have continued to this hour in that low and wretched state which they now exhibit;—that the miserable hoe, raised by the feeble hands of men and women driven forward by the cartwhip, should still be their main 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 evils, we admit, do not originate in the bounties and protecting duties, though they are aggravated by them. They have their origin in Slavery itself, a more deadly enemy tenfold to all improvement than even the *caste* of Hindostan. A blight seems to follow its steps. The very soil which the slave tills seems cursed with progressive barrenness. And while, under the judicious culture of freemen, soils are found to improve; no soil, however fertile, can resist the deteriorating effects of slave cultivation. One obvious cause of this is, that slaves eat no beef, and wear no shoes. There is, therefore, no call for that quantity of cattle, which, both by their manure, and by that change of crops which their due sustenance renders necessary, serves to renew the fertility of the soil.†

However, it is the effect of this vicious system on the happiness of the slave, far more than on the interests of the master, which we are anxious to press on the public attention. Again and again have the West Indians endeavoured to persuade the public that the comfort and happiness of their slaves depend on the large profits of the masters; and statesmen of no mean name have allowed themselves to be imposed upon by such representations. No delusion can be more complete than this. The happiness and comfort of the slaves do indeed depend on the profitableness of their labour, but in an inverse ratio. The severity

\* We are aware that this statement has been controverted by no mean authority; we mean that of Major Moody, who, with his usual plausibility, but with a singular infelicity in this case, endeavours to prove it to be untrue that machinery for relieving negro labour has been neglected; because, as he tells us, there are steam engines of great power erected in the West Indies for grinding the sugar cane; and because there are waggons there for conveying the sugars to market. Now we can easily conceive how the introduction of steam engines may increase the demand for slave labour in the cultivation of the cane, which the planters have thus acquired increased facilities of grinding; but this, so far from lightening the toils of the field, is only calculated to aggravate them. In Demerara, for example, there are steam engines enow, but no ploughs. The land is there universally dug by the hoe in the hands of men and women. It is, therefore, trifling with an important subject, to reply to such a statement by referring to the use of machinery, when the machinery which is used, instead of tending to abate the intensity of negro labour, tends only to a severer exaction of it.

† To be fully satisfied on this point, and to see how, of necessity, the value of land is deteriorated by slavery, and advanced by freedom, the reader has only to consult two pamphlets of Mr. Cropper, entitled, Relief for West Indian Distress, and the Injurious Effects of High Prices on the condition of Slavery: and one on the Injurious Effects of Slave Labour, first published in America, and since re-published by the Anti-Slavery Society.

of exaction and the waste of life may be measured, indeed, in the case of the wretched slave, by the profitableness of the cultivation in which he is employed; and from which the only advantage he derives, is that, like the loom for the produce of which there is an increased demand, he is worn out the sooner. Such indeed is the malignant nature of slavery, that it converts those very circumstances which are ordinarily the most beneficial into curses. The increased demand for the produce of his labour, which raises the wages of the freeman and enlarges his comforts, serves only, in the case of the slave, to quicken the impulse of the cartwhip, and to grind him sooner to dust. The superior fertility of the soil he cultivates produces a like effect. Those who are desirous of satisfying themselves on this point may consult the Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society, p. 16 to 33. Without, therefore, entering at large into the argument, it is clear that this view of the subject, and this alone, satisfactorily explains the facts of the case; explains, that is to say, why in the least productive of our slave colonies, and where no sugar is grown, and consequently no stimulus applied by bounties and protecting duties, the slaves increase most rapidly: while in Demerara, the most productive of our slave colonies, which makes the largest returns to the labour of the slave, and receives therefore the largest proportion of the bounties and protecting duties, the slaves decrease more rapidly than they increase in the Bahamas. Nay, throughout the whole range of the sugar colonies, the rate of mortality may be measured by the productiveness of the soil, and the consequent share which the planters receive of this great pauper fund,—this direct incentive to improvidence and waste of life,—this infallible stimulus to neglect and oppression on the part of the slave holders.\*

On this ground then we make our firm and earnest appeal to the parliament and people of this country, against the monopoly of the slave holders. The existence of slavery, as it exists in our slave colonies, is a crime, in the guilt of which those who with their eyes open yield it their support, must be considered as more or less participating. Now the most effective support given to slavery in the present day, is to be found in this monopoly, and in the protection thereby given to slave holders, against the competition of free labour. Can it be said that there is either reason or justice in compelling those who detest and reprobate this system, to continue to pay a heavy contribution, not

\* The effect of slavery in demoralizing both master and slave is well known. Its effect in impoverishing the planter, in proportion to the largeness of his apparent profits, seems an anomaly somewhat more difficult of explanation. The late statistical returns from the West Indies, (see Reporter, No. 19, p. 282, &c.) go to prove this fact, that not only the misery of the slave, but the distress of the planter, will be found to run parallel with the fertility of the soil he cultivates, and the consequent profits of his culture and high appreciation of his slaves. If we take the Colonies which are the most fertile, and where the value of slaves is nearly three times as high as in many of the other Colonies, for example Demerara, Berbice, and Trinidad, there the number of slaves sold in execution is nearly three times as great as elsewhere. The average price of slaves in Demerara and Berbice is 83*l.* sterling; what it is in Trinidad does not appear. The average price of slaves in the Islands of St. Vincent's, Tortola, Bahamas, St. Kitt's, Barbadoes, Dominica, Grenada, and Nevis, appears to be about 28*l.* sterling. The sales of slaves in execution in the three former Colonies, however, amount to one in twenty eight; and in the eight latter to one in eighty. We repeat the reflection we have already made on this extraordinary fact, that it seems to afford "a presumption, that by the ordination of providence, the rigorous exaction of servile labour, in despite of the calculations of a sordid and heartless cupidity, may be expected to issue in the blasted hopes of the oppressor."

for the privilege of putting an end to it, but with the certain effect of maintaining, nay, of aggravating and perpetuating its evils?

#### A NEW REASON FOR ABOLISHING THE MONOPOLY.

It becomes the more incumbent on the friends of the negro race, to act on these views of the subject, so far, at least, as to deprive slavery of the factitious support which is given to it by means of bounties and protecting duties, because the hope of arriving at the extinction of slavery by other means we fear is daily lessening. The last number of the Reporter sufficiently proves the determination of the colonial legislatures to adopt no effectual measures for bringing about that consummation; and the tendency of certain pamphlets, understood to be official, to lower down or fritter away the original propositions on the subject of reform, and especially that which gave to slaves a power of redeeming themselves at a fair appraisement, cannot but increase the apprehension of delay and disappointment. Emboldened by these apparent vacillations on the part of some official men, the West Indians have come forward and published a manifesto under the name of Alexander Macdonnell, Esq., the purport of which is to represent this species of manumission, which he terms "compulsory manumission," as being *contrary to the spirit of the parliamentary resolutions of 1823; as an infringement of the rights of property; as injurious to the well being of the slaves; and as endangering the safety of the colonies.* It is sufficient to state these propositions, to prove their extravagance and their fallacy. That to give the slave the power, by the fruits of his own industry, of obtaining the manumission of himself, his wife, or children, should be injurious to his well being, and dangerous to the peace of the colonies, is a statement so absurd in itself, and so opposed to all experience, not only in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, but in our own, that we may safely leave it to the scorn it merits.\* Then as to being an infringement on the rights of property; what bill for turnpikes, canals, or docks in this country, does not involve a greater and more direct infringement on the rights of property, without the slightest imputation of illegality or injustice? Or what general measure of policy has ever been adopted less liable to such a charge, and in which loss and inconvenience to private individuals are more sedulously guarded against? That it violates the spirit of Mr. Canning's resolutions, is a view of the subject reserved for the ingenuity of Mr. Macdonnell to discover. We believe that Mr. Canning and Lord Bathurst understand the purpose and intent of their own resolutions better than Mr. Macdonnell; and so far have the great body of the colonists, at home and abroad, been from understanding them differently, that on no occasion, which we can recollect, of discussions either in parliament, or in the colonial assemblies, has it been intimated that the Government, in giving to the slave the power of redeeming himself and his family by the fruits of his industry,

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\* In our own slave colonies in the West Indies there are about 100,000 emancipated slaves or their descendants. In this number it does not appear that there is above one in three or four hundred who receives the slightest relief as paupers. Their general respectability and their loyalty are admitted; and the peace and safety of the colonies are in fact in their hands; as they form the strength of the local militia.

had been guilty of the slightest deviation from the letter or spirit of their own resolutions of May 1823.

If, however, such be the doctrine which, at this late hour, the Colonists mean to maintain; if they mean to shut out all hope of manumission from the slave independently of the will of his master; and thus do their utmost to perpetuate the horrid institution of slavery for ages and generations to come,—how much more incumbent does it become upon the Parliament and people of this country to withdraw all those factitious props by which we have aggravated its malignity, while we have shared its guilt? We have here, in short, the very strongest additional motives for labouring to put an end to bounties and protecting duties without a moment's delay; being convinced, as has been well said:

“That, whatever difficulties the Slave question may present under other aspects, the people of England will thus at least be delivered from the bitter consciousness of maintaining, by oppressive and unnecessary premiums, a system of iniquity degrading to the national character, subversive of every legal and constitutional principle, and wholly at variance with the dictates of sound policy, humanity, and justice.”\*

#### HAYTI.—CODE RURAL.

In our last Number (pp. 309, 310) we gave a brief account of an attempt that had been made to pass upon the public an old proclamation of Toussaint, of the year 1799, enforcing field labour by a kind of military discipline, as a new and genuine proclamation by Boyer in the year 1826. This was effected by the very simple process of omitting the beginning and the conclusion of the original proclamation, and substituting Boyer's name for that of Toussaint Louverture. The declared object of giving this document, thus fabricated, to the world, was to prove that labour was compulsory in Hayti as well as in Jamaica. That such a clumsy and fraudulent expedient should have been resorted to, in order to establish this point, may be accepted as a proof of the absence of all better evidence.—But it is pretended, and Mr. Hibbert, the agent of Jamaica, has published a letter in the newspapers to that effect, that though it cannot now be denied that this proclamation, on which so much undue stress had been laid, is false and fabricated; yet, there does exist a Code Rural, enacted in April or May, 1826, by the Legislature of Hayti, by which the same important truth, that negroes will not labour without compulsion, is fully established.—Mr. Hibbert avows, indeed, with a generous self-devotion, that the act of affixing Boyer's name to the previously truncated proclamation, was his act, and not that of his constituents in Jamaica. He adopts, however, and, after time for reflection, repeats their comment on the Code Rural, as exhibiting a system by which the “*driver* is made answerable for the labourer, the overseer for his *drivers*,” &c. Mr. Hibbert says he is in possession of the code. He could therefore have ascertained the accuracy of this comment. But if we may judge of its accuracy by that part of the code which he has chosen to publish, nothing can be more unlike the truth. In the extracts which he has exhibited, (and we presume he has given such as are best adapted to his purpose and that of his constituents), there is no mention made of the *driver*, nor the

\* Surrey Anti-Slavery Petition.

slightest allusion to such a personage. On the contrary, the whole system, as far as it is rendered intelligible by the few sentences which have been selected for the public eye, is absolutely inconsistent with any such idea. It seems to relate to the due fulfilment of contracts between farmers and their workmen;—to the regulation of the periods and hours of work;—to an equal distribution of the labour of repairing the highways;—and to the repression of vagrancy. And in these respects it bears a close analogy to the laws on the same subject which exist in England. Every thing is decided by the law and by the magistrate; and the penalties consist in all cases either of a pecuniary fine or imprisonment, or, as the gentlemen of the Jamaica Assembly tell us, in the forfeiture of wages.\*

Mr. Hibbert pretends to be very angry that a Mr. Henderson, a merchant of Hayti, and some other writer on the subject, should have attributed to the gentlemen of Jamaica, with whom these rash publications and incorrect statements originated, a malignity of purpose as respected the people of Hayti. We will not enter into the dispute between Mr. Hibbert and Mr. Henderson, especially as we understand the latter gentleman to have quitted England. But we cannot wonder that Mr. Henderson, or any man of plain understanding, who finds before him a *prima facie* case of forgery as it respects one document, and of the grossest misrepresentation as it respects another—the whole accompanied by the most injurious as well as unfounded inferences—should employ a somewhat ardent expression of feeling towards those whom he deemed the deliberate and wilful calumniators, by such means, of himself and his Haytian brethren. We hope soon to see the whole of this disputed code before the public. In the mean time, we would remark, that our impression of the probable state of the case is simply this; an impression, however, for the accuracy of which we do not vouch.—The government of Hayti had contracted to make certain large payments to France in consideration of the recognition by that country of its independence. Good faith required that these payments should be punctually made; and justice required that the contributions necessary to that end should be borne as fairly and equally as possible by the Haytian people. How could this be effected but by requiring every individual, whose freedom had been secured by the arrangement, to contribute his fair share of the cost of it? To effect this object, the Legislature of Hayti, elected by the people of Hayti, appear to have passed a law to prevent the whole burden of that contribution from falling, as it must otherwise do, on the industrious part of the population; and to oblige the most idle and worthless to lend their aid. A measure proceeding on such a general principle as this would be beneficial in every state as well as in Hayti, and at all times equally with the present. Why it was adopted at this particular time, and not before, by the Haytian Legislature, is probably to be accounted for by the new and

\* It is a strong indication of the disingenuousness with which the particular clauses of this Code, given to the public, have been selected, that but for this unguarded observation, we should not have known that wages had formed a part of the case at all. Every article in the Code which relates to wages has been carefully left out in these *excerpts*. The entire Code, however, will soon be forthcoming.



peculiar exigencies of their situation. Whether all the regulations of the code, when they shall be made known, will prove to be such as sound political economists can approve, is another question. Judging, however, from the brief specimen of it which we have been permitted to peruse, we should say, that though exceptions may be taken to some of its regulations, yet, on the whole, it indicates a vast advance in freedom and civilization since the period of Toussaint's proclamation; and furnishes abundant proof that the condition of the Haytian labourer is as remote from that of the colonial slave, as the condition of the slave differs from that of the peasant of England or of France.

#### OUTRAGEOUS ATTACK ON METHODISTS IN JAMAICA.

On the 13th instant, Dr. Lushington brought to the knowledge of the House of Commons, the following act of lawless violence, almost equalling in atrocity the outrage committed, in Barbadoes, against Mr. Shrewsbury.—On Christmas day last, the militia regiment had been called out, in the parish of St. Ann, to keep watch and ward over the slave population; and to protect the property, and preserve the safety of their masters. The regiment assisted at divine service, which was performed at the parish church, and was addressed in a sermon, by the Rev. Mr. Bridges, late Chaplain to the Bishop of Jamaica. That discourse was replete with inflammatory language, directed against the Methodist Missionaries in the Island, and inciting to acts of outrage and bloodshed. The white company of the regiment was, in the course of the afternoon, left on guard in the vicinity of the house of Mr. Radcliffe, the Methodist Missionary. Towards midnight an attack was made on the missionary meeting-house, and on the house of Mr. Radcliffe the missionary, inhabited by himself, his wife, children, and servants. The attack was made with muskets and horse-pistols, and fourteen musket balls were fired into the house, not hurriedly, but by word of command. The guard was all this time on duty in the close vicinity of Mr. Radcliffe's house, but no attempt at interference took place on their part; and it was owing, not to the humanity of this white company, or to the Christian exhortations of the Reverend Mr. Bridges, but to the accident of the balls not having taken effect, that murder was not added to outrage and violence. Dr. L's object in moving for information on the subject, was to induce the House, by instituting an enquiry, not only to visit the guilty with punishment, but to prevent all encroachment on the principles of toleration and religious freedom. To the Wesleyan Missionaries this country was indebted for the small portion of instruction and religious knowledge at present to be found among the lower classes and slave population of the West Indies. But for them, the whole of the black population of the West Indies would have continued in a state of idolatry and paganism. Government had most wisely determined to give a Bishop and additional Clergy to the Island, but he should grieve, if the Church Establishment there were to engage in the wicked attempt to exterminate all other sects. If such an attempt were made to oppress them, he would be the first to come forward to enable them to obtain that protection to which, by the laws of God and of the land, they were entitled.—

What an example of subordination too did these white militia men set to their free black and coloured brethren in arms; and to the slave population?—But the matter did not stop here. On the Sunday following, (two days only having elapsed from the commission of the outrage,) the same clergyman alluded to the act of violence which had been perpetrated, and repeated the same sermon. It was right the House should know who this Rev. Mr. Bridges was. He was a Gentleman who had first rendered himself notorious by a libel on the character of Mr. Wilberforce, whom he had thus designated:—“*Mel in ore, Verba lactis, Fel in corde, Fraus in factis.*” For this mode of treating this venerated name, Mr. Bridges had been rewarded with a considerable sum of money, by the House of Assembly; and the Bishop of Jamaica had further rewarded him, by appointing him his chaplain, though at the time of the outrage, the Rev. Gentleman no longer continued to hold this office. He hoped some way might be discovered to punish not only those who had fired the bullets, but the instigator to that act of violence. He was not surprised at the act, after the transaction which had occurred at Barbadoes, and the impunity with which it had been attended. True, he had a better opinion of Jamaica, than of Barbadoes. He understood, that soon after this occurrence, Col. Cox had endeavoured to investigate it. He did not know the result of the investigation, but hoped it would be attended with better consequences than the inquiry at Barbadoes. He trusted, the colony would anticipate the mother country in the adoption of a remedy for the evil. After what had occurred at Barbadoes, however, he was resolved not to allow one instance of intolerance in the West India Islands to pass, without immediately bringing it before the House. The Hon. and Learned Member concluded by moving for “Copies of all dispatches received, or which may be received from Jamaica, respecting an attack on the Wesleyan Missionary Meeting, and dwelling-houses, in the parish of St. Ann, in the month of December last.”

Government, it appears, has as yet received no official information on the subject.

#### PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS RELATIVE TO SUGAR DUTIES.

The subject of the Sugar Duties has been fixed several times for discussion in the House of Commons, but owing to various accidental causes has hitherto been postponed. It is understood, however, that in the progress of the Annual Duties' Bill through the House, that part of it which respects Sugar will be fully canvassed. Besides this, Mr. Whitmore has given notice of a specific motion, in the ensuing month of May, on the subject of the restrictions which cramp our East India Trade. Several petitions have already been sent up from those commercial and manufacturing districts which are more immediately interested in this question;—and who, indeed, is not interested in it?—A Petition from Manchester, signed by near 400 of the principal merchants and manufacturers of that important place, contains a statement, which is substantially, to the following effect, viz:

That, in consequence of the restrictions imposed by this country upon the importation of the raw produce of other countries, and the general commercial

policy heretofore adopted, Nations which were formerly our best customers, have been induced to lay heavy duties upon our manufactures, to obtain machinery or the means of making it from this neighbourhood, and to prevail upon our workmen to emigrate. By these means they have been enabled to produce a considerable proportion of the goods with which we formerly supplied them, and, in some instances, to rival us in other markets.

That these circumstances have largely contributed to the present state of extreme suffering and privation to which the labouring classes in this town and neighbourhood are subjected, and for which, if some remedy is not applied, by opening fresh markets for the produce of their industry, the Petitioners apprehend they must see these sufferings and privation of their workmen still continue or increase; the means of supplying them with employment daily diminish; and their best artisans leave them to find a more ample subsistence by transferring their abilities to the services, and for the aggrandisement of rival nations.

That this country has, within her own dominions, the means of accomplishing much, by facilitating the trade with our East Indian possessions—A trade which, though it has been progressively and rapidly increasing from this neighbourhood, and has become highly important, would have been much more extended had it not been obstructed by the difficulty of obtaining profitable returns; a difficulty caused in a great measure by many important articles of East Indian produce, being burthened with higher duties than similar articles imported from our West India Colonies.

That the ground of reciprocal advantage on which the protection was granted to the West Indians, has now ceased by the removal of the restrictions imposed upon them as regarded the shipping of their produce to this country.

That, although many European nations and the United States of America are allowed a free trade with our East Indian possessions, and by obtaining the produce of these countries in exchange for their own, become carriers of it to other parts of the world; yet, still if the duties upon East Indian productions were only equal to those upon West Indian produce, this country might enter into a fair competition with them, and thereby be enabled to feed her famishing workmen, employ more largely her shipping, increase the revenue, and more firmly rivet, by the bonds of mutual interest and mutual benefits, the connection between Great Britain, and this most important of her dependencies.

That, as the bounty paid upon the refined sugar raises the price of all sugar consumed in this country, and is not only a heavy burden upon the people, but limits the consumption of that article, and is, therefore, an obstacle in the way of a more extended sale of our manufactures, the Petitioners, therefore, earnestly pray, that the House will take these subjects into their serious consideration, and by removing the bounty now paid on the export of refined sugar, and reducing the duties upon the imports from our East Indian possessions to the same scale as those paid upon similar articles from the West Indian Colonies, allow the Petitioners that room for the employment of capital and extension of industry to which, in accordance with the line of policy sanctioned by Parliament, they beg leave humbly to represent that they consider themselves entitled.

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*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.*

London, 18, Aldermanbury, April 30, 1827.

No. 23.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

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

### CORRECTION OF A MISTAKE.—RURAL CODE OF HAYTI.— REMARKS UPON IT.—WEST INDIA REPORTER, &c.

*Correction of a mistake in the last Number.*—An error of some magnitude crept into a note at p. 316 of our last Number, which was discovered in time to be corrected only in a part of the impression. It arose from confounding, in the haste of preparation, the column which exhibited the whole export of sugar from this country, including both British plantation and Foreign, with the amount of raw sugar exported in a refined state. The Note ought to have stood as follows:

The bounty on sugar, which amounts to about three shillings a cwt. (half having been taken off last year,) draws from the Exchequer, for an export of about 740,000 cwt., the sum of about 111,000*l.* The additional price levied on the public on account of our internal consumption, which amounts to about 3,000,000 cwt. is about 450,000*l.*, making together 560,000*l.* The effect of the protecting duty of 10s. against East India, and 5*s.* against foreign sugar cannot be very accurately ascertained. If we estimate it at the low rate of 6*s.* a cwt. 900,000*l.* more is thus taken out of the pockets of the British consumers, making a grand total of upwards of 1,460,000*l.* or at the average rate of from 800 to 900*l.* a year to each slave-holding sugar planter. This sum, indeed, is divided among them in very unequal proportions, some of them importing more largely than others; but it may be estimated to yield to the sugar farmer at least eight pounds sterling for every ton of sugar he imports. That is to say, the rich and the poor of this country are burdened to this enormous extent, not only to supply luxuries to about 1300 sugar farmers, but to enable them, with profit to themselves, to go on wasting the lives of their slaves, at a rate which would ultimately unpeopled the world.

