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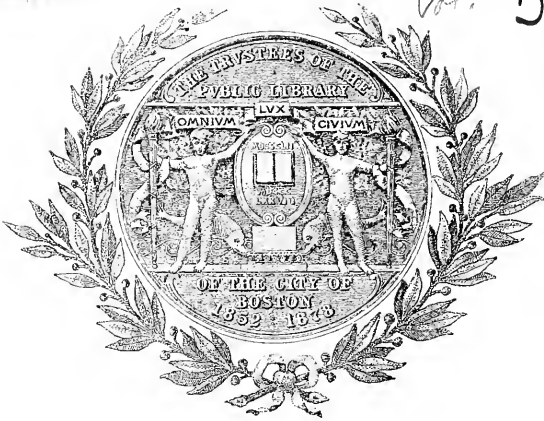
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Secretary.

London.

April 2nd 1836.

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THE
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

VOLUME V.

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ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 92.]

JANUARY 1832.

[VOL. v. No. 1.

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II.—INSTRUCTIONS OF VISCOUNT GODERICH TO GOVERNORS OF COLONIES.

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I.—NEW SLAVE CODE.—ORDER IN COUNCIL OF NOV. 2. 1831.

IN our third volume, No. 58, we took occasion to analyse an Order in Council, issued on the 3rd of February, 1830, for ameliorating the condition of the slaves in the Crown Colonies, commenting upon some of its provisions with feelings of regret and disappointment. A new Order, framed on the basis of the former, but greatly modifying, and we must add, materially improving its general tenor, has recently appeared. It bears date the 2nd of November 1831, and has already, we believe, been transmitted as an actual law to the Governors of those Colonies, viz. Demerara and Berbice, (now forming one Colony under the name of British Guiana,) Trinidad, St. Lucia, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Mauritius. We proceed to give an abstract of its provisions, with such observations as they appear to call for.

I. PROTECTORS, AND ASSISTANT PROTECTORS.—§. I.—XXVI.

The first twenty-six clauses are occupied in regulating the important offices of PROTECTORS and ASSISTANT PROTECTORS OF SLAVES; in prescribing their duties; and in arming them with the needful authority for duly executing their various functions. The improvements in this part of the Slave Code are highly important, and seem to proceed on a careful review of the obstacles which have hitherto frustrated the benevolent intentions of the Government in appointing these officers.

Whoever has perused with attention the various reports which have been made to the Secretary of State, by the Protectors of Slaves in the several Crown Colonies, will know how to appreciate the changes which have been introduced into the present Order, and which we shall now specify.

1. Not only all Protectors, but all Assistant Protectors also, are now debarred, on pain *de facto* of loss of office, from being, in their

own right or in that of their wives, the owners of any slave, or having any interest in, or any security upon any slave or in any land cultivated by the labour of slaves; and from being or acting as manager, overseer, agent, guardian, trustee, or attorney, for any such estate, or for any slaves. They are further debarred from hiring or employing any slave for domestic service, unless it shall first be made to appear, to the satisfaction of the Governor, that it is not in their power to hire free persons to perform domestic services.* (§. VII.)

2. Power is given by this Order to every Protector, or Assistant Protector, to enter, from time to time, and whenever he shall see occasion, upon any plantation cultivated, in whole or in part, by slaves, or into any house or hut inhabited by slaves, for the purpose of communicating with any slave, on any such plantation, or in any such house; and if any person shall, by force, or menace, or other unlawful means, prevent or oppose the entry, or the continuance, of any Protector, thereupon or therein, so long as he may deem it expedient to remain; or oppose or prevent his communicating with any such slave; then the person, so offending, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour. (§. XI.)

3. Slaves are at all times authorized to resort to the Protector to lay their complaints before him, or to apply to him in any matter relating to the duties of his office; and such slaves, so resorting, or returning to their abode after so resorting, though found without a pass or ticket from their manager, permitting their absence, shall not, for the want of such pass, be liable to any punishment, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding;—*Provided nevertheless that nothing herein contained shall authorise any such absence of any such slave without a pass, unless such slave shall first have applied for a pass to the manager and shall have failed to obtain the same from him.* (§. XIII.) And any person who, by force, or menace, or any other means, shall prevent slaves from resorting to the Protector, or shall punish them for so resorting, or for any complaint or application they shall make to the Protector, such person shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour. (§. XIV.)

4. Protectors, in all matters relating to the duties of their office, are authorized to require the attendance, at a given time and place, of all persons complained against, or interested in the result of any complaint, or who are supposed capable of giving evidence respecting it, whether such persons be free or slaves, (the summons in the latter case being addressed to the master of the slaves) and, at the given time and place, the Protector may proceed to hear and adjudge the cause, even in the absence of parties who shall be proved to have been duly summoned but who shall refuse or neglect to attend, unless some reasonable excuse for such non-attendance shall be established to the Protector's satisfaction. The witnesses in such cause,

* This last Provision is uncalled for, as in every Colony free domestics may be hired. It opens, too, a door to evasion and abuse. Domestic slavery is peculiarly corrupting, and besides this, by compelling the Protectors to resort to the ordinary modes of chastisement, their influence and efficiency may thereby be greatly lessened.

either for or against the complaint, are to be examined on oath, and their depositions taken down in writing, and read over to them, and signed by them. Witnesses refusing to attend, on being duly summoned, may be arrested by warrant of the Protector and brought before him; and when so brought before him, if they shall refuse to be fully examined and to give evidence, they may be committed to the common jail, there to remain till they shall submit to be fully examined; from which jail, however, they may be discharged by the Chief Civil Judge, on proof that the commitment was not legal.—The forms of summonses and of proceedings are annexed to the Order.—Protectors are prohibited from acting as Magistrates, except in the cases prescribed in the preceding clauses. (§. XV.—XXIII.)

5. Protectors shall have notice of all prosecutions against slaves for all capital or transportable offences, and of all suits affecting the freedom and property of slaves, and of all prosecutions for murders, and other offences, committed on the persons of slaves, in the same manner in which notice would be given to the slave if free; and Protectors shall also attend and be present at all such trials, prosecutions, suits, &c.; otherwise all the proceedings that may be taken shall be absolutely null, void, and of no effect, as against such slave. (§. XXIV.)

6. If complaint shall be made to any Protector of any wrong or injury done to a slave; or if such wrong or injury shall come to his knowledge; it shall be his duty to inquire into the case; and if, in the result, it appear to him that any civil or criminal proceeding ought to be instituted, it shall be his duty, and he is required, to institute the same, as the case may be, either in the Slave's name or his own, against any such wrong-doer, and to conduct such proceeding to its close, by himself, or by any advocate or solicitor he may employ for that purpose. (§. XXV.)

7. And when any slave shall come by death in a sudden, violent, or extraordinary manner, the Protector shall hold an inquest on the body of such slave, and shall for this purpose have the same powers as the Coroner of any County in England possesses; and every person, knowing of any such death, is required, under a penalty of ten pounds for every omission or neglect, to use his utmost diligence to give notice thereof to the Protector of the district in which such death shall have happened. (§. XXVI.)

We should have had only to express our satisfaction with these alterations, had it not been for two Provisos, one mentioned in a note on the preceding page, and the other (printed in italics) introduced into the Order at the close of §. XIII. It appears from the papers before us that this Proviso formed no part of the Order as at first framed by Lord Goderich. The draft of it sent, on the 15th September 1830, to the West Indian Agents, with a view to their observations, did not contain it. These gentlemen were sufficiently acute at once to perceive its importance, and the degree in which it would go to weaken all the other provisions, by which effectual protection was intended to be secured to the aggrieved slave;—and yet, the reasons

they assign for requiring this concession appear scarcely to deserve the consideration they have received.

“The permission,” they say, “to go at all times (to the Protector to complain) without passes might be perverted to mischievous purposes. A runaway for example, on being asked for a pass, might answer that he was going to the Protector. Whole gangs and the entire population of a district might also go up with perfect impunity, and no check or means appear to be provided to prevent the loss of labour which must result to the proprietor if frivolous complaints are made.” *Papers by Command*, 1831, p. 148.

To this objection Lord Goderich replies, that although “if the power of resorting to the Protector be not given, the law will obviously lose all its efficacy,” he nevertheless “admits without reserve the possibility of abuse.” An amendment therefore is introduced, “by which slaves found without a pass are exempted from punishment, only on proof that they had applied to the owner for it, with a view *bona fide* to prefer a complaint, and had been refused.” *Ibid.* p. 79.

Now it is true that a slave who is really a runaway, may plead, if he is challenged, that he is going to the Protector to complain; but any person who has a right to challenge him, has also a right to arrest him, if he sees reason to doubt the truth of the slave’s allegation. Having nothing to shew in proof of his statement that he is not a runaway, he may be dealt with as such; and this formidable risk the slave incurs, whenever, driven by the fear of the refusal of a pass from his manager, he ventures to the Protector without it. The risk, therefore, and the inconvenience, are his alone. If he misrepresents his case, he does it at the peril of suffering the penalty of desertion; and considering the jealousy and distrust which prevail, he may expect, if challenged, to be taken up; though by being so taken up, if he has spoken the truth, he will only be brought more certainly on his way to the Protector. Where, then, is the evil?

As to the supposition that either individuals, or whole gangs, or the whole population of a district, may *causelessly* absent themselves from labour in order to complain, it is to suppose that there is no effective police in Slave Colonies to restrain such causeless absences, and no punishment for false and malicious charges, when they are proved to be false and malicious.

On the other hand is it not an uncalled for, and somewhat dangerous abridgment of the slave’s power of access to his Protector, to be obliged to obtain the consent of the wrong-doer before being permitted to go to him? and in practice, it will be found, as past experience founded on the reports of Protectors has clearly shewn, that such an obligation may operate most prejudicially to the slave. Cases may occur, not only where influence or intimidation may be successfully employed to prevent very grave cases of complaint from reaching the Protector’s ears, but where crime may be added to crime, in order to obviate the risks of investigation. The power of a manager is great: and it does seem an anomaly of a singular kind, that the party injured should be made to depend, for the ready means of

redress, on the willingness of the wrong-doer to afford him such means. What a manager *may* do, in such a case, is painfully exemplified in an affair occurring at the Mauritius, viz.: the case of Francis and Loff, the slaves of Mr. Marchal, in the Protector's latest report from that island, (p. 175, No. 91.) How easily might Mr. Marchal have suppressed all means of detection and punishment by one additional enormity!

II. SUNDAY MARKETS AND SUNDAY LABOUR.—§. XXVII.—XXXV.

1. Sunday Markets are declared to be unlawful, and are henceforth absolutely to cease and determine, and all persons assembling for such markets are to be dispersed by the officers of police, and shall forfeit not less than five, nor more than twenty shillings for every such offence, and the goods of the offenders may be sold, provided they are not redeemed by such offenders for a sum not less than ten, nor more than twenty shillings; one half of such penalty, or of the proceeds of such sale if the goods are sold, being paid for the use of the poor of the place, and the other half to the person making the seizure; it being provided, nevertheless, that nothing is to prevent the sale of medicines, or of provisions consumed in inns, or of certain perishable articles, as milk, fresh meat, fish or bread, on Sunday, between the hours set apart on that day for divine service. (§. XXVII.—XXX.)

2. The Governor of each Colony shall, by proclamation, appoint one day in each week for holding markets at the customary places, and shall determine the hours at which such markets shall be held; and on such weekly market day, it shall not be lawful to seize, in execution on any civil process, any slave resorting to, or being at, or returning from, such market, and every such seizure shall be absolutely null and void. (§. XXXI.)

3. No slave shall be liable to labour for the benefit or advantage of his owner or manager, or of any other person whatsoever, on any Sunday throughout the year; and any person compelling any slave to perform such labour on any Sunday, shall incur a fine of not less than one, nor more than ten pounds; but this prohibition shall not extend to slaves usually employed as domestics, or in the tending or care of cattle; nor to any work of necessity. Under the head, however, of works of necessity, is not to be included any description of agricultural labour, or any labour performed in the manufacture of sugar, rum, molasses, wine, indigo, coffee, or cocoa, unless such labour be undertaken to prevent, or arrest, or remedy the effects of any fire, flood, hurricane, tempest, or such like casualty.

These regulations respecting Sunday, as far as they go, are doubtless very salutary, and a great improvement on the former Order; but still they fall very far short of the justice and necessity of the case.

In the first place, there is no provision for conferring on the slave a *right* to attend the weekly market. A weekly market-day may be duly appointed by proclamation in every colony; and yet not one slave in that Colony may have the power of attending such market.

The owner is not required, by any law, to give the slave a single hour for that purpose; so that this well-meant but most ineffective regulation may prove, instead of a source of advantage, a source of real injury, to the slave. If not by law, at least by immemorial usage, the slave has hitherto had the power of attending the Sunday market. Henceforward it is left to the mere caprice of managers to say whether he shall ever have it in his power to attend a market at all. Is not this a severe grievance, a grievance too inflicted, not by colonial legislatures, but by the King in council? And if this oppressive arrangement should lead, as in Antigua and other colonies, (for whose defective legislation it seems to afford an apology,) to discontent, resistance, and blood; to the insurrection of the injured slaves; to their consequent subjection to military execution; or to their judicial condemnation to stripes or exile or death; would not all the misery thus caused, and all the blood thus shed, be chargeable on the defects of this Order? We implore the Government, therefore, to re-consider these clauses, and if Slavery must still continue, at least to prevent, before it is too late, the evils which must, sooner or later, flow from their imperfection. There is only one way of *effectually* obviating those evils, and of rendering to the slaves the measure of justice which we verily believe it is the desire and intention of the Government to render to them; and that is, to give them, by a positive enactment, a *right* to the use of the weekly market-day.

We trust also that means will be devised for securing to slaves who are employed on Sunday as domestics or cattle keepers, and who are thus debarred from the enjoyment of it as a day which is to be wholly free, as in the case of all other slaves, from “the demands of the master, or their own necessities,” both due time for instruction and repose, and adequate means of subsistence.

III. PROHIBITION OF THE DRIVING WHIP.—§. XXXVI.

The prohibition of THE DRIVING WHIP, or of any other like instrument, to impel labour of any kind, seems to be unexceptionably expressed. The employment of it is punishable as a misdemeanour in all who use it or who cause it to be used.

IV. REGULATION OF ARBITRARY PUNISHMENT.—§. XXXVII.—XL.

We now come to the regulations respecting the infliction of ARBITRARY PUNISHMENT by the owner or his delegate; and undoubtedly there is here also very considerable improvement.

1. No female slave can legally be punished by flogging in any case, except by sentence of a court or magistrate.

2. No male slave can be legally punished by flogging, if the number of stripes shall exceed fifteen (instead of twenty-five as in the former Order,) for any one offence, or by any number of successive punishments within 24 hours; or if, at the time of such punishment, there shall be, on the person of the slave, any unhealed wound caused by any former punishment.

3. It shall not be lawful to punish any slave, male or female, “wantonly, that is to say, without a reasonable and adequate cause,” or “to inflict on any slave a punishment more than adequate to the

fault ;” or “ to inflict on any slave two or more punishments for any one offence ;” or to employ “ two or more distinct modes of punishing one and the same offence ;” or “ to employ any mode of punishing a slave which may be both unusual, and calculated to produce greater suffering than the modes of domestic punishment usually employed in the colony ; or to use, in punishment, any instrument of greater severity than is usually employed in common jails, with the previous sanction of the chief judge, to punish persons sentenced to bodily punishment in such jails.” Neither shall it be lawful to inflict any corporal punishment, on any slave, until the expiration of six hours from the time of the commission of the offence ; and unless one free person, competent to give evidence in a court of justice, other than the person authorising and the person inflicting the punishment, be present as a witness, or, in case no such free person can be found, three adult slaves as witnesses of the punishment ;—and any one who shall violate any of these rules regulating arbitrary punishments, or be aiding in doing so, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour. But these rules shall not extend to any punishments inflicted by competent courts, or to the whipping of girls under ten years of age as free girls are usually whipped at school. (§. XXXVII.—XXXIX.)

4. For the punishment of offences formerly punishable by whipping, *female* slaves shall be liable to imprisonment, confinement in stocks, or such other punishment as may be authorized by a proclamation of the governor of each colony, which proclamation shall prescribe, with all practicable precision, the nature and extent of the punishments so to be substituted for whipping in the case of females, and also make such regulations as may be necessary to prevent and punish any abuses in such substituted modes of punishment. (§. XL.)

Our first remark on this part of the Order is that we lament the continuance of the power of owners and their delegates arbitrarily to inflict the whip, in any case, even on males. Such a power is obviously unnecessary ; but, even if necessary, corporal punishment ought to be inflicted only by the magistrate. It is alleged, however, to be necessary, and, on the ground of that alleged necessity, the Order in Council sanctions the continuance of the practice ; sanctions, that is to say, the infliction, by any master or mistress, or by any delegate of any such master or mistress, on any male slave, fifteen incisions of the whip. And these fifteen incisions may be inflicted on a man’s bared posteriors, (for such is the practice !) for no defined offence, without any previous trial, without the necessity of receiving evidence of the sufferer’s guilt, or any opportunity given him of rebutting such evidence, but at the mere discretion of any owner, or of the delegate of such owner, whoever he may be. An attempt, we admit, is made to guard against the abuse of this tremendous and irresponsible power ; but the attempt, however well meant, must prove, we fear, an utter failure. It is made unlawful, indeed, to punish a slave “ wantonly,” “ without a reasonable or adequate cause,” or “ with more severity than is adequate to the fault ;” but a rule so vague seems so little capable of application, as to be likely to pro-

duce injustice either to the slave or to his manager. It would be a benefit even to the manager, and save him probably from much inconvenience, if a power, liable to such a latitude of construction, were taken from him and placed in the hands of the magistrate. As to the *necessity* of continuing such a power to the owner or his delegate, which is the only ground on which its policy is, or can be, maintained, it may be shewn to have no solid foundation on which to rest. That necessity is strenuously asserted, indeed, both by planters and by colonial governors; but then the very same plea was preferred, by the very same parties, for continuing to owners and their delegates the power of flogging *females*; and yet the plea was repudiated by the King in Council; and the power of flogging females, except by the magistrate, or rather by the sentence of a court of justice, was absolutely and entirely abolished. "It is impossible," said Mr. Paterson, the acting Governor of Grenada, "to comply with the total prohibition of the whip as an instrument of the correction of females," which is deemed so indispensable by Lord Bathurst. "The women are the most turbulent of the slaves." (See our Vol. i. No. 11, p. 161.) The prohibition of the flogging of females, and even of their indecent exposure, was peremptorily refused by the Assembly of Jamaica in 1826, by a majority of 28 to 12. (Ib. No. 21, p. 307.) It was also peremptorily refused in the same year by the Assembly of Barbadoes, who declared that, "to forbid, by legislative enactment, the flogging of females, would be productive of the most injurious consequences," (ibid.) and "endanger the safety of the inhabitants, the interests of property, and the welfare of the slaves themselves." (Vol. ii. p. 96.) Again say the Barbadoes planters, "The female slaves evince at all times a greater disregard to the authority of their owners than the male slaves. To deprive an owner of this mode of enforcing obedience, or punishing disorderly conduct, would tend to encourage a stronger disposition to insubordination." (Vol. ii. No. 37, p. 248.) "With respect to the punishment of female slaves," say the legislators of the Bahamas, "we deem it impracticable to substitute any other punishment in the place of flogging. Indeed all intelligent slaveholders hold that females, generally, require more frequent corporal punishment than males, for with them originates a large portion of the crimes for which males suffer." (Ib. vol. ii. No. 28, p. 80.) Nay, Sir Lowry Cole denounces to the Secretary of State, "the conduct of female slaves as in many instances, in every respect, fully as bad as that of the worst of the male slaves." "I admit," he says, "that the abolishing of corporal punishment in the case of female slaves is highly desirable," yet "I conceive that bad consequences might result from its immediate prohibition." (Vol. iii. No. 52, p. 71.)—We might multiply similar protests from governors and planters against the abolition of female flogging, in which they represent it as in the highest degree dangerous to the peace of the colonies, and as more to be deprecated than even the abolition of flogging as it respects the men. But his Majesty's Government had the good sense and the humanity to disregard all these unfounded objections, and to adhere to their determination to put down the flogging of females by private authority.

Why then, we ask, must it be retained in the case of men? Can a single adequate reason be given for retaining it, in this latter case, which has not been absolutely and peremptorily rejected as groundless in the case of women? In fact, the government, in defending this measure against the clamours of the planters, have not adduced a single argument which would not be a valid plea for the abolition of arbitrary flogging, by the manager, as it respects the men also. The practice is obviously one which, without some stringent necessity, ought not to be tolerated. But with our experience of the perfect safety of abolishing it in the case of the women, who compose one half of the slave population, it looks like gratuitous inhumanity to retain it in the case of the men. On the testimony of the planters themselves, the men are still less prone to insubordination than the women, who, for six or seven years past, have been wholly exempted from the whip. Government, therefore, we conceive, might well spare themselves the degradation of regulating the number of incisions of the whip which the passion or the caprice of any master or mistress, or of any ruffian delegate of such master or mistress, may inflict or cause to be inflicted on the bare bodies of so many of the King's subjects, and thus might their functionaries also be spared the odious task of minutely inspecting the state of wounds so inflicted. The experiment has already been successfully tried for six or seven years with the females; why should it not be tried with respect to the males? We press this point the more, because we really feel a deep debt of gratitude to our present colonial administration for much that they have both said and done, and we should rejoice to have been able to extend our eulogy still farther, and to have seen them and their officers rescued from the unseemly necessity to which this practice has reduced them of counting the scars thus inflicted. We have only to turn for an exemplification of the indelicate and disgusting nature of these inspections to any of our late abstracts of the Protectors' reports. The mere allusion to the exhibitions which Protectors are called to witness, and Secretaries of State to comment upon, and which British ordinances unfortunately authorize, cannot even be read in our pages without raising a blush on the cheek of modesty.

Then with respect to the *kinds* of punishment which are to be substituted for flogging; ought these to be left to that ingenuity, in the arts of torturing, in which the Reports of the Protectors shew the gentlemen and ladies of our Slave Colonies to be such proficient? Some of the instruments of domestic punishment, in common use in the Mauritius, brought home to England a year or two ago by the Commissioners of Inquiry, were declared by Sir George Murray, on his personal inspection of them, to be instruments, not of correction merely, but of torture; and we hesitate not to affirm that a similar judgment would be pronounced, by every humane man, unused to the domestic discipline of Slave Colonies, on some at least of the instruments which Orders in Council have sanctioned, as a substitute for flogging, in the punishment of females. Take those which strike a British ear as the most innocuous. The *stocks*, for example, is an instrument which, in England, is used solely for the purpose of re-

straint. But in the Slave Colonies even stocks become an instrument of torture in the hands of masters and managers. What, indeed, can be more exquisite torture than to thrust into stocks, even of the simplest form, the feet of a lacerated slave, while forced to sit with his excoriated breech on a block or bench of wood? The limbs of *females*, it is true, cannot now be lacerated, lawfully, in the Crown Colonies, though they still may in the chartered; but even in their case stocks are most skilfully contrived to serve the purposes of torture, being made to combine the worst elements of the pillory, and of the military picket, with a partial importation from the rack. One form of these instruments of punishment consists of a standing frame, in which is placed a slider with holes for both hands; and, to prevent the hands when so placed being withdrawn, leaden weights are attached to the wrists of the delinquent. The hands being thus secured, the slider may be elevated until the toes just touch the ground; and in this painful position, occasionally aggravated by other ingenious devices, is the wretched sufferer often suspended for an hour or more. And yet who dreams of torture when he only hears *stocks* mentioned? Then we have also the *bar de justice*, that beautiful ornament of the salons of the ladies of Mauritius. We might go on to specify other devices of a similar description in common use; but we have probably said enough to induce a doubt whether the law has sufficiently guarded against the cruelty of the punishments that may be substituted for flogging, by merely requiring that, as the criterion of their humanity, they should be conformed to the *usual* modes of domestic punishment.

Similar remarks might be applied to the other test which this Order assigns, for determining the due lenity of any substituted modes of punishment, namely, that they are employed in common jails under the sanction of the magistrates. Now it were easy to shew that, in the common jails and workhouses, even of Jamaica, a species of rack has long been in general use, under the sanction of the magistrates, for the punishment of slaves; and that this is not confined to slaves suffering under judicial sentence only, but is extended to those who are sent thither, at the mere caprice of masters, mistresses, and managers, to be punished for domestic offences, without examination or control, without judge or jury. All who have visited the workhouse of Kingston, and of the neighbouring parish of St. Andrew, will understand what we mean in thus alluding to the well known, but seldom noticed, instrument, the block and tackle, used there for extending, to their utmost stretch, the bared bodies of men and women, while undergoing, in addition to the tension of this rack, the agonizing application of the cart-whip.

We trust that among other expedients for effectually guarding against the continuance or adoption of such revolting modes of punishment, the Government will take measures for an immediate inquiry on the spot; and for the immediate transmission, to this country, of a complete set of all those instruments of punishment now in use in the Slave Colonies, with the names of which indeed we may be familiar, but of the real nature of which, we repeat, neither the Government

nor the people of this country have formed any adequate conception. The humane mind of Sir G. Murray was justly shocked, even by the comparatively harmless chains, and fetters, and collars, with their prongs and their other contrivances, which were exhibited to him as the ordinary, every-day, instruments of correction in the Mauritius; and he indignantly pronounced them to be instruments of torture. If a complete repository could be formed of these, and of all the other instruments of torture used in our Slave Colonies, it would do more, we feel, for illustrating the real nature of British Colonial Slavery, than all that has yet been said and written upon the subject. And to them it would be well to add models of the different forms of *Cachot* spread over these Colonies, and some of which are so contrived as to prevent the inmate of them from placing himself in any position of body which is unattended with pain.

These remarks both on the expediency of transferring to the magistrate the power of corporal punishment in the case of male slaves, and on the danger of leaving to the Colonial authorities the choice of substitutions for the whip in the case of women, are strikingly confirmed by Mr. Jeremie, in his *Essays on Slavery*, reviewed in our last number.

V. ILLEGAL AND CRUEL PUNISHMENTS.—§. XLI.

If any person is convicted of having inflicted or authorized ILLEGAL and CRUEL PUNISHMENT, or any CRUELTY towards a slave, it shall be in the discretion of the Court before which he is convicted, to declare his interest in the slave to be forfeited to the King, in addition to any other penalty imposed upon him; and if so convicted more than once, it shall be in the discretion of the Court to sequester, for his benefit, all his right in any slaves belonging to him, in addition to any other penalty to which he may be sentenced; and any person on whom such sentence of sequestration has been pronounced shall thereupon become incapable in law to superintend, manage, or control any slave, on pain of being deemed guilty of a misdemeanour.

We could have wished that such sequestrations had been made imperative on the Court, after a second or third conviction.

VI. FALSE AND MALICIOUS COMPLAINTS OF SLAVES.—§. XLII.

“If it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of any Court or magistrate, on the oath of one or more witnesses, that any slave has preferred any FALSE AND MALICIOUS COMPLAINT or accusation against his owner or manager, it shall be lawful for such Court or magistrate to proceed, in a summary way, to sentence any such slave to imprisonment with hard labour for not more than three months, or, if a man, to not more than thirty-nine lashes;”—but, save as aforesaid, “no slave shall be liable to be punished by any Court or magistrate, or by any other authority, in respect of any complaint or accusation preferred by him against his owner or manager, except upon a conviction for such offence duly had in some Court of competent jurisdiction; and upon due notice to the Protector.”

We are not sure that we fully understand this last clause. Its meaning, however, appears to us to be, that no slave shall be punished, by the authority of an owner or manager, in respect of any charge he may bring against such owner or manager; nor even by the authority of any Court or magistrate; unless one witness at least shall testify that the charge preferred by the slave was false and malicious; but that, in this last case, the Court or the magistrate *may* punish the offence *summarily*. Now we do not understand clearly what the term *summary* implies. Does it imply, that in certain cases, a slave preferring a complaint to a magistrate against his owner, if he fail in his proof, and any one witness swears that the complaint is false and malicious, the complaining slave may, at once, and without a moment's delay, or any notice of trial, or any time for the slave to prepare counter-evidence or to appeal to the Protector for his interposition, have his flesh lacerated with thirty-nine strokes of the whip by the order not only of a Court but of a single magistrate, of which magistrate *non constat* that he may not be a slave-owner himself, deeply interested in repressing the complaints of slaves? If this should be the construction of the clause, then we should doubt whether the ends of justice would be effectually secured by it, and whether the law ought not to require, in every case, both the presence and the advocacy of the Protector, after due notice had been given him of the day of trial, and after a fair and full opportunity had been allowed, through that officer, to the slave, of preparing for his trial, and summoning his witnesses. All these necessary means of effectual defence, are at least as essential in this case, where a powerful interest is at work to ensure the slave's condemnation, as in any other. A charge even of murder could not be more obnoxious than that of having preferred, against his owner or manager, a false and malicious complaint. We trust we may be wrong in the view we have taken of the possible operation of the clause in question.

VII. RECORDS OF ARBITRARY PUNISHMENTS.—§. XLIII.—LIII.

The next eleven clauses regulate the keeping of the RECORDS of PUNISHMENTS arbitrarily inflicted by the owners or managers of slaves. It will not be necessary to notice such parts of these regulations as do not alter the provisions of the former Order. The only material variation from it which has been introduced into the present is, that any person, engaged in managing slaves, who is himself unable to write, may employ another person to keep his record of punishments, and that to such illiterate manager a peculiar oath shall be administered as to the correctness of the record.

An interval of six hours is prescribed between a slave's offence and his punishment. In the first Orders, an interval of twenty-four hours was required. In the Order of 1830, no interval whatever was prescribed. We are glad to see some interval again interposed; but ought it to have been abridged from twenty-four hours to six?

VIII. MARRIAGE OF SLAVES.—§. LIV.—LVIII.

We are sorry to find the excellent regulations respecting the

MARRIAGE of slaves still deformed by the Proviso to which we strongly objected in the former Order of February 1830, as pointing to the perpetuity of the servile state; and which bears so manifestly the stamp of colonial prejudice. (See Vol. iii. No. 58, p. 141.)

IX. SLAVE'S RIGHTS OF PROPERTY.—§. LIX.—LXIII.

The regulations for conferring on the slave a RIGHT OF PROPERTY, and for protecting him in the exercise of that essential right, seem liable to no exception but what is involved in the very condition of slavery. The unjust bar which had been hitherto interposed, in all the Colonies, to the cultivation by slaves, on their own account, of any articles of exportable produce, we are most happy to perceive, has been removed by the just and enlightened policy of Lord Goderich. (See Vol. III. No. 58, p. 142.)

We can see no good reason whatever to debar slaves, as is done in one of these clauses, from possessing boats. The apprehension of evil is merely imaginary; while the advantage would be very great in a variety of ways.

X. SEPARATION OF FAMILIES.—§. LXIV.—LXIX.

The law with respect to the SEPARATION OF FAMILIES is very materially improved. Such separation is wholly and absolutely prohibited in the case of husband and wife, parent and child under sixteen years, or of these reputed relations, whether by private or judicial sale, or otherwise. It is, however, provided that, in the case of slaves bearing to each other the relation of parent and child, or reputed parent and child, the parties may be permitted to separate, with their own full and free consent, and with the Protector's approbation, on application made to him by the parties, and on due examination had by him into all the circumstances of the case, and proof being adduced to satisfy him that such separation will not be injurious to either party.

There is still no registry established of reputed relationships.

XI. THE MANUMISSION OF SLAVES.—§. LXX.—LXXV.

Into the regulations respecting the MANUMISSION of slaves, whether with the consent of the owner or by compulsory process, we need not enter, excepting where any material changes have been made from the former Order. These changes are as follows:—

1. The necessity of giving bond for the maintenance of manumitted slaves is confined to cases in which owners *gratuitously* manumit slaves in a state of disease or infirmity, or above the age of sixty, or in a state of infancy and until the infant is fourteen years of age. The chief justice, however, may, in every case, dispense with such bond, if he is satisfied that neither the welfare of the slave to be manumitted, nor the interest of the Colony, requires it.

2. In cases of manumission by compulsory process the Protector shall name one appraiser, and the owner another; or if the owner will not or cannot name such appraiser, the right to do so will devolve on the chief justice, who is also to name the umpire.

3. On proof of error, or misapprehension, or fraud, or injustice, in making the appraisement, the chief justice may set aside the valuation

and appoint new appraisers, and such second or any subsequent valuation may, in like manner, be set aside by the chief justice, until a valuation shall have been made which is not open to any just objection.

4. If it shall be proved on oath to the satisfaction of the chief justice that any slave proposed to be manumitted shall, within five years preceding the date of his application, have been convicted in due course of law of any robbery or theft, the completion of such manumission shall be stayed until the expiration of the full term of five years from the time of such conviction.

5. All fees on voluntary manumissions are abolished, and the expense attending the process of compulsory manumission is in no case to exceed five pounds, which shall be borne, according to the circumstances of the case, either by the slave or the owner respectively, or be equally divided between both.

6. The clause in the former Order which suggested to the appraisers the various considerations that might be admitted to enhance the value of the slave, and that clause also which forbade any donation to assist the slave in obtaining his enfranchisement, (See Vol. iii. No. 58, p. 145.) are judiciously and humanely excluded from the present Order. We feel truly grateful for this change.

The only point in these regulations which seems still liable to exception is that which stays the manumission of a slave on proof of a conviction of robbery or theft during the preceding five years. If the slave, indeed, could be proved to have acquired the means of his manumission by robbery or theft, there might be some justice in refusing to allow him to profit by the fruit of his crime. But suppose it were clearly proved that a slave, treated and starved as slaves sometimes are, had been driven by hunger to purloin a portion of the food his own labour had reared, and had been convicted of having done so, it would seem a very cruel case that he should, in consequence of such a conviction, not only have sustained the legal penalty annexed to his crime, but be shut out from freedom if it should be placed within his reach. The fault, indeed, may have been more his master's than his own. The temptation to commit the offence may have even been placed in his way for the very purpose of damaging his reputation and preventing his manumission; and it must be admitted to be a very heavy visitation indeed, if in addition to the ordinary punishment of larceny he may have undergone, (for the conviction would imply that he had been already punished,) he should be shut out from liberty when attainable. The clause too, as now framed, may, in some cases, have all the unjust operation of an *ex post facto* law.

While we make these remarks, we wish it to be understood, that we continue to deny the justice, in point of principle, of the whole system of manumission, by which a slave is compelled to *purchase* the freedom to which he has the most indubitable right, and of which he has been deprived only by wrong and robbery. Still, however, we hail with thankfulness, the additional impulse given to the cause of freedom by the more liberal provisions of the present code. We are

still more gratified by the elevated and statesmanlike tone adopted by Lord Goderich, in the discussion which has passed on the subject with the West Indian body.

The West Indians plant themselves on the ground of the petition and remonstrance of the planters in Berbice and Demerara, argued in 1827 before the Privy Council; and they express themselves deeply mortified to find that the present Order is still more objectionable than any preceding Order, and that it has even removed those two safeguards which found a place in the Order of 1830;—the direction to take into account the moral and useful qualities of the slave in fixing his appraised value; and the prohibition of all voluntary donations or charitable contributions in aid of manumission. They protest against these omissions as incompatible with their rights of property, and impute inconsistency to the government for having omitted them. (Papers by Command for 1831, pp. 146 and 170.)