### RURAL CODE OF HAYTI.

It is a satisfaction to us to have it in our power to lay before the public a literal translation of the whole of this interesting and much misrepresented document. It is printed in a 12mo. form, and the title page runs thus—"Rural Code of Hayti. Port au Prince, from the printing press of the Government. July, 1826."

We shall give it as it stands, only adding a note or two where they may appear necessary for the purpose of elucidation.

Liberty.

REPUBLIC OF HAYTI.

Equality.

## RURAL CODE.

The Chamber of the Representatives of Communes, on the proposition of the President of Hayti, and having heard the Report of its Committee of the Interior, has passed the six following laws, constituting the Rural Code of Hayti.

## LAW, No. I.

## ON THE GENERAL ARRANGEMENTS RELATIVE TO AGRICULTURE.

Article 1. Agriculture, being the main source of the prosperity of the state, shall enjoy the special protection and encouragement of the Civil and Military authorities.

2. The citizens, of the profession of agriculture, cannot be taken off from their pursuits, except in the cases pointed out by law.

3. All the citizens being bound to give their aid towards supporting the state, either by their services or their industry; those who shall not be employed in civil offices, or called out on military service; those who shall not be engaged in any business subject to the *patent*;\* those who shall not be employed as working artificers, or as domestic servants; those who shall not be employed in the cutting of wood fit for exportation; and those, in fine, who shall not be able to shew that they possess the means of subsistence, shall be bound to cultivate the earth.

4. Citizens of the agricultural profession shall not be at liberty to quit the country, in order to reside in cities or towns, without the authorization of the Justice of Peace of the Commune they wish to quit, and of that of the Commune where they mean to fix themselves; and the Justice of Peace shall not give his authorization, until he has assured himself that the applicant is a person of good behaviour, who has correctly conducted himself in the canton he desires to quit, and that he has the means of subsistence in the town where he wishes to reside. All who shall not conform to these rules, shall be considered and dealt with as vagrants.

5. The children, of either sex, whom their parents (themselves engaged in agriculture) shall desire to send into the cities or towns to be apprenticed or educated, are not to be received either by master workmen, or by the teachers of public or private schools, without a certificate of the Justice of Peace, which certificate shall be granted at the request either of the proprietor or principal renter of the place, or of the officer of the rural police, or of the father or the mother of the child. Every contravention of this rule shall be subject to a fine of 25 dollars, to be paid by the person who shall have received the child without authorization.

6. Recruiting for the army can only take place by order of the Pre-

\* A tax so named imposed on merchants, shopkeepers, tradesmen, &c.

sident, and it shall not extend to citizens engaged in agriculture, unless the Chief of the State, induced by a pressing danger, shall give orders to that effect.

7. No shop, either wholesale or retail, shall be established, and no commerce in the produce of the Island shall be carried on in the country parts on any pretext whatsoever. From this rule are excepted raw sugars delivered to the refineries, and molasses to the distilleries, and cotton in the seed when sent to the mill to be ginned.

8. Nevertheless the *patented* travelling pedlars, residing in, and going from, cities or towns, may, while travelling over the country, sell provisions, foreign merchandize, and hardware.\*

9. The houses or cottages which private persons have already erected in the interior of the Communes, in situations where there is no regular township, but merely a collection of cottages, whether for their own accommodation or to let to others, shall be subject to the same tax, on the value of the rent of those houses, which is payable in cities and towns. In future, however, no cottage shall be erected in the country, where there is no recognized township, except when connected with a rural establishment.

10. No proprietor of land bordering on the sea shall possess boats or vessels except for the transport of his produce to the neighbouring city or town; and for this he shall have, from the Justice of Peace of the Commune, a licence which shall be delivered gratis; and on no pretence shall these boats be at liberty to carry on the coasting trade of other ports, or of the adjacent little islands, nor the business of fishing, except for the exclusive use of the plantation.

11. All the fines and forfeitures imposed by the Rural Code, shall be inflicted by the Justices of Peace, when not exceeding the value of 100 dollars, and, when they exceed that sum, by the civil tribunals. The half of the said fines and forfeitures shall belong to the public treasury, the other half to the informer.

12. On the day of the festival of agriculture, (the first of May) parties of cultivators from each section shall attend, at the place where the Council of Notables meets, with samples of their produce. The Council of Notables, in the presence of all the authorities, shall crown the cultivator who shall have best cultivated his farm, in each Section, and in each kind of culture; and he shall receive a prize of encouragement. Exact details of these proceedings shall be drawn up and made public.

13. Every year, on the first of September, the Councils of Notables shall address, to the President of Hayti, a circumstantial report respecting the state of agriculture in each Commune, accompanied by their observations as to the best means of improving it.

14. At the end of the year, the Commandants of Departments, shall, in like manner, render to the President of Hayti an account of the state of agriculture in their respective departments, and also of the state of the roads and high ways.

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\* The articles 7 and 8 seem framed in the absurd spirit of many of our own old laws. They are probably intended to secure the revenue by confining the sale of taxable commodities and the residence of taxed (patented) traders to the towns.

## LAW, No. II.

## ON THE GENERAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE DIFFERENT AGRICULTURAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

## CHAPTER I.

*Rules relating to the administration of agricultural establishments as respects the proprietors of the soil.*

SECTION I.—*Of Landmarks, Boundaries, and Establishments.*

15. All the landed properties situated in the country, and proceeding from grants made by the State, whether under the title of national property, or under that of partial gift, which have not yet been surveyed and measured, must be so within the space of one year from the date of the promulgation of the present code, under the penalty of a fine of one dollar for every *carreau* of land, to be paid by the proprietor. With a view to the due execution of this regulation, the Justice of Peace of the Commune shall, after the lapse of the above interval, on a declaration being made to him of the facts, employ a surveyor duly commissioned, to measure and draw a plan of the unsurveyed grounds at the expense of the delinquent grantee; when the amount of the fine shall be fixed, and levied together with the expense of the survey.

16. From the date of the promulgation of this law, no sale of property, situated in the country, can be executed before a notary, if that property shall not have been previously surveyed, and the boundaries previously recognized by the title-deeds; nor in any case can a partial sale take place unless the land shall have been previously surveyed. Notaries acting in contravention of this article shall incur the penalties of the law.

17. All grants of land made previous to the promulgation of the present code, and on which, in a year from that time, no settlement shall have begun; and all grants made subsequent to that time, on which, in a year from the date of the grant, no settlement shall have commenced, shall revert to the domain of the state; and the title-deed shall be given up and sent back to the Government.

18. To carry the last regulation into effect, the officer of Rural police, in conjunction with the Council of Agriculture, shall report to the Justice of Peace, and the military Commandant of the Commune, the uncultivated state of the grant: and these, after ascertaining the correctness of this Report, shall examine and subscribe it, and then address it to the Commandant of the Department, who, after having obtained proof of the fact, shall withdraw the title-deed, and send it to the Government.

19. A settlement will be considered as begun, when there shall be a garden cultivated according to the rules established by law, and the extent of which shall be duly proportioned to the number of cultivators attached to the property.

20. The proprietors of cultivated lands, which are contiguous to each other, shall be bound, at their common expense, adequately to fence their properties. Any one refusing to do so shall be compellable by course of law.

21. The proprietors of rural estates are bound to cause to be fixed, during any surveys made at their requisition, solid landmarks in iron, or in masonry work, or in durable wood, under pain of a fine of five dollars for every landmark which may be wanting.

22. The proprietors who shall have neglected to execute the preceding regulation shall be bound, besides paying the fine, to pay the artificer who shall be employed, by the orders of the Justice of the Peace of the Commune, to fix the requisite landmark.

SECTION II.—*Of the obligations imposed on the proprietors or administrators of rural property.*

23. It is specially forbidden to cut down the wood on the crest of mountains and for a hundred paces of their descent, or at the head or in the environs of springs, or on the banks of rivers. The proprietors of lands watered by springs, or rivers, must surround the head of those springs, and plant the borders of the rivers, with plantain trees, bamboos, and other trees calculated to promote coolness.

24. When a proprietor intends to set fire to new wood, or to a field of old canes, or to savannahs, or to any other kind of field, he shall be bound, twenty-four hours before, to apprise all the neighbours bordering upon him of his intention, under the penalty of paying for all the damage which the fire may occasion.

25. As soon as a fire shall break out on an estate, the neighbouring proprietors and cultivators shall be bound to repair thither, in order to assist in arresting its progress.

26. It is forbidden to kindle a fire in the savannahs, or in the fields or gardens of plantations, without the express permission of their proprietors, renters, managers, or conductors.

27. There must not be kept on estates appropriated to cultivation, manufactures, or other establishments, any more cattle than are required for carrying on the work of them, or for the use of the proprietors, managers, conductors, renters or cultivators; and these animals must be kept during the day in herds, and at night in pens or inclosed fields.

28. Animals of the horse kind, horned cattle, swine, &c. appropriated to breeding, cannot be kept except on breeding establishments according to the fourth law relating to such establishments.

29. No proprietor, renter, or manager of a plantation can establish on his estate a system contrary to that established by law.

30. No company or association of cultivators, fixed on the same plantation, shall be allowed to rent the whole of the estate on which they reside, in order to manage it by themselves as a partnership.

31. The cottages or dwellings of the cultivators must be built on one and the same point of the plantation to which they are attached.

CHAPTER II.

*Of cultivation generally.*

32. The principal branch of cultivation consists in the raising of plants and trees yielding produce for exportation to foreign countries,



grain of all descriptions, and all kinds of food and roots designed for the subsistence of the population.

33. All who carry on this principal branch of culture, are not subject to the territorial and land tax, except on the gross produce fit for exportation which they shall have got in.

34. The secondary branch of cultivation consists of the culture merely of pot herbs, of flowers, of fruit trees, of provisions, and of fodder, when the growth of these takes place on estates which are not established for carrying on the principal branch of cultivation.

35. Those whose establishment is specially directed to the secondary branch of cultivation are subject to the territorial and land tax on the estimated value of their produce in each six months.

36. On every rural establishment, they shall be bound to cultivate provisions, grain, fruit trees, such as the bread tree, &c., sufficient for the sustenance of the persons employed there.

37. All the gardens, whether they produce provisions, or grain, must be carefully attended to, under the responsibility of the proprietor, reuter or manager, who, in case of neglect, shall be condemned to a fine of from three to fifteen dollars.

38. On every plantation the cultivators attached to it, and who work for a fourth of the produce, shall be bound to have, for their personal use, a garden of provisions, which they shall cultivate during their hours or days of repose.

39. With this view the proprietors, renters, or managers shall be bound to place, at the disposal of the cultivators, the land necessary for the formation of their private gardens.

40. The dikes, reservoirs, and conduits which serve to supply and distribute the water required for the inhabitants, both for irrigation, and for every other useful purpose, shall be kept in order by all the parties interested, who shall be bound to contribute to the labours necessary to that end. No one can refuse to share in these labours; nor can he alienate his neighbour's share of the water without his consent. Every one acting contrary to these rules shall pay a fine of from ten to fifty dollars, and shall be bound to repair at his own charge the conduit which he shall have obstructed or destroyed.

41. When on any rural property the produce of it shall be on the point of being packed in sacks, bales, casks, or other packages, the officer of the Rural Police of the Section, shall have the right of examining it, to satisfy himself that there is no fraud; and when there is, he shall stop the delivery, and immediately report the matter to the Justice of Peace of the Commune. If the produce has only been badly prepared, he shall suspend its removal, and oblige the parties to clean it anew.

42. The Justice of Peace, on receiving the report, shall appoint skilful persons to examine the produce, and if fraud should be proved, the produce shall be forfeited to the State.

43. The produce, intended for exportation, cannot quit the plantation to be carried to the cities or towns, and delivered for sale, without a permit from the proprietor, when he resides on the estate, or, when he does not reside, from the officer of the Rural Police of the Section.

The permit shall be furnished gratis, on unstamped paper, by the officer of the Police, who shall be bound to register it.

44. All produce removed in contravention of this regulation, shall be seized on the way, and taken to the Justice of Peace of the Commune, who shall ascertain whether the produce has not been stolen, in order that it may be sent back to the proprietor, and that the presumed offender may be prosecuted. If it should appear that the proprietor himself had failed to furnish the permit, he shall pay a fine of from three to five dollars.

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LAW, No. III.

CONCERNING THE MUTUAL CONTRACTS BETWEEN THE PROPRIETORS OR PRINCIPAL RENTERS, AND THE CULTIVATORS OR LABOURERS, AND THE RECIPROCAL OBLIGATIONS OF BOTH.

CHAPTER I.

*General Regulations.*

45. Those persons who shall not be in the actual service of the state, as soldiers, mechanics, or otherwise, and whose profession it is to cultivate the ground, or to cut timber for exportation, shall be obliged, for their mutual security, to enter into a reciprocal engagement with the proprietor or chief renter of the rural property, or of the woodland, where they are to exercise their industry. The contract may be entered into either collectively or individually, at the pleasure of the contracting parties.

46. The duration of these contracts cannot be for a shorter time than two years, nor for a longer than nine years, in the case of the secondary branch of cultivation and manufactures; nor for a shorter time than three years, nor for a longer than nine, for the other branches of cultivation; nor for less than six months, nor longer than a year, for the cutting of wood for exportation.

47. The contract shall be made on stamped paper, before a Notary, who shall preserve a minute of it, and who must express clearly all the conditions entered into by the contracting parties, who shall be at liberty to make such stipulations as they shall judge suitable, provided these do not contravene the regulations of the present code.

48. Every proprietor, renter, or manager of a plantation, who shall there receive or admit any cultivators, without having made with them the contract required by the two preceding articles, shall be condemned for the first offence, to a fine of ten dollars for every person so received without a contract, and to double that sum in case of a second offence; and besides this, the proprietor, renter or manager, shall not be able to bring any action at law, against the cultivators who may have failed to fulfil their verbal agreements. The same rule will apply to wood cutters for exportation.

49. Every contract entered into with a cultivator, whose former contract shall not have been terminated, shall be null and void; and the cultivator, who shall have entered into this second contract, shall be sent back, at his own expense, to the property on which he had en-

gaged himself, and shall be subject to the fine fixed by the last Article.

50. The headmen of parties contracting to work for half of the produce shall share, in an equal proportion of half, with the principal proprietor of the plantation, in all they shall reap on that particular estate, in the way of fruit, provisions, pulse, grain, and produce of every kind.

51. Whenever, on sugar plantations, the labour shall be done for half of the produce, the proprietor, before the division is made, shall deduct a fifth part of the gross produce, as an equivalent for the hire of machinery, utensils, cattle, &c., employed in carrying on the work, and for the expense of repairs. In the culture of other articles the amount of the expenses caused by the rent, or by the charge of carrying on the work, shall be deducted previous to the division.

52. The Cultivators contracting to labour for a fourth part of the returns they produce, shall have for their share a fourth part of the gross of all they raise. They shall also enjoy the whole of what they raise on their own private gardens, cultivated by themselves during their hours or days of rest.

53. Whenever, in the great plantations of sugar, coffee, cotton, and indigo, the season shall require that the labour should be pressed with activity, the different associations labouring for half, employed on the same plantation, shall mutually assist each other in their labours, giving and repaying to each other an equal number of days' labour. The administrator of the property shall regulate this kind of mutual aid.

54. When the products or crops, whatever they be, shall be prepared and collected, whether they proceed from labourers working for a fourth, or associations labouring for a half, they cannot be removed from the property where they were grown, until a division shall have taken place between the proprietor or chief renter, and the cultivators labouring for a fourth, or associations for a half of the produce.

55. Upon sugar plantations, the division of the shares coming to the cultivators shall be made after the grinding of each piece of canes. On the plantations where they only cultivate provisions or grain; or cut wood for firewood or for charcoal, or for cabinet work or building; or raise fodder; or are engaged in other irregular works, the division shall be made to the workmen only every six months. On other plantations, as of coffee, cotton, cocoa, indigo, &c., the division shall take place at the end of the respective crops.

56. When the periods arrive for dividing the proceeds among the cultivators the officer of Rural Police of the Section in which the plantation is situated, shall be called by the proprietor, chief renter, or their manager, to witness the division. The accounts of the articles manufactured, or other products reaped, shall be exhibited, with a certificate of the price current, and one from the purchaser of the commodities mentioned in the last article. The list of persons entitled to share shall be settled, and the proceeds shall be reckoned up.

57. Each of the co-sharers shall be inscribed in the Distribution-List, according to their strength and activity and the time they have worked, either in the first, second, or third class. And the money to be

shared shall be divided into quarter shares, half shares, and whole shares. The conductors of the labours contracted for at a fourth of the produce, and the headmen of the associations labouring for a half, shall each have three whole shares. The head sugar-boilers, the head-waggoners, and, in short, the head of each department of labour, shall have two shares. The good workers of the first class, whether men or women, shall have a share and a half; those of the second, one share; those of the third, three quarters of a share; children from twelve to sixteen years of age, who have made themselves serviceable according to their capacities, and the old people who can only work moderately, half a share; and children from nine to eleven years who have been occupied according to their age and strength, and infirm persons, shall have a quarter share. The broken money, arising from the formation of the shares, shall go to augment the portion of those labourers who shall have displayed the greatest punctuality and perseverance in their labours.

58. There shall be furnished to the labourers daily tickets, to shew the days they were present at work. Every week these daily tickets shall be withdrawn and replaced by weekly tickets, which shall be brought into account when the division of the money, arising from the crops, takes place.

59. In no case shall the officer of the Rural Police of the Section withdraw, from the sums to be divided, any part for himself. He shall prepare a written statement of the division that has been made, which shall be addressed, along with the documents in verification of it, to the council of Notables of the Commune, there to be referred to, if necessary.

60. Proprietors, renters, or managers, cannot give a permit to a cultivator, or under-tenant, to travel in the same Commune, and to absent himself from his home and his labour for more than eight days, which permit shall be delivered gratis on unstamped paper, and examined and subscribed by the officer of Rural Police. When a permit is required for a longer time, the proprietor, chief renter, or manager, shall refer the matter to the commandant of the Commune.

## CHAPTER II.

### *Of the Obligations of Proprietors, Renters, or Managers, towards the Cultivators.*

61. Proprietors, renters, or managers, cannot employ, except in agricultural labour, and in such labour as is connected therewith, the cultivators who shall have contracted with them. They are bound to behave to them as good fathers of families.

62. Proprietors, or chief renters, shall furnish, at their cost and charge, the tools or implements of husbandry for the cultivators contracting to work for a fourth of the produce. These tools cannot be renewed, unless it is shewn that they have been worn out or broken in the service of the proprietors. The cultivator, however, who shall lose the tools supplied to him, shall be bound to replace them; and if he

does not, others will be furnished to him, the value of which shall be retained out of his portion of the income.

63. The proprietor, or chief renter, shall be bound to furnish, without expense, to the cultivators working for a fourth, the means of conveying their shares of the produce to the place of sale. Those associated for half shall convey it thither at their own charge.

64. When the proprietor or chief renter undertakes to sell, or cause to be sold, the portion of the produce coming to the cultivators working for a fourth, or to the associations labouring for a half, he shall be bound to furnish clear, legal, proof of the price current of the articles at the time they are sold, and to produce, at the time of dividing the proceeds, the certificate of the purchaser, as well as the attestation of the price current.

65. When the part of the produce coming to the cultivators working for a fourth, or for a half, shall be sold by the conductors of the workmen, or the headmen of the associations, these shall be equally bound to furnish proof of the price current of the article at the moment of sale, and to exhibit the certificate of the purchaser, (as fixed in the last article,) in order to shew that the co-sharers receive fairly that part of the produce of their labour to which they are entitled.

66. In no case can the proprietors or chief renters deduct any part of the share coming to the cultivators working for a fourth, or to the associations working for a half, in order to pay the managers: *their* salaries shall be placed to the account of the proprietor or chief renter.

67. Proprietors or renters shall be bound, under penalty of a fine of five to fifteen dollars, to agree beforehand with a medical practitioner, if there be one in the Commune, to look after their cultivators, and to furnish the necessary medicines; these medicines being furnished gratis to the cultivators contracting at a fourth; but being paid for, at cost price, when furnished to associations working for half, or to undertenants.

68. Proprietors and chief renters of rural properties, must look to it that the infant children on the property shall be well taken care of. To this end one or more females shall be expressly appointed to this charge, the remuneration for whose attention shall be paid by the cultivators, in proportion to the number of their children.

### CHAPTER III.

#### *Of the obligations of the Cultivators towards the Proprietors, Renters, or Managers.*

69. The cultivators shall be obedient and respectful to the proprietors and renters with whom they have contracted, as well as to the managers.

70. The cultivators are bound to execute, with zeal and punctuality, all the agricultural labours which shall be required of them by the proprietors, renters, or managers, with whom they shall have contracted.

71. The cultivators, whatever be the nature of their contract, shall be bound to devote their whole time to the labours they have engaged

to perform, and on no account to leave them. They shall not be at liberty to absent themselves from their habitation, except from Saturday morning to Monday at sunrise, without the consent of the proprietors, chief renters, or managers. On all the other working days they shall be bound to have a permit from the proprietor, chief renter, or manager, if they are not going out of the Commune. But if they are, the permit shall be examined and subscribed by the officer of the Rural Police of the Section, and by the commandant of the Place.

72. The cultivators working for a fourth, or associations for a half of the produce, shall be bound to prepare, and put in a state fit for delivery, the portion of the produce belonging to the proprietor or chief renter, and to convey that produce to the place of delivery, the proprietor or chief renter furnishing the means of transport.

#### CHAPTER IV.

*Of the under-contracts between the farmers contracting for half, and the cultivators employed by them.*

73. The sub-tenants, and the headmen of associated parties upon the plantations, shall have the power of forming sub-contracts directly with the cultivators; but they shall continue responsible to the proprietor or chief renter for the acts of the sub-contracting parties.

74. The number sub-contracting cannot exceed ten for each sub-tenant or headman of an association.

#### CHAPTER V.

*Of the rules relating to such as, being in the service of the republic, reside and labour on rural properties.*

75. Soldiers in active service or other persons, in the employment of the State, may make arrangements with proprietors or chief renters, and with headmen of associations working for half, or under tenants, to labour in cultivating the ground either for a fourth or a half, or as sub-tenants. In this case they shall be subject to all the obligations which they shall have contracted, and which shall be compatible with their public duties.

76. When soldiers or others, in the service of the State, who have fixed their residence on a plantation, shall not have contracted with the proprietor or renter of that property, they may still make arrangements with him either verbally or in writing, to work by the week, by the month, or by the job, at such price and on such terms as shall be agreed between them. But these soldiers shall be bound to give their assistance, without any payment on that account, in all the labours connected with the conduits for irrigation, and with the other wells and cisterns as well as the fences and enclosures of the gardens and savannahs, and the general maintenance of good order on the property.

77. When the soldiers or others, in the service of the State, shall not act agreeably to the two last articles, in regard to the proprietors or chief renters, they may be sent away from the property.

78. The soldiers or others, in the service of the State, who shall contract with proprietors or renters to work for wages by the week or otherwise, must respect and obey the said proprietors, renters, or managers of the property on which they shall labour.

79. When soldiers or others, in the service of the State, shall have been required by the proprietor, chief renter, or manager, to work by the day, by the week, or by the job, or otherwise, in a field cultivated by labourers for a fourth, or to assist in the manufacture, or gathering in of the crop of produce, the wages paid to this description of labourers shall be deducted from the mass of the proceeds of this labour before the fourth, coming to the cultivators, shall be deducted.

80. When labourers, such as are spoken of in the preceding article, shall be required, by the headman of an association working for half, to assist them in their labours, the wages paid to them shall be deducted from the portion coming to the associated body, before the distribution of it to that body can be made.—If these labourers should quit, of their own accord, the work for which they have been engaged, before the end of the week, they shall have no claim for the time they shall have worked during the former part of the same week.

#### CHAPTER VI.

*Of the method of terminating difficulties between proprietors, renters, managers, cultivators, associated persons, sub-tenants, &c.*

81. When differences shall arise between agricultural proprietors, principal renters, managers, and cultivators, associates for a half, or sub-tenants, the parties shall first carry their complaints or claims before the officer of Rural Police of the Section, who, assisted, if need be, by the Council of Agriculture of the quarter, shall forthwith employ himself in amicably terminating the differences, as far as they may be within his province.

82. In cases where the differences are of a nature not to be decided by the officer of Rural Police, assisted by the Council of Agriculture, he shall call upon the parties to choose arbiters, within the Section, to settle and decide their differences.

83. In cases where the differences cannot thus be settled by arbitration on the spot, or where the parties shall not have named arbiters, the officer of Rural Police shall wait till Saturday or Sunday in order to send the parties before the Justice of Peace of the Commune. The whole must be concluded within the space of six days at most.

84. The Justice of Peace shall be bound to decide the difference, and shall not be at liberty, under pain of being punished for a denial of justice, to allege the silence of the law on the case brought before him for his decision.

85. The Justice of Peace shall be bound to pronounce within twenty-four hours, at the utmost, after the appearance of the parties.

## LAW, No. IV.

## CONCERNING BREEDING FARMS.

## CHAPTER I.

*Of the establishment and administration of breeding farms.*

Article 86. Breeding farms cannot be established except in places sufficiently distant, not less at the least than a league, from the plantations cultivated for produce.

87. In future, in order to establish a breeding farm for horned cattle, it is necessary to be a proprietor of at least fifty *carreaux*\* of land, provided with the necessary pasturage; and for hogs twenty-five *carreaux*.

88. The number of keepers on breeding farms cannot exceed five men, comprising the master keeper, they having with them their wives and children.

89. Every keeper of a breeding farm, who shall find in the herds committed to his care, or in the savannahs of the breeding farm on which he is employed, any strange animals, shall be bound to give notice of them forthwith to the neighbouring cattle keepers; and if these animals should not belong to their cattle pens, then notice of them shall be given to the officer of the Rural Police of the Section.

90. After these strange animals shall have remained three months in the savannah of a breeding farm, without being reclaimed by their owners, they shall be taken by the cattle keeper before the Justice of Peace of the Commune, in order that they may be conducted to the pound.

91. As soon as an animal in a breeding farm shall appear to be attacked by a contagious disorder, it must, under pain of a fine of ten to twenty dollars, payable by the cattle keeper, be separated and shut out from all communication with the other cattle, in order to be taken proper care of till its cure or death.

92. Every animal dying in a breeding farm of a contagious disorder shall be burnt or buried.

93. It is forbidden, on pain of a fine of ten to twenty dollars, payable by every offender, to set fire to the savannahs of breeding farms without the permission of the officer of the Rural Police of the Commune.

94. When it shall happen that cattle die, on the plantations, of ordinary maladies, or by accident, if the proprietor or chief renter of the breeding farm is not present, the master keeper shall be bound to obtain an attestation of the death of the animal from the officer of the Rural Police, or from some of the neighbours; and the skin, having the stamp or mark, shall be produced to the proprietor, otherwise the keeper shall be bound to replace the animal.

95. The animals, not only those of the breeding farms, but those which are employed in the work of plantations, cannot be stamped except with cast stamps; and it is forbidden to make marks on these animals by the hand.

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\* A *carreau* contains about three acres.



## CHAPTER II.

*Of the contracts between the proprietors or renters of breeding farms and those employed on them.*

96. The proprietors or renters of breeding farms cannot receive on their farms any keepers or other persons, unless they have previously contracted with them agreeably to the article 47, of Law III.

97. The obligations imposed reciprocally on rural proprietors or renters, and the cultivators shall be common to the proprietors or renters of breeding farms, and all employed by them, in all that concerns good order and the general police.

98. Neither the master cattle keeper or any other cattle keeper can receive, on the breeding farm where they are employed, animals or cattle belonging to other people, without the consent of the proprietors or renters of the farm.

99. Neither the master cattle keeper nor the other keepers shall be at liberty to remove or sell any animal of the farm, without having, in writing, the consent of the proprietor or renter, and without a permit on stamped paper from the officer of the Rural Police of the Section, who shall be bound to register the permit with the stamp of the animals.

## LAW, No. V.

**ON THE CARE AND MANAGEMENT OF THE ANIMALS, AND THE DAMAGE THEY MAY DO IN THE FIELDS.**

100. Cattle belonging to cultivators, shall be kept in herds with those of the proprietor; and the keepers shall be paid their salary, half by the proprietor, and half by the cultivators.

101. It is forbidden to mutilate, maim, or kill beasts of burden, or horned cattle, found in the cultivated land, or gardens, having leaped over or forced the fences.

102. It is likewise forbidden to wound or kill sheep found in cultivated gardens, or enclosures.

103. Pigs and goats, found in cultivated gardens and enclosures, may be killed.

104. The animals enumerated in Articles 101 and 102, which may be found in cultivated gardens, shall be conducted, within twenty-four hours after their seizure, before a Justice of Peace, to be sent to the pound of the Commune, if within that time the owner do not withdraw them from the pen of the plantation in the gardens of which they may be found.

105. The officer of the Rural Police shall, within twenty-four hours after a declaration by the parties interested, be bound to draw up a written statement of the damage done by the animals, and send it to the Justice of Peace, unless the due compensation is voluntarily made to the owner of the damaged garden.

106. The officer of Rural Police shall take care to send the written statement to the Justice of Peace, in due form as above, that the said Justice may decide according to law.

107. The keepers who shall have suffered the animals mentioned in Article 27, to escape, when committed to their charge, shall be bound to pay the expences attending their capture, according to the tarif established by law.

108. Proprietors, renters, or managers of plantations, are expressly forbidden to make use in any manner for themselves of the cattle, taken in their gardens, during the time they shall remain in their pens before being sent to the pound; any violation of this article shall be punished by a fine of five to fifteen dollars.

109. The seizure of the animals mentioned in Articles 101 and 102, in gardens, when they are conducted to the pound of the Commune, shall be paid for as follows:—For each of the horse kind, one dollar; for each ass, seventy-five cents; for each horned animal, one dollar and a half; and for each ram or sheep, twenty-five cents: one half to belong to the seizer, and one half to the rural guards.

110. When the animals seized in gardens shall be withdrawn from the pen of the plantation, before being sent to the pound, there shall then be paid, and only to the persons who have taken them, half the penalty fixed by the last Article.

111. When an animal seized in a garden, and sent to the pen of the plantation, happens to die by accident, or otherwise, during the short time it remains there, or while passing to the residence of the Justice of Peace of the Commune, the officer of the Police shall be bound, by witnesses, to ascertain the cause of the death of the animal.

112. When the death of the animal shall have been caused by negligence, want of food, or violence, the proprietor, renter, or manager of the plantation shall pay its value, as estimated by arbitrators named by the Justice of the Peace of the Commune. The sum thus paid, shall be sent to the public administrator of the district, to be paid to the owner, should he appear, or, failing this, into the treasury. In all cases, the damage done by the animal shall be paid for out of these proceeds.

113. When animals seized in gardens, by virtue of Article 104, shall be taken to the Justice of Peace of the Commune, to be sent to the pound, if the owner consents to pay the damage done, and the expences of seizure, before they enter the pound, the Justice of Peace shall acquiesce.

114. Persons conducting herds of cattle from one Commune to another, whether to market, or for agriculture, shall be bound to provide themselves with a permit, stating the kind and number of the animals they are conducting, their description and marks.

115. The permits shall be delivered either by the Commandants of Communes; or given by the owners and examined and signed by the Commandants; or upon certificates furnished by the officer of the Rural Police of the Sections from whence the animals come. These permits shall be registered by those who delivered them, and seen and signed by the Commandants of all the Communes through which the herds may pass.

116. The conductors of herds, when met by the Rural Police or the gend'armerie, shall be bound, on demand, to shew their permits; and where the number of animals, or their description, shall not agree with

the statement in the permit, they may, should any cause of suspicion appear, be arrested, and conducted to the nearest post, with the animals, in order to be brought before the Justice of Peace of the Commune.

117. If the parties brought before the Justice of Peace, cannot prove their right of property in the animals for which there is no permit, and if they cannot give good security for their bringing back the proof of property within a time to be allowed them, not exceeding fifteen days, they shall be sent to prison, and the animals to the pound.

118. Within a month from the day of the arrest, the Justice of Peace shall be bound to write to the Justice of the Commune from which the person imprisoned may have come, or to the officer of the Rural Police of the Section, (if in the same Commune,) to obtain information both about the person, and the animals stopped: which information, on being received, shall be forwarded to the public administration, with the written statement of the Justice of Peace, to be used as the ground of charge against the suspected person, should cause appear for prosecuting him.

LAW, No. VI.

CONCERNING THE RURAL POLICE.

TITLE FIRST.

*General Regulations.*

119. The Rural Police embraces all which belongs to the management and to the prosperity of rural property.

120. The Rural Police is conducted, under the superintendance of the Commandants of Departments, and of the Commandants of Communes, by officers of Rural Police placed in the Sections of each Commune; by the rural guards, by the *gend'armerie*, and, at need, by detachments of troops of the line.

121. The Justices of Peace exercise also the rural police in the cases pointed out by law.

122. The Councils of Notables of the Communes, and the Councils of Agriculture are to assist, at need, all the authorities in perfectly maintaining the superintendance of the Agricultural Police.

TITLE SECOND.

*Of the Superintendance.*

CHAPTER I.—*Of the high superintendance of the Commandants of Departments.*

123. The military Commandant of the Department having the general superintendance of the agriculture of the Department entrusted to him, unites the authority necessary for giving activity to agriculture, and is responsible, 1st. for the decay of cultivation within the extent of his command; 2d. for the execution of the whole or part of the Rural Code within the extent of his Department; 3d. for the negligence of the Commandants of Communes under his orders, relative to the superintendance of agriculture in the communes confided to them, provided he shall not have checked that negligence.

124. The Commandant of the Department is bound to make, once in every year, a circuit through all the rural Sections of the different Com-

munes composing the Department, in order to satisfy himself personally of the execution of the laws, of the progress and state of industry, and to make a detailed report upon the subject to the President of Hayti.

125. This annual report, which must be made by the Commandants of Departments to the President, shall state the number of plantations kept up in every Section, their kind of cultivation, their improvement or their decay, together with the condition of the roads and ways, both public and private.

#### CHAPTER II.

*Of the superintendance of the Commandants of Places and Communes.*

126. The commandant of the Place or the Commune has the cultivation of the Commune entrusted to him. If he has under his orders cantons or parishes which form military posts, the Commandants of these posts have the particular oversight of the cultivation of the district subject to their command.

127. The Commandant of the Commune is responsible for the decrease of cultivation within the sphere of his command, if it proceeds from the neglect of any branch of the public service.

128. The Commandants of Places and Communes are bound to make, three times in the year, the circuit of the different Sections under their command.

129. The Commandant of the Commune, in his circuits, shall visit the gardens of produce and provisions, the fences, and the new plantations. He shall enter into all the details pointed out by the Rural Code, ascertaining whether the officer of the Rural Police of the Section has fulfilled all the duties imposed upon him by the law. He shall repress whatever acts of negligence and irregularity he shall observe; and of the whole an account shall be drawn up in the prescribed form for each Section; a duplicate of which shall be sent to the Commandant of the Department.

#### CHAPTER III.

*Of the rural sections, of the officers of the Rural Police, of the rural guards, and of the managers and conductors of plantations.*

##### SECT. I.—*Of the Rural Sections.*

130. The Communes shall, by an express regulation of the President of Hayti for each military Department, be divided into agricultural Sections, of about four leagues each in the plains, and in the mountains according to the nature of the ground.

131. Each Section shall have its proper name; and its limits and boundaries shall be fixed.

132. After the Sections are formed, the Commandant of the Commune, the Council of Notables, and one of the private surveyors, shall prepare in triplicate, upon sheets endorsed by the Justice of Peace, schedules of all the rural properties situated in each Section, with the names and designation of the proprietors, the extent of each property, and the kind of tillage carried on there. One of these schedules shall be deposited in the office of the Commandant of the Commune, one with the Council of Notables, and the other in the hands of the officer of the Rural Police of the Section.

133. The Council of Notables shall furnish to the Justice of Peace of the Commune a collated copy of the schedule deposited with them.

The Commandant of the Commune shall furnish to the Commandant of the Department a copy of the same schedule deposited in his office. The Commandant of the Department, after having collected the schedules of the plantations of all the Sections of the Communes forming his Department, shall draw up a catalogue of the whole, a certified copy of which he shall address to the President of Hayti.

134. The officer of the Rural Police shall give notice to the Commandant of the Commune, of every change of property of a rural estate situated in the Section, and of every change of cultivation, who shall note it in the roll deposited in his office, and shall give notice of it to the Commandant of the Department, who shall likewise inscribe the change on the roll in his hands, and inform the Government of it.

135. The Council of Agriculture of the Section, shall give the same notice to the Council of Notables of the Commune; and the Council of Notables, after having noted it, shall inform the Justice of Peace, who shall cause the change to be inscribed on the copy of the roll in his office.

136. Every year, between the first and fifteenth of February, the officers of the Rural Police of each Section, shall receive from the agents for the financial department of their Commune, a certain number of stamped lists of population in blank; which they shall be bound to furnish to the proprietor, renter, or manager of each plantation of the Section, before the end of the month; receiving the price of the stamp, which shall be paid over to the agent. This assessment shall be made as follows:—The stamped list of population for an estate containing ten carreaux of land, shall be twelve and a half cents; for those having eleven to twenty carreaux, twenty-five cents; for twenty-one carreaux, and upwards, fifty cents.

137. The proprietors, renters, or managers of plantations, shall be bound to return the population list, filled up in the manner there pointed out, to the officer of the Rural Police, at the latest on the 20th of March following, under penalty of a fine of fifteen to fifty dollars for each neglect.

138. The officer of the Rural Police of each section shall be bound, on the 5th of April at the latest, to send in all the population lists of his Section, or to note the names of the defaulters, to the Council of Notables of each Commune, under penalty of suffering himself the fine imposed by the preceding Article.

139. On the first of May every year, the Councils of Notables of every Commune shall address to the Government the original population lists which they have received, in virtue of the preceding Article.

SECT. II.—*Of the officers of Rural Police, and of the rural guards.*

140. In every rural Section, a military officer of subaltern rank (from sub-lieutenant to captain) chosen by the President of Hayti, shall be stationed, who shall be charged with the superintendance of the Section, and its police.

141. The officers of the Rural Police of the different Sections, shall be independent of each other, and shall have no relation except with the Commandants of the Commune and of the Department under whose orders they are placed: they shall correspond moreover

with the civil authorities, and shall pay deference to their requisitions.

142. The dwelling of the officer of the Rural Police shall be fixed in the centre of his Section, and near the public road which traverses it.

143. The officer of the Rural Police is specially charged to cause agriculture to prosper in the Section confided to him, and to cause the law and property to be there respected. He is responsible, in the extent of his Section, 1. for the due execution of the Rural Code in what is within his province, as well as of all other acts of the Government relative to agriculture, or the Rural Police. 2. For every neglect in the superintendance and manual labour of the plantations of the Section. 3. For all vagrancies, disorders, and breaches of police in the Section, when he has not repressed them, or reported them to the superior authority. He shall take an oath before the Commandant of the District, previous to entering on the duties of his office.

144. The officer of the Rural Police shall have under his orders, at a fixed station, three rural guards, one of whom shall be of the rank of quarter-master, and perform the functions of secretary; one of the rank of *brigadier*; and the other a simple dragoon. These rural guards shall be sworn; the oath shall be taken before the Commandant of the Department.

145. The officer of the Rural Police shall be bound to make the circuit of his Section, and visit each plantation in it once a week.

146. The officer of the Rural Police shall be ready to attend to the calls of the proprietors, renters, or managers of plantations, by day and by night, or to send rural guards there to enforce the law, and to maintain order.

147. One of the rural guards shall repeat every week, on each plantation of the Section, the visit of the officer of the Rural Police, so that the plantations shall be visited at the least twice every week.

148. When the officer of the Rural Police, or the rural guards, in their ordinary rounds, shall arrive upon a plantation, they shall address themselves first to the proprietor, if present, or, in his absence, to the chief renter, or to the manager, and shall inquire if every thing is in order: after this formality, they shall set themselves to inspect the labours, to satisfy themselves that these proceed properly; they shall also see whether all the labourers are at work; and they shall inquire the causes of the absence of such as are not at work, and shall act according to law.

149. When an officer of the Rural Police of the Section, is prevented by any lawful cause from making the circuit and visit required by articles 145 and 146, he shall be bound to give notice thereof to the Commandant of the Commune, who shall replace him by an officer of *gend'armerie*, or of the troops of the line quartered in the Commune, while the impediment lasts.

150. The officer of the Rural Police, who, without lawful hindrance, shall neglect to make the rounds and visits required by the articles 145 and 146, shall suffer a punishment, to be inflicted by the Commandant of the Commune; and in case of his repeating the neglect, he shall be reported to the Commandant of the Department, who shall be bound to bring him to the notice of the President of Hayti.

151. Every Sunday morning, the officer of the Rural Police shall

be bound to present himself in person, or send one of his rural guards, with a written report, to the commandant of the Commune, to inform him of whatever remarkable may have occurred in his section.

152. The officer of the Rural Police, and the rural guards, shall receive their pay and allowances, according to their ranks, whenever the troops of the line in active service shall be paid.

153. The State shall supply to the rural guards arms, accoutrements, and clothing, as to the troops of the line.

154. The uniform of officers of the Rural Police, shall be a green coat, with flaps turned back, collar, cuffs, and facings red, white lining, white buttons half arched, with a cornucopia surrounded by the cap of liberty, and for a legend, "*Republique d'Hayti*," and a cocked hat. They shall also bear in silver the epaulettes and fringes of their ranks, wear white waistcoats and pantaloons, and horsemen's boots. That of the rural guards shall be a jacket of the same colour and make as the officers of the Rural Police, with the marks of their rank in lace of silver or white worsted, and plated helmets. The arms shall be the dragoon sabre, cartouche-box, and blunderbuss: they shall wear a red shoulder belt from right to left, with "*force de la loi*," written upon it in blue letters.

SECT. 3.—*Of Managers and Conductors of Plantations.*

155. Upon every plantation where the proprietor is not resident, and where there is no chief renter resident, there shall be a manager appointed by the proprietor or chief renter.

156. The proprietor or chief renter, after having chosen such manager as he pleases, shall enter into a mutual contract with him, before a notary, the terms being such as the parties may agree upon: after which the manager shall be made known to the officer of the Rural Police of the section.

157. Every proprietor, or chief renter, of a rural property in cultivation, not residing upon it, and who shall not have appointed a manager for the property, shall be subject, if the number of cultivators exceeds ten, to a fine of ten to fifty dollars, according to the extent of the property. When the number of labourers does not exceed ten, the management may be entrusted to a conductor.

158. The duties of the manager are to superintend, in the interest of the proprietor who employs him, the labours of the plantation entrusted to him.

159. The managers of plantations are answerable to the proprietors, or chief renters, for every neglect or abandonment of labour where they are employed. They shall in such case be prosecuted by the parties entitled.

160. The manager shall have the respect of all the labourers of the estate where he is employed.

161. Upon an estate where the fields or gardens are divided among associations working for half, or among sub-tenants, each headman of such association, and each sub-tenant, becomes the conductor of his own working party, or of his association. He is answerable for the labour of his associates.

162. The duties of the conductors are, to cause the work to be done

by the labouring parties entrusted to them, under the direction of the proprietor, chief renter, or manager.

163. The conductors shall be answerable for all neglect of work ; for all absence, without lawful authority, of the labourers ; and for all disorders and vagrancies of the labourers ; when they shall not have reported the same to the competent authorities.

164. The conductors shall be paid from the proceeds of the produce raised by the labourers they direct, according to article 57, of Law, No. 3.

#### CHAPTER. IV.

##### *Of the Council of Agriculture in the Rural Sections.*

165. On the first of May in every year, being the day of the Festival of Agriculture, the Commandant of each Commune, the Justice of Peace, and the Council of Notables, shall conjointly select from each rural Section, three of the most respectable citizens, being proprietors, chief renters, or managers, to form the Council of Agriculture of the Section.

166. The selection of the members of the Council of Agriculture shall be immediately communicated, by the Commandant of the Commune, to the Commandant of the Department, who shall communicate it to the Government.

167. The members of the Councils of Agriculture shall be in office for one year only ; but they may be re-elected each year, if they have shewn zeal in the execution of their duties during the former year.