Mr. Irving, the member for Bramber, goes far beyond his brother planters and merchants. He addresses a long letter to Lord Goderich, in a style of singular presumption, filled with utterly unfounded statements and with the most extravagant and almost ludicrous arguments. He takes up at some length the subject of compulsory manumission; and in defiance of all the known facts of the case, facts which his associates do not seem so hardy as to controvert, he chooses single-handed to affirm, that “all experience proves that liberated slaves of all ages and conditions almost invariably sink into a state of vagabondage, and one way or other become a scandal and burthen to the community.” Nothing can exceed the contrast to truth evinced in this statement, except its malignant and hurtful tendency.

Lord Goderich, in replying to the West India planters and agents on this subject, makes a variety of just and striking observations, of which we can transcribe but a small part. “The clause which required the appraisers to take into account all the slaves’ qualities,” he says, “was superfluous and inconvenient:” “it could do no good and might do much harm.” “In every country, and at every period, property of every description is continually bought and sold by appraisement, and the difficulty of finding an exact measure is fitter for the schools than for the market.” Just so it is with the value of slaves. Rules respecting it “belong rather to a treatise on appraisements than to a law directing an appraisement to be made.” Besides, “the silence of the law is in favour of the owner whose slave is to be sold.” The appraisers are of his class. The more latitude of discretion they enjoy the more will their sympathy with him operate.

His Lordship next shews the extreme absurdity of the apprehensions entertained of danger from the large contributions of individuals or of associations to manumit slaves. One of the arguments of the West Indians against them is, that they dispense with all test of previous industry. But if this is to prevent compulsory manumission why should it not also prevent voluntary manumission? “Why not interdict gratuitous as well as compulsory manumissions in favour of idlers? Nay the argument,” he says, “is stronger if the manumission be gratuitous. Caprice, personal attachments, and a variety of motives, induce owners to liberate slaves with little or no reference to personal charac-

ter. But when money is given to the slave of another person, to enable that slave to acquire his freedom, the chances are that the slave has some peculiar merits. This is a patronage which is likely to be well bestowed. The remonstrants themselves complain that their best people and most skilful labourers will be selected as the objects of this dreaded bounty. If so, there is then the test of industrious habits which is required." "If this objection be sustained," "slavery must be permanent as far as law can make it so, since even when the most ample compensation is tendered, the owner claims a right to refuse it. To require that the slave shall never buy his freedom but with his own earnings, is but to say indirectly that without the owner's consent he should never buy it at all. That is to say, the law of compulsory manumission is to be established and revoked at the same moment. For how can a slave ever earn money if it be the owner's supposed interest and fixed design to prevent it?" *ib.* pp. 76—78.

XII. PRESUMPTIONS OF FREEDOM OR SLAVERY.—§. LXXXVI.

The present ordinance has made a very important addition to the Slave Code, by introducing the following rules to be observed in determining the FREE OR SERVILE CONDITION of persons alleged to be slaves, so often as any question of this kind shall arise in any court, or before any magistrate. These are :

1. Every person whose servile state is disputed, who shall be of the age of 20 years and upwards, and who shall be proved to have been in fact, and without interruption, held in slavery for the 20 years next preceding the time of the inquiry, shall be presumed to be a slave.

2. The same presumption shall have effect in the case of a person under 20, who shall be proved to have been a slave without interruption from the time of birth, and to have been born of a mother then in a state of slavery.

3. In cases where a registry of slaves has not been established for 20 years, then it shall be sufficient to carry back the proof to the time of the first establishment of a registry.

4. In the absence of all such evidence as aforesaid, the person shall be presumed to be free.

5. The presumption of slavery arising from such proof may be repelled and destroyed by the evidence of facts from which the alleged slave's right to freedom may be legally inferred.

6. The sentence of any court or magistrate shall be governed by these presumptions, unless they shall be repelled or destroyed in the manner last mentioned.

7. The state of slavery of any person shall not be deemed to have been interrupted by marooning or desertion on the part of the slave; or by his temporary residence in any country where slavery is not recognized by law, (as in England for example.)

8. The mere registration of any person as a slave shall not be admitted, by any court or magistrate, as proof of the slavery of the person registered; but it shall be competent to such person, or to any other on his behalf, to controvert by evidence the accuracy of any such registration.

A part of these rules, particularly the whole of the third and the latter part of the seventh, owe their introduction into this Order to the remonstrances of the West Indians. To the first of these alterations we object, because, much to the disadvantage of the slave, it reduces the period of uninterrupted possession, required to establish the presumption of slavery, from 20 to 14 years, few registries dating before 1817. To the second, we entertain still stronger objections. It is the recognition, as a rule of law, of the judgment of Lord Stowel in the case of the slave Grace. We trust that the manifest injustice and inconsistency of such a recognition will be speedily obviated by a parliamentary enactment. A French slave escapes from Martinique to Dominica or St. Lucia, and he becomes, immediately on his landing, a free man; and yet a British slave may reside even twenty years in England; he may have acquired there a liberal education, and have followed a liberal profession; he may have married an English female, and had children by her; he may have served the king in a civil or military capacity; and on his return to a British Colony, he may, nevertheless, be reduced again to the degrading condition of a slave. This state of things, we conceive, cannot long be maintained, and we look with confidence to the efforts of our parliamentary friends to provide an early remedy.

On this part of the case the West Indians assume a high tone, and urge their rights of property in the most peremptory and unreserved terms: Slaves are as much their property as his landed estate is the property of the English gentleman. We will not now enter upon this question. We have already largely discussed it. (See vol. ii. No. 27, p. 29.) We will, however, lay before our readers one extract from Lord Goderich's reply to their unmeasured claims. It is as follows:

"Much is said," observes his Lordship, "on the abstract question of the right of the owner to his slaves, which is compared to that which an Englishman possesses in his land. It is scarcely worth while to agitate questions so abstract as this, but the particular analogy is obviously defective. The house and land of the English proprietor have no interest in the question whether they are his property or not. But the alleged slave of the West India owner has. Property in inanimate matter and in a rational being cannot stand precisely on the same basis. The right of the alleged owner must be respected, but it is also necessary to respect the right of the alleged slave. The peaceful occupation of a house for a day is some presumption of title," but no one will assert that "if he can bring a fellow creature under his dominion for twenty-four hours he has a legal right to prolong that dominion unless a title to freedom can be proved. Whence is the proof to come? How is the subjugated individual to escape in quest of it? How is he to sustain the expence? What if he be a stranger, or what if he have no manumission deed, or have lost or been forcibly deprived of it? The bondage of an hour would give a presumption and practically an indefeasible title to hold him in slavery for life, if the principle contended for were admitted." "Possession is the single foundation on which the whole right of the owner rests, and when that right is questioned it is just and reasonable

that the possession should be proved." (Ib. p. 83.) In other words, the burden of proof ought to rest on the claimant of another's freedom. How strange it is that at this late hour, in the year 1831, discussions such as these, so directly at war with all sound principles of British law, not to say of common morality, should still be occupying the time and thoughts of British statesmen!

XIII. ADMISSIBILITY OF SLAVE EVIDENCE.—§. LXXXVII.

The law here is clear and precise, and most satisfactory. It is, that no person shall henceforth be rejected as a WITNESS, or be deemed incompetent to give evidence in any court, civil or criminal, or before any judge or magistrate, in any civil or criminal proceeding whatever, by reason of being in a state of slavery; but the evidence of slaves shall, in all courts and for all purposes, be received in the same manner, and subject to the same rules, as the evidence of free persons.

XIV. FOOD AND MAINTENANCE OF SLAVES.—§§. LXXXVIII. AND LXXXIX.

The following are the rules which now regulate, for the first time, the supremely important point of the FOOD and MAINTENANCE of slaves.

1. Every owner or manager shall, in the first week of January in each year, deliver to the Protector a declaration, in a prescribed form, specifying whether he intends, during the ensuing year, to maintain his slaves by the cultivation of ground appropriated to them for that purpose, or by an allowance of provisions; which declaration shall be recorded in the Protector's office, and be revocable by the owner, on a month's previous notice to the Protector, without which notice, or a written authority from the Protector, under his hand, the owner or manager cannot change the mode of maintaining his slaves which he has notified.

2. Every owner or manager, who shall propose to maintain his slaves by an allowance of provisions, shall be bound to supply, of good, average, merchantable quality, sound, and fit for consumption, provisions to the amount and of the kinds following, viz.: Each and every slave above the age of ten years shall receive, in each week, not less than 21 pints of the flour or meal of Guinea or Indian corn; or 21 pints of wheat flour; or 56 full grown plantains; or 56 pounds of cocoas or yams; and also seven herrings, or shads, or other salted provisions equal thereto;—or if these particular articles of food cannot be procured, he may substitute for the same, always either by proclamation of the Governor, or with the authority of the Protector, other kinds of provisions, which shall be deemed by such Governor or Protector to be equivalent thereto and equally nutritious; all which provisions shall in no case be delivered to the slaves on a Sunday, but on some one and the same *working* day in each successive week, unless delayed by accident or unavoidable cause. And all owners or managers shall moreover, at their expence, supply the slaves with the means of preserving the provisions so allowed them, from week to week, and of properly preparing the same for human food.

3. Every slave below the age of ten years shall be supplied, in like manner, with one half of the before-mentioned allowance, in each week, to be delivered to the mother or nurse of every such infant slave.

4. Every owner or manager, who shall propose to maintain his slaves by the appropriation of ground to be cultivated by them for that purpose, shall be bound to set apart for every slave, being of the age of fifteen years and upwards, half an acre of land properly adapted for the growth of provisions, and not more than two miles from the slave's place of residence; and for every slave under fifteen a quarter of an acre of like ground, to be set apart for the father or mother, or reputed father or mother, or the guardian of such infant; and to every slave to whom such ground shall thus be appropriated, every owner or manager shall supply such seeds and implements of husbandry* as may be necessary for cultivating the ground, on such slave first entering upon it.

5. It shall not be lawful to dispossess any slave of any land so cultivated, until such slave shall have had full time to reap and gather in all the crops growing upon it; which crops, while growing, and when gathered, shall be the sole and absolute property of the slave to whom such land was appropriated.

6. Every slave, to whom any ground shall have been so appropriated, shall, in each year, be allowed forty days, at the least, for the cultivation thereof, in forty successive weeks, so that from the commencement thereof, one Sunday at the least may intervene between every two successive days, until the entire number of forty days shall be completed; each of such forty days to consist of twenty-four hours, commencing at the hour of six in the morning and terminating at the hour of six on the succeeding morning; and such slave shall by all lawful means be compelled to cultivate such grounds; and owners and managers not so compelling them, shall be liable to provide the foregoing allowance, as if such ground had not been set apart for the support of such slaves.

7. The penalties on any owner or manager, neglecting to make the declaration required, shall be £5 for the first week's neglect, £10 for the second, £15 for the third, and so on in arithmetical progression for each week the neglect shall continue. For a failure or neglect in any of the other regulations, respecting allowances of provisions, the owner or manager shall incur a penalty equal to twice the amount of the loss incurred by each slave in consequence of such failure or neglect, the sum to go to the benefit of the suffering slave; and for any omission or neglect, in regard to the appropriation of ground and the grant of the full time for cultivating it, there shall be, for every offence, a penalty of ten shillings, to go to the person injured; the number of such penalties being equal to the number of slaves affected by it, multiplied by the number of days on which such offences may have been repeated.

* *Seeds*, scarcely ever used in the cultivation of the slaves, are meant, we presume, to include *slips* and *plants*. As for implements of husbandry, those alone in common use, even on plantations, are the rude implements of the hoe, and the bill or the cutlass. Such is the hostility of slavery to all improvement!

That, in the weekly allowance of farinaceous or vegetable food assigned to the slaves, the present Order in Council has not exceeded the line of the very strictest moderation, is manifest from this circumstance, that although it is more than twice as much as is measured out to the slaves of Demerara and of the Leeward Islands, it is not more than the legislature of Jamaica has repeatedly assigned, as being the proper and necessary weekly subsistence of the prisoners and runaway slaves confined in the jails and workhouses of that colony, namely twenty-one pints of wheat flour and other articles of food in like proportion. No one can believe that this allowance, deliberately adopted for a century past by the Assembly of Jamaica for criminals and deserters, can be more than enough, if it be even adequate, for the due sustentation of labouring adults.

The quantity of fish, however, which is allowed, is certainly too small. Even the miserable schedule of the Demerara law gives to the slave two pounds of salt fish weekly. Now the present Order regulates this matter not by weight but by tale. Seven herrings, therefore, the prison allowance of Jamaica, will weigh very differently according to their size. The Code Noir of France, which ought to have regulated the quantity both in the Mauritius and St. Lucia, is more liberal. It gives, by its 22nd clause, two pounds of salted beef, or three pounds of fish, weekly, to all slaves of ten years old and upwards, and half that quantity to those under ten.

At present, in Jamaica and the other Colonies where land and time are given to the slaves in order to grow their own provisions, a weekly allowance of six or seven herrings, in each week or fortnight, is also given. The present Order is silent on the subject, but we think it cannot be intended that this allowance should be discontinued. If it is, the new law would be in this respect a deterioration, and not an improvement of the condition of the slaves in those colonies.

With respect to the alternative allowed the planters of allotting land to the slaves for the purpose of raising their food, it is obvious that it is liable to very great abuse, and requires the unceasing vigilance of public functionaries to prevent its becoming a source of the worst oppression to the slave. There must of necessity be found on every estate a great many infants and other persons who, from age or infirmity, are wholly incapacitated from availing themselves of such means of subsistence. It is true, that the Order requires that land should be appropriated for the use of each slave however young; but it does not prescribe by what means such land is to be cultivated. It can hardly be expected that a father, a mother, or a guardian should be able, in the time which is thought not more than adequate to be employed by an adult slave for his own comfortable sustenance, to cultivate also the land of the children or others dependent upon him. What is especially wanted in this case is not the land, but the time and labour required to cultivate that land: and it is obvious, that, to a family of infant children, the land could be of no use without the appropriation to the parent or guardian of the time and labour necessary for its due culture. The same principles which dictate that, in the case of a weekly allowance, every child, as well as every aged

and infirm person, shall have his portion of food duly allotted to him, seem also to require, that if such person is to be fed from the land assigned to him, he can only be so fed by a due application of that labour by which alone it can be made productive.

But on this point the Order is silent; and, therefore, in this vitally essential respect, is clearly defective.

But how, it may be asked, has this matter been hitherto managed in those Colonies where the slaves are sustained (in so far as they are sustained at all,) from their own provision grounds? The plan has been to allot, besides the Sunday, at most, about twenty-six other days in the year for this purpose, leaving it to the natural affection of parents to take care of their infant offspring or aged relations, and only stepping in to remedy the defects of the system in extreme cases. Now if the working of this coarse and clumsy and ill regulated system has hitherto required, in such colonies, the appropriation of fifty-two Sundays, and twenty-six week-days in the year, in order to enable its slave population to subsist at all, then it is perfectly clear, that the arrangements of the present Order, on this point, are wholly inadequate to the exigencies of the case. For let it be remembered, that the slave population in Jamaica, for example, where this mode of providing for the slaves has prevailed, has been hitherto, under its operation, not an increasing, but a rapidly decreasing, population.

The Maroons of that island, who like the slaves are *negroes*, in consequence of the sufficiency of food which their possession of ample time enables them to raise, increase progressively at the rate of nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, while the slaves that surround their settlements have been progressively decreasing, and on sugar estates at a rate nearly equal on the average to the increase of the Maroons. Can any thing more clearly establish the fact, that the 78 days, hitherto allotted to the slaves of Jamaica for the purpose of cultivating their grounds, are inadequate to their due sustentation? If Jamaica then has hitherto required that 78 days in the year should be appropriated to this object, in order to sustain in living action a population still so scantily fed as to be rapidly decreasing, it is perfectly undeniable that at least as large, if not a much larger, portion of time will be indispensable to sustain, in any tolerable health, or vigour, or comfort, a population which it is the object of the Government shall increase, and not diminish, from year to year. Indeed, without this, what can be reasonably expected, from the arrangements of the present Order, but the continuance of the same rapid waste of human life which has marked the annals of Jamaica in each succeeding page of its history? And the case of Jamaica is necessarily, in a greater or less degree, the case of all the other colonies similarly circumstanced.

But what does the present Order prescribe on this vital and all essential point? It appropriates to the slaves only *forty* days in the year, for the cultivation of their grounds, in all those cases where the owner makes his election that the slaves shall entirely grow their own provisions, instead of being fed by means of a fixed allowance. But this portion of time, even supposing the land to be good and conveniently situated, is wholly insufficient for the purpose. It is in fact a most

material abridgement of the time which the slave is now forced to appropriate to raising his present scanty subsistence. In Jamaica, and in other colonies where the slaves grow their own provisions, all the Sundays in the year, and twenty-six week days besides, (making in all seventy-eight days,) have been regularly appropriated by law (and we shall assume the law to have been executed) to the cultivation of their provision grounds; but even that time is proved by the results to be barely sufficient to enable them to maintain themselves and their families. This view of the matter, it is true, has been strenuously denied by some West Indian writers, but the falsehood of their representations has been over and over again demonstrated with an overwhelming force of evidence. Those who wish to see that evidence collected into one point, have only to read with attention the irrefragable statements in Mr. Stephen's *Delineation* on this subject, and a long note which we have inserted in our second volume, No. 41, p. 314—318, and which it will therefore be unnecessary for us to repeat in this place. The result of that evidence, (and it is, in every instance, the evidence not of abolitionists, but of West Indian planters,) is, that without the employment of the Sunday, in addition to twenty-six other days in the year, the negroes must be unable to supply their wants. Twenty-six days are now given to them; *but still they must labour on the Sunday or starve*. Now what does the present Order prescribe on this head? Sunday labour for the master's benefit has by that Order been absolutely prohibited, it being declared to be the principle and intention of Government, that "Sunday should be to the slave population, in *all* the Colonies, a day of entire relaxation from compulsory labour, and open to be devoted to religious duties and to moral instruction," and especially that it "should be wholly clear from the demands of the master and the *necessities* of the slave." These are the words of the Secretary of State on the 3rd and 15th September, 1828. (See our vol. iii., No. 52, p. 55.) Yet the present Order gives to the slave, for the culture of his grounds, only forty days in lieu of the seventy-eight days which were formerly considered, and even by West Indian legislatures, as not more than adequate to that object. Now as it is most clearly the benevolent intention of the Government that Sunday shall be strictly a day of repose for the slave, during which, indeed, he shall be invited and encouraged to avail himself of all the means of education and religious instruction within his reach, but which, with this exception, he shall be allowed to devote to the recruiting of his exhausted strength by rest from labour; and to purposes of recreation and domestic enjoyment; it is not easy to account for the appropriation to his use of only forty week-days in the year for his grounds; and as this time must prove insufficient for his maintenance, a large portion of each Sunday, if not every Sunday in the year, must still be occupied by the slave in cultivating his provision grounds, in order, if not to save himself and his family from famine, at least to ensure them a subsistence. But by this unavoidable, and therefore really, though indirectly, compulsory desecration of the day, its moral and religious benefits must be greatly impeded, if not wholly frustrated. The habit of secularizing the Sunday, and turning it from its spiritual uses to the

ordinary pursuits of life, will not only be rendered necessary by this law, but will place the supreme authorities of the state in this predicament, that while they are professing to have at heart the entire and exclusive dedication of Sunday to its higher and more legitimate ends; yet, by their own special act, they render it impossible for the slave to abstain from labour on that day. We trust that government will re-consider the bearing of this clause on the happiness and comfort of the slave, and on the success of all their purposes of elevating his moral and intellectual condition. Less than seventy-eight week days, it is clear, will not and cannot suffice in order that he may have it in his power to enjoy a Christian Sabbath. By the present arrangement also, only forty days in forty successive weeks being given to the slave, the slave, during twelve weeks, or one whole quarter of the year, may be wholly precluded from having a single day for his grounds, or even from bringing thence, for himself and his family, the weekly supply of the food they require, unless he shall occupy the Sunday with that indispensable labour. These three months also, during which he will thus be debarred from visiting his grounds except on Sunday, the planters, with whom it rests to make the choice, will generally and naturally fix in the season of high crop, February, March, and April, that they may then engross the whole time of the slave without interruption. But this also is the season the best adapted for clearing his own ground of trees, shrubs, and weeds, and preparing it for being planted, in time to meet the early rains of the year.

This whole matter is of such prime, such vital, importance to the temporal well being of the slave, and to the efficiency of many of the other parts of this Order in Council, and more especially to the object of his religious instruction and moral improvement, that we shall be excused if we discuss it at still greater length than we have yet done. We are not now considering the larger question, whether, if the date of slavery is still to be prolonged, this system of throwing on the slaves the task of feeding themselves, under all the difficulties and anomalies attendant upon it, shall be continued or not. On that part of the question we should have much to say, if the system were now commencing. We shall take it as it exists. It is the plan actually pursued in most of our Colonies, and our present observations are intended to apply to the regulations which now, for the first time, are brought forward to control its abuses, and to secure to the slaves whatever advantages it may really be capable of producing. To this end Jamaica shall still furnish us with our example. It comprises half of the slaves of the West Indies, and about three-fourths of those of them who are thus sustained.

Previous to the first serious agitation of the question of slavery in this country, in 1787, Jamaica had as yet adopted no legislation whatever on the subject of food for the slaves. Alarmed by the searching inquiries which the Privy Council addressed to them on that occasion, especially as to the causes of the appalling waste of human life in the Islands, which was then for the first time brought before the view of the British public, its legislature drew up and transmitted a Report, bearing date the 12th of November, 1788, as an answer

to those inquiries, and as a vindication of the lenity and humanity of their system. In this report,—besides the more general causes of decrease derived from the ordinary topics of the inequality of the sexes, the great mortality incurred during the seasoning of new slaves, and the prevailing licentiousness of manners; we find this allegation, that a succession of hurricanes, which had occurred between the years 1780 and 1787, by destroying the plantain groves, had produced frequent famine, and consequent disease from scanty and unwholesome food, so as actually to sweep off, from this cause alone, in the course of the five or six preceding years, 15,000 slaves. On the plantain tree the slaves had hitherto been left mainly to depend for their subsistence; and its stately but fragile stem being wholly unable to resist the blast of hurricanes, the slaves were necessarily left in a state of deplorable destitution.

But how came it to pass, in a country where hurricanes were prevalent, that the slaves, by the admission of the legislature, were left to depend chiefly on this precarious resource? The reason is obvious. Before 1788 no week day had ever been allowed to the slave by law for raising provisions. His opportunities of labouring in his ground were limited to the Sunday, except at the mere arbitrament of his manager. He naturally, therefore, turned his attention almost exclusively to the growth of the plantain tree, which yielded more food with less labour than any other article. In that year the attention of the legislature was at length called, both by the disastrous results of past neglect and by the proceedings at home, to some reform in the system. Accordingly in an Act, bearing date Dec. 6, 1788, various provisions were adopted for securing, independently of the plantain, an adequate supply of ground provisions, as yams, eddoes, cassada, &c., and, among others, the following, viz. § 17, “And whereas it hath been usual and customary with the planters in this island to allow their slaves one day in every fortnight to cultivate their own provision grounds, *exclusive of Sundays*, except during the time of crop, but the same not being compulsory, be it further enacted that the slaves belonging to or employed on every plantation shall be allowed one day in every fortnight to cultivate their own provision grounds (exclusive of Sunday) except during the time of crop, under the penalty of £10.”

The assumption that such *had been* the practice is in the usual style of West Indian legislation, taking credit for past humanity without the slightest evidence, even of a presumptive kind, that such humanity was generally exercised. By this law, however, the slave had now assigned to him a number of week days, varying from thirteen to sixteen or seventeen, according to circumstances, in addition to the Sundays. Thus the law continued for 28 years without change, when, in 1816, during the agitation of the Registry Bill, a measure expressly grounded, among other reasons, on the large progressive decrease of the slave population, arising presumptively from excessive labour, and scanty feeding, the legislature passed a new slave law assigning to the slave, out of crop, twenty-six days in the year, besides Sundays, for the culture of his provision grounds; and in this state the law remains to the present hour.

During the whole of this period, therefore, of 43 years, all the Sundays and twenty-six week days in each year have been employed, by the plantation slaves, in raising for themselves and their families the food which has supported them in life, and enabled them to labour. And independently of all the other proofs we have it in our power to adduce, in order to shew that the time thus given has not been more than sufficient for its purpose, stands out the incontrovertible fact that the slave population, especially on sugar plantations, not only does not increase, but is still rapidly decreasing. For the proof of this fact we need go no farther back than to the registered returns for the twelve years preceding 1830, of the slave population in the Plantain-Garden-River district of St. Thomas in the East, decidedly one of the most favourable districts in the whole island for the growth of provisions, which we have inserted in a late number of our work, (No. 89, p. 465). From this incontrovertible document it appears that the decrease in that time (the births being deducted) amounted to $12\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. Now such a decrease as this, going on, regularly and progressively, in a climate congenial to the Negro; in a country visited by no pestilence; where the sexes were fairly balanced; where there were no importations from abroad; and where, during precisely the same period, and the same circumstances of climate, colour, and race, the Maroons, enjoying abundant time for raising food, increased at the rate of 30 per cent.; must have been attended with much human suffering, owing, in some measure, at least, to the inadequate supply of food. But it is obvious that no part of the suffering arising from this cause would have been endured, for a series of years, by the slaves, without making every effort to escape from it which circumstances rendered possible. The gnawings of hunger will urge the most indolent to exertion, and those gnawings would not have been endured by any who had the time and opportunity requisite for abating their painful influences. They would not have been endured, at least, by men and women who had seventy-eight days in the year given in which they *might* labour to abate their intensity, without putting forth their utmost strength to obtain food. We may, therefore, assume that they did so, and that, if they failed of their purpose, it was only because the time given was not sufficient to effect it. But that time amounted, during the whole period of which we speak, to seventy-eight days in the year. And ought that time to be now lessened, and lessened too by the Act of the King's Government? Ought it to be reduced, as is the case, to about one-half of its former amount? Is such a reduction consistent with justice and humanity? We appeal with perfect confidence on this point to the British public, to the Government, nay to the West Indians themselves. If the forty days actually allowed shall be made adequate, it can only by some compulsory process more galling than the Government would be willing to contemplate.

And if, quitting this sure and irrefragable ground of general principle, we refer to minor authorities, the result is the same. Again we refer to our former article (vol. ii. No. 41, p. 315, &c.), for a series of conclusive testimonies on this subject. What says Mr. Stewart,

the author of the Past and Present State of Jamaica, (p. 318,) the staunch advocate of West Indian interests, and himself long a resident in that Island? "Few of the slaves," he says, "have it in their power to attend church" on Sunday; for "Sunday is not a day of rest or relaxation to the plantation slave; he must work on that day or starve." And why must he work on that day or starve, but because seventy-eight days labour in the year (the number enjoyed by the slave in 1822 when Mr. Stewart wrote,) were absolutely required to keep him from starving?—Again, in May 1826, another Mr. Stewart, the Hon. James Stewart, Member for Trelawney, and father of the House of Assembly of Jamaica, tells his assembled constituents, each of them equally cognizant with himself of the facts of the case, "If we are sincere in our desire to improve the moral condition of our slaves, 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." And yet, in 1826, the slave had, by the law of Jamaica, fifty-two Sundays, and twenty-six week days, (that is to say seventy-eight days) in the year, for the cultivation of his land, and for marketing. How then is it that the present Order, in aiming to supersede this law, and to rescue the slave's Sunday from the demands of his master and his own necessities, proposes to supply the subtraction of fifty-two Sundays labour, now allowed by that law? By adding the labour of fifty-two additional week days to the twenty-six he already possesses? No! but by adding fourteen! in short, by reducing his seventy-eight days,—which now afford him but a starving subsistence, a subsistence at least so scanty as to be wearing out his life by inches,—to forty! Is this possible? If possible, is it just? We again appeal and appeal with confidence, not to the British public only, but to the Government itself, and even to every West Indian proprietor who has one spark of humanity in his bosom. This law cannot stand: it must be changed.

Our views of this subject will be aptly illustrated by a reference to the actual state of the law, at this moment, in the island of St. Lucia. There it is ordained that when the master shall elect that his slaves shall be wholly maintained by the culture of provision grounds, he shall assign to them not only a sufficiency of fertile land, but NINETY-ONE week-days in the year for cultivating it. (See Papers by Command, for 1827, Part II. p. 160 and 162.) Now let us only compare this enactment, which is now in effective operation in the fertile island of St. Lucia, with the time which it is proposed to give to the slave in the inferior and worn-out soil of Jamaica, for example, and can we fail to be struck with its utter inadequateness to its object? And can it possibly be that the *ninety-one* week-days, which the slaves of St. Lucia now enjoy, are to be reduced, by the operation of the present Order, to *forty*? This single fact seems quite decisive of the question.

Before, however, we entirely quit this head of discussion, we would once more call the attention of our readers to the Code Noir of France. That Code after first guarding, as we have seen, by a compulsory standard of weekly rations, against the propensity of masters to starve their slaves, has introduced an express prohibition, which

shews how well aware the framers of it were of the fraudulent evasions by which their humane object was likely to be defeated. "We prohibit the masters," says the 24th Article of the Code, "from relieving themselves from the feeding and subsistence of their slaves, by giving them permission to labour on a certain day in the week, for their own individual account." The specious reasons that might be opposed to such a prohibition, need not to be stated. They are sufficiently obvious; and all that can be urged in defence of so casting, upon the slaves, the task of providing for their own subsistence, has been repeatedly brought forward by the planters of Jamaica and the other colonies, where they have provision grounds enough to spare for the purpose without a sacrifice of cane lands. And there, doubtless, the system works well, if not for the ease, or the health, or the life of the slave, at least for the purse of the masters. It affords them the means of reducing the cost of slave labour to the price of a few herrings, and a most scanty allowance of clothing by the year (see Stephen's *Delineation of Slavery*, vol. ii. chapter 12), without much subduction from the master's time. And now, this substitute for allowances which, by the latest law of Jamaica, was limited to 26 week-days, besides Sundays, is to be reduced, in all the colonies, to only forty days in the year. After all, therefore, that has been promised and attempted, British humanity is still, on this point, behind the French by more than a century and a half.

But the authors of the Code Noir were aware that a commutation of time for food, even at the rate of 52 days in the year, was adverse to the slaves; and yet such as the masters for their own interest would resort to unless effectually restrained; and that they judged right in this respect was proved by the event. The law indeed was too unpopular among the planters to be observed; and though often renewed by the French Court continued to be ineffectual; for in the French Colonies as in our own, the influence of the planters on the local authorities, generally members of their own body, was too strong to be easily controuled by the Government at home. In the *Annals of the Sovereign Council of Martinique*, published in 1786, we find the following remarks on the 22nd and 24th Articles of the Ordinance of 1685, which we have quoted above:—"Ces deux articles ont été souvent renouvelés depuis, sur-tout par une Ordonnance du 20 Decembre 1712, enregistrée le 8 Mai 1713; par une Ordonnance du Gouvernement du 2 Janvier 1715, et par un Arrêt du Conseil du 6c Mai 1765. Mais quelque precaution qu'on ait pris à ce sujet, quelque sévérité qu'on ait mis dans l'exécution de cette Ordonnance, il n'a jamais été possible d'engager les habitans, (planters) sur-tout les cultivateurs de café, à nourrir leurs esclaves: presque tous leur donnent le samedi au lieu de nourriture." (Tome i. p. 262.)

From all this it appears that the French Government well knew that when the slaves are left to raise their own provisions, at least without very ample time, much occasional and particular distress, fatal to the health and lives of the slaves, would inevitably follow; more especially among such of them as were least able to sustain the hardships of their state—the sickly, the aged, and the feeble in constitution.

That such has been the ordinary consequences of casting the subsistence of the slaves on their own voluntary industry and prudence, is no disputed fact in the Anti-Slavery controversy, but is as generally acknowledged on the one side as asserted on the other. (See Stephen's *Delineation of Slavery*, vol. ii, p. 270, and the whole of the 4th Section of chapter 8, with the authorities there cited.)

What, then, is to be done? Are the economical advantages of sustaining the slaves, where practicable, by indigenious food raised by their own labour on the master's land, to be renounced? By no means. But unless a much larger sacrifice of time than has yet been thought of, shall be made, we concur with the same able writer (Mr. Stephen, see his *Delineation*, vol. ii., p. 274,) that the right system in the home fed Colonies is, that which is in actual and *general* use in Barbadoes. An adequate supply of native provisions is there raised by the common labours of the gang on the master's land, and brought to his stores and thence distributed to individual slaves; a plan, however, which need not and ought not to preclude the allotting to them portions of land, sufficient to exercise the voluntary industry of all who are strong enough to improve their condition in that way.

Such was the system partially in use in the French Islands, and intended to be enforced there by successive ordinances of the Crown, as well as by various regulations of the local authorities, almost from the first settlement of those Colonies. By a Royal Ordinance, for instance, of 1723, the proprietors of estates were required to plant a sufficient quantity of manioc or cassada for the subsistence of their slaves. The Governors and Councils seconded, by various orders and regulations, the intentions of the Crown; and successive Royal Ordinances imposed serious penalties on every planter transgressing the rule, and on Colonial officers of the Crown who should concur in its fraudulent evasion. "But," says the Author of the *Annals of the Sovereign Council of Martinique*, "all the precautions that could be taken have always been useless. The planters know how to elude the penalties imposed, and never plant the quantity required by the regulations, though it appears that a duty had been imposed on the officers of the Crown in the different districts to inspect periodically the plantations of manioc, and certify their sufficiency." The reason given is instructive to legislators for Colonies in the West Indies of whatever nation. "Quel est l'habitant (the planter) qui voudra servir de denonciateur contre son voisin, son ami? Le capitaine commandant du quartier est souvent dans le cas, lui-même, de la contravention à l'ordonnance. Ainsi cette visite ne tourneroit qu'en pure perte, et jamais personne ne seroit puni." (*Les Annales*, &c. Tome i. pp. 487, 488.)

Compare the present Order also with the Ordinances of Spain and Portugal on the same subject. These allow to the slave not only his fifty-two Sundays, but fifty-two week days, and thirty holidays, making in all 134 days for his own exclusive purposes, whether of subsistence or marketing; more than three times, and even, without Sunday, more than double the number assigned to him by the present Order; (see Reporter, vol. ii. Supplement to No. 37, p. 253.)

It is important also to remark that, in Jamaica, the labour of the slaves in their provision grounds, even on Sundays, has always to this hour been more or less compulsory.

XV. DURATION OF THE LABOUR OF THE SLAVE.—§§. XC.—XCVI.

We next come to another new and almost equally important branch of the subject—the regulation of the DURATION OF THE LABOUR OF THE SLAVES. The following are the rules there laid down, viz. :—

1. No slave shall be compelled or bound to engage in, or perform, any agricultural or manufacturing labour, before the hour of six in the morning, or after the hour of six in the evening; and all slaves, employed in any such labour, shall be and are hereby declared to be, entitled to an entire intermission and cessation of every description of work and labour from the hour of six in each evening, until the hour of six in the next succeeding morning. And all slaves so employed as aforesaid shall be allowed, and are hereby declared to be entitled to, an entire cessation and intermission of every description of work and labour from eight till nine in the morning, and from twelve till two in the afternoon, of each and every day throughout the year; provided nevertheless that the hours of intermission of labour in the case of slaves employed in manufacturing, may be allowed to them at any other period of the day, if an interval of not less than three, or more than six hours intervene between such intermissions, and if those intermissions are of the same duration respectively.

2. No slave under the age of 14, or above the age of 60, and no female slave known to be pregnant, shall be compelled or required to perform any agricultural work or labour, during more than six hours in the whole, in any one day of 24 hours from six in the morning to six in the next succeeding morning; and no slave under 14, or above 60, and no pregnant female, shall be employed in any such labour in the night-time.