168. The Councils of Agriculture being composed of persons cultivating the soil, and interested in the preservation of good order in the rural administration, each of the members is bound, without essentially deranging his own affairs, to inquire into all that passes in his Section, in order to report to the Council of Notables.

169. The business of the Councils of Agriculture is, 1. To see that the laws relating to cultivation, are not infringed in their execution. 2. To endeavour, by new experiments, and by maintaining concord among all those interested in cultivation, to increase progressively its results ; 3. To communicate to the Council of Notables, and to the military authorities, every abuse or neglect which may occur in the Section which they inhabit.

170. The members of the Council of Agriculture are to correspond, individually or collectively, with the functionaries or authorities with whom they are required to have relations.

171. The office of a member of the Council of Agriculture is honorary.

#### THIRD TITLE.

##### *Of the Rural Police.*

172. The Rural Police is to be specially administered by the officers charged with the rural Sections of the Communes, assisted by rural guards.

173. The Rural Police has for its objects, 1. To repress vagrancy. 2. Order and assiduity in the labours of the field. 3. The discipline of the labouring population. 4. The making and repairing public and private roads.



## CHAPTER I.

*Of the Repression of Vagrancy.*

174. All persons who shall not be proprietors, or renters of the land on which they are fixed, or who shall not have contracted with some proprietor or chief renter, shall be reputed vagrants, and shall be arrested by the rural police of the Section in which they may be found, and carried before the Justice of Peace of the Commune.

175. The Justice of Peace, after interrogating and hearing the person brought before him, shall make known the law which obliges him to employ himself in agricultural labour; and after that notice, he shall detain him in prison, until he shall have contracted according to the terms of the law.

176. The Justice of Peace shall take care the person arrested shall make his own choice of the proprietor, or chief renter, or sub-tenant, or headman of an association, with whom he may contract.

177. If after eight days detention, the detained has not taken measures for engaging in agricultural employment, he shall be sent to the public works, for cleaning the city or town where the prison is situated, and there he shall be employed until he determines to contract to engage in rural labour. Any person who withdraws any of these detained persons from the public works, to employ them in private work, shall be subject to a fine of fifty dollars, of which a moiety shall be paid to the detained person complaining.

178. If the person arrested be a minor, the Justice of Peace shall inquire for his parents, and send him to join them, to follow their condition of life.

179. After three months from the publication of this Code, rigor shall be employed against delinquents.

180. Every person fixed in the country as a cultivator, who shall on a working day, and during the hours of labour, be found unemployed, or running about, or lounging on the public roads, shall be considered as idle, and shall in consequence be arrested, and taken before the Justice of Peace, who shall send him to prison for twenty-four hours, for the first offence; and shall send him to public labour in the town on a repetition of it.

181. The officers of the Rural Police, shall take care that vagrants and idlers do not conceal themselves under the garb of the soldiers of the different corps. When they discover, in the Sections under their superintendance, men whom they do not personally know to be in active service in the corps whose uniform they wear, they shall arrest them, and send them to the military commandant of the Commune, to ascertain if the individual arrested with the uniform of a corps really belongs to it. If the party prove not to be a soldier, he shall be put in prison, according to article 175, until he enter into a contract to labour in agriculture.

182. The officers of the Rural Police, shall take care that in the respective Sections under their command, no person shall live in idleness. To this end, they have authority to oblige such persons as are employed in labour, to give account of the nature of their occupations;

and if they cannot prove that they cultivate the soil, or are employed on breeding farms, according to the Law, No. IV., they shall be considered as without a living, and shall be arrested as vagrants.

## CHAPTER II.

*Of order and assiduity in rural labour.*

183. The labours of the field shall commence on Monday morning, not to cease until Friday evening, (legal holidays excepted). But in extraordinary cases, when the interest of the cultivators as well as of the proprietors requires it, work shall be continued until Saturday.

184. On working-days, the ordinary labour of the field shall commence at day-dawn and continue until mid-day, with the interval of half an hour for breakfast, which shall be taken on the spot where they are at work. In the afternoon, the labour shall commence at two o'clock, to continue until sun-set.

185. Pregnant females shall be employed on light work only; and after the fourth month of pregnancy, they shall not be liable to work in the field.

186. Four months after delivery, they shall be bound to resume labour; but they shall not be at work until one hour after sun-rise to quit it at eleven o'clock, and from two o'clock until one hour before sun-set.

187. No cultivator fixed on a rural property, shall absent himself from the labour assigned him, without the permission of the manager, in the absence of the proprietor or chief renter, who shall not give this permission unless the case be urgent.

## CHAPTER III.

*Of the discipline of the labourers.*

188. The labourers upon rural properties shall be obedient to the conductors of the works, to the headmen of associations, to the sub-tenants, chief renters, proprietors, and managers, whenever they are called upon to execute the labours for which they have contracted.

189. Every act of disobedience or insult, on the part of a workman, commanded to do any work which he has engaged to do by a reciprocal contract or agreement, shall be punished by imprisonment, according to the exigency of the case, and according to the decision of the Justice of Peace of the Commune.

190. Saturdays, Sundays, and Holidays, being at the disposal of the cultivators, they shall not be permitted, on working days, to quit their work, to indulge in dancing or feasting, neither by night nor by day. Offenders against this rule, shall be subject to three days imprisonment for the first offence, and to six days for a repetition of it.

## CHAPTER IV.

*On the making and repairing the public roads.*

191. The public roads shall be kept up and repaired by the labourers, in turn, of the whole Section they pass through, whenever their state of injury may require repair. The private roads shall in like manner be kept in order by the cultivators of the estates of the Section who are in the habit of using them.

192. Whenever a public or private road needs repair, the officer of the Rural Police shall give notice of it to the Commandant of the Commune.

193. If the repairs are of small importance, the Commandant of the Commune shall order them to be done. But if they require many hands, he shall give notice of it to the Commandant of the Department that it may be promptly accelerated. The Council of Agriculture of the Section shall inform the Council of Notables of the work which is to be done.

194. The number of labourers necessary for any particular repair, shall be taken from the plantation rolls mentioned in article 132, in proportion to the labouring population of each, which is bound to assist in the work.

195. Those proprietors who have not four labourers attached to their estate, shall in no case furnish more than one labourer for the repairs of roads.

196. Every cultivator ordered to work in repairing the roads, who shall not come to that work, shall pay a fine of six quarter dollars a week, or be imprisoned for one week, and this shall not exempt him from working the week following.

197. Every proprietor, or chief renter of a plantation, who, having received a demand for labourers, shall not furnish them, shall be liable to a fine of three dollars for each labourer not furnished; half the fine to be paid to the chest of fines, and half to be employed in replacing the labourers.

198. Labourers called out to repair the roads, shall bring the tools and agricultural instruments used on the plantation, otherwise the officer of the Rural Police shall furnish them with tools with which he is to be supplied by the administration, and upon the report of it being made to the Justice of Peace of the Commune, he shall sentence the proprietor of the plantation to which the defaulters may belong, or his representative, to reimburse to the administration double the value of the tools furnished.

199. When means of transport are wanted for the repair of public or private roads, the estates having wains or carts shall send them; in default of wains or carts, cattle shall be supplied.

200. The supply of eight beasts of burden, shall be equal to the supply of one cart with its team.

201. No person shall, for his private interests, take, from the repair of the roads, those who are sent to work upon them. Every one contravening this order shall pay fifty dollars for each labourer so withdrawn, even for one day. The director of the work shall call over the labourers every morning, to ascertain their presence.

202. The labourers ordered on the public roads, shall present themselves on Monday morning, not to quit while the work shall last, until Friday evening.

Passed in the Chamber of Commons, at Port-au-Prince, on the 21st of April, 1826, 23d year of Independence.

MUZAINÉ, President of the Chamber.  
Pr. JUNCA, and ARDOUIN, Secretaries.

The Senate decrees the acceptance of the Rural Code of Hayti, which shall be sent, within twenty-four hours, to the President of Hayti, to have his execution, in the manner fixed by the Constitution. At the National House at Port-au-Prince, this 4th of May 1826, 23d year of Independence.

P. ROUANEZ, President of the Senate.  
GAYOT, and F. DUBREUIL, Secretaries.

*In the Name of the Republic :*

The President of Hayti orders, that the above Laws, constituting the Rural Code of Hayti, be sealed with the Seal of the Republic, and be published and executed.

Given at the National Palace of Port-au-Prince, this 6th of May, 1826, 23d year of Independence.

BOYER.

By the President, B. INGINAC, Secretary-General.

Such is the Rural Code of Hayti. We shall be excused for examining its provisions at some length, in order that the dishonourable pains which have been taken to pervert its meaning may be frustrated, and its real nature and bearing fully understood.

The West Indian party, not content with affirming that this law involves, to a certain degree and in certain cases, the principle of compelling agricultural labour, (a principle which, as we shall see, the laws of England itself do also involve,) have endeavoured to show that its principle is identically the same with that of the slave codes of our own Colonies, and especially with the code of Jamaica. To prove this favourite point, they set out with imposing on the public a forged and mangled document, as a proclamation of the Haytian Government; and instead of giving us the code itself, they gave us, in the first instance, their own comment upon it, which was to this effect, that the *driving system* was in full operation in Hayti;—and when, by the arrival of the document itself in this country, the truth of the case could no longer be concealed, it became necessary to endeavour to make their manner of translating it, into English, afford some colour to such a representation. Within the whole range of this code, however, they have been able to find only a single expression which could be bent to serve this dishonest purpose. The word "*conducateur*," they have been compelled to translate by the word "*driver*," that is to say, by a word which, to an English ear, represents a man wielding the cart-whip, and impelling the labour of his fellows by its infliction. And on this gross and wilful perversion is the whole of their hypothesis on the subject of *DRIVING* founded. Compulsory labour by the cart-whip, we all know, is the main and leading and essential feature of *our* slave system; with which indeed the express declarations of Trinidad and other Colonies, and the recent conduct of the Jamaica Assembly prove it to be essentially interwoven, nay, absolutely identified, in the minds of our Colonists generally. Now all idea of such compulsion is so completely and entirely excluded by the Haytian law, that even the far-fetched construction of a particular

phrase, could it be established, would not vary the undoubted certainty of that exclusion. But the phrase itself will not bear the forced construction put upon it. The well known and universal term for *driver*, in all the French slave colonies, and in the works of all French writers on the subject, is not "*conducteur*" but "*commandeur*." We speak with perfect confidence on this point. The most common application of the term *conducteur*, in France, is to the man who accompanies the Diligences in that country, with functions corresponding to the guards of our mail coaches; and it is also employed to signify a *foreman*, such as is to be found in every large printing office, or workshop, and in every large collection of labourers in this country. That the word *conducteur* is sometimes applied to persons in charge of cattle is true, and then it corresponds to the well known term in this country of *drover*, the person employed to guide and conduct them on their way.

But supposing the point to be yielded, and that *conducteur* may be rendered by the word *driver*; yet we find him here, unhappily for our West Indian commentators, divested of the essential attributes of a Jamaica or a Barbadoes driver. He wants the driving instrument. He is without his cart-whip. That execrable engine of exaction and oppression has no place in the Haytian code. And let it not be supposed that this is a trivial or unimportant point of difference. It is most vital. What, for example, has been one of the main causes why negro life has been wasting, and still is wasting, with a fearful rapidity, in our slave colonies? It has been the presence of the cart-whip, in the hands of the driver, to which, even the Assembly of Jamaica still cling with a fond tenacity, refusing not only to abolish its use as *the* stimulus to labour, but as the instrument of inflicting torture on the delicate limbs even of the female slave.—And what has been the cause that in the last twenty-two years, while the British slave population has been wasting away, the negro population of Hayti has more than doubled its numbers? It has been the absence of that torturing impulse. We want nothing but this one fact to satisfy us, to satisfy any man of common reflection, any man who is not blindly wedded to the West Indian system with all its murderous tendencies, or who does not feel that his own character is involved in discovering some plausible apology for defending it;—we want nothing but this to satisfy us of the wide, the infinite, distance there is between that system and the system prevailing in Hayti. Let ten times more fraud and imposture be practised, let fresh proclamations be forged, let fresh mistranslations be invented, and fresh misrepresentations multiplied;—all will weigh as nothing, in the face of the impregnable fact, that the population of Hayti is most rapidly increasing, while that of our slave and sugar colonies continues, from year to year, and from day to day, to moulder away. This is enough to satisfy the statesman and the philanthropist, without any aid from the new lights of Major Moody's philosophy of labour, so happily and effectually extinguished in the last number of the Edinburgh Review.

And here let it not be supposed that all this is mere idle declamation, the hundredth repetition, even to nausea, of some stale, obsolete, and antiquated appendage of colonial slavery, which, a new era having

begun its course, we must blot from our memories; contemplating not what slavery was, but only what it has become under the mild and benignant reforms which the temperate and judicious philanthropy of the West-Indian legislatures has introduced.—Be it so. We will even take the very latest example of colonial reform and mitigation. It is now before us in the shape of an act of the legislature of Jamaica, passed only four months ago, and bearing date the 22d of December, 1826. Of this act the 37th clause runs thus. “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 enlightened legislature of Jamaica, in December, 1826, and which is applicable to every slave, man, woman, or child in that island. By that law the *driver* may inflict ten lashes;—and the owner and overseer, nay, the gaol-keeper and workhouse-keeper, the attorney, guardian, and administrator may, each and every one of them, inflict thirty-nine lashes, on the bare posteriors of any and every slave, man, woman, or child in the island, without a trial, without the order of a magistrate, for no defined offence, but merely because he (the owner, &c.) is offended; nor can he, *by any law*, be called to answer for such conduct. Nay, the clause is framed for the express purpose of protecting him against all responsibility for so doing. And yet, in mockery, as it were, this clause is called a clause TO RESTRAIN ARBITRARY PUNISHMENTS! It is a most singular fact, that in the new rural code of Jamaica, by which this arbitrary and uncontrolled power of the cart-whip is established, the word *driver* does not once appear: it is studiously withdrawn from view. And yet the ingenuity which has so dexterously suppressed it in the rural code of Jamaica, can find it in that of Hayti.

Let our readers turn for a moment to our Reporter, No. 21, pp. 306, 307, and there see the terms in which Mr. Barrett, himself a planter and a member of the Jamaica legislature, speaks of the torturing instrument, whose universal predominance is thus, in the year 1827, renewed and established on every plantation, and over every slave in Jamaica.—“It is,” says he, “a base, cruel, debasing instrument of torture. Every being whose heart is not callous pants for its abolition. Its fellows are the rack and the thumb-screw. Thirty-nine lashes of this horrid instrument may be made more grievous than five hundred lashes with a cat.”—And this torture, these lacerations are inflicted, continues Mr. Barrett, “at the pleasure of an individual, at his sole

*command, as caprice or passion dictates,*" sometimes by one slave "at his discretion on another slave," sometimes by the orders of "the book-keeper, or overseer, or proprietor of the lowest order."

Only match this single enactment against all the severities of the Haytian code, "*just and severe*" as they are represented to be, and they all at once assume an aspect of lenity and indulgence.

But to come to these "just" yet "severe" enactments, which have infused such joy into the minds of all the wielders and advocates of the cart-whip, and which they seem to flatter themselves are to establish its empire for ever; the only comment we shall deem it necessary to make upon them, in the mass, will be taken from the "Commentaries on the Laws of England in Five Books, by Sir William Blackstone, one of the Justices of His Majesty's Court of Common Pleas, (the Eleventh Edition;)" who, in the same breath that he declares that "the law of England abhors and will not endure the existence of slavery within this nation," (Book I. p. 424,) yet adds, "The first sort of servants acknowledged by the law of England are menial servants; so called from being *intra mœnia*, or domestics. The contract between them and their masters arises upon the hiring. If the hiring be general, without any particular time limited, the law construes it to be hiring for a year, upon a principle of natural equity that the servant shall serve, and the master maintain him, throughout all the revolutions of the respective seasons, as well when there is work to be done as when there is not; but the contract may be made for any larger or smaller term. All single men between twelve years old and sixty, and married ones under thirty years of age, and all single women between twelve and forty, *not having any visible livelihood, are compellable, by two Justices, to go out to service in HUSBANDRY, or certain specific trades, for the promotion of honest industry; and no master can put away his servant, or servant leave his master, after being so retained, either before or at the end of his term, without a quarter's warning, unless upon reasonable cause, to be allowed by a Justice of the Peace; but they may part by consent, or make a special bargain.*" Book I. p. 425.

Again: "A third species of servants are *labourers*, who are only hired by the day or the week, and do not live *intra mœnia*, as part of the family; concerning whom the statutes before cited, (5 Eliz. c. 4. and 6 Geo. III. c. 26,) have made many VERY GOOD regulations: 1, *Directing that all persons who have no visible effects may be compelled to work*: 2, *Defining HOW LONG they must continue at work in summer and in winter*: 3, *Punishing such as leave or desert their work*: 4, *Empowering the Justices at Sessions, or the Sheriff of the county to settle their wages*: and, 5, *Inflicting penalties on such as either give or exact more wages than are so settled.*" Book I. p. 427.

The parallelism between the "very good regulations" of Mr. Justice Blackstone, and the provisions of the Haytian Code, is certainly not a little remarkable. We are not bound, neither are we disposed, to bestow any laudatory epithets either on the laws of Elizabeth or of George the Third, to which Sir William Blackstone has referred us; or on the corresponding clauses of the Haytian Code. We merely maintain, and it is all that our purpose requires us to maintain, that, be the policy or the humanity of those clauses what it may, they are to the full

as good, nay, in some material respects better, than the laws on which the learned and liberal Judge has bestowed his commendation. In the case of Hayti also, those parts of Major Moody's now demolished philosophy of labour which were founded on the offensive smell, the colour, the hair, and the features, and other peculiarities of the negro race, can have no application; because the framers and executors of the law are of the same flesh, and blood, and colour, and smell, with the subjects of them, these being the common inheritance of all ranks.—Further, the lowest Haytian has just the same prospect of seeing his descendant rise to distinction in his native island, as the meanest Briton has of seeing his children attain to eminence in the various walks of life,—in commerce and literature, in arts and arms, in the judicial, legislative and ecclesiastical departments of this great and civilized empire. The chain, therefore, which, in our colonies, still binds the negro and tethers him to the earth; in Hayti is broken. He stands there erect in all the dignity of man. He is emancipated from the fetters which, in our colonies, are wound around both his body and his soul. That corporeal degradation and intellectual debasement, which Major Moody concurs with experience in teaching us to be inseparable from the condition of the white man's negro slave, are no longer, in Hayti, the necessary adjuncts of a negro skin, or even of a remote negro descent. Were the provisions of the Rural Code infinitely more objectionable than we admit a few of them to be, the work of the actual emancipation, and of the future moral and intellectual elevation of the negro race, would not be the less certain in its progress and consummation; nay, we are not sure that it may not be accelerated by the very circumstances which excite the virtuous indignation of the advocates of slavery. With all its defects, therefore, we must and will rejoice in the Haytian code, the result of Haytian intelligence, the proof of Haytian freedom, and the pledge of Haytian improvement. It is quite enough to satisfy the warmest wishes of the best friends of the African race, to have seen them arrive, in so short a space of time, even at that pitch of regulated freedom which this code exhibits; and if our sincerity on that point be doubted by the West Indians, we would only ask them in reply, Will you take us at our word? Will you adopt the Haytian code, in its principle, as yours? Will you admit its "just and severe" regulations to be transferred, in all their rigour, to your plantations? Only assent to this, and our controversy with you is at an end for ever.

It is made a great objection to the Haytian code that the administration of it is entrusted chiefly to the military authorities. We entertain, without doubt,—many of us at least,—no strong love for military authority, and we would gladly see it dispensed with both there and elsewhere. But, unquestionably, if the military array of a people admits of defence at all, there could hardly arise a stronger justification of it, than when it was called for to avert the dominion of the cart-whip. The alternative with the Haytian has been, "War to the knife" or "the cart-whip." All therefore that there was among them of talent, of courage, of intelligence, of bodily or of mental endowment, became necessarily identified with the armed force. They have, it is true, achieved their independence, and are admitted into the commonwealth



of humanity; but the newness of its acquisition; the lurking jealousy they must feel of their ancient and sordid oppressors, who are still, in thought, gauging and spanning the Haytian stature and strength; and the not unfounded distrust of the possible effects of the ignorance and the unruly habits which thirty years of civil alarm and contention, and of fierce exterminatory warfare, may have served to generate among many of their population; seem to require that the military force should, for a time at least, be maintained. And if its heavy expense must still, for the sake of their liberties, be incurred, is it not wise to turn it to account for the purposes not only of external defence but of internal security? The cost of a new machinery for this last important object would add greatly to the public burdens. Having already organized the means of an effective magistracy and an effective police, trained by discipline to habits of regularity and prompt obedience, and restrained by the same discipline from the abuse of power, they have judiciously employed those means, mixing with them, however, as opportunity offers, the appointment of those civil magistrates, into whose hands the superintendance of the police may gradually be transferred, as circumstances may favour such a transfer.

And then, be it remembered, the police is exercised, not over the labourers alone, but equally over those who employ them. All are alike subject to the rigid revision and inspection of these responsible superintendants. And well would it be for our wretched slaves, if, in every parish of our colonies, and in each section of them, there were stationed an officer of His Majesty's troops, with proper assistants, to visit every plantation, twice or thrice a week, in order to secure effectual and prompt redress for all injustice; to hear and receive all complaints; to adjust all differences; to repress all disorders and irregularities; to suggest and promote improvements; and to report to his superior officers, and through them to the State, the whole of what was passing within his circle. (See on this point the Articles 119 to 151.) This view of the subject has not been suggested to us, for the first time, by the Haytian Code. If the reader will turn to the pamphlet called "The Progress of Colonial Reform," (p. 17,) or to our Monthly Reporter, No. 11, (p. 143,) he will perceive that the deplorable account which Mr. Darris had given, in his Reports, of the unprotected state of the slave population, and of the difficulty which existed to find, among the planters, persons who could safely be entrusted to fill the situation of their guardians or protectors, led us, more than a year ago, to enquire whether, "with our immense list of naval and military officers on half pay, it was impossible to apply any effectual remedy to this evil? And whether there was not to be found, in that list, a sufficient number of highly respectable and meritorious individuals who, at a small expense, might be beneficially employed in filling these important offices, and whose remuneration might be made to depend on the regularity of their returns, and the propriety of their conduct?" Most heartily therefore should we rejoice, if such means of protection could be transferred, from the Haytian, to the West Indian Code.

But let us say a few words on the actual state of the Haytian labourer.

Every Haytian parent, though himself attached to agriculture, has it

in his power to send his children to towns to be educated, or to be taught a profession, or trade, on his simple request to a Justice of the Peace. (See Article 5.) This single regulation, of itself, seems almost sufficient to secure the moral and intellectual progress of this interesting people.

It is true that all, who have no other visible means of subsistence, must, in Hayti as in England, devote themselves, whether they be men or women, to agricultural labour. But see what advantages the Haytian labourer enjoys under this necessity. Even if reduced to it, by his having no other means of subsistence, he may choose his employment and his employer. He may engage as a keeper of cattle, or as a cutter of wood, or as a grower of provisions, or of cotton, or of coffee, or of sugar, or in any one of the various subsidiary offices connected with the culture and manipulation of these articles. He may engage for a shorter or longer time as suits his taste or his convenience; for six months in one line of occupation, for two years in another, or for three years in a third; and these periods may, if he thinks proper, be still further extended even to nine years. (Articles 45 and 106.) He may contract to receive a fourth part, or a half, of all the produce he raises; and in the first of these cases, which is the most frequent, he is not only lodged, but fed, on the plantation, from the produce of his own labour, not during his own time, but during five days in the week which alone he has contracted to give to his employer. Observe the force of the regulation on this point, Art. 36. "On every rural establishment they" (*viz.* the proprietors or renters) "shall be bound to cultivate *provisions &c., sufficient for the sustenance of the persons employed there.*" This to be their first care, (Article 19.) The labourer for a fourth is also to be furnished, gratuitously, with all his tools, (Article 62.) and with medical attendance and medicine, (Article 67.) and has the benefit, without any diminution of his share of the produce, of all the cattle and machinery on the estate, and of the expense of its management, (Articles 51, 65, and 66.) And, possessing all these advantages, he receives, besides, his fair share of the fourth part of the gross produce raised by him and his fellow labourers, (Article 52.) But this is not all. The proprietor is also bound to furnish the labourer with land for his own use, to be cultivated by himself, and for himself, during his frequently recurring holidays, and his regular day in the week of rest, beside Sunday, from plantation labour, (Art. 38, 39.)

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

prived of the benefit of this contract, by the incapacities of a pregnant state, but, though relieved on that account, for a time, from their share of the labour, are still allowed to share in the proceeds of that labour.

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

#### THE WEST INDIAN REPORTER.

This Work has chosen to give a representation of the New Jamaica Slave Act, against which we are obliged to warn our readers as unfair and fallacious. In our Reporter, No. 21, we also gave an account of it; but the error of that account is, that we attributed to the Jamaica Assembly more credit for improvement than the Act, now that we have it before us, justifies.—But of this more hereafter.

The West Indian Reporter chooses also to be mightily indignant because we have dared to represent Colonial slavery *as a crime*, and to affirm that, *as a crime*, it is liable to the divine displeasure. Notwithstanding, however, all his hard phrases, we must still maintain that Colonial slavery is a crime of a very deep dye—that it involves injustice, cruelty, oppression, unbounded profligacy of manners, robbery, murder,—all which various properties of this unnatural, and unchristian state of being, we must also take the liberty of designating as *crimes—as crimes*, which if not repented of and forsaken, must, if there be truth in the word of God, ensure, to those who live in the practice of them, punishment, either here or hereafter.

#### PETITIONS AGAINST COLONIAL MONOPOLY.

We inserted, in our last Number, the substance of the very able petition of the merchants and manufacturers of Manchester, against the continuance of the present restrictions on our trade. The Chambers of Commerce of Manchester and Birmingham, and the merchants and manufacturers of Leeds and other places, have followed the example, and have called earnestly on parliament to apply a remedy to the wide spread distress, in the manufacturing districts, by adopting those measures which “the considerations of justice and of consistent policy suggest, for equalizing the duties on the productions of our East and West Indian possessions; and for thus indefinitely extending the range of our commercial and manufacturing industry, skill, and capital.”

Mr. Whitmore is to bring forward the whole subject on the 3rd of May.

## ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

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

### DISCUSSIONS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE 15TH OF MAY, 1827, RESPECTING THE RESTRICTIONS ON THE TRADE WITH INDIA;—REMARKS ON THE SAME;—CASE OF MISS THRELFALL'S SLAVES.

A VARIETY of Petitions from Leeds, Halifax, Manchester, Birmingham, Blackburn, Hull, &c. &c. for the Equalization of the Duties on commodities imported from the East and West Indies having been presented,

MR. W. WHITMORE rose, pursuant to notice, to move for the appointment of a Select Committee, to consider the state of the trade between this country and India. When the House considered the distress which was on all hands acknowledged to exist among the manufacturing population; the decline of the revenue, which, since last year, was not less than four or five millions; and the decline of our export trade, which in the same time amounted to an equal extent; it surely became important in the highest degree to inquire how these evils could be remedied; and he trusted, if he could shew that a great increase of employment would result, from extending the trade with India, to the weavers of Scotland and Lancashire, that Government would lend a favourable ear to his proposition. But it was not on the actual existence of this distress that he rested the question. That distress might be, and he hoped was, of a temporary nature. The resources of the country could not be so much reduced as to prevent the return of the prosperity it had heretofore enjoyed. He wished the subject to be viewed in a much more comprehensive light. Whoever considered the heavy burden of debt that weighed down the energy of the country, and the part she was destined to act among the nations of the world in the wars in which, in all probability, she would be again engaged, must see how exceedingly desirable it was to extend, by all practicable means, the resources of the country, and to avail ourselves of this opportunity of peace to lighten the springs of our industry, and restore their elasticity. With regard to Ireland, it was evident that every thing should be done that was possible to promote the growth of the manufactures which he trusted had commenced there. The friends of that country, who did not seek to serve it by that course, took a very limited and far from an enlightened view of her interests. Much might be done, no doubt, by settling the religious differences that unhappily existed; but the mere removal of those dissensions would be no panacea for the ills of Ireland, which could be eradicated only by giving employment to the people. When

habits of industry were formed, and began generally to take root, the most favourable hopes might be entertained of the deliverance of that country from the worst evils that oppressed it. After adverting to the mode in which the Corn Laws had operated to deprive our manufacturers of a large portion of their foreign trade, the Honourable Gentleman called the attention of the House to the increase that had taken place in our commerce with India, since the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in 1814. At that time, the whole of the Continent of India, and the Islands in the Indian Archipelago, were thrown open, though still under restrictions, to the private trader. What had been the result? No man could have anticipated it. It was said by the advocates for the continuance of the Company's monopoly, that the only effect would be, to increase to a small extent the demand for woollens or a few articles of luxury. Nobody supposed that the Cotton Trade was one that would benefit largely by this new market. Yet, this trade had increased to an extent the most extraordinary. The Cotton Trade had its origin in India. This country had borrowed its patterns, and adopted its very names. The price of labour was here seven or eight times as much as in India, and we drew from that country a portion of the raw material, which, when manufactured, we exported back to it. Yet, with all these disadvantages, we had established a beneficial and growing trade in cotton goods with India. The term calico was derived, according to Dr. Johnson, in his Dictionary, from Calicut, "a town in India, where cotton goods were manufactured, and sometimes stained with gay and beautiful colours." Calicos were now exported in great quantities from this country to that part of the world where they were originally manufactured. It was, therefore, he contended, the duty of the House to give the fullest encouragement to the trade with India. He lamented that he had not the official returns lower than 1824. But from those previous to that year, he could shew that there had been a considerable increase of the trade with India since the opening in 1814. In the first instance, he would state the exports from this country to India from the Parliamentary Papers. The Honourable Gentleman stated the annual average of glass and earthenware to amount to 61,526*l.* from 1801 to 1810; and to 171,452*l.* from 1814 to 1822. Of iron in bars, from 1801 to 1810, 68,431*l.*; from 1814 to 1822, 193,164*l.* In woollen goods, the average value from 1801 to 1810, was 273,414*l.*; from 1814 to 1822, it had increased to 376,399*l.*; and during 1823 and 1824, the yearly value was 962,061*l.* In cotton goods, the increase was still more astonishing. From 1801 to 1810, the average was 55,461*l.*; from 1814 to 1822, 568,358*l.*; and during the two years 1823 and 1824, the average was, 1,155,512*l.* He would next state the imports from India, and shew their corresponding increase. First, as to indigo, the average quantity imported from 1801 to 1810, was 3,513,053 lbs.; and from 1814 to 1822, 5,023,187 lbs. In cotton wool, the average quantity from 1801 to 1810, was 5,896,365 lbs.; and from 1814 to 1822, 23,535,365 lbs. In Bengal silks the average was, from 1801 to 1810, 438,792 lbs.; and from 1814 to 1822, 899,570 lbs. In sugar, the average from 1801 to 1810, was 77,325 lbs.; from 1814 to 1822, 174,379 lbs.; and, during the two years 1823 and 1824, the average

was 224,668 lbs. These returns manifested an equally great increase in the export trade as in the way of importation. No trade could be more important than that which we thus enjoyed with a population not less in number than eighty millions. The extent to which it might be carried no man could at present foresee. The prospect might literally be said to be boundless.—He would next refer to the duties levied upon commodities imported from India. He believed that these duties were originally intended to be prohibitory. Let the House look at the amount of duties levied upon East India produce, as compared with the amount of duties demanded upon the produce of other parts of our colonies. On turmeric, for instance, the duty is seven pounds per ton more on East than West India; on East India rum the duty is 11s. 6d. a gallon more than on West India, the duty on the latter being 8s. 6d. on the former 20s. a gallon; and on East India cotton the duty demanded is six per cent. *ad valorem*, while cotton from the West Indies is admitted altogether free of duty. On sugar the duty is 10*l.* per ton more on East than West India, being 50 per cent. on the prime cost of the article; on coffee it is 28*l.* per ton more, West Indian paying 56*l.* per ton, while East Indian pays 84*l.* The same disproportion exists in the duty on cocoa. The cotton manufactures of the East Indies pay a duty of 10 per cent., and the silk manufactures 30 per cent., while English manufactures are admitted into India on paying a duty of 2½ per cent. These, and such things as these, shewed the utter indifference to the prosperity of our trade, or to the welfare either of the mother country or the colonies, which characterised the whole system of our legislation with respect to our possessions in the East Indies; as well as the utter indifference to all the principles not only of sound commercial policy, but even of reason and justice, which the legislature manifested in all its regulations of the trade of those colonies. The whole system was most unfair and most unjust; and if ever the people of India begin to feel it as they ought; if ever the vast population of our possessions in the East come to feel their importance, and the degree of injustice with which they have been treated, the House might rest assured that the day of reckoning would then come, and we should be made to suffer as we deserved for the course we were pursuing. What was it which lost to this country the colonies of North America? Why precisely the same principle: we endeavoured to keep to ourselves all the advantages of their trade, and gave them none in return; and the consequence was, that they freed themselves, on the first opportunity, from the power which exercised over them its authority in a manner so utterly repugnant to all the principles of honour, justice, or policy. It was not enough for this country to say it had the power to do these things. It must shew that the course of its policy was founded in something like justice, or expect that those who are subjected to its influence will only continue to obey until an opportunity may present itself to oppose. Such a system was not only contrary to the principles of commerce and of justice, but even to that principle of reciprocity which the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Huskisson) had advocated with so much ardour, and which he for one felt delighted in saying with so much success.—He would now turn to another part of the same subject, and beg the attention of the House to the amount of

the imports and exports to those colonies, as the trade was at present carried on. In the year 1824, the total amount of the exports to the East Indies and China was 4,355,437*l.* In the year 1826, the amount was 4,394,380*l.* Now, he must take the liberty of begging them to attend to a most important subject arising out of one of those exports; he alluded to the article of East India sugar—the dead weight, as it might be called, of what we were able to draw from the East Indies at this moment. He did not take that article because it was the only important one; but because it was that which might be the most increased. He was aware of the state in which the sugar trade was placed at this moment, and that there was more imported from the British plantations than sufficed at present for the general consumption of the country. He was aware, too, that in such a state of things, when there was an excess of production beyond consumption, the price must in the main be regulated, not by the monopoly at home, but the price which that sugar could procure in the market abroad. Granting that, however, he still contended that although the price might not be much lowered by the admission of East India sugar at the same duty as the West India, the consumption might be much increased. He admitted for the sake of argument, though he had great doubts of its being true, that with the same duty East India could not be sold at a lower price than that now obtained for sugars of similar quality. He found, at least, that with this extra duty of 10*l.* a ton, East India sugar was selling in this country, if not at a profit, still without loss. He was aware that it might at first appear, from the supply being so much greater than the demand, that an increase of quantity without a diminution of price could bring no increase of consumption; but did the House take into its consideration the very great increase of demand for our manufactures, the great consequent rise of wages, and increase of population and production, which must follow the opening of such a market for the produce of this country? It might, he admitted, be asked, If the produce of sugar by the West India islands is so much greater than your demand, how can you make any increase of consumption? He took it, however, to be quite clear, that the people of this country did not consume anything like what they might be able to take if a new market was opened to our manufactures. Let the House reflect for a moment upon what was the amount of the quantity of sugar consumed by the inhabitants of the United Kingdoms. In England, the average quantity consumed by each individual is, annually, according to the best calculation, about twenty-three pounds per head. In Ireland, the quantity consumed by each individual is about six pounds per head. Now, he would ask, if Ireland became a manufacturing country by the opening of a new market, and the encouragement of a trade with India, what was there to prevent her people from becoming consumers to the extent of twelve or eighteen, or even more, pounds a head, while the consumption of England also increased? In that way he was convinced that the Right Honourable Gentleman ought to look for the ultimate improvement and happiness of that country; in that way he must look for the means of her prosperity and tranquillity. Let him, by opening the market of our extensive East India possessions, give employment to her people, and encouragement to her manufactures; and he would

find Ireland, instead of being, as at present, a source of endless alarm, and disquiet, and discontent, become to England and her possessions a mine of wealth and a tower of strength. There would be no occasion then for Emigration Committees to consider the best means of transplanting her people to other countries. Let him give but her manufactures encouragement by opening a market, and he would soon see, by its effect upon wages and labour, the people prosperous, and the nation tranquillised. He was told that in a part of that country, Belfast and its vicinity, cotton manufactories had been erected to some extent, and that on that account the town of Belfast afforded a most pleasing contrast in its aspect to the general appearance of the other parts of Ireland. And he understood that when the manufacturers of England had large orders for cotton goods, they frequently sent quantities of yarn to Ireland to be wove up, in order to supply their orders in proper time. Between India and Ireland there were some features of similitude. Both countries were oppressed by a redundancy of population. Both suffered from the low rate of wages; and both were constantly placed in a state of alarm and agitation. White-boyism existed in Ireland; Decoits in India, arising from the same cause, a discontented and starving people. The evils of both were to be remedied in the same manner. Give them employment. Lay open a market to their several productions, and you at once strike at the root of the diseases under which they labour. It was by following up that principle of reciprocity, with regard to our own colonies, which had already been recognised and acted upon with regard to foreigners, that the Right Honourable Gentleman would be enabled to relieve the miseries of Ireland and India, and promote the prosperity and security of the empire.—His object at present was to move for the appointment of a Committee, before which that information might be given under which the measures he wished were to be carried into execution. There was one subject, however, to which he must allude, although it was somewhat different from any to which he had yet drawn their attention, he meant the state of the free trade with India. He held in his hand a letter addressed to the East India Company's Directors, from some persons engaged to a great extent in that trade, in which they complained of the very great impediments thrown in the way of their intercourse with those places to which they were permitted to trade. The Company derived some of their most considerable benefits from what was called the right of pre-emption. They had commercial residents at each of the ports and settlements where the free trade was carried on. Those residents made advances to the factors who bought up beforehand the productions of the country, and by that means contrived so to keep them in dependence as to confine the whole trade, or nearly the whole trade, to the Company. This was one of the consequences arising from that junction of sovereignty and trade in this Company; a junction which never ought to take place, and which never could take place, without exhibiting consequences prejudicial to the freedom and prosperity of commerce.—The Indian Archipelago was one of those places where the trade of this country could be most beneficially extended. Those islands abounded with all the various Oriental productions most in request in this country. More than one-eighth part of all the gold



introduced into Europe was derived from them, in addition to great quantities of diamonds, spices, and pearls. There, too, a vast proportion of the manufactures of this country might find a market, more especially if the ports of China were open to the enterprise of the free trader. At this moment, unfortunately, this was not the case; but, he trusted, the time was not far distant when the abolition of this monopoly, which must expire in the year 1833, would enable the manufacturers and traders of the United Kingdom to derive the full and unrestricted benefit of the almost boundless prospect of commerce which this part of the world presented. The duties upon East India sugar were 37*l.* a ton; but the duties on that produced in the Archipelago was 63*l.* a ton; or, in other words, the sugar of those islands was totally prohibited, for the effect was nothing less. It was worth while, in considering the advantages we might derive from a free trade with those islands, to look at the evidence given on the subject by Mr. Crawford, a gentleman whose accuracy of statement was as unquestioned as his means of information had been extensive. He says, in speaking of the possibility of extending our trade in that part of India, "That previous to the free trade, British manufactures, especially of cotton goods, were hardly known to the Indian islands. Since that period the quantity has been yearly increasing; and I can answer, as far as the population of Java is concerned, that it is rare now to see a native of the country, above the rank of a mere peasant, or a Chinese of any description, who has not some portion of his dress of British cotton manufacture, and very often he has a considerable portion of his dress of the woollen fabric of this country." In the year 1814, 1000 pieces of chintz of British manufacture overstocked the market of Samarang, in Java; but in 1818, the price having fallen 25 per cent. 15,000 pieces were sold there. Such would be the benefit likely to arise from an opening of the trade. Give the people but a means of payment, and you may dispose of the productions of this country to an almost unlimited extent. No man, he apprehended, would be so insane as to propose that no more than a certain quantity of our manufactures were to be exported, and yet the effect, by the continuance of the system of prohibition, was precisely the same.—Another subject to which he wished to direct the attention of a Committee, if he succeeded in procuring its appointment, was the state of what are called the *emporium* for our India trade. The emporium of Singapore, he believed to have been established on sound commercial principles; but at the same time he wished the state of that and other places to be submitted to the attention of a Committee, because he thought it would be found, that without some such places of traffic, the trade could not be beneficially carried on. The House might probably not be aware, that there were several productions of the East, in which the trade was under particular restrictions. The trade in spice, for instance, was locked up under one of the most extraordinary systems of monopoly the world ever saw, by the Dutch East India Company. That Company having got possession of all those islands in which the spices grow, and in which they are indigenous, resolved upon preserving their monopoly from all chance even of attack, by confining the production of particular spices to particular islands. For that purpose they se-

lected the island of Amboyna as the place to grow cloves, and prevailed upon the chiefs or princes of the other neighbouring islands to root up all the clove trees to be found in their possession. In the same manner they made the Banda islands the place of growth for nutmegs, and sent yearly a fleet round the coasts of the whole of the islands, in order to secure the execution of their orders and the perfection of their monopoly. It was true that this proceeding did them no good, and reduced the islands to a state of poverty—but they succeeded in fully securing the monopoly they desired. It was obvious how much benefit would accrue by establishing the free principles of trade, through the means of these emporia, in the seas of the Eastern Archipelago. In truth, the only trade which ever was beneficial there, or which greatly recompensed those engaged in it, was the free trade, before the monopolies established by the India Companies of England and Holland. At that time a trade of immense extent and importance was carried on with all the islands, and even with China and Japan; and it was only the fatal effects of the restrictive system which brought it to a termination. It was the opinion of Mr. Crawford, that the trade with China even could be carried on best by means of an emporium.—He hoped he might not be considered as trespassing too much upon the patience of the House, after it had heard him with so much indulgence, if he said a few words as to the trade now carried on with China through the means of the city of Canton. It was a very singular fact, that although all the purchases and sale of teas were made in Canton, there was not a leaf of the plant grown in that province of which Canton is the capital. The black teas, it was well understood, were grown in a province three or four hundred miles from that city, and the green teas were brought from another province, seven or eight hundred miles up the country. The teas were brought to Canton by land carriage, or inland navigation, and there was an increase of cost of 50 per cent. in consequence. The provinces, however, from which the teas are taken, are maritime provinces, and it was proved that the articles of their produce could be conveyed by sea to an emporium, with nearly the same facility as if sent by sea to Canton. Mr. Crawford, who makes these statements, argues with great truth and justice upon the benefits which must therefore accrue from such emporia, and upon the advantages which such a market must offer to the consumption, without restriction, of the manufactures and productions of this country. To details such as these, continued the Honourable Gentleman, the House must turn, when it is called upon to consider the propriety of dissolving that monopoly, which has existence, by law, to the year 1833. With such information collected by a Committee, must the House be provided, when it is required to determine upon the great question which will then be submitted to its consideration; and therefore, if there was no better and stronger reason, he would contend, that a Committee ought in good time to prepare that information, which will thus be necessary, in order to decide rightly and fairly between the East India Company and the public. For that decision, a thorough knowledge, by inquiry before a Committee, on the state and resources of the Indian Archipelago, was, he repeated, indispensably requisite. He had thus endeavoured to put the House in possession, within as small a compass as

possible, of a general outline of the commercial advantages which must result to this country, from an extension of our trade with India; and proved, he hoped, enough to satisfy Honourable Members, that a trade of boundless extent might be carried on, by a removal of restrictions under which our commerce at present labours. The policy had been too long pursued of endeavouring to derive wealth from India by means of revenue; far better would it be to seek to derive wealth by improving our commercial relations with India—by promoting those liberal institutions that create wealth—and by aiding her advancement through the application of those principles which we called into action in our intercourse with the other nations of the world. A change was called for by justice; it was rendered requisite by what was owing to the interests of India; and it was demanded by a due regard to the promotion of the commercial connexion between Great Britain and India. He would not further trespass on the attention of the House than to move, “That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the State of the Trade between Great Britain and India.”