3. As it may be necessary, however, at certain periods of the year, occasionally to employ slaves in certain manufacturing processes in the night-time, nothing hereinbefore contained is to be construed to extend to make such night employment illegal, provided that no such slave shall be required or compelled to labour for more than nine hours in the whole, on any one day of 24 hours from six in the morning, to six in the next morning.

4. No slave shall be compelled or required to perform any task-work, for a greater number of hours in the day than is hereinbefore authorized.

5. If any owner or manager shall violate or neglect any of these rules relating to the labour of slaves, or if he shall compel or require any slave to pick or carry grass, or to perform any other labour in breach of this Order, he shall, for every such offence, incur a penalty of not less than 20s. nor more than £10, which penalties shall be as numerous as the slaves so illegally employed at any one time.

We will not attempt to express all the gratitude we feel for this enactment on the subject of labour. Though nine hours of field la-

bour under the blaze of a tropical sun is quite as much as any human animal should be compelled to endure, nay, it is much more; yet if these limitations are made *effectual*, they will do more to abate the cruel malignity of Colonial Slavery with its average daily toil of fifteen or sixteen hours, than any or even all of the other mitigations. Though they will leave to the master nine hours of severe labour in a day, which is much more than is yielded by *free* labourers in any other part of the tropical world, (see vol. ii. No. 27, p. 37, and Stephen's Delineation,) yet these alone made effectual, we are persuaded, would put an end to some of the worst and most deathful evils of a system which, if not wholly extinguished, would still continue, notwithstanding this partial improvement, to be a source of perpetual injustice and suffering to the slaves, and of guilt to the nation.

XVI. CLOTHING AND BEDDING OF SLAVES.—§§. XCVII.—XCIX.
AND CI.

1. Every owner or manager of slaves shall be bound, in each year, in the month either of January, or June, to deliver to every slave the following articles, viz.:—To every male slave of the age of 15 years or upwards, one hat of chip, straw, or felt, or other more durable material; one cloth jacket; two cotton check shirts; two pair of Osnaburg trowsers; two pair of shoes; one blanket; one knife; and one razor. To every female slave of the age of 13 and upwards, one chip or straw hat; two gowns or wrappers; two cotton shifts; two Osnaburg petticoats; two pairs of shoes; one blanket; and one pair of scissars. To every male slave under 15, one hat, one cloth jacket, one pair of trowsers, and one pair of shoes; and to every female slave under 13, one chip or straw hat, one gown, one shift, one petticoat, and one pair of shoes; and for the use of each family in each year, one saucepan, and one kettle, pot, or cauldron, for the cooking of provisions.

2. The Protector may authorise the substitution of any other article of clothing or household utensils for those above enumerated, so as in his judgment they be equivalent; and all the articles, whether those enumerated above, or those that may be substituted for them, shall be of good average mercantile quality.

3. The neglect to comply with these regulations, as to clothing and furniture, will be visited with a fine equal to twice the value of the articles withheld, to be applied to the use of the slave injured by such neglect.

4. Every owner or manager is required to supply each slave with a wooden or iron bedstead, or with boards so arranged as to enable every slave to sleep during the night one foot at least above the ground; under a fine of five shillings for each neglect in respect of each and every slave, which fine shall be again incurred from week to week as long as such neglect shall continue.

XVII. ATTENDANCE ON DIVINE WORSHIP.—§§. C. CII. AND CIII.

These Clauses provide as follows for the attendance of slaves on DIVINE WORSHIP.

1. It shall be lawful for every slave of the age of ten years and

upwards, and such slave is hereby authorized and entitled, on each and every Sunday, and on Good Friday, and Christmas day, to attend divine worship in any church or chapel, not more than six miles distant, and shall, for that purpose, be authorized to resort to any such church or chapel, provided he be not absent from home more than six successive hours for that purpose; and be not so absent before the hour of five in the morning, or after seven in the evening. And any owner or manager who, by threats or in any other manner, shall prevent any slave from resorting as aforesaid, or who shall correct or punish any slave for having so done, shall, in respect of each and every such slave, incur a separate penalty of not less than £2, nor more than £10.

2. The above provisions, as to the attendance of slaves at public worship, shall apply to all churches and chapels belonging to the churches of England and Scotland, and to all places of worship belonging to other religious persuasions the officiating ministers of which shall have received a license from the Governor or the Secretary of State; provided that such worship takes place with open doors, and that no slave shall be entitled to attend at it, between the hours of 7 in the evening and 5 in the morning, except with the express consent of his owner or manager; and provided that nothing herein contained shall be construed to extend to slaves incapable of labour from bodily indisposition or other causes, or to slaves confined in prison, or to slaves habitually employed, on other days of the week, as domestic servants.

The chief remark we have to make under this head is, that we are utterly at a loss to conceive one good reason for the restrictions, introduced into clause C. on the slave's disposal of his Sunday. Hitherto it has not been usual so to confine him as to the distribution of his Sunday hours, except *in crop time*, when the mill was often put about on a Sunday evening, or sugar boiled off or potted on a Sunday morning; or *out of crop*, when grass was to be gathered on Sunday night, or his allowances distributed on Sunday morning. There were no other restrictions ordinarily thought of, except what arose from the master's encroachments on the legal rights of the slaves, or from his dislike of religious instruction. The slave might set off on Saturday, when his work was done, and travel to the distant market; and out of crop might spend the whole Sunday in his grounds, or if he had no grounds, where else he pleased, (when there was no grass collecting) till he appeared at his labour in due time on Monday morning. Or he might spend the whole of the interval between the close of his labour on Saturday, and its recommencement on Monday, with his wife and family, on a plantation moderately distant. No inconvenience was ever experienced, by the owner or the community, from this unrestricted license of the slave as to the *secular* employment of Sunday, provided only it did not interfere with the owner's illegal exactions of labour on that day, or with the due cultivation of his own grounds. Why then should such restrictions on the *religious* employment of the Sunday be now introduced? It is not intended that the slaves should either draw their allowances on Sunday morning;

or collect grass for the cattle on Sunday evening; or put the mill about on Sunday night. Why then must they, on their only free day, be abridged of their enjoyments and fettered down to measuring their hours and minutes of recreation, or of their opportunities of attendance on Divine worship or Christian instruction? Why may they not be allowed to attend the early service of Methodist or Dissenting chapels, for example, at five or six in the morning, and again at five or six in the evening; and employ the intervals, both themselves and their children, in the Sunday Schools universally established at such Methodist and Dissenting places of worship? Of such facilities they will be deprived by the needless rigour of the present rules.—Again, why should they be debarred from visiting, as long as they please, during their own Sundays, their families, relations, and friends, on distant plantations, or in towns, and spending the whole day in *their* society, and attending with them their places of worship? Besides, in many cases, chapels or churches are not to be found within the prescribed distance of six miles from the slave's home, the nearest being often at a greater distance. What is he to do in this case? Even in the small parish of St. Dorothy's, in Jamaica, the parish church is about ten or twelve miles from parts of the parish; and, in most of the other parishes of that island, much farther. What then, we say, is to be done in such cases? To restrain the slave, anxious for Christian instruction or even for elementary knowledge for himself and children, from seeking it where he can alone find it, and to tether him thus down to a given space, and to given hours, without a single provision that within that given space, and those given hours, he shall find the opportunities of knowledge which he desires, is to defeat the purpose of the enactment, and can be productive of no advantage either to master or slave. Such a rule must have originated in that wakeful solicitude, which the planters have too often manifested, to obstruct the progress of religious knowledge among their slaves, and to perpetuate their moral and intellectual depression; and they must have misled the government by some plausible representations which have no foundation in fact; some pretended plea of benefit to the slave from such unnecessary restrictions; thus to have succeeded in putting a drag-chain on negro improvement. We earnestly hope, therefore, that this clause may be revised with a view to secure the Sunday freedom of the slave, and to enable him to draw from the otherwise excellent provisions of these clauses, all the good which they are so well calculated to afford.

XVIII. MEDICAL ATTENDANCE ON THE SLAVES.—§§. CIV. AND CV.

By these clauses it is required that every person, owning or managing forty slaves or more, shall engage, to visit his slaves at least once in fourteen days, * a medical practitioner, who shall keep a journal of the health of each gang he attends; in which journal he shall, once in each fourteen days, record the general state of health of such gang;

* The practice on the larger and well regulated estates, is for the medical attendant to visit them once or twice in the week.

and enter the name of each sick slave, specifying such as are disqualified for labour, and prescribing such medicine and diet as may be proper. A copy of this journal shall be communicated to the owner or manager, who shall be bound to supply sick slaves with such medicines or nourishment and to allow them such relaxations of labour, as may be recommended and prescribed by the practitioner; and every such practitioner is bound, on the Protector's requisition, to produce to such Protector a copy of such journal; and in case of any acute or dangerous disease of any slave, the owner or manager shall employ, at his own cost, a medical practitioner for the treatment and cure of the same. Any owner, or manager, or any medical practitioner, refusing or neglecting to perform any matter or thing here enjoined, shall, for every such offence, incur a fine of not less than £2, nor more than £20.

XIX. MISCELLANEOUS REGULATIONS.—(§§. CVI.—CXXI.)

The remaining clauses of this Order have respect to matters of general and miscellaneous regulation, and need not long detain us.

1. Wilful or fraudulent erasure, interpolation, &c., in any book, record, or return, required by this Order, is made a misdemeanour.

2. Every misdemeanant shall be liable to a fine of not less than £10, nor more than £500, or to imprisonment from one to twelve months, or to both fine and imprisonment.

3. Perjuries committed under this Order shall be punished as the law of the Colony punishes wilful and corrupt perjury.

4. Fines incurred by Protectors shall be sued for, in the supreme criminal court of the Colony, by any person lawfully authorized to prosecute crimes; and the whole amount of such fines shall accrue to the king.

5. Fines incurred for offences less than misdemeanours may be recovered, in a summary way, by the Protectors, before any judge of the Supreme court, or of the court of Vice-admiralty; such judges being armed with all due authority for that purpose which judges ordinarily possess.

6. Governors are authorized to commit, in remote parts, the exercise of the jurisdiction given to judges by this act, to subordinate officers of justice, by whom these powers shall be exercised, and before whom, or before any judge, the Protector may, at his option, prefer any complaint; the decisions of inferior judges being subject to the review of the chief civil judge, whose judgment in all cases shall be final.

7. The judges of the supreme court, with the Governor's approbation, shall make, establish, or alter rules of proceeding in all colonial courts, which rules shall be framed in simple and compendious terms, and so that the costs shall not exceed twenty shillings in any case.

8. All misdemeanours shall be prosecuted, and all fines not otherwise directed shall be recovered, in the supreme court of criminal justice of the Colony, by any person lawfully authorized by the king to prosecute; and the penalties, in cases not hereinbefore otherwise provided for, shall go to the king, and shall be applied to defray the expense attending summonses and other proceedings under this Order.

9. All fines are to be recovered, as expressed, in sterling money.

10. The proclamations and orders of the Governor, and the regulations of the judges, shall all be consistent with and not repugnant to this Order, and shall be transmitted for His Majesty's approval; and till disallowed shall have the same force and effect as this Order.

11. The Protectors are to make their Reports, half yearly, of all matters and things they are directed to report upon in this Order; and till that is satisfactorily done, the Governor shall not issue to the Protectors the warrant for their preceding half year's salary; and such Reports are to be transmitted by the first opportunity to the Secretary of State.

12. It is further declared and ordained, (and a most momentous declaration it is,) that "no law, statute, ordinance, or proclamation, now or at any time heretofore in force, within any of the said Colonies, or which shall hereafter by any Governor or Local Legislature of any such Colony, be made, enacted, ordained, or promulgated, in so far as the same may, or shall be in any way repugnant to, or inconsistent with the present Order, shall be binding on His Majesty's subjects in such Colony, or be of any force, virtue, or effect therein, or shall be recognized as legal or valid, by any Court, judge, justice, or magistrate, within such Colony, unless the same shall have been approved and confirmed by His Majesty with the advice of his Privy Council."

13. The Governor of every Colony shall, within one calendar month next after the present Order shall be received by him, make known the same by proclamation in such Colony; and the said Order shall be in force in fourteen days after the date of such proclamation and not before; and the Right Hon. Viscount Goderich is to give the necessary directions herein accordingly.

Having thus given a full view of the various provisions of the new Slave Code, freely commenting upon them as we proceeded, we shall now perhaps be expected to express some opinion as to the general effect of the whole enactment. It is intended more immediately to be imposed upon the Crown Colonies, in each of which it is to come into operation within six weeks, at the farthest, after it shall have reached the hands of the Governor. Its formal adoption as the law of those Colonies will be a matter of course, as in them the power of legislation rests wholly with the King in Council. The only point, therefore, which is matter of doubt respects its due execution when it shall have become law. This point also, however, rests in a great measure with the Crown. The Crown may, and alone can, secure its due execution. Were we to judge, however, by our experience of the past, we should not be very sanguine in our hopes of its efficiency. We have hitherto witnessed, in most of the Colonies, much neglect and misconduct on the part of the public functionaries intrusted by the Crown with the administration of the slave laws. We have indeed seen their misconduct sometimes reprehended by the government, but, in very few cases, visited with the punishment due to the violation of

their high duties. We may look in succession to the twenty Slave Colonies belonging to the Crown, and find, in too many of them, that among those who have been the most effectually opposed to the benevolent purposes of his Majesty's Government have been the chief officers of the Crown—the Governors and their Secretaries; the Judges and Attorney Generals; the Procureurs General and Fiscals; the Protectors and the Registrars of slaves; with almost the whole body of the local magistracy. With the exception of some of the Commissioners of Inquiry and a very few Judges and Governors, they seem to have been animated, throughout the whole extent of these scattered possessions, by one prevalent purpose to retard, if not to frustrate, the plans of Government for improving the condition of the slave population. And, in general, they have pursued this course with perfect impunity, and in some cases, with favour and reward. The present Government however, we believe, are fully convinced, that it is only by a more vigorous system of control and supervision, and by an unsparing and relentless infliction, upon public functionaries, of the just penalties of their neglect or misconduct, that even the best laws can be made available to the protection of the wretched slave from oppression and wrong. If the law now passed were faithfully executed, we cannot doubt that it would produce very beneficial consequences, and obviate much suffering. The Government have done much, where we admit it was difficult to legislate at all; and they have at least reflected honour on themselves by the humane and beneficent purposes generally manifested throughout every line of this Ordinance. Even those parts of it which we have viewed with regret, and on which we have deemed it our duty freely to animadvert, indicate the very best intentions on the part of those who framed them, however those intentions may have been warped or frustrated by the misinformation of interested or prejudiced parties.

But, if doubts might fairly be entertained as to the effective operation of this greatly improved Code, even in the Crown colonies; it will not be expected that we should indulge any very sanguine hope of its efficiency in the colonies that are chartered. In the first place, what hope is there even of its adoption by any one of the petty legislatures which crowd the Antilles, and which exhibit there, each on its little stage, nothing better than a kind of mock parliament, a puppet-shew representation of the solemn functions of legislation? Equally absurd and preposterous are the loud menaces, which issue from the 300 white males of Grenada, or the 500 white males of St. Vincent's, or even the four or five thousand white males of Jamaica, of vindicating their right to oppress the 25,000 black subjects of the King in either island, by throwing off their allegiance, and daring the might and majesty of Great Britain. The folly and madness of such conduct in all the Colonies whether small or great are so manifest and glaring as wholly to disentitle them to any choice as to the adoption or rejection of laws which go to secure the well being of the slaves, and to protect them against the effects of a dominion such as theirs. In truth, the British

parliament alone can fulfil this task; and every day that its interference is delayed, in the vain hope that just and humane laws will be assented to and passed by the petty parliaments of the Antilles, will only add to the embarrassments, and may we not add, to the fearful dangers of the question.

But even supposing that, under the influence of fear, the colonial legislatures were to adopt this new Code to the very letter, as Lord Howick, on the 15th of April last, intimated that it was the intention of his Majesty's Government to require them to do, on pain of fiscal inflictions;* there would still remain the same and indeed far greater difficulties, in the execution of it, than have been found, or are still apprehended, in the Crown colonies. And what is the conclusion to which all this brings us? It brings us irresistibly to this conclusion, that slavery is a wholly untractable and unmanageable subject; and that there is only one way of applying an effectual remedy to its multiplied and still unmitigated evils—namely, its extinction, its total extinction, and the elevation of the slaves to the

* We confess that we have not very clearly understood the course which in this respect it is intended by the Government to pursue; but whatever it be, we cannot anticipate any favourable results which do not involve vexatious delays and difficulties, endless disputes, and slow and dubious reformation or even ultimate retraction. In prolonged discussions, on a subject so delicate, which are to be conducted between the Government and Thirteen Colonial Legislatures, assuming to be independent, separated from us by the wide Atlantic, and of whose deep rooted prejudices, and reckless disregard of truth, we have had such frequent proofs; we can contemplate nothing but procrastination and disappointment. The means of misrepresentation are so numerous, and the motives to it so potent; the difficulties of investigation so great, and the scene of it so remote; that years might be consumed in fruitless controversy without any substantial progress in the work of reformation. Nor can we discover any benefit which is to be attained by this indirect and unsatisfactory method of attaining the object in view, whilst the Government, with the aid of Parliament, are themselves constitutionally entitled at once to reform the legislation of these Colonies, and effectually to control the conduct of all Colonial functionaries. Is there not something timid and compromising in admitting the general prevalence of crime in the Colonies, and that the lives of His Majesty's subjects there are hourly sacrificing by men over whom we possess a legal control, while our power alone maintains their usurped dominion; and yet pursuing such an indirect, circuitous and uncertain course, as instead of immediately placing the happiness and lives of our fellow subjects under the guardianship of just laws, shall leave them to the tender mercies of those who, by their past oppressions, have shewn themselves altogether unworthy of the trust? Let it be carefully kept in view that the great mass of those, to whom the execution of this difficult and delicate experiment is proposed to be committed, are not themselves the proprietors of the slaves, having an interest however remote in their well-being; but hiring attorneys, managers and overseers, men nurtured and hardened amid the practical evils and crimes of slavery, unaccustomed to control their pride, their passions, and their prejudices, and much more likely to be incited by these powerful feelings to wreak their spleen and even vengeance on the unhappy slaves while still in their power, than to be restrained from violence, by any influence arising from the prospect of the distant benefit which may accrue to an employer, whom they may never have seen, and in whose prospective gains they have at least no direct participation. An Act of Parliament, and an Act of Parliament alone, can terminate all these difficulties, and wipe away from this land the disgrace and the guilt of such a system.

possession of their rights as men, and their privileges as subjects of the British Crown. Nothing short of this will satisfy the British public; for nothing short of this can put a period to the miseries of slavery, or deliver this country from the guilt and the crime of continuing to uphold it.