MR. SLANEY, in seconding the motion, hoped that the House would excuse any hesitation or difficulty he might betray in addressing the House, almost for the first time. He considered that the nature of the trade which had subsisted between this country and India, ever since our connexion with that vast and important country, was of that restrictive character which denied to India the fair developement of her resources, and the commercial advantages to which she was entitled. The present motion was adapted to pave the way for a subject they must soon discuss, involving the future government of a hundred millions of our fellow creatures subjected to our sway. A change in our system ought to take place, and other principles for the amelioration and improvement of India ought to be introduced, which, by their practical application, might remove the many blots from our legislative and commercial policy towards India. Mr. Gibbon had said, in reference to India, that “the richest and most extensive provinces of the conqueror of the Great Mogul now belonged to a company of Christian merchants in a small island in the Northern Sea.” He wished to see that commercial connexion accompanied by those improvements, and by the extension of those privileges and favours, which were so essential to promote the prosperity of nations, and which would show that we were yet governed by great principles; and he hoped that the period would soon arrive, when the seeds of freedom, sown in India, as they had formerly been in America, by the hand of England, would—and at no distant day—bloom and flourish in the very heart of Asia.

MR. LEYCESTER said there were many reasons which induced him to support the motion for a repeal of the high duty on East India sugar. First, he felt bound to support it from a regard to consistency; for what could be more inconsistent than to adopt principles of free trade, in our commercial relations with all other nations, and to deny the extension of them to a country with which we were so closely connected,—to be forging fetters and raising barriers against it in our Indian possessions? Secondly, justice induced him to support the motion; for what, he would ask, could be more unjust than to cut down the English landlord to the lowest point, while he was bound to

pay high prices to support partial interests? It was also called for by policy: for what could be more impolitic than, when the heresy of emigration found advocates, owing to the prevailing want of employment, to shut out the means of extending our commerce, and thus securing new employment? The motion ought to be supported also on the ground of humanity; for where was the humanity of seeing the working manufacturers reduced to the lowest wages, and by enhancing the prices of sugar and tea, by means of the high duties imposed on them, deprive them of the power of purchasing these, and of mixing one drop of sweet in the bitter cup which they were doomed to drink? Besides, the present high rate of duty on East India sugar tended to aggravate the dreadful tax imposed upon us by the maintenance of the slave system, the countenance and support of which were not only shocking to humanity, but injurious to the West Indians themselves. All these monopolies ought to be swept away. It was a grievance, an injury, an insult to prolong them. Lastly, he hoped the measure might be carried for the sake of Ireland; and he would take this opportunity of saying, that he was favourable to the present Administration, and he was sure that nothing could contribute more to their popularity than their support of this motion; for there was no motion the acquiescence in which could be more in conformity with public opinion. In concluding, he alluded to the danger of a non-consumption agreement of West India sugar among the people, if the measure were refused.

Mr. HUSKISSON commenced by adverting to what had fallen from the last speaker. With respect to a non-consumption agreement of West Indian produce, there was no novelty in that suggestion. It had been talked of for several years, without producing any results. Much as had been said upon it, the fact was, the consumption of British plantation sugar had increased in the last year; the amount paid in as duty upon it, covering drawbacks and other charges, was 5,000,000*l.* being more than had been ever paid in one year.—He fully agreed with his Honourable Friend in all the principles he had laid down in his able and luminous speech; and he fully admitted that it was the interest and duty of a country like this, to endeavour to open new channels of trade, and to afford increased facilities to those that were already open. But it was its duty, likewise, in giving encouragement to new commercial speculations, to be cautious not to sanction any measure which may endanger or destroy established interests and subsisting institutions, especially institutions of our own creation, which had grown up under our fostering care, and were specially entitled to our protection. And here he would remark, as to the low wages of the manufacturing classes, that after suffering great and long privations, which they bore with exemplary patience, there was an increased demand at present, which enabled the master manufacturers to give better wages, and to enable a greater number of workmen to obtain employment. But to return to the principles of free trade and the extension of commercial intercourse, dwelt upon by his Honourable Friend, he need not say, that as far as they could be made beneficially applicable, he concurred in the application of them; but it would be allowed, that all great and extensive changes were attended with difficulty, and should be proceeded in with circumspection, and a due regard to other interests al-

ready established; and that, therefore, whatever new measures or new systems were introduced, they should be so regulated as to involve no sacrifice of essential import from others. In reference to the remark upon this being a tax to support slavery, he (Mr. Huskisson) was no more partial to slavery than the Honourable Gentleman. No man, indeed, could be favourable to a system which was so pregnant with evils; but legislators must remember, that the existing system in the colonies could not be *speedily* extinguished, without the ruin of both masters and slaves. His Honourable Friend had said, that the East Indies were rich in every kind of tropical produce: he admitted this; but he wished to call the attention of the House to the relative circumstances of our trade with India. It first opened under a strict monopoly of a Company of Merchants. We then received from them, under this monopoly, silk and cotton manufactures, for which we exchanged the precious metals, which we obtained by the disposal of our own manufactured goods in other parts of the world. This limited course of commerce was long continued. Meanwhile, in another part of our dominions, the West Indies, large interests had been formed, and British property to a large amount invested. It was our duty to attend to and secure those interests. In 1814, when the East India charter was renewed, the trade, which had hitherto been restrained, was opened to a certain extent, and new encouragements were given to individual enterprise. In the situation which he unworthily filled, he, and those who co-operated with him, had taken every opportunity of giving facilities that might advance and improve that trade, and they would continue to do so. But, in all these encouragements and relaxations, it was incumbent on them to take care not to create just alarm in the minds of West India Proprietors, to whose interests they were strongly bound; but rather to seek to reconcile those interests with those of the East Indies, by satisfying them that both may be augmented and maintained, without unduly interfering or clashing with each other. It was his opinion, that the equalization of the rate of duties on sugar would not produce the great advantages which some contemplated from it. He would offer a few remarks upon this part of the subject. The British plantations grew fifty or sixty thousand hogsheads of sugar more than could find consumption in this country; and which must find vent in foreign markets. And it was as possible for East India sugar to find a vent in these markets, as the sugar of any other country. If the East India sugar could be manufactured at so much cheaper a rate than British Plantation sugar, why did it not enter the competition that was open at any of the foreign markets? A vessel might sail from Calcutta, or from any part of the East Indies, and enter into competition at Hamburgh or Dantzic, or any other European port, with the sugar of Cuba or Brazil, or any other country; and if this superior cheapness was possessed in the manufacture, why was it not found to be preferred abroad to the sugar of every other country? He therefore apprehended that the advantages derivable to the East Indies from an equalization of duties would be by no means so great as they had been described by some. But although he did not anticipate such important results as some did from the proposed equalization of sugar duties, yet he was ready to admit that there were many topics touched

upon by his Honourable Friend which required attention, and which he assured him had engaged much of his time. Some difficulties had recently been removed; some facilities had been recently afforded; the removal of some further difficulties, and the granting of further facilities, were under consideration; and he thought the result would be more satisfactory if they were left in their present course, than if placed under the direction of such a Committee as his Honourable Friend moved for. Many alterations in other respects, relating to trade, which the country approved of, had been introduced without such a Committee, and the same might be done in this case. He contemplated, indeed, several changes which might be made beneficially for the trade of India; for example, the removal of the difference of duty between the raw material of cotton and other articles imported from the East Indies and other countries. This was a subject that required re-consideration, and one in which the trade of India laboured under a disadvantage. He would propose, that these articles should be subjected only to the same duty as similar articles imported from all other places. The knowledge and information best calculated to effect these alterations with advantage, were to be procured more easily through the official means of intelligence which he possessed, than through the Committee proposed by the Honourable Member. The changes which it was expedient to introduce into the principles of our trade with India, were changes which circumstances had now rendered necessary. The relative circumstances of this country and of India, commercially considered, had undergone a most material alteration. Instead of being a country importing manufactures extensively from that part of the world, we had become a country exporting extensively to it. In that part of the Honourable Gentleman's speech which related to the making of free ports in India, there was much in which he entirely concurred; and it was with a feeling of great personal satisfaction that he did so, for he had done all that he could to place the ports of Sincapore, Penang, and Malacca, on the most perfect footing of free ports. In those places there did not at present exist any obstacle to perfect freedom of trade. It was infinitely better to look to the future for financial benefits to be derived from those sources, and to trust to the increased revenue which the growth of their prosperity would necessarily occasion, than to seek for a trifling temporary advantage by the imposition of duties which, however small, might have the effect of driving away commerce altogether. The effect of the system which had been introduced, as far as it could at present be judged of, was most satisfactory; and what might be its ultimate results upon the trade with China, and with the immense population in other parts of the Indian seas, no one could anticipate. For his own part, he confessed that he was exceedingly sanguine upon the subject; and that he looked forward to the most extensive commercial intercourse, under the British flag, throughout the whole range from the western parts of America and the eastern parts of Asia. It was the duty of the British Government to prepare the ground, to lay the highway for such an intercourse; and he could assure the Honourable Member for Bridgenorth, that it was a duty of which his Majesty's present Government never for a moment lost sight. He agreed in almost all the general principles concerning trade which

the Honourable Mover had propounded, and as far as they could be fairly and justly brought into practice, he was anxious to see them promoted. He admitted that if any impost were proved to be unjust, it was the duty of Parliament to consider how it could be repealed. He was calmly and deliberately bent upon doing justice to the commercial relations of the country: they constituted a subject to which he looked with the deepest and most anxious interest, and which he hoped to bring into a gradual improvement. He wished in every respect to improve the trade in the East, without at the same time sacrificing that of the West. He thought he could see his way through alterations for the benefit of both; but if they were hurried or forced, their advantage would be risked, and his ultimate object defeated. The only suggestion which he wished to throw out to the Honourable Gentleman, was the expediency of postponing an inquiry into this subject until the result of the experiments which were at present trying had more distinctly manifested themselves. He had not the slightest inclination to throw any impediment in the way of inquiry; on the contrary, he was solicitous it might take place; but it certainly appeared to him that it was desirable to defer it until the success of the measures which had already been adopted, and the expediency of extending them, should be more fully ascertained. He was quite prepared to admit, that the regulations respecting the refining of sugar were not of the most satisfactory kind; but that was a subject of difficulty, open to conflicting opinions; still he hoped to effect an improvement in it, so as to satisfy all parties. He preferred, as a general plan of action, to move gradually and progressively, without giving a sudden shock to subsisting institutions, opinions, and prejudices; and he was quite persuaded that, by following that system, he should best remedy the existing grievances. By modifying the laws for the refining of sugar, he believed he should best promote this essential manufacture; but at the present period of the session, he must object to embark in the large inquiry which his Honourable Friend's motion comprehended. It was not that he differed from him on any of the principles which he had advanced. So far from that, as was well known, he was a warm advocate for the application of those principles as extensively and as promptly as they could be applied, consistently with what was due to existing interests; but it was because he was persuaded that the present was not the fittest moment for the inquiry, and that, when they were in possession of the result of what was now going on, they would proceed to that inquiry with a much greater probability of an advantageous issue. The appointment of a Committee at present might create alarm and excite exasperation, at a moment when he was anxious to show the parties interested that the alarm was unfounded, and the exasperation uncalled for. There was only one point on which he differed in opinion from the Honourable Gentleman. He seemed to consider, that to throw open the trade to India would have the effect of increasing the manufacturing industry of Ireland. He was at a loss to see how that effect could be produced. The probability of the increase of manufactures in Ireland must depend materially and principally on the protection experienced by property in that country, and the advantages thereby secured to those whose interests were connected with manufacturing prosperity. He was happy

to say that manufactures had begun in Ireland. He sincerely trusted that they would increase. Many circumstances induced him to believe that they would do so; but he did not believe that any alteration of the law for regulating the duty on sugar would have the effect of affording employment to the population of Ireland—an object which depended on very different circumstances. He would not take up any more of the time of the House. He had sketched an outline of what appeared to him to be some of the most important considerations on this most important subject. He hoped he had shown that he did not entertain the slightest wish to interfere with the progress of improvement, or to prevent the extension of sound commercial principles; but he repeated his conviction that those objects would be best attained by abstaining at present from an inquiry which would be more beneficial hereafter. The time must come when the subject would be more ripe for consideration, and then it would be imperative to enter into a full investigation of all the circumstances connected with it.

LORD MILTON expressed his satisfaction with what had fallen from the Right Honourable Gentleman. He had felt exceedingly anxious to support his Honourable Friend's motion; and if the Right Honourable the President of the Board of Trade had opposed it, he (Lord Milton) should have felt himself bound to support it. But after the fair and candid manner in which the Right Honourable Gentleman had treated the subject, he really thought that a postponement of the inquiry would be more conducive to the object which his Honourable Friend had in view, than its immediate adoption. He thought that the laws which related to the trade with India, ought to be taken into consideration as early as it would be advisable to do so, with a view to such an alteration in them as might be advantageous to the general interests. Upon the whole, however, it appeared to him to be better to leave the subject in the hands of a Government entertaining just views respecting it, rather than at present to appoint a Committee, in which the proceedings might be calculated to produce irritation.

MR. PHILLIPS said he had the satisfaction to state that the manufactures of Lancashire were experiencing a considerable revival. Although this revival had been tardy, he had always regarded it as certain. He did not attach the same importance which many did to the lowering of the duties on East India sugar. The effect of such a measure would be comparatively trifling; but with regard to the trade to India, it was a subject on which he felt great interest. He recollected the time when he had anticipated many events connected with that trade which had since come to pass, and that even cotton piece-goods would be sent from this country to the East Indies. At that period, he had been treated as an enthusiast and a visionary. What had since occurred, however, had proved the justness of his anticipations, and had proved the advantages consequent on an adherence to the principles of free trade. He firmly believed that the exports from this country to India would be much greater than they were, if the existing obstacles were removed and the Company were to pursue a liberal policy. If, instead of deterring, they would encourage his Majesty's subjects to go and settle in India, they would at the same time increase their own revenue, and materially contribute to the improvement and extension of



commerce. Was it not evident, that if intelligent persons were encouraged to go out and settle in India, that the manufactures of that country and its culture too of cotton, silk, &c. would soon be greatly improved? But such obstacles were thrown in the way by the Company, that these persons were obliged to abandon their plans in despair.

SIR CHARLES FORBES thanked the Honourable Mover for the very powerful statement which he had made of his opinions; and congratulated the country and India on the unusual attention which the question had now experienced in the House of Commons. He would not say a single word further than to declare, that feeling, as he did, the greatest attachment to India, he trusted that the great question of its commercial interests would be left in the hands of the Right Honourable Gentleman, who, he had no doubt, would deal with it as he was dealing with all other questions of a similar nature. He had the greatest confidence in the Right Honourable Gentleman, and in the principles upon which he was acting.

MR. SYKES was greatly satisfied with the tone of the Right Honourable the President of the Board of Trade's speech, and perfectly coincided with him in his general commercial principles. He was anxious that some measures should be adopted with less delay than he seemed to contemplate for the improving and extending the trade with India. He had not heard from that Right Honourable Gentleman a single reason which to him appeared to have the very slightest cogency for continuing the protecting duties on East India sugar. He wished he could have heard from his intelligent mind, even the colour of a reason why an impost should be continued, which he affirmed was no benefit to the West Indies, and which he could not deny was a detriment to India and to England. He would take this opportunity of stating that though he was not present at the time, he entirely concurred in the sentiments contained in the luminous speech made by the Right Honourable the President of the Board of Trade on shipping; at the same time that he felt deeply for the depressed situation of that interest. Circumstanced as he was, he had ample opportunities of knowing the extent of the evils which they were enduring; although he believed that those evils were not owing to the relaxation of the Navigation Laws, or the introduction of the reciprocity system. And yet, knowing as he did the distressed state of the shipping interest, he felt that it behoved Parliament and his Majesty's Government to look out for quarters where that interest might obtain employment; and he could not see any opening so likely to be advantageous to the shipping interest as the encouragement of trade with the East Indies. If the duty were taken off East India sugar, a larger quantity of sugar would necessarily be imported into this country, which, added to the distance from which it would be brought, must greatly increase the amount of tonnage that would be employed. It was principally on that ground that he was disposed to press the speedy consideration of this important subject. He did not see any way in which the shipping interest could be relieved from their present depression, except by increasing the commerce of the country; and he did not see any way by which the commerce of the country could be so effectually increased as by opening and cultivating the trade with the East Indies.

Nor did he believe that the repeal of the duty on East India sugar would eventually be injurious to the West India planter, who was now placed in that factitious and unnatural state that all his profits were at present derived, not from the fair results of the investment of capital in sugar planting, but from the mere effect of the drawbacks and profits allowed him at the heavy charge of this country.

MR. ROSS observed, that the whole of the bounties to which the Honourable Gentleman had just alluded, were abolished last year. It ought to be remembered that we ourselves had encouraged the West Indies to look for a monopoly, by the monopoly, in supplying them with the articles they wanted, which we had established for a long time against them in our own favour. How far it might be proper to continue the protecting duties in favour of the West India Colonies, he would not undertake to say; but he thought that the best mode would be for the Honourable Member to withdraw his motion for the present, and leave the matter to his Majesty's Government.

MR. W. SMITH. Whether his Honourable Friend chose to withdraw his motion or not, it was obvious that the argument of the Right Honourable Gentleman, that the duties on East India sugar did no good, and that their abolition could do no harm to the West India sugar growers, was one which cut its own throat; for, if that was the case, why retain the duty on the East India sugar, or why indeed call for an inquiry at all? This was a proof that the argument was not confided in even by those who used it, or, at least, that they laboured under a very great delusion on the subject. If the argument, however, was good for any thing, and if the West India sugar-growers would really not be injured by the reduction of the duty on East India sugar, then let the people of England at least have that satisfaction which they had implored in at least 500 Petitions. If the continuance did no good and the reduction would do no harm to the West India growers, that was an irrefragable reason why the reduction should immediately take place.—The Right Honourable Gentleman had said, that it would be more convenient to enter upon the full examination of the subject at another period. In this way the matter might be postponed for five or six years, till the East India Company came again for a renewal of their Charter. Such a postponement would be a great disadvantage indeed, and he could not see why the matter should be so long delayed.—He had also talked of the five millions sterling of revenue which the country derived from West India sugars; but would not sugar pay the same revenue when brought from any other quarter?—It had been argued that the East Indies were best adapted to the cultivation of cotton, and the West Indies to the cultivation of sugar. But it had been long the impression of his mind, produced by the fullest consideration he had been able to give the subject, that the cultivation of cotton would be much preferable, even for the West Indies themselves. It was well known, that the slave population of the West Indies decreased in proportion to the cultivation of sugar, and increased in proportion to the cultivation of other articles. A greater service, therefore, could not be done to the West Indies than to make it the interest of the planters to decrease the cultivation of sugar, and increase the cultivation of other articles. It had been said,

that we ought to allow the West India planters a monopoly in favour of their sugar, since we had taken to ourselves the monopoly of supplying them with necessaries. But we had now given up the greater part if not the whole of that monopoly.—If his Honourable Friend should think it proper to withdraw his motion, he trusted the Right Honourable Gentleman would follow up the views which he seemed disposed to adopt with as little delay as possible.

MR. BERNAL regretted that the Member for Norwich had permitted himself to make the remarks he did on the West Indies. He denied that the decrease of the West India slave population was caused by the cultivation of sugar; and he had expected more candour from his Honourable Friend than appeared in his encouraging the clamour out of doors on this subject against the West India body. It might possibly be that the country would derive equal duties from sugar if brought from other quarters; but at least they ought not to give up a valuable revenue without inquiry. He, by no means meant to deny that at present the West Indians were considerable gainers by the manner in which the drawback on refined sugar was regulated, though he did not think that, with the excess of production above our own consumption, they were gainers by the protecting duty.

MR. BROUGHAM expressed his high satisfaction at the tone in which this discussion had been generally conducted, and particularly at the way in which the Right Hon. Gentleman on the floor had displayed his own views, and that of the Government, on the most important subject involved in it. He was a warm friend to the inquiry proposed by the Honourable Member for Bridgenorth—an inquiry which would have a strong tendency to give new life to our commerce and manufactures, and afford a most seasonable relief to our artisans and labourers. He, therefore, would be the last man to tender his advice to his Honourable Friend to withdraw his motion, had it not been for the candid and liberal views expressed by the Right Honourable Gentleman, and the admirable temper which he had evinced when speaking on this topic. He hoped, therefore, that, under the present circumstances, his Honourable Friend would feel himself justified in not pressing his proposition. If his Honourable Friend and the House should agree to that, he would merely notice one or two things which appeared to him to be erroneous, and which he wished might not go forth to the public uncontradicted. He certainly could not agree with the Right Honourable Gentleman below, that the West Indies derived no benefit from the discriminating duties imposed on East India sugars. If that proposition were sound it would put an end to the discussion at once. If it were clear that the West Indies derived no benefit from this duty on East India sugars, that duty ought to be taken off at once, without any further inquiry. The very reason for inquiry was, on that hypothesis, completely done away; and, therefore, there could be no need for it; since everything which could be object of inquiry was attained by the admission. It would be the very height of absurdity to continue it for a single day longer, because it would be to inflict serious injury on some parties without the slightest corresponding advantage to any other. They were told that we ought not to compel the East Indies to raise sugar. We did not propose to force them to raise any

thing; but only said, "Withdraw your unjust restrictions, and let them raise what they like." Indeed, if there was any forcing in the case, it was in the effect of the present system of heavy duties on East India sugars, to force the West Indies, by such an unnatural stimulus, to produce them. His Honourable Friend (Mr. Bernal, to whose candour he was always happy to bear testimony,) admitted that our present regulations operated as a bounty on West India sugars; and, therefore, the evil of a forced production, was applicable, if anywhere, to the West, and not to the East Indies. And from our having extended this preference to the Mauritius alone, the only slave colony of all our Asiatic dominions, it appeared as if our system were to give bounty and protection to the masters of slaves, and to withhold it from the employers of free men.\* He hoped that they might live to see the dawn of a better day in the management of our colonies; and looking to what had been said by the Right Honourable Gentleman on the floor, it might be expected that that day was not very distant; and therefore he refrained from resorting, on the present occasion, to any of those harsher arguments which might be employed on the occasion. With respect to the East Indies, he could not help looking, with eager anticipation, and very high expectations, to the results of a full and complete inquiry into the commerce and the capabilities of that country, and the improvement in our own trade and manufactures which must follow. He could not help exulting in the brilliant prospects which such an inquiry presented, and to which, in his opinion, it must almost necessarily lead. He was convinced that, upon a full revision of the condition of our Asiatic territories, it would appear that we did not at present at all understand the extent to which the East India traffic might be carried, and that the ultimate effects would be beyond everything of which we had at present any conception. He would perhaps be permitted to mention one simple fact in illustration of what he meant: when he was lately at Lancaster, a commercial gentleman of that place showed him orders which he had received for a vast number of pieces of calico for the East India market, and he desired him to look at Johnson's Dictionary, and there he would find the word "Calico" mentioned as the name of a fine fabric imported from Calicut, in the East Indies. In India, at that time, they manufactured largely of this article for their own use, and exported it largely to us. But now the process was reversed, and we imported the raw material from them, and exported to them the same fabric, but more highly finished, and of a better quality. This was only a small sample of what might be made of this trade, if it were left perfectly free and unfettered. Looking at the matter in this point of view, he was convinced that the investigation would enable the Government to do its duty towards the countless millions of India; while the process would be attended with the double advantage of promoting the interests of the people of India, while it afforded the very best and most effectual relief to our population at home.

MR. WYNN observed, that as British manufactures had superseded those of India, we were absolutely bound, in justice to our subjects there, and in sound policy, to extend the trade with that country as much

\* Some warm discussion had taken place as to the Mauritius, which we omit as irrelevant.

as possible. The attention due to the commerce of India, as well as to its arts and literature, had been much too long delayed; but measures had latterly been taken, with relation to them, which he trusted would redeem them from the neglect they had experienced. Under all the circumstances of the case, he hoped that his Honourable Friend (Mr. Whitmore) would postpone his motion.

MR. W. WHITMORE, in reply, said that he yielded to the recommendation of his Honourable Friends, and would withdraw his motion, and leave the subject in the hands of the Right Honourable Gentleman, who had assured them that he intended to institute inquiries, with a view to remedy what was objectionable in the existing system. He felt confident that he would see it right not to delay those inquiries; and above all, not to think of postponing them till the expiration of the Charter of the East India Company. It, however, he was disappointed in this hope, he should feel justified and even bound again to call the attention of the House to this important question.

The motion was then withdrawn.

#### REMARKS ON WEST INDIAN MONOPOLY.

WE trust we shall be excused if we venture to subjoin to the above interesting and in the main most satisfactory discussion, a few explanatory observations on some of the statements made in the course of it.

It was asserted, by Mr. Huskisson, that no benefit whatever was derived to the West Indians from their monopoly of the British sugar market. Now, if this position were deemed to be correct, it does seem extraordinary that that monopoly should be prolonged. It cannot be denied that the desire of its abolition is very general throughout the kingdom, and has been expressed in innumerable petitions to Parliament. Neither can it be denied that this monopoly is felt, and that it unquestionably operates, as a grievance in the case of large classes, both in this country and in British India, who complain of its pressure, and who call for its extinction. Under these circumstances, nothing can be conceived more ungracious, than to reject a prayer so consonant to all the recognized principles of our commercial policy, and to retain restrictions offensive and injurious, as well as unjust to multitudes, while it is admitted that they yield no advantage to any other party. It is perfectly obvious, that if this statement were believed to be true, there could be no ground for caution or hesitation as to the course to be taken: it would be both unreasonable and absurd to continue the monopoly in question for a single hour. If it is to be maintained in spite of all the strong reasons which exist for abolishing it, this must arise from a conviction the very opposite to that which has been expressed, namely, that considerable benefit is in some way or other derived from it by the West Indians. And it is some presumption, at least, in favour of this opinion that they and their partizans (among whom we should be sorry to number the Right Honourable Gentleman,) are alone eager to defend and protect this monopoly.

One ground assigned for believing that the monopoly is of no real benefit to the West Indians, is that as more of their sugar is imported into this country than is consumed there, the surplus being exported to the continent, its price cannot be enhanced in consequence of

the monopoly; because the price on the continent must necessarily regulate the price in England. Admitting this as a general principle, yet, we would ask, how it happens, that though the West Indians are now at liberty to export their surplus directly from their plantations to the continent, they prefer sending it first to England, and then from England to the continent, though it thus becomes loaded with double freight, insurance, commission, and shipping and landing charges? This otherwise strange proceeding is to be explained, only on the principle of their deriving, in some way, a very great advantage from their monopoly of the British market. And the fact is, that the drawback on the refined sugar exported from this country is so regulated, as not only to compensate to the West Indian planter the heavy extra charges just mentioned, but to afford him a considerable profit besides, all which must obviously come out of the pockets of the people of this country.

It is a further proof of the correctness of this view of the subject, not only that no raw sugar is shipped directly from the West Indies to the continent, (except in a case to which we shall presently advert,) though the continental ports are open to receive it; but that the whole quantity exported thither from this country in a *raw* state in 1825, for example, did not exceed 200 tons, and was probably not even intended for sale there, being evidently not more than might be required for the use of the crews of the ships engaged in the trade between Great Britain and the continent. Besides this, there were, in that year, 320,971 cwt., or 16,049 tons of refined sugar exported to the continent, which, reckoning (as it is reckoned in the custom-house returns) at the rate of 34 cwt. of raw for each 20 cwt. of refined, would seem to exhibit an export of 545,652 cwt. of raw, or 27,283 tons.

The law at that time allowed to the exporter of one ton of refined sugar a drawback of 46*l*. And if it had required 34 cwt. of raw to produce a ton of refined sugar, this would have been an equitable arrangement. But, in truth, 30 cwt. of raw sugar is equal, or more than equal to the production of 20 cwt. of refined, besides leaving a considerable residuum, after refinement, of both bastards and molasses.

The calculation may be thus made:—

30 cwt. of raw sugar yield about 75lbs. per cwt. or about	
20 cwt. in all, of refined; on which, previous to July,	
1826, a drawback was allowed on exportation of . . .	£46 0 0
Besides the refined sugar, 30 cwt. of raw yield about	
392 lbs. or 3½ cwt. of bastards: these come into the	
home market nearly on the same footing with raw, which	
pays a duty of 27s. per cwt. being therefore equal to . . .	4 14 6
They also yield about 504 lb. or 4½ cwt. of molasses, which	
coming into the market on the same footing with that	
paying a duty of 10s. per cwt. are equal to . . .	2 5 0
	Making in all
	£52 19 6
Now the whole duty actually paid on the raw sugar which	
produced all this was, on 30 cwt. at 27s. . . . .	40 10 0
	Leaving a gain of £12 9 6

Or nearly 8*s*. 4*d*. on each cwt. of the raw sugar so manufactured, and

making therefore a profit to the West Indians, on the whole of our imports from the British dominions (180,000 tons) of about a million and a half, instead of the 1,200,000*l.* at which it was usually reckoned.

Such was the state of things before the recent change in the mode of regulating the drawback.

Now, instead of 46 <i>l.</i> there is drawn back on each ton of refined sugar exported a sum of . . . . .	£41 8 4
The other advantages of bastards and molasses remaining the same, amount to . . . . .	6 19 6
Making in all	£48 7 10
Now the duty paid on 30 cwt. is still only . . . . .	40 10 0

So that there is left on this transaction, even now, a gain, on every 30 cwt. of raw sugar, exported in a refined state, £7 17 10, being equal to a little more than 5*s.* 3*d.* per cwt.

In having stated, therefore, the bounty to have been 6*s.* per cwt. before the recent alteration, and only 3*s.* since, we have been considerably below the mark; that bounty appearing to have been 8*s.* 4*d.* before its reduction, and being still, as it appears to us, 5*s.* 3*d.*

We admit it to be open to the West Indians to say, that we have estimated the quantity of refined sugar obtained from a cwt. of raw too high, when we state it at 74*lb.* to 75*lb.*: but we think not; and if an investigation were only allowed, we are confident it would be shown that even this estimate is below the truth. Indeed, the arrangement of the drawback, which allows 41*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* to the exporter, seems to assume that only 30½ cwt. of raw are required for the production of a ton of refined; and even if that calculation were correct, the gain would still be 6*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* per ton, or 4*s.* 7½*d.* per cwt. of raw sugar.

The yielding of 30 cwt. of raw sugar is, on the above calculation, nearly as follows:—

Refined sugar . . . . .	20 cwt.
Bastards . . . . .	3½
Molasses . . . . .	4½
Waste . . . . .	2
	30*

If the operation of this bounty extended only to the quantity actually exported, its effects would be comparatively trifling. We should be paying to the West Indians from 120,000*l.* to 140,000*l.* in order that so much of their sugar as went abroad might be sold at a cheaper rate to our neighbours than we ourselves can obtain it for; but precisely in the same degree as the price of the sugar we export is thus lowered to them, is the price of our whole consumption enhanced to us. This effect is inevitable; and the enormous extent to which it operates upon us as a tax, for the benefit of the West Indies, has been already shewn.

If it be said, in reply to all this, that in stating the West India monopoly to be productive of no advantage to the West Indians, it was intended not to speak of the BOUNTY, which is a matter that does not injure the East Indies, and only concerns the people of England,

\* We do not vouch for the perfect accuracy of these statements. We proceed necessarily on data more or less uncertain. This very uncertainty, however, forms a strong reason for a Committee.

but of the PROTECTING DUTY alone. "If the people of England," we presume it will be argued, "choose, in their extreme liberality, to give the poor West Indian planter eight or nine, or any other number of hundred thousand pounds annually, wherewith to pay for his drivers and his overseers, his stocks and his whips, his workhouses and his gibbets abroad; or for his splendid establishments, and seats in parliament at home; is it not most unreasonable in you abolitionists factiously to find fault with them on that score? Why should you intervene, to stop the free course of their eleemosynary contributions? It is not above a sixth part of what they raise, without a murmur, to feed the pauperism of England. The planters indeed are paupers of another grade, but still they are paupers. Let us not grudge them this trifling boon. It would be cruel to drive them to lay down their equipages; and to abandon their seats in parliament; and to go over to a burning climate, in order to look after their slaves, and to arrest the waste of life which is going on among them. Let us have pity upon them! Let us do as we would be done by!"

Leaving this appeal in favour of the bounty to produce its due effect, we will next turn to the protecting duty. Here we freely admit, that it is of the nature of all impolitic restrictions on trade to do little or no good to those in whose favour they are enacted, compared with the evil they inflict on all besides. Thus it may possibly be with the protecting duty in favour of West India produce. If, however, we were willing to admit that it did no good to the West Indians, the tenacity with which they cling to it, and which we cannot do them the injustice to believe springs from pure, disinterested malevolence, would convince us we were wrong in our admission. They never could contend for it with the warmth and bitterness which they sometimes display, unless there were some advantage to be derived from it. The amount of that advantage we have never pretended to be able accurately to appreciate. But whatever it be, it is at least sufficient, in their estimation, to be worth a violent struggle to retain it; and, in that of the President of the Board of Trade, to be worth the sacrifice of part of his high and well earned reputation for candour and consistency, in order to preserve it to them for a somewhat longer period. Generally speaking, it cannot be doubted, that the removal of this protecting duty, would have the effect of materially cheapening one of the necessaries of life. If, at this moment the East Indian merchant can import, without loss, ten thousand tons of sugar annually, though loaded with an extra duty of 10*l.* a ton, it is not to be believed that, if the impost were removed, we should not have that sugar both cheaper and in greater quantities. But independently of this circumstance, which may probably explain the nature of the gain which the West Indians derive from the protecting duty, and the cause of the alarm with which they contemplate its removal, we ground ourselves upon the principle, so fully admitted by the President of the Board of Control on this occasion, that its imposition is an act of absolute injustice towards the inhabitants of India—and we will add to that, an act of cruel injustice towards our starving manufacturers in the north, and towards the starving population of Ireland. It is a singular instance of partiality in the laws which regulate our commercial policy, that while, with such a lavish



hand, we dispense our bounties to a few hundreds of West Indian planters; we refuse to the myriads of our Indian subjects, and to the swarming and starving population of Great Britain and Ireland, the fair use of their energies, by removing the obstacles we have ourselves raised to it and which are declared to be a benefit to no party, merely because those planters object to this exercise of our justice and humanity. And it is no less singular an instance of inconsistency on the part of one of our most enlightened statesmen and political economists, that he should be found throwing the broad shield of his reputation and influence over such a system.

It was ingeniously stated in the course of the discussion, that if it were true that the removal of the protecting duty, on East India sugar for example, would produce all the results anticipated from it, then it must have happened that that sugar would have found its way to the continent, and there have come into competition with the surplus sugar of the West Indies.—Now even if we could not discover any satisfactory way of escape from this dilemma, we should not the less believe that, if free scope were given to this trade, and if the galling restrictions which fetter the British capitalist in India, and load with imposts the British merchant at home, were removed, the result itself would furnish the best solution of the difficulty. No one understands better than the President of the Board of Trade, the powerful effect produced, by the mere absence of restrictions, upon any particular branch of commerce. This was one of his main arguments in favour of his much maligned measures in respect to silk and shipping; and the result has proved it to be perfectly conclusive. He cannot doubt that it would prove equally so in this instance.

But independently of this general and irrefragable ground of confidence, we would ask, whether it be not true that there exist a variety of impediments to the kind of commerce, the absence of which is so strenuously alleged to be *prima facie* evidence against the probability of a large sugar trade with the East Indies? If so, all we need say in reply is, "Remove your restrictions; set free our energies; and then if we do not succeed, abjure your own principles and revert to the exploded dogmas of other days." Unquestionably no great trade can be established all at once. It must have its beginning, and its gradual progress. Thus was it with East Indian indigo. At present, the cultivation of sugar, by British capital, has not even commenced in that quarter. The discouragements both there and in this country are so great, as wholly to prevent the application of capital in that direction; and until these discouragements are obviated, the trade must remain in its present state of depression and insignificance. The necessities indeed of the merchant, not his own will, oblige him from time to time to bring sugar to this country as dead weight; but if he were relieved from the burdensome tax he has to pay upon it, he would bring it freely and regularly, and its growth would increase to the full extent of his demand. It is not enough to say to him, you may carry the sugar of India to the continent. His answer is, "My voyage is to London. If I send it to the continent direct I shall have no dead weight for my ship; and if I send it to the continent, after having made the voyage to England, I shall send it under every possible disadvantage, and

loaded with double charges, there also to meet, in some other countries, at least, of Europe; as well as in England, with protecting duties in favour of their own colonial produce. Besides, my transactions are with England. It is there I wish to form my establishments and to realize not only my profits, but my commissions, instead of transferring those commissions to foreigners;—and, if I must submit to send my heavy goods, (my sugar, for instance,) to the continent, I must change my whole plan of trade, and send my light goods thither direct, as well as my heavy goods, form my establishments there, and abandon England entirely." Many other reasons might be assigned to shew that the real escape from the dilemma on the horns of which it has been attempted to place us, is to be found in the removal of the absurd restrictions which prevent the due development of British capital and native industry in India; and which most unjustly load with imposts, in this country, the produce of that capital and of that industry.

We have said that there is one exception to the statement that no sugars go *direct* from the colonies of Great Britain to the continental market. It is the case of some estates in that part of Dutch Guiana, which, in 1814, was ceded to Great Britain, and in favour of which a stipulation was then obtained that their produce should not be brought hither, but carried to Holland. This was thought at the time to be a great boon to the proprietors. At this very moment, however, we understand that those proprietors are earnestly pressing the Government of this country to relieve them from this injurious distinction, and to permit them to send their sugars to the British market, the loss to them of not being allowed to pass through that market, notwithstanding the double voyage, being considerable. We have here an additional proof of the heavy burden to which this country is subjected for the support of slavery.

It is a farther confirmation of it, that a practice has recently grown up of extracting from the molasses imported from the West Indies the sugar contained in it, and either bringing that sugar into consumption at home, or exporting it in a refined state to the Continent. It seems right to warn the Government of the extensive frauds which may thus be practised. It is obviously easy so to manage the manufacture of sugar in the West Indies, as that a very large proportion of saccharine matter shall be held suspended in the molasses; and as the duty on molasses is only 10s. per cwt. it is further obvious, that on all the sugar that may be extracted from it, and brought into consumption at home, there might be a clear gain to the importer of 17s. per cwt. being the difference between the duty on sugar and that on molasses. And supposing the sugar so produced to pass through the process of refinement, the gain would be materially greater. Thirty hundred weight of such raw sugar will have paid of duty on importation only the sum of 15*l.*; and yet, when refined and exported, it may yield the same amount of drawback, &c. on its exportation, as we have shown to be derived from the same quantity of Muscovado, when refined and exported, though 30 cwt. of Muscovado pay a duty of 40*l.* 10s. on importation. What is to hinder a sugar baker in this country, having a sugar estate in the West Indies, to import all his sugar, in the state of

a thick syrup, at the low rate of duty of 10*l.* a ton, and to receive on its exportation, in a refined state, an amount of drawback which shall afford him a most enormous profit?

#### THE CASE OF MISS THRELFALL AND HER SLAVES.

*Being an Appeal to the Justice and Humanity of the British Parliament, in behalf of One Hundred and Twenty Black Men, Women, and Children, whom it is proposed, for the profit of this Lady, to transport from a British to a Danish Colony.*

MISS THRELFALL, an English lady, is the proprietor of 120 negroes, now residing in Tortola, one of the Virgin Islands. Conceiving that she can employ them more profitably in the Danish island of St. Jan, where she also possesses land and slaves, than on the comparatively exhausted soil of Tortola, she desires the British Parliament to enable her to transport these 120 negroes from the latter to the former colony.

Mr. Wilmot Horton having given notice of his intention to propose some amendments in the Consolidated Slave Trade Abolition Act, Miss Threlfall has announced her purpose of taking that opportunity to introduce, by means of certain friends she has obtained in the House of Commons, a clause to the above effect.

This project cannot but appear most extraordinary, to those who are aware that the removal of negroes from any British possession to that of any foreign power, for the purpose of being treated as slaves, has been ranked by statute with crimes of the deepest die: it is classed and punished as piracy.

The statement of this lady indeed assumes, that the prohibition of such a transfer as she contemplates is of a recent date, "arising," she asserts, "from the operation of the late act for consolidating the laws against the slave trade;" and she complains of that act on this ground especially, as "affecting" her interests as the "proprietor of an estate in Tortola," and affecting also "the welfare of the slaves employed upon it."

This, however, is an entire misrepresentation of the facts of the case. In the year 1806, twenty-one years ago, the removal of slaves from a British to a foreign possession was made, by the act of Geo. III. chap. 52. a highly penal offence; and in 1811, it was made a felony, punishable by transportation or the hulks. And the only new feature which has been introduced into the more recent act, of which Miss Threlfall complains, is, that the crime which she now asks the licence of Parliament to perpetrate, instead of being punishable with transportation, may be punished with death.

It is, therefore, not true that the difficulty which Miss Threlfall seeks to obviate is of recent creation. It has existed in full force for twenty-one years; and the only real difference is, that now the offender, instead of being subjected to fine and forfeiture, or to exile or the hulks, may be consigned to the gallows.

Miss Threlfall, indeed, very ingenuously confesses, that she has for years been committing with impunity the very felony described and

punished by the act of 1811. She may not be aware, otherwise she would hardly have made this rash confession, that by such conduct she has not only made herself liable to very heavy forfeitures, but to the pains and penalties of felony.

But whatever may be Miss Threlfall's liabilities in this respect, it is obvious that her plea, drawn from the recent date of this prohibition, is altogether unfounded. And it is equally unfounded, that there are in her case any *new* circumstances, any circumstances which have not existed in full force for the last twenty years.

It would not have been a very modest request, to have asked the British Parliament to violate its own deliberate enactments, even if the object were only to escape pecuniary penalties, and if the subjects of the prohibition were not human beings, but bales of goods. But in the present case, the boldness of the applicant extends to the request that Parliament would grant to her its licence to perpetrate an act which it has solemnly denounced, in the face of the country and of the world, as a crime worthy of death; and to grant this licence, regardless of the feelings and the future destiny of 120 human beings, who are to be the innocent and unoffending victims of its compliance.

Suppose a smuggler, or even a highwayman, were to approach the bar of Parliament, applying for a statutory licence to defraud the revenue, or to plunder a certain number of his Majesty's subjects, and should enforce his application by a plea *ad misericordiam* in behalf of his wife and children, whom with his diminished means he was no longer able to maintain; would there, in such an application, be any thing more directly opposed to *justice*, than in the application of this lady. Indeed her proposition is infinitely more revolting to *humanity*, for it sacrifices the happiness of 120 men, women, and children, for the sole purpose of adding to Miss Threlfall's income.

But we are told, (for it obviously would not have been decent to place the proposed measure on its real ground, the pecuniary profit of Miss Threlfall,) we are told that this removal is called for by a regard to the welfare of the slaves themselves, as well as to the interests of their proprietor.

We will not affirm that this is known to be, but it most unquestionably is, an unfounded pretence.

These negroes are to be taken from Tortola to St. Jan, *because* the soil of the latter colony, it is said, is more productive than that of the former. This, however, will be found to constitute one of the strongest reasons which humanity has to urge against the proposal.

Putting the consideration of general principle wholly out of the question, it now stands proved by the most unquestionable statistical facts, furnished by the colonists themselves, that, throughout all the slave colonies, the duration of life, and the amount of comfort among the slaves, increases in proportion, not to the productiveness, but the unproductiveness of the soils they cultivate *for their masters' benefit*; and also that the hope of deliverance from the bitter yoke of their bondage, is increased in the same relative proportion.

If in Demarara the slaves decrease rapidly, while in the Bahamas they increase as fast as they decrease in Demarara, what is the grand

cause of this difference? It is that the soil of Demarara is so rich as not only to be capable of sugar culture, with all its attendant oppression, but to make that culture a source of large comparative profit to the planter; while the soil of the Bahamas is only fit for the growth of pasture and of provisions, and perhaps of a little cotton.

Again, why does the population even of Barbadoes increase as compared with that of Grenada, St. Vincents and Trinidad, but because the soil of these three islands is more productive than that of Barbadoes, and therefore affords a stronger stimulus to the rigid exaction of slave labour, and to the adoption of that species of cultivation, which in rich soils is most profitable to the master, while it is the most destructive to the life and comfort of the slave?

Every proprietor of a cotton mill, and every post horse master in the kingdom, fully understands the principle on which this apparent anomaly proceeds.—A high profit on the manufacture of cotton goods, will infallibly abridge the duration of the machinery which produces them.—A contested county election will probably kill or injure more horses in a month, than at another time would be killed or injured in a year. The profits indeed of the weaver, in the one case, and of the post boy in the other, might and probably would increase with the profits of their respective masters. So also would those of the negro labourer, if he were a free man, receiving wages in proportion to his exertions. But the negro labourer is a slave, and receives no wages. He is the machine worn down by friction; or he is the post horse excited to undue and prolonged muscular exertion, by the whip and the spur, in order to swell the gains of his owner.