II.—INSTRUCTIONS OF LORD GODERICH TO THE GOVERNORS OF CROWN COLONIES.

BEFORE we finally quit the subject of the New Slave Code, we must advert to some parts of the correspondence, to which it has led on the part of the Government, and which has recently been laid before Parliament by His Majesty's command. And in the first place we think it our duty to express the satisfaction and gratitude with which we have marked the tone of the circular despatch of Lord Goderich, of the 5th November, 1831, addressed to the Governors of the Crown Colonies, and accompanying the New Order in Council on its transmission thither. It does him very high honour and entitles him to the respect and confidence of every humane and liberal mind.

“ I now enclose,” says his Lordship, “ for your information copies of two Orders of the King in Council. Of these, the first revokes the existing laws for improving the condition of the slaves; the second establishes a new code for that purpose. I also transmit copies of the different representations against this design which have reached the Council Office and this Department. I trust that the Orders are sufficiently clear to convey their own meaning distinctly; nor shall I attempt to elucidate by any commentary a law which must at last be carried into effect, not with reference to my views of its meaning, but according to such interpretations as it may receive from the competent legal tribunals. A task, however, remains for me which I must not decline, although it will involve a discussion of very unusual and inconvenient length. I must explain how far the objections raised in the accompanying documents to the details of this Order have prevailed, and what are the motives which, notwithstanding those objections, have been thought to require a steady perseverance in the general principles of the law, and in a large proportion of the enactments contained in the original draft. I engage in this labour with the less reluctance, because it will afford me an opportunity of canvassing, by anticipation, some of the more considerable objections which will probably be urged by the resident Proprietors.”

“ First,—It has been urged that an inquiry before a Committee of the House of Lords into the actual condition of the slaves of the British Colonies, should precede any legislation for the improvement of that condition. Great ignorance and misconception are said to prevail on the whole subject, not only amongst the people of this country at large, but even with the official advisers of His Majesty. Until that ignorance be dissipated by the information to be laid before the proposed Committee, a moral incapacity for the task they have undertaken is imputed to the Lords of the Privy Council; and it is predicted that increasing knowledge will strengthen or create the convic-

tion, that no safe and judicious measures can originate with any other authority than that of the legislative bodies, which, under various appellations, exist in each of the Colonies to which the proposed Order would apply.

“Whatever weight might be due to these objections, if the scheme of legislation by Order in Council were for the first time to be tried, it is obvious that they have now lost much of their original force or plausibility. The practical question in debate is, not whether laws for the improvement of Slavery shall emanate from British or Colonial authorities, but whether the existing Orders of the King in Council require revision and enlargement.

“The ignorance of the real state of the Colonies which is attributed to the Lords of the Privy Council in the year 1831, was imputed to their Lordships, in terms not less peremptory, in the years 1824 and 1830. Since the dates of the Orders promulgated in those years, the amount of knowledge possessed in Europe on this subject has certainly not diminished, and may, with reason be supposed to have been largely augmented. It would be an invidious office to quote the predictions with which endeavours were made to prevent or delay the promulgation of the preceding Orders. It cannot be asserted more confidently now than it was maintained then, that the gross ignorance of the framers of the law would be detected as soon as an attempt should be made to enforce obedience to it; that it would be found impossible to proceed at all; or that an entire abandonment of the estates would be the penalty which the Proprietors would have to pay for the presumption of the Government. Yet, which of these forebodings has been verified by the result? The Orders of 1824 and 1830 have encountered no serious difficulty. They have been carried into full execution, nor have I yet heard of the abandonment of a single plantation. It cannot, then, be unreasonable to question the real superiority of that knowledge which, in defiance of this practical refutation, is still claimed to themselves by the gentlemen connected with the Colonies; nor can I think it presumptuous to suppose that a task, executed with so much success seven years ago, may be undertaken with still better prospects of a prosperous issue at present, with the benefit of all those additional lights which have been collected together during that interval.

“It is assumed, throughout the reasoning of the Remonstrants, that the Order proceeds upon some vague assumption that the slaves are labouring under great oppression and wretchedness, or upon the supposition that the owners are collectively persons in whom it is impossible to repose that degree of confidence which is due to all men who are not actually convicted of crime; and it is urged that laws framed under so gross a misapprehension of the real condition of the slave, and of the real character of his owner, cannot but be pregnant with injury to both. No representation could be more inaccurate than that which is thus given of the principles on which His Majesty’s Council proceeded, in the advice which they humbly tendered to the King on this occasion. The existence of unusual oppression on the one side, and of extreme wretchedness on the other, was not assumed as really

true, nor even adverted to as a probable truth, in forming either the present or the former Orders. The Ministers of the Crown did not yield themselves to the guidance of any such indefinite assumptions. They considered the subject in a more distinct and practical method. In the years 1824 and 1830 a careful review was taken of the Slave Code as it then existed in the different Colonies. It appeared, at the former of those periods, that there was not, in any colony, any individual at once charged with the duty and armed with the power of enforcing obedience to the laws made for the protection of the slaves; and the Protector, and his Assistants were therefore invested with that responsibility, and armed with the powers necessary to sustain it. The existence of Sunday markets being admitted, that abuse was prohibited. In the same manner the use of the whip in the field, as a stimulus to labour; the punishment of women by flogging; the power of convicting and punishing slaves by the domestic authority of the owner, without a previous or subsequent report to any magistrate; the prevalent disuse of marriage, and even the legal incapacity to enter into that contract without the owner's consent; the inability of a slave to acquire property except by sufferance, and his incapacity to sue or be sued in respect to such property as local usages permitted him to possess; the right of the owner to separate at his pleasure the nearest natural kindred from each other; the inability of a slave to purchase his enfranchisement without his owner's consent; the impossibility of manumitting a slave belonging to infant children or remote reversioners; the want of any guarantee to the slave that the money paid for the purchase of his freedom should not be lost by a defect in the title of his supposed owner; the silence or uncertainty of the law as to what should constitute a legal presumption of freedom or of slavery; the exclusion or qualified admission of the evidence of slaves; the want of rules respecting their food, at once specific in their terms and adequate in their amount; a similar silence of the law on the subject of clothing, furniture, medical attendance, and the hours of labour and repose; and a general want of cheap and compendious methods for recovering penalties when the Slave Code had been violated:—These were parts of the Colonial Slave Code, which were first amended by the authority of the King in Council, to some extent, in the year 1824. Those amendments, having been consolidated and further extended in the year 1830, have been completed by the Order which I now transmit. This state of the law was a matter of fact, of which the evidence was as readily accessible in England as in the Colonies. Whatever might be the condition of the slaves, and whatever the conduct of their owners, the necessity for supplying such defects and remedying such abuses in the law as these, was, in the years 1824 and 1830, evident and indisputable. These are precisely the defects and the abuses against which the former Orders were directed, and which the present Order proposes to remedy more effectually. It is not, then, in deference to any vulgar prejudice respecting West India Slavery, nor is it by substituting vague theory for specific information, that His Majesty's Government have directed their course. They have, on the contrary, grappled with specific evils, the existence of

which was generally admitted even by the enemies of the measure, and which, if denied, might at once have been proved by an appeal to all the Slave Codes of Colonial origin. How far it is wise to supply these defects in the law, except on proof of specific evils resulting from them, is a question to be noticed hereafter. For the present I confine myself to the remark, that the general charge, of ignorance of the subject to be handled, may be safely met by this enumeration of the specific topics of the law; and by the inquiry—where is the danger of mistakes being committed in Europe, rather than in the West Indies, as to the effect of a written code which may be perused with equal deliberation in either country?

“In denying that the Government have been floating on the tide of popular prejudice, or impelled by vague theories, I do not mean to assert that they have not adverted to those great general principles by which every wise lawgiver is directed; on the contrary, it is precisely because they have fixed a stedfast eye on those principles, and because they are accessible alike to all who will take the pains to study them, that I again repel the charge of ignorance which is so confidently urged. The Ministers of the Crown are not ignorant that unrestrained power must and will be abused. They know that an unpopular law will never be executed by voluntary agency. They are assured that the natural distinctions of colour and origin, coinciding with the artificial distinctions of unlimited authority on the one hand, and absolute subjection on the other, cannot but tend to induce pride, contempt, and ill usage. They believe that the law which makes one man the proprietor and another the property, and which delegates, to the proprietary body, all powers—legislative, judicial, magisterial, and domestic, cannot but be the fertile source of abuses. In possession of these and similar principles, His Majesty’s Government cannot suppose themselves so unfitted for the task of legislation as their imputed ignorance would imply.

“If it be indeed true that they who have devoted much time, in England, to the study of this question, are still ignorant of its bearings, that ignorance must be admitted to be incurable. During the last eight years every slave colony belonging to the British Crown has been agitated with the discussion of these questions. Whatever lights could be afforded by local experience, and whatever criticisms could be supplied by the utmost eagerness of controversy, have been brought to bear, not merely on the general principles of the Orders of 1824 and 1830, but upon each of their most minute details. Several folio volumes containing the official correspondence on this subject have been printed by His Majesty’s command, and laid before both Houses of Parliament. It would be difficult to mention any code, the promulgation of which was ever preceded and followed by a more severe scrutiny into its supposed errors and probable consequences. The Colonists especially have enjoyed the most unlimited opportunity for explaining their own opinions and illustrating them by evidence. The reasonings urged and the proofs adduced by the various Councils, Assemblies, Public Meetings, and Private Disputants, who have participated in this controversy, have been printed at the public expense,

and transmitted, both in their original form, and in the shape of abstracts and epitomes, to every Member of Parliament, and almost to every individual who has taken a prominent part in this discussion. If this protracted debate has failed to convey to His Majesty's Government the necessary information, to whom but the Colonists themselves can that failure be attributed? And what is the assignable length of time within which the requisite amount of knowledge could be brought together?

“ To the alleged ignorance and consequent incompetency of the Ministers of the Crown to frame such a law as the present, I have still another answer to make, to which I find it scarcely possible to anticipate a satisfactory reply. It is, that the code denounced as indicating so absolute a want of knowledge of the state of Colonial Society is, in substance and principle, the work of the Colonial Legislatures themselves. I use the terms ‘ in substance and principle ’ advisedly, in order to indicate more exactly the real distinction between the accompanying Order and those local laws which have suggested all its principal provisions. No one Legislature ever adopted them all ; but neither is there any one leading principle which some one or more of the Legislatures will not be found to have sanctioned. The Colonial Enactments to which I refer are, however, without a solitary exception, deficient in those regulations on which the real efficacy of laws, destined to encounter so much prejudice and opposition, must altogether depend. To supply such regulations, to infuse a living and active spirit into a Code which, from the want of them, has been too much a dead letter, has been the great object of the framers of this Order. Assuming to themselves the full responsibility for the wisdom of those rules, they at the same time are willing to give to the Colonial Legislatures, collectively or separately, the credit of having suggested or recognised all the principles to which those rules are subsidiary.”

His lordship proceeds to illustrate this statement by a lengthened induction of particulars, which it would be possible very considerably to enlarge. They are sufficient, however, for his lordship's purpose. “ They comprise,” he observes, “ the substance of the whole of the Order in Council which accompanies this despatch, and will sufficiently verify the general assertion, that no one principle has been introduced in favour of which the authority of some one or more of the Colonial Legislatures cannot be cited. Thus then, the imputation of ignorance, in attempting to mitigate the condition of slaves by such enactments, is met by an appeal to the example of those from whom the charge proceeds.

“ If it be replied, that the adoption, by so many local legislatures, of so large a portion of this law, disproves the necessity of resorting to any other authority than theirs ; the answer is at hand. No one legislature has adopted them all ; nor have any of those bodies framed their laws in such a manner as to give any real security for obedience.

“ Still, it will be urged, that even if the official advisers of the Crown possess the information necessary to qualify them for the work

in which they have engaged, the Colonial Legislatures have the same knowledge, at least in an equal, and probably in a much higher degree, and that, therefore, their claim to be intrusted with the preparation and original enactment of all improvements in the law of slavery, is irresistible. With the most perfect respect for the gentlemen who compose these bodies, I must venture to observe, that an exact knowledge of the particular society in which a law is to operate, is not the only qualification for a legislator. It is not even the highest or the most important. For so arduous an office, it is still more requisite that the lawgiver should possess the habit of dealing with large practical questions, a freedom from local and personal prejudices, an absence of all such personal interests as could warp his judgment, and a mind open to the admission of truth in whatever direction it may come.

“Without supposing men resident in Europe to possess any superior capacity to persons of equal education and corresponding rank in life in the Colonies, I cannot think it unreasonable to believe that they possess in a higher degree the qualifications to which I have referred. A gentleman who has passed his life on a plantation in the West Indies, or in the legal tribunals of those colonies, may know much respecting the state of slavery, of which the most profound reasoners and the most practical statesmen in Europe are ignorant. But I cannot admit that this proximity of observation is an infallible, or even a safe guide to sound conclusions. If the colonists know much of which others are ignorant, they are also inevitably ignorant of much which others know. They have few opportunities of studying the progress of public opinion throughout society at large. They unavoidably live in a contracted circle, which is agitated by petty feuds and pecuniary embarrassments. In those colonies, neither learned leisure, nor literary and scientific intercourse, nor even the more liberal recreations, are commonly to be found. The white inhabitants regard themselves as living in a temporary exile, and are looking to a distant country as their home. The members of the local legislatures are contending for the maintenance of their own domestic and political authority, for the protection of their supposed and immediate interests, and in the defence of their collective and personal reputation. While irritated, not perhaps unreasonably, by injurious language, they are at the same time alarmed by predictions of approaching anarchy and ruin. These circumstances have produced in them precisely the same moral incapacity to legislate on the subject of slavery, which they would have wrought in the minds of any other individuals who had been placed in a similar situation. It is not, therefore, presumptuous or irrational to think that a better slave Code could be formed in England than in the colonies,—better, not only for the slaves, but for their owners,—better adapted to the real exigency of the occasion,—and better suited to avert those desperate changes which all parties concur in deprecating.

“For these reasons I conclude that there is no adequate ground for the imputation of ignorance which is advanced against the authors of this law, and no necessity for deferring its promulgation until an

inquiry into the real state of West Indian slavery shall have taken place before the proposed Committee of the House of Peers.

“It is objected that sufficient time has not been afforded for ascertaining the influence and effects of the laws recently promulgated for the improvement of the condition of the slaves, and that it is premature to advance to a new experiment, until the success of those which preceded it has been ascertained.

“As this remark is made rather in reference to the acts of the colonies possessing representative assemblies, than to those of the Crown colonies, it is the less material to scrutinize its accuracy on the present occasion. I must, however, observe, that the several Acts of Assembly to which this appeal is made, have at least no apparent tendency to accomplish the ultimate extinction of negro slavery; that their general tendency is even in the opposite direction; that they are replete with unjust and arbitrary rules; and that unless a succession of men shall appear ready to devote themselves to obloquy and unrequited toil, in carrying the remedial provisions of those statutes into effect, they must remain a dead letter. In proof of these assertions, I again appeal to the voluminous printed correspondence of the last eight years.

“With reference to the laws promulgated in the Crown colonies, it is in direct contradiction to the real fact to say that their effects still remain to be ascertained. I gladly acknowledge that they have produced many important benefits. But the half-yearly reports of the Protectors, which exhibit the actual results in the most complete and circumstantial manner, demonstrate that if much has been done, there is yet much which, with a view to the effective execution of the law, remains to be accomplished.

“The time selected for the promulgating of this Order is condemned, on account of the excitement which is said to prevail at present in the West Indies, and on account of the commercial distresses by which it is asserted that the planters are driven to despair.

“If, indeed, these feelings are thus prevalent, no one will dispute that it is the duty of the Government, as far as their power may extend, to tranquillize those who are agitated, and to animate the desponding. But these feelings, like all others, must be brought into subjection to dispassionate reason, unless it is intended that the affairs of the world shall obey the impulses of every blind and precipitate passion. If the excitement be that of a very small numerical minority who may have surrendered their better judgment to the influence of anger or alarm, I would, with all tenderness and respect, remind them, that the times in which we are living imperiously call for the exercise of a more firm and collected temper. But if the excitement be that of the great mass of the people; if it be founded on just grounds and stimulated by the consciousness of their own powers; then I can perceive, in such a state of public feeling, conclusive reasons for making promptly, and with cheerfulness, those concessions which must be made at last.

“The existence of severe commercial distress amongst all classes of society connected with the West Indies is unhappily but too

evident. Yet what is the just inference from this admitted fact? Not, certainly, that the proprietary body should yield themselves to despair, and thus render the evil incurable; but rather that we should deliberately retrace the steps of that policy which has had so disastrous an issue. Without denying the concurrence of many causes towards the result which we all so much deplore, it is obvious that the great and permanent source of that distress, which almost every page of the history of the West Indies records, is to be found in the institution of slavery. It is vain to hope for long continued prosperity in any country in which the people are not dependent on their own voluntary industry for their support; in which labour is not prompted by legitimate motives, and does not earn its natural reward; in which the land and its cultivators are habitually purchased and sold on credit; and in which the management of that property is almost invariably confided, by an absent proprietary, to resident agents or to mortgagors who are proprietors only in name. Without presuming to censure individuals for the share they may have taken in maturing this system, I cannot but regard the system itself as the perennial spring of those distresses of which, not at present merely, but during the whole of the last fifty years, the complaints have been so frequent and so just. Regarding the present Orders as a measured and cautious, but at the same time a decided, advance towards the ultimate extinction of slavery, I must, on that account, regard it as tending to the cure of the pecuniary embarrassments which it is said to enhance.

“Much complaint is made of the Order as not referring and adhering to the constitution and legal rights of each separate colony, and as embodying, in a general ordinance, regulations designed for colonies widely dissimilar in local circumstances, laws, and rural employments.

“I have no wish to exaggerate or overstate the present argument; and will admit unreservedly, that there would be some advantage in making a distinct code for each separate colony. I must, however, at the same time maintain, that the disadvantages of that mode of proceeding would be far more numerous and considerable. At the present moment, the Order of February, 1830, is in force alike throughout all the Crown colonies; and when I compare together the slave codes which were actually framed by the local authorities, I do not perceive in them the traces of that accommodation of the law to their peculiar habits and institutions, which is thus urgently demanded when the task of legislation is undertaken in this kingdom. On the contrary, it will be found that the variations between the different local enactments refer almost entirely to general principles, and not to local and accidental peculiarities. But the general principles ought to be very nearly, if not altogether the same, in every colony where the relation of master and slave is known. The same necessity exists in them all for effective protection; for repose on Sunday; for the regulation of punishment; for securing to the slaves the rite of marriage; for the defence of their property; for preventing the separation of families; for the facility of manumission; for the ad-

missibility of slave evidence ; for protection from excessive labour ; and for an adequate supply of food, clothing, and medical attendance. This is all which the law enforces ; and these are wants, not local, but co-extensive with the state of slavery itself.

“ Nor is conformity in the slave codes of the different colonies unimportant on other grounds. It renders the execution of the law more easy and secure. The lights discovered in one colony are found useful in corresponding exigencies in another. Comparisons between the progress of improvement in different colonies are readily and accurately made, and the King’s Government in this country have a distinct view of the system, the execution of which they are ultimately called to superintend.

“ The objection also proceeds on the assumption that sound policy requires the maintenance, in the British colonies, of codes and institutions so diversified as to forbid the gradual assimilation of their laws. To that opinion I cannot subscribe ; but must, on the contrary, believe that it has been a great error, in the colonial policy of this country, to overlook the expediency of bending local peculiarities to the general principles of one common legislation ; and I can scarcely suppose a more fit opportunity than the present for uniting together, by a general law, settlements which are all parts of the same empire, and which are all deriving their white population, their language, and their commercial capital from Great Britain.

“ I must not pass over without notice an argument adduced in a letter addressed to me by Mr. Irving, the member for Bramber, who professes to act as the agent for some persons in Mauritius. He maintains that the proposed codes will virtually emancipate the slaves in the British colonies, and thus stimulate the Foreign slave trade ; so that, in attempting to do good, the government will in reality be producing the most serious evil. Where the inference is so manifestly untenable, I cannot think it worth while to debate the premises. If neither the state, nor individuals, are to do justice, without an absolute certainty as to possible consequences which are beyond their own control, the great rule of right is at an end, and every one may plead the probable injustice of another in defence of his own deliberate wrong-doing. I can never consent to oppose a temporary and apparent expediency to those eternal obligations which religion founds upon the law of God, and which morality derives from an expediency which is permanent and universal. I will not attempt to prevent the Foreign slave trade, by refusing justice to the slaves in his Majesty’s dominions.

“ It is objected that the enactments of the proposed law are conceived in a harsh tone, and imply such a distrust of the owners as will deter all men of liberal feelings and reputable character, from undertaking the office of manager, and that thus the general character of society will be injured.

“ This law, I admit, proceeds throughout on the assumption that unlimited power will be abused, and, as the practical inference from that principle, it supposes the necessity of subjecting the authority of an owner over his slaves to a constant and vigilant control. The

reproach, if so it must be regarded, is directed, not against individuals, nor even against any particular body of men, but against that nature of which all men partake in common. It were idle to legislate at all on the subject, without adverting to the ordinary motives of human conduct, and the ordinary influence of the temptation which attends the possession of power. It might with equal truth be said, that the English statute book is a satire on the people of England by their lawgivers. No magistrate, no hirer of mechanics, no owner of a cotton mill, is exempted from the reach of that suspicion and distrust with which the legislature regards those who stand in the superior relations of society. Amongst the objections to the Truck bill, it was not urged by the master manufacturers that it injuriously ascribed to them a disposition to advance their own interest at the expence of the artizans in their employment. I know not why the gentlemen who, in the subordinate character of agents, exercise a delegated authority over the slaves, should arrogate to themselves a purity of moral conduct and a superiority to self-interest, to which, under circumstances of far less temptation, one of the most wealthy, well-educated, and important classes of society in England, did not venture to lay claim.

“The sensitiveness of feeling, which, it is said, will indispose honourable men to act as managers while this law continues in force, is, I think, not much to be apprehended. Remembering what are the motives which really attract men across the Atlantic, in quest of such employment, there is no room to doubt their continued influence. An honest man, who is brought into a situation which justly renders him obnoxious to suspicion, will rather court than shun the most minute inspection of his conduct.

“It is then remarked that the law will increase the public burdens of the Colonies, and that the additional charge cannot be borne.

“I may fairly claim to myself credit for the utmost anxiety to reduce the public burdens of the Colonies, since from the moment of my acceptance of the Seals of this Office, I have been employed in measures tending to that result, many of which are now in active operation.

“I trust that the increased expence of a few assistant protectors will be abundantly provided for by the savings already made, and which remain to be made, in other departments. But the charges necessarily incurred for the protection of the slaves are the very first and the highest of all the claims on the colonial revenue, and in whatever direction parsimony must be practised, His Majesty’s Government cannot consent to the exercise of it in this.

“Whatever property exists, or has ever existed in the Colonies, is the direct fruit of the labour of the slaves. That this labour has never received its due compensation is matter of absolute certainty. Slaves still bear, and have always borne, a high price in the Colonies. Why is it that any man finds it worth his while to purchase a labourer? The answer plainly is, because his labour is worth more than the cost of the maintenance he is to receive. The price paid is a fair criterion of the amount of the wages which have been kept back, and of the

loss sustained by the labourer. I cannot be a party to so gross an act of injustice as to refuse the slaves, from the property created at their expence, whatever may be required for their adequate protection.

“The remonstrants, (adopting the language of the Jamaica Assembly of 1826,) object to the office of Protector. They denounce him as a spy: they maintain that the laws are already respected; that the introduction of such an officer from a distant country for such purposes, is an unheard-of anomaly; that the protectors will look for reward and praise to the enemies of the Colonies; that the most innocent actions will be distorted; that the cultivation will be abandoned; and the slaves rendered valueless.

“To this I can only oppose an answer which has already been repeatedly given. I cannot admit that the names of ‘the Colony,’ and ‘the Colonists,’ are justly assumed, by the proprietary body, to the exclusion of the labouring class. At this distance from the scene, the colony and the colonists may be recognised rather in the myriads of slaves, than in the hundreds of managers and owners. An unpopular law, for the execution of which no individual is responsible, is, and must be, a dead letter. If the anomaly of slavery exists in society, it must carry other anomalies after it. A spy is a hard word; but injurious terms cannot be accepted as proof of misconduct. When unlimited power is placed in private hands, some one there must be to see that it is not abused; and his function is neither more nor less useful and honourable, because a legislative body gives it an opprobrious name. It is easy to say, and I should rejoice to believe, that the laws are well executed. The contrary is inferred, not from isolated cases of cruelty, but from the admitted and indisputable facts which are regularly disclosed in the reports of the various protectors. This institution is no novelty of the year 1831. It was established several years ago throughout the crown colonies, and has not hitherto produced the threatened insubordination, nor any abandonment of the estates.

“Great objection is made to the power given to the protector to enter estates and negro huts to communicate with the slaves. It is described as a vexatious police, and it is remarked that the right is not to be exercised at seasonable times only, but at all hours.

“It is not the fault of the legislator that all the advantages of free institutions cannot be enjoyed in a land of slavery. Anomalies beget each other. The law has given to one of the king’s subjects the right of confining two or three hundred of his fellow subjects within the precincts of his estate. I do not dispute the existence, nor would I impede the exercise, of this right. But is it consistent to complain that such a property is laid open to an inspection unknown in other countries? As to ‘seasonable hours,’ it is not stated what the expression means. Is it the hours of the day, or of the night? In the day, the protector’s visits would be unseasonable, as impeding the labour, and in the night, as interrupting the repose, of the slaves. Thus the protector would be kept out of the estate altogether. The law, as drawn, gives the protector his own choice of the time, because even

so, his opportunities will be sufficiently few, and because an intercourse with the slaves, at times fixed beforehand, could afford them little facility of communication.

“Respecting inquests on slaves who come by their death suddenly, it is observed, that no sufficient provision is made for collecting a jury. I allow that all that is done, and I think that all that could be done, is, to introduce this part of the law of England, ‘as far as local circumstances may admit.’ No one who possesses the slightest knowledge of colonial affairs can be ignorant that such legislation is resorted to constantly in them all, and that the seeming difficulty has been continually surmounted. But it is added, the human body after death decays too soon for this purpose in tropical climates; a fact not to be disputed, but which, as I think, only shews the additional power of concealment, and the peculiar need of the best practicable investigation. There is more justice in the remark, that the pecuniary penalty for not giving notice of the death of a slave, should attach to free persons only, and the Order has been amended accordingly. That no inquest is directed to be holden on the body of free persons is true. The reason is obvious. This is a law exclusively for the protection of slaves.

“The distillation of rum, it is observed, cannot be suspended on a Sunday, though even in England the distilleries are worked on that day. Of course if the process be commenced late in the week, it will be so. But why should this be? I cannot venture to deny, that in this, as in all other cases, some inconvenience and some sacrifice must be incurred by a resolute adherence to justice.*

“Great complaint is made of the penalties denounced against the punishment of slaves without a reasonable and adequate cause, and against punishments more than adequate to the offence. All this is condemned as ‘vague, loose, and contrary to the most approved principles of legislation.’ Nothing is more obvious than the answer. What power is so vague, so loose, and so contrary to approved principles as that with which the law invests the owner? He may and does punish every action and gesture which are opposed to his peculiar views and notions of duty. The list of crimes of which the punishments are recorded in the Protectors’ Reports, are such as no human legislature ever attempted to define. Amongst them, for example, are disobedience, insolence, uncleanly habits, indecent language, quarrelling, and the like. If male slaves are to be whipped, and females confined in the stocks upon such vague and loose charges, how can the abuse of such authority be prohibited, except by the use of terms equally large and indefinite? Make the power precise, and the interdict against the abuse may be precise also. In the practical en-

* The truth is, that the objection of the West Indians has no foundation in fact. Not only is not the distillation of rum continued throughout the week, and not suspended on Sunday; but it is not continued, in general, for more than from twelve to fifteen hours each day, being suspended every evening, and again recommenced on the following morning. If the objectors maintain the contrary, it is only a proof of *their* absolute ignorance of local circumstances.

forcement of the law, the judge must, of course, have a discretion; which, in some degree, shall be the counterpart of that with which the owner is invested."

Among other objections urged by the West Indians to the mode prescribed in the Order in Council, for provisioning slaves, and ably replied to by Lord Goderich, is the following.

"Children under the age of fourteen are required not to be worked more than six hours daily. The remonstrants against this Order state that children of ten years of age, are capable of working as long at their employments as adults. I cannot venture to adopt an opinion of which the practical effect would be to subject children of this tender age, to the existing rule, which requires only eight hours of continuous repose out of the twenty-four. If, it is added, a child of ten years be allowed the food of an adult, it is inconsistent to give him more repose. Every father of a family, every keeper of a school; and every workhouse keeper, is, I believe, aware that the appetite of children is mature before their strength, and that a boy will never attain manly vigour whose natural cravings for food are not satisfied. For the great work of education also, leisure would be entirely wanting if such exertions were exacted from the young."

His Lordship thus concludes this truly able and luminous despatch; and the admonition it conveys to Governors we trust will long vibrate in their ears.

"I have thus laboriously travelled through both the general and the specific objections of those who have remonstrated against this law, from an anxious desire to demonstrate that, on so important an occasion, the Ministers of the Crown have not proceeded without the utmost circumspection, and the most exact inquiry. I do not delude myself by the expectation that the measure will not have to encounter serious difficulties. But the exigency of the occasion, is such as to demand from the King's Government, decision and firmness—from yourself, the utmost exertion of your authority and influence,—and from all classes of the King's subjects in the colonies, a calm and deliberate review of the position in which the great question of Negro Slavery stands. It would be a fatal illusion to suppose that the progress of ameliorating measures, tending to the ultimate extinction of slavery, by cautious and gradual means, can be averted. No man who has watched the progress of public opinion in Europe, can avoid this conclusion. It is in no unfriendly spirit, but on the contrary with feelings of the deepest anxiety for the welfare of the proprietary body, that I would most earnestly and respectfully urge this fact on their attention. To embark in a contest upon this subject, of which the result could not but be unfavourable, and might be most disastrous to those who should provoke it, would be but to add to the amount of that distress which no men more freely acknowledge, or more deeply deplore, than the official advisers of the Crown. It would be difficult to exaggerate the anxiety I feel to prevent so calamitous a result, and I persuade myself that it is best avoided by such legislation, as that to which this despatch refers; which, on a calm review of the subject, will, I trust, be found to concede to the slaves nothing more than

strict justice demands, and to offer to their owners the best practicable security for the peaceable and quiet enjoyment of their property."

No less vigorous and energetic are the instructions issued by Lord Goderich, to the Governors of the Crown Colonies, on the 14th Nov. 1831. We lay the following extracts from it before our readers.

"On collating the Order of the 2nd of November, 1831, with that of the 2nd of February, 1830, you will perceive that the last Order has, in some instances, determined absolutely, matters which the preceding Order referred to the discretion of the Governor. The reasons which dictated this change of policy may partly be inferred from the printed Parliamentary Papers, containing the correspondence between the Governors and this Department, and pointing out the manner in which the designs of His late Majesty, in the promulgation of the former law, had, in many respects, been defeated by ill-considered proclamations, issued under its authority. An additional reason for withholding, as far as possible, this subordinate power, was the desire of securing the Governors from solicitations, which it might be alike necessary and difficult for them to resist. It has been my careful study to narrow your discretion, and proportionably to diminish your responsibility, as far as possible, on the present occasion, because nothing can be at once more painful in itself, or more injurious to the great object with a view to which the Order has been framed, than the species of discussion between the Secretary of State and the heads of the local governments, to which the last Order gave birth.

"But while thus exempting you from the responsibility of originating certain subsidiary enactments, it is most remote from my design to decline, or to depreciate, the value of your assistance in carrying the Order into effect. On the contrary, I regard that assistance as absolutely indispensable to the success of the whole design. If my despatch of the 5th instant should fail to convince you of the importance which the Ministers of the Crown attach to the observance and complete execution of this Order, I have no language which could adequately convey that impression.

"But I persuade myself that there is no serious danger of my being misunderstood on this occasion. It is in the spirit of the most perfect respect for your person, and of reliance on your judgment, that I acquaint you that His Majesty will expect from the Governors of all His Colonies, not a mere acquiescence in the provisions of this Order, but a zealous, energetic, and persevering effort to carry it into complete effect; and to surmount those difficulties of which, in my despatch of the 5th instant, I have avowed my full anticipation. I will not contemplate what I trust may be esteemed the most improbable contingency of any Governor adopting a contrary course, and yielding himself to those panics and discontents which it is his first duty to allay; for I could scarcely advert to that topic without using the language of warning in a manner which might, if not properly understood, be supposed to imply an undue distrust.

"The 40th Clause of the Order has delegated to you the regulation of the punishments which are to be inflicted on females in substitution for the punishment of the whip. I cannot but direct your most careful attention to the manner in which this power shall be exercised.

It has been stated in an official report from the Protector of slaves at St. Lucia, and in other ways, that the punishments to which women have been subjected since the promulgation of the law of February, 1830, have been even more cruel and more degrading than those from which it rescued them. The field stocks are especially mentioned as instruments of torture, such as, in Europe, the vilest criminals are no longer permitted to undergo. Whatever may be the accuracy of these statements, they at least suggest a caution of the highest importance. They point out the possibility of a very gross abuse, the responsibility for which would rest altogether with the Governor who had authorised the use of such modes of punishment. In the proclamation which it may be your duty to issue on this subject, you will most exactly bear in mind the injunction contained in the 40th Clause of the Order which requires you to 'prescribe with all practicable precision the nature and extent of the punishments to be substituted for the punishment of whipping in the case of female slaves, and to make all such rules and regulations as may be necessary for preventing and punishing any abuses in the infliction of such substituted punishments.'

"In carrying these powers into effect, it will be fit that no punishment subjecting women to direct bodily pain should be sanctioned, except as a last resource in cases of contumacious resistance to lawful authority; or in cases where the offence may be such as to imply unusual moral debasement on the part of the offender. For the crimes of insolence, neglect of work, disobedience to orders, lateness in coming to work, abusive language, violence of demeanour, and many others of the domestic offences which fill the catalogue of a Protector's half yearly return, personal chastisement by confinement in the stocks is scarcely a more inappropriate punishment than the whip itself. In these cases inflictions must be resorted to, which suppose the existence of the sense of shame, and which may operate rather on the mind than the body of the sufferer; or, if bodily privations be necessary, they may be found in some temporary change of diet, or in some privation of the personal freedom of the offender, during her hours of intermission from labour. The stocks, if it be really necessary to resort to them at all, must be reserved for the graver offences of drunkenness, marooning, and similar delinquencies, which indicate a character more than usually reckless of the opinion of those with whom the offender associates. Even in such cases, you will not permit the employment of stocks as an instrument of punishment, without a most minute regulation of their shape and size, and of the duration of the punishment, and of the intervals which must elapse between successive punishments. For example, there should be a model for the stocks to be used, which model should be carefully inspected and approved by yourself, the Chief Justice, and the Protector of Slaves; and every deviation from that model, on the side of increased severity, should be declared unauthorized and punished as illegal.