By transporting slaves therefore from a less to a more productive soil, we insure for them, independently of a variety of other evils, an aggravation of the miseries of their lot, and an acceleration of debility and death.

The poverty of the soil of Tortola, is a main reason assigned by Miss Threlfall, for desiring the expatriation of her slaves. The poverty of soil, however, of which *she* complains, is not the incapability of producing provisions fit for the sustenance of the slaves, but of raising articles affording a profit to the owner. This is evidently no ground of complaint to her slaves, as we shall see presently. But if it were, wherein does her case differ from that of every other planter in Tortola? Major Moody, whose authority may be relied upon as to this fact, states the deterioration of the soil, and its incapacity of profitably producing sugar, to be the universally and well-founded complaint of every owner of land in that island. If this reason should be admitted as valid for decreeing the exile of Miss Threlfall's slaves, it may be pleaded with precisely the same force for dooming the whole servile population of Tortola to a similar exile.

If we may rely on the same authority, however, we mean that of Major Moody, such a measure, notwithstanding the poverty of the soil of Tortola, would infallibly prove a calamity and not a blessing to the slaves.

The Major in one of his parliamentary reports, has given us, on the authority of a Dr. Stobo, whose conclusions he adopts as entitled to

credit, the following statement of *visible* property possessed by the slaves of Tortola, consisting of about 5000 men, women, and children, or about 1200 to 1500 families, *viz.*—

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

“In the above,” it is added, “I have not estimated the disposable portion of esculents and fruits; and of cotton, raised by slaves. They cultivate on their own account, about 1675 acres of land, which is estimated to yield annually, 3*l.* 10*s.* sterling per acre, in total, 5862*l.* 10*s.* After supporting themselves, the surplus they dispose of at market, *which amounts to a very considerable sum.* The industrious also possess, in cash, considerable sums. I am fully satisfied they are possessed of capital, arising from the sale of stock and crop, to fully the amount of 5000*l.* sterling.”—Parliamentary papers of 16th of March, 1825, No. 115, p. 152.

The truth of this representation of the state of things, among the slaves in Tortola, rests on the authority of Dr. Stobo, sanctioned and substantiated by Major Moody. Assuming it to be true, it affords a fresh proof of the fact already established, that the unproductiveness of the soil, to the master, is not only compatible with the welfare of the slave, but a direct cause of his comparative comfort and prosperity; the effect of such a circumstance being that he has both more land to cultivate, and more time for its cultivation, as well as for looking after his fruits and his esculents; his pigs and his poultry; his goats and his cattle; his horses and his fishpots.

No such estimate as the above can, we venture to say, be truly exhibited in those colonies which are comparatively fertile and productive.

And it is from this state of comparative ease and comfort, and, according to Major Moody, of considerable capital, and even surplusage of enjoyment, that Miss Threlfall would doom her unoffending slaves to an exile necessarily involving the sacrifice of much of their little peculium, and introducing them into a new situation where the soil is more productive, and therefore too good to be freely given to the slaves for their own use as in Tortola; where indeed it may be of a fertility which renders their time and their muscular exertion too beneficial to their owner to be left at their own disposal, without the compelling and stimulating power of the cartwhip.

Of the cruelty which must ever attend such removals, for such objects, we have a most striking illustration in an occurrence which took place in the very same Island so recently as 1823 and 1824.

In order to anticipate the passing of Dr. Lushington's bill, prohibiting the intercolonial slave trade, a planter of Tortola, of the name of Pickering, determined to remove thence a gang of Slaves amounting to 300 or 400 individuals. He first wished to obtain from Parliament a licence to remove them to Demerara. Defeated in this object, and fearful that Dr. Lushington's bill would effectually bar the door against any similar transfer, he hurried them off to Trinidad, where it is known that, from the fertility of the soil, slaves yield about three times as much to the planter, while they die almost three times as fast, as in Tortola.

There lies on the table of the House of Commons a paper giving some account of this transaction. It is of the year 1825, and is numbered 235. We there learn that the slaves of Mr. Pickering manifested the very strongest reluctance to this measure, though at first it was pretended to be merely for their benefit and entirely with their consent. This reluctance was not to be wondered at. They were all, like Miss Threlfall's negroes, creoles of the Island. They had, like hers, near connexions in all the neighbouring estates; and they had acquired, as it may be presumed hers also have done, a considerable peculium. They were now to be torn from their country and relations; to be driven to sacrifice their gardens and their live stock; and to be transported to a new and untried situation, where they might have to open new lands subjected to a variety of privations, and to treatment infinitely more severe than they had yet experienced. Such at least appears to have been their well grounded impression of the fate that awaited them; and to avoid it, if possible, a number of them, in October, 1823, adopted the desperate expedient of abandoning the plantation and endeavouring to effect their escape. They, of course, did not succeed in this rash attempt, and a body of slave hunters being sent in pursuit of them, they were seized and confined in jail. On the 17th of November, 1823, six of them were brought to trial, for rebellion, before Mr. Porter (the gentleman who signs Miss Threlfall's certificate) and three other Justices. They were found guilty, and three of them were sentenced to receive, and did receive, 63 lashes each on the bare back; and three others 39 lashes each in like manner. It was moreover ordered "that after the infliction of this punishment they should be remanded to jail, there to be kept in close confinement in irons until they could be transported from this Colony; and that they should be banished from these Islands for ever, as soon as possible, to such place as F. J. Pickering should think proper; and that if they, or any of them should be ever found voluntarily at large again, within any part of these Islands, they, or either of them, should suffer death."

Mr. Porter, the President and Judge (Miss Threlfall's friend and voucher) states that he expected to have been called to assist in forcing Mr. Pickering's slaves on board the vessels that were to convey them to Trinidad; but that after this trial, he says, "I found that happily there was no occasion to perplex myself; for the negroes went voluntarily!" "At least," he adds, "I heard nothing to the contrary!" Doubtless not.

The account of this transaction is bad enough as it stands on the face of the parliamentary record. But a private letter from Tortola, written shortly after the deportation took place, adds to it some fresh horrors.

After giving the particulars of the trial as they appear in the above account, the writer observes,—“The last scene was to see the master going to the jail,” (where it seems 24 of the men who had absconded were confined) “lashing them together, two and two, to be transported on board of a sloop for Trinidad; and I understand they were put in irons on board. The next morning it was shocking to hear the screams of their mothers, wives, (some of them pregnant) brothers, children, &c., who came to town on the Sunday morning to take their last farewell of the imprisoned party, when, to their surprise, they had been all transported the evening before.” “The consternation among the negroes is shocking to relate. All George’s and Martin’s slaves, it is expected, will be sold and sent to the same place.”

In another letter the same gentleman observes,—“I am told that it is said in the English papers that the negroes are glad of the change, and even dancing for joy. I wish it was in the power of my pen to describe those painful separations which have been witnessed in this colony during the last 12 months. From first to last there have been ten or twelve vessels cleared for Trinidad with slaves. God only knows what would have been the result of these removals, if it had not been for the Methodist preachers, who preached submission and obedience to the slaves, and who attended and prayed with them to the last, and as the slaves were Methodists, they bowed to their pastors with gratitude.—An old negro, belonging to Todman’s estate, parting from his wife and children on the beach, fell lifeless. He was taken up and medical aid was called.”

A variety of further details might be given of the miseries produced by these removals, and particularly of the large sacrifices of property and comfort incurred by these expatriated negroes, thus subjected to exile without even the imputation of a crime. But the above extracts must suffice for the present.

Now the precise object of Miss Threlfall’s application to Parliament is to renew, in the case of her slaves, the various horrors above detailed, and the recurrence of which, it might have been hoped, the Bill of Dr. Lushington would have for ever prevented.

These evils, however, dreadful as they are, are but a part of those involved in the application of Miss Threlfall.

The negroes of Mr. Pickering were removed, not to a foreign, but to a British colony, where some regulations at least are in force for the amelioration of their condition and for the ultimate extinction of slavery itself. The negroes of Miss Threlfall are to be removed to a colony which no British regulations can reach; and in which no similar measures for the mitigation and extinction of slavery are contemplated.

The negroes of Mr. Pickering, after being landed in Trinidad, are protected, by Dr. Lushington’s bill, from the possibility of any subsequent removal or separation. The negroes of Miss Threlfall, if removed to St. Jan, will be placed beyond the control of a British Act of Parliament. They may be sold singly to the highest bidder, and may be dispersed, without ceremony, to the ends of the earth; while, even in St. Jan itself, they will continue subject to that cart-whip, of the early abolition of which, at Tortola, some hope at least may be entertained; and



also to a slavery, of the termination of which there is not in St. Jan, as there now is in the British possessions, even a distant prospect.

But, independently of the measures adopted by the British Government and Parliament for the eventual extinction of slavery, and to which no parallel is to be found in the proceedings of Denmark, the probabilities of manumission from other causes are infinitely diminished by the proposed removal. The very circumstance of the poverty of the soil of Tortola, while it has added, as Major Moody's statements shew, to the ease and comfort of the slaves, has also most materially tended to facilitate their enfranchisement by diminishing their value. By recent statistical returns, it appears that the present average value of slaves in Tortola does not exceed £17. 10s. sterling each. In the foreign colony to which it is proposed to remove them in the first instance, as well as in those to which, when placed beyond British jurisdiction, they will become liable to be removed, at the pleasure and for the profit of their owner, the value of slaves is probably three times as much. Thus the obstacles to their enfranchisement will be greatly increased, while their means of overcoming those obstacles will, of necessity, be abridged.

When we have calmly considered all these consequences of the proposed measure,—nay, even if we were to suppose that the poignant anguish of a separation was the only evil attending it,—may we not ask how can the British legislature reconcile itself to the infliction of such sufferings without even the imputation of a crime? We shrink from the severity of punishing even felons by transportation for life, which also, in the West Indian codes, is the punishment ranking next to death; and yet Parliament is, in this instance, desired to repeal one of its own most solemn enactments, in order to enable Miss Threlfall to impose, for her own profit, perpetual exile on 120 innocent fellow-beings.

The negroes belonging to Miss Threlfall, in Tortola, appear to have increased in number. By the Registry of 1818, they amounted to 115. In 1822, their number was the same. It is now said to be 120. This increase, though very small, is still a proof that the circumstances in which her slaves have been placed, (among which we reckon as the chief the poverty of the soil,) and the treatment to which they have been subjected, have not been *so* destructive of human life as is usual in most of our other colonies, and especially on sugar estates. If this fact speaks in favour of Miss Threlfall's treatment of her slaves, as compared with many of her neighbours, it also furnishes an additional argument against putting to hazard even this commencing course of slow progression, by tearing these poor creatures from the soil where they have taken root, and transplanting them to one which may prove far less genial, and where, at least, they will be placed wholly out of the reach of British control or inspection.

Miss Threlfall, indeed, asserts that many of her Tortola slaves have family connections in St. Jan. This may be possible, and from the vicinity of the two islands, the same thing might be affirmed, either truly or falsely, by every planter in Tortola, without any means of ascertaining whether the statement were true or false. But even if true to a certain extent, it is quite impossible that the slaves of Miss Threlfall can have as many family connections in St. Jan, a foreign possession, separated by

two miles of sea, and still more by the legal and fiscal obstacles to free intercourse, as on the estates immediately adjoining her own in Tortola, and where the intercourse has been constant, easy, and liable to no obstructions. It cannot be, therefore, that many more ties would not be severed by granting than by refusing her request. Besides, supposing there are ten of her slaves in Tortola, who are nearly connected in St. Jan, it would only, according to the average price of slaves in the former island, cost her £175. sterling to enfranchise those ten, and thus leave them at liberty to join their relations.

And here let it not be forgotten, that while Miss Threlfall evidently possesses abundant means of pleading her own cause, and of setting at work various powerful engines of influence among Members of Parliament, and may state the case in the way most favourable to herself; the unfortunate objects of her cruel project cannot be heard. They cannot canvass on the other side. Though their entire human destiny is involved in the issue, yet they have no private influence to bring forward on their behalf. They have no access to the aunts and cousins of public men to exert for them the utmost importunity of solicitation; and though it cannot be doubted that they will find friends in the British Parliament, yet they are such friends as are so on public grounds alone, and are not stimulated to the requisite activity and exertion in their favour by those powerful personal motives which actuate the other side.

It becomes Parliament also to contemplate the effect of their compliance with such an application as that of Miss Threlfall, as it may form a precedent for similar applications. There is no one ground, as we have shewn, on which her request is urged, which would not furnish as strong and available a plea for a similar parliamentary interposition to scores and even hundreds of West India planters. But what in truth is Miss Threlfall's real plea?—It is that her private interests require an Act of Parliament for the exile of her slaves.

If this plea should succeed, it will amount to a virtual repeal of the Abolition Act. It will amount also to a parliamentary adoption of the cruel principle that in whatever part of the British colonies land shall be deteriorated, thence the proprietor ought to be allowed to transport his slaves. And what could be more fatal to the hopes of the philanthropist than to admit, as a principle of legislation, that the multiplication of slaves in any one colony is never to lighten their common labour, nor to improve their condition, nor to favour their enfranchisement; but that when, from whatever cause, their marketable value becomes so far lessened, that the master may, without any great sacrifice, convert them by manumission into free servants, a new exile shall be their lot, and new colonies shall be formed for their reception, till all the cultivable land between the tropics shall be saturated with slaves.

Is it probable then that the British Parliament can lend its legislative aid to enable this lady to perpetrate a capital felony, attended by all the circumstances of injury and oppression detailed above, and which give, to the character of this particular act, a more than ordinary degree of culpability?

An attempt, indeed, has been made to create a feeling in favour of the equity of the proposed measure, by a purposely obscure, and therefore

most insidious reference to a late decision of Lord Stowell, the nature and effect of which the framers of Miss Threlfall's statement have as much misrepresented as they have the nature and objects of the abolition laws. Their arguments on these points are as unfounded as the act they are intended to varnish over is criminal. The decision in question has no more bearing on the case of Miss Threlfall, than the case of Miss Threlfall has on the squaring of the circle.\*

In short, the more this case is examined, the more will it appear to be a case founded in misrepresentation and falsehood, and marked with cruelty and crime. And it would indeed be a singular blot on the character of our public men, if that which is matter of current report, but which we cannot believe, should prove true, namely, that Miss Threlfall had succeeded in exciting a powerful interest among members of the British Parliament in favour of her application; and that at least one hundred of these members have promised to vote for giving effect to her selfish and unwarrantable pretensions.

To those among that number who, after perusing this exposition of the real nature of the transaction, can still look upon it with favour; we have nothing to urge. To those who, with just views and humane feelings, have by unfounded statements and selfish appeals to their commiseration, been beguiled into any rash pledge, we would suggest, that if the measure they have promised to promote has been proved to be criminal, and if that promise has been drawn from them by untrue representations, then their course is clear: they are absolved from their engagement, and are bound to give their zealous and decided opposition to the unjust and cruel proposal, into the support of which they have been entrapped.

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\* The case was this: Eight slaves belonging to the estate of Abraham Chalmill Hill, of Tortola, lately deceased, were seized, on the 26th of February 1824, at Tortola, as forfeited, on the ground of their having been carried from Tortola to St. John's, and there employed as slaves.—The prosecutor, however, laid his information under a wrong Act of Parliament, which did not apply to the case; and on that ground, the ground of the deficiency and informality in the proceedings, the slaves were ordered to be restored. An Appeal was presented from this sentence, but it was confirmed by Lord Stowell, in 1826. On that occasion, it was admitted on all sides that, to export slaves from Tortola to a foreign Colony, except in cases provided for by Act of Parliament, was illegal. But it was contended, that besides the defectiveness of the proceedings, this particular case was provided for, being that of domestic slaves accompanying their master from Tortola to St. Jan, and returning with him again.

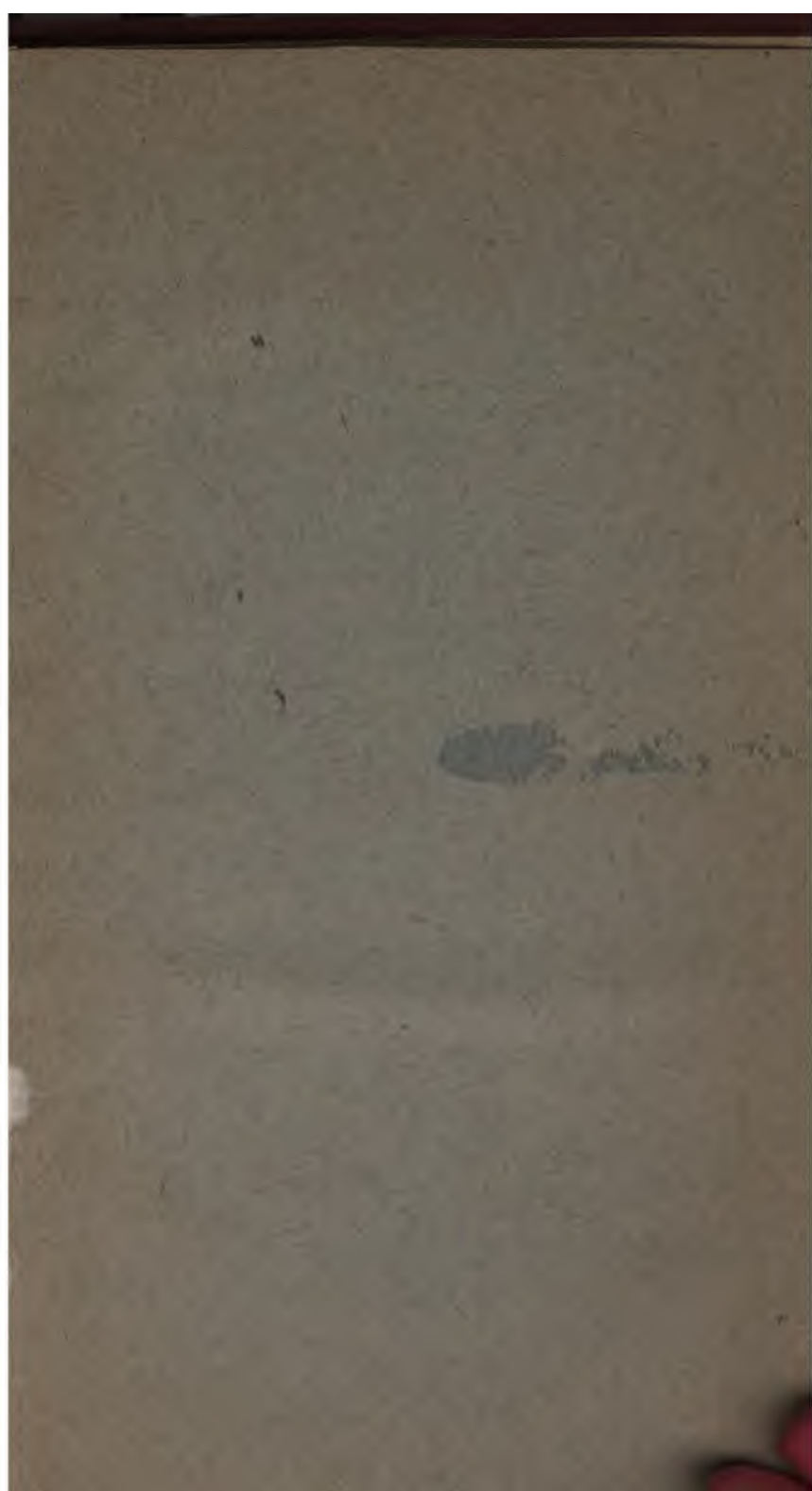
Lord Stowell said, If slaves were seized proceeding from Tortola to St. John's he should then know how to deal with the case, but this was a case of a very different description: the proceedings did not properly seize the legal point, and the facts proved led to the conclusion, that the slaves were domestic slaves, legally accompanying their masters, and returning with them.—The law was not disputed on either side. No lawyer could have entertained a doubt as to the illegality of exporting slaves from a British to a foreign Colony: the whole discussion turned on the proceedings and the proofs.

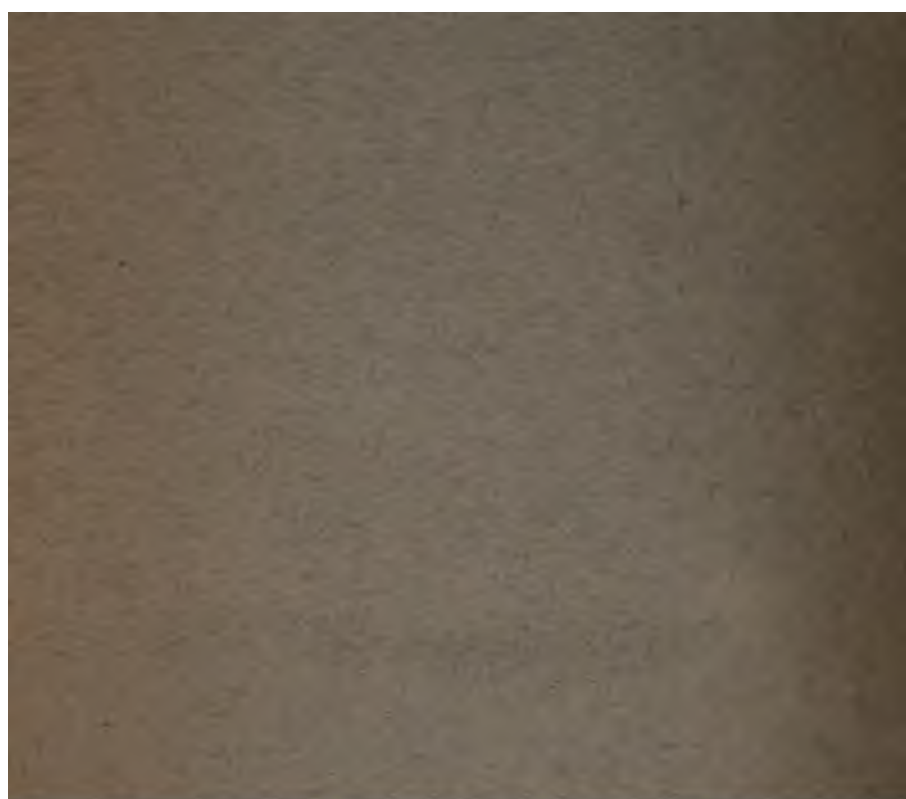
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