"It is not without a full sense of the difficulty of the task I thus impose on you that I issue these instructions; and I am fully prepared for the answer with which I am already so familiar, that such distinc-

tions as these are the growth of mere theory, and would never be regarded as either important or practicable by any one who had a personal acquaintance with Slavery as it actually exists in the British Colonies. I must, therefore, say by anticipation, that neither the difficulty nor the supposed unfitness of this undertaking will be accepted by His Majesty's Government as an apology for declining it. They strictly require that the attempt thus to regulate the personal punishment of women by the domestic authority of their owners should be made, and that the result of that experiment should be fully and fairly ascertained. It will be time enough to abandon the enterprise as hopeless, when some sufficient practical proof shall be brought in aid of the theories (for such they are), which suppose it impossible that women, in a state of slavery, should be kept in proper discipline by more gentle methods than those of the whip and the stocks."

In commenting on §. C, which authorizes the attendance of slaves at all places of public worship, with certain restrictions as to hours and distances, his Lordship well observes, that though all religious teachers, not clergymen of the Established Church, must have a licence from the Secretary of State, or from the Governor; yet that the latter cannot too distinctly remember that "for the conversion of persons who must unhappily be numbered amongst heathens, an ardent zeal for the diffusion of Christian knowledge is the first and all essential requisite; and that very many exemplary clergymen may be deficient in those popular arts, by which in religion, as in other subjects, uncultivated minds are most powerfully affected." "Your duty, therefore," he adds, "will be to encourage as much as possible those religious teachers in whose good sense and sobriety of mind you can place the greatest confidence, and not to refuse your licence to any man of honest intentions and decorous conduct whom the slaves themselves may be disposed to receive as a teacher. I confidently anticipate your concurrence in the opinion, that much as the extension of that Church of which we are both members is to be desired, the propagation of Christian knowledge, under any form of church government, or with whatever infusion of error in subordinate questions, is incomparably to be preferred to that state of heathen darkness in which the slaves in our Colonies have for so long a course of years been permitted to live."

The last clause of the Order directs its promulgation within one month after it shall have been received; and, in fourteen days from that time it is to be in force in the Colony. "It has been deemed right," says his lordship, "that, on so important an occasion as the present, you should be released from all responsibility by being refused all discretion as to the time of promulgating this law. The rule has been laid down in terms thus peremptory, not of course from any distrust of the Governors of His Majesty's Colonies, but from the conviction that if any choice had been left to them, as to the promulgation or suspension of this Order, they would have been assailed with solicitations to which it might have been most difficult, if not indeed impossible, for them to make an effectual resistance."

We of course do not wish to be understood as concurring abso-

lutely with Lord Goderich in *every* argument and *every* expression he has employed. Neither his Lordship, nor our readers generally, can have so misapprehended the uniform tenor of our opinions, on the subjects which are treated with such eminent ability and moderation in the Despatch before us, or the principles which we consider as supremely worthy of recognition and adoption in the final adjustment of the great question at issue.—And if, in the examination of specific measures of reform, we do not always interrupt the course of our observations by a reference to those grand and fundamental maxims of justice, and constitutional law, and Christian morality, which are paramount to all other considerations, it is because, that with readers of intelligence who have accompanied us in our labours during the last eight years, it cannot be necessary, and would therefore be in bad taste, to be continually reminding them that we hold the slavery, existing under British dominion, to be a source of guilt and of crime, a system of injustice and inhumanity, as well as inherent impolicy, which can only be effectually divested of evil by its utter extinction. There is, we admit, something painfully humiliating in being forced to argue the main question, or even its details, on any other than the high ground of moral principle. With a very slight accommodation we might apply to this entire controversy the noble language employed by Lord Goderich in his admirable reply to the miserable sophistry of Mr. Irving, the member for Bramber. (See above, p. 45.) “I can never consent to oppose a temporary and apparent expediency to those eternal obligations which religion founds upon the law of God, and which morality derives from an expediency which is permanent and universal.”—These are sentiments worthy of their author, and which we should be glad henceforward, in the prosecution of our labours, to adopt as the motto of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

The full and final settlement of the question must probably be reserved for the time when the now all-absorbing subject of reform shall no longer occupy the attention of Parliament.

III. JAMAICA.—RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

It was our intention to have inserted the substance of some official statements respecting the legislation of Jamaica, contained in the same “Papers by Command,” which have already supplied us with so many invaluable extracts, but our usual space has been so far exceeded that we must defer our purpose for the present; and must content ourselves with laying before our readers a few detached articles of intelligence from that important island.

1. One of the first fruits of the recent emancipation of the free blacks and coloured inhabitants of Jamaica, from the civil and political disabilities under which they had groaned so long, has been the return, on the occurrence of two vacancies in the House of Assembly, of two gentlemen of colour, namely, Mr. Price Watkis, a barrister, for the city of Kingston, and Mr. Manderson, for the populous and wealthy parish of St. James. The first vote given by Mr. Watkis was in support of an unsuccessful motion to adopt a compulsory manu-

mission law for that island. He stood in a small minority, it is true; but the battle of freedom has been commenced in the very strongest hold of slavery; and its final triumph cannot be doubted.

2. Another circumstance which leads to the same cheering anticipation is, that on this occasion, the mover of the proposition, Mr. Beaumont, had hitherto been long known, chiefly as one of the fiercest, and most relentless opponents of every attempt to reform the vicious system of slavery prevailing in Jamaica. The event alone can shew whether his conversion is partial or universal, and whether his new career is founded in principle, or in a timid and temporising policy. Mr. Beaumont is sufficiently acute to perceive that unless something be done to abate, in the eyes of the British public, the malignity of the system he has till now so vigorously defended, it must speedily be destroyed root and branch; and if he should succeed in exciting such a hope, he may, by the well-timed and not very costly sacrifice of one or two of the limbs obtain a respite for the whole trunk. On this ground, it may be that he has proposed his compulsory manumission bill, and signified his further intention of moving for the abolition of female flogging. He probably well knows that he will carry neither of these measures. Indeed, in the first, he has already been signally defeated by a majority of 30 to 2. He still, doubtless, hopes for some effect on the British mind, even from the proposal of it; and to that effect he perhaps mainly looks as the reward of his abortive effort. We must infer thus much from his having chosen to state at length, in a paper which the last packet has conveyed to this country, and which has been largely circulated among those who are interested in the question, his reasons for this proceeding. Many of these reasons, we admit, are conclusive.—They are borrowed from our pages—but they all seem to derive their force, as respects the Jamaicans, whom alone he professes to address, from the consideration that unless they will adopt his two measures, and thus soften the animosity of the abolitionists, it will be impossible to avert the interference of the mother country, and the consequent destruction of the whole slave system. We hail this as a good symptom of our progress, though not quite in Mr. Beaumont's sense, and we therefore congratulate our friends upon it. But let us not overrate its value, or be deluded by it into a fatal security and inaction.

3. We have frequently alluded to the insolent tone adopted, by the handful of planters in Jamaica and other slave colonies, on the subject of slavery. In the House of Assembly, in the month of November last, Mr. Lynch, one of the members of it, speaking of the intentions of Government with respect to slavery, as indicated by Lord Howick's speech in the House of Commons on the 15th April, 1831, said: "Our watchword at present ought not to be 'conciliation,' but 'resistance.'" On these words the Jamaica Watchman, the organ of the free black and coloured classes, on the 9th Nov. thus comments:—"Mere sober-thinking men are inclined to transpose the expressions, and say, 'not resistance, but conciliation.' And in this opinion every man will join who has calmly and dispassionately considered the subject in connection with our subjection to the parent Government.

When to resist is seriously recommended, the first and most natural inquiry is, 'Can we do so; can we do so successfully?' And when this inquiry is made, it must be evident that the idea of resisting the mother country is one of those absurd, ridiculous, and childish recommendations which none but a fool or a madman could for a moment seriously entertain. 'But,' say some, 'we use such language, not with any intention of proceeding to extremities, but for the purpose of intimidating His Majesty's Government.' We reply, such means can never produce the expected result; and to suppose that the clamour of the Jamaica legislature will have that effect, is just about as ridiculous as the idea of resistance to the overwhelming power of Great Britain.

"But it is not the power of Great Britain alone that renders this idea preposterous." . . . "Our peculiar situation must be regarded as the best guarantee that can be offered for our dutiful submission. Will Mr. Lynch and the other members who talk about throwing off their allegiance, and seeking protection elsewhere, consider for one moment the situation in which they stand, and the absolute impossibility of succeeding in such an attempt. Have we not in the island British troops to a large number, officered by men whose valour and whose devotion to their sovereign are undoubted? Are there not on this station and often in our ports those wooden walls that are a terror to our enemies? In whose keeping are our forts and batteries? And do not British troops occupy every stronghold on the island? But this is not all. Are the free inhabitants unanimous in their opinion of resistance? Mr. Lynch knows as well as we do that they are not. He is well aware that numbers of his own (white) class are decidedly opposed to such a wild scheme. He must know that the free coloured body generally will be found adding their number to the supporters of the British Crown in the island, and opposing themselves to all who would offer resistance to the Government. Nor is even this all: there is another class, whose physical superiority must render them fearful in the eyes of those who would take '*resistance*' for their 'watchword.' And we ask Mr. Lynch how he would dispose of *them*, in the event of a rupture with Great Britain, knowing, as they will know, that a *desire to ameliorate their condition* is the only cause which has led to such a state? Does he or does any man suppose that they will calmly sit down, indifferent spectators of a struggle, in which they, so much more than others, are immediately and deeply interested, and which is either to brighten their hopes of liberation from a degrading and brutalising system, or to doom them to cheerless and interminable bondage? Reason, common sense, and a knowledge of their character, say No! and dangerous indeed will be the state of those who, in the face of such a mass of evidence as to the madness of resisting the recommendations of Government, would take '*resistance*' for their 'watchword.'

"If then resistance, as we have shewn, cannot be offered with the slightest chance of success; if circumstances conspire to favour the benevolent intentions of the parent Government with regard to our degraded and demoralised fellow-men and fellow-subjects, is it not

wisdom, nay prudence to conciliate?" . . . "That slavery must shortly cease in the British colonies is a fact now too well known and too generally admitted to require being proved. As this is the case, and terms have been entered into by those most deeply interested in the speedy and final termination of slavery; as religion and humanity demand, at the hands of the British public and the white colonists, that measure of long delayed justice to the suffering sons of Africa; as the ties of blood claim, from our numerous freed population, strenuous exertions in behalf of their parent races; and as the general safety and welfare depend on the content and quiet of those for whom we plead; then is it to be hoped that nothing more will be heard about resistance, and that the legislature will show that better part of valour—discretion, and will recognise, in conciliation, their only safety from impending danger."

One word more.—"Attempts have been made to shew an analogy between our differences with the mother country and those of the United States." "The real causes of the American revolution were taxation without representation." "What is the real nature of our controversy with Great Britain?" She requires us to do away with a system founded on error, injustice, and oppression; a system that brutalises the mind both of master and slave, and which degrades man to the level of the brute. It is this system which, ere it be too late, and while we yet have the power, the mother country calls upon us to amend."

IV. CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—FREE LABOUR.

IN the South African Commercial Advertiser of the 9th of Feb. 1831, we find the following gratifying intelligence:—

A gentleman, (Mr. Chase) a friend of slavery, asks this question:—"Have the friends of immediate emancipation marked the conduct of the prize negroes in this colony who have suddenly acquired liberty?" The answer to this question is promptly given as follows:—"We speak advisedly:—*three thousand* Prize Negroes have received their *Freedom*, 400 in one day; but not the least difficulty or disorder occurred:—*servants found masters—masters hired servants; all gained homes, and at night scarcely an idler was to be seen.* In the last month, 150 were liberated under precisely similar circumstances, and with the same result. These facts are within our own observation; and to state that sudden and abrupt emancipation would create disorder and distress to those you mean to serve, is not reason; but the plea of any and all men who are adverse to emancipation."

To this it is added that to these events the writer makes his appeal, and that they must be deemed satisfactory, until Mr. Chase "shall have produced facts to establish the charge against the Prize Negroes, *so strongly implied* in the above quotation. Mr. Chase is respectfully challenged to produce such facts."

No reply had appeared in any subsequent journal; and as the controversy was proceeding actively, we conclude that none could be given.

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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FOR FEBRUARY, 1832.

[VOL. v. No. 2.

I.—NEW SLAVE CODE OF JAMAICA, 1831.

II.—FURTHER ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE EFFECT OF SLAVERY ON MORALS AND MANNERS IN JAMAICA, DRAWN FROM THE PERIODICAL PRESS OF THAT ISLAND.

I.—NEW SLAVE CODE OF JAMAICA.

IN our last number, p. 53, we briefly adverted to some papers recently laid before Parliament, containing the latest edition of the Jamaica Slave Code, and therefore, the latest specimen of Jamaica justice, humanity, and civilization. It bears the date of February 19, 1831, and furnishes therefore a very satisfactory test of the actual fitness of the planters, in that first and greatest of our Slave Colonies, for the task of legislating for their bondmen. The law, as a whole, we hesitate not to say in the outset, will be found to be a most barbarous enactment, far more worthy of Tunis or Algiers, than of a community calling itself British. Nevertheless, we hardly can regret that during the interval, (the brief interval we trust,) which may elapse before slavery itself shall be extinguished, or at least before the pledge given by his Majesty's Government, on the 15th of April, 1831, of the substitution of a new and better Code of their own shall have been fulfilled, that this Jamaica act should be "left to its operation;" were it only, that the world may see what actually are the laws which, in 1831, a body of British Slave holders, after eight years of deliberation, should have produced, as the *ne plus ultra* of legislative wisdom, for the government and protection of their 330,000 slaves.

In the former volumes of our work, we have treated largely of the Slave Laws of Jamaica, and have exposed the whole system of fraud and falsehood on which their pretended ameliorations have proceeded, as well as the gross misrepresentations by which the West India Committee at home, and the Elite of forty-one West India Planters and Merchants, have endeavoured to hide, from the public view, their real enormity. For this exposure, we beg to refer to Vol. i. No. 21, p. 298—308; Vol. ii. No. 29, p. 102—111; No. 33, p. 177—182; No. 38, p. 261—269; No. 43, p. 341—345; Vol. iii. No. 60, p. 193—206; and Vol. iv. No. 82; and we are entitled to assume the statements there made to be unanswerable, because after the lapse of so long a time, not a single attempt has been made to disprove any one of them;—even any one of those direct and specific charges of imposition on the public which we have openly, and unreservedly, and repeatedly, preferred against the framers and vindicators of these enactments.

Now, however, we have a *new* law of the Jamaica legislature laid

before us, a law bearing the date of 1831, and which is accompanied by a renewed claim on the part of that body on the public approbation for the enlightened humanity of its provisions. But after perusing it with the utmost attention, we can discover in it no ground of preference to the former disallowed enactments, with one single exception, and that of a negative kind; namely, that certain clauses, introduced into the former acts, legalizing religious persecution, have been omitted in this;—omitted, however, not from choice—not from growing liberality of sentiment—not from any conviction of their radical iniquity; but from stern compulsion. The legislators of Jamaica have been forced, actually driven as with their own cart-whip, after an obstinate and protracted but vain struggle, to omit these outrageous clauses, though to part with them has seemed like rending their heart-strings. They clung to the fire and the faggot principle with the ferocious zeal of inquisitors, and only let it go when to retain it had become utterly hopeless.

But in leaving this Act to its operation for a time, (we renew the hope that it is but for a *brief* time,) it is plain that the Government are far from viewing it with a complacent eye. On the contrary, Lord Goderich indicates, in terms not to be mistaken, his deep dissatisfaction with its provisions. In his despatch of the 16th of June, 1831, he not only adopts and makes his own all the strong censures cast upon the slave legislation of Jamaica by former Secretaries of State, and especially by Mr. Huskisson, but adds some valuable supplemental animadversions, chiefly on the variations between the present law and the disallowed act of 1826, on which Mr. Huskisson had so ably commented. To these animadversions we shall now briefly advert.

1. A slight change in the terms of the law about the marriage of slaves, (§ 4.) a law which seems purposely framed to prevent, rather than to encourage their entering into that state, calls forth, in addition to the remarks of Mr. Huskisson, (vol. iii. No. 60, p. 195.) a caution against using expressions calculated to “restrain the exercise of a right, which more than any other, must be considered as belonging alike to every class of human society, be their civil condition what it may.” (Papers by command, of the 6th December, 1831, p. 55.)

2. In the disallowed act of 1826, the legislature of Jamaica had introduced a clause (§ 12.) to oblige masters, under a penalty of 50*l.* to afford good and ample provision to their slaves, and another clause (§ 14.) imposing a penalty of 100*l.* on masters neglecting to give in, yearly, an account of the clothing supplied to them.—These penalties, it was probably hoped, might prove a bait to induce Government to pass the persecuting clauses; for in the Act of 1831, finding that these must be abandoned, they have taken care to reduce the penalties from 50 and 100*l.* respectively, to a sum *not exceeding* 20*l.*, thus making the penalty merely nominal; and they have actually taken away *all* penalty in the case of persons failing to make the required returns of the time allowed to the Slaves for cultivating their grounds.

3. Proceeding, probably, on the same principle of bargain or barter, a clause had been introduced into the Act of 1826, (§ 12.) fixing the weekly allowance in money to be made to the slave, in lieu of food,

at 3s. 4d. currency for each slave ; but in the Act of 1831, this provision is wholly omitted. (Ibid., p. 55.)

4. By turning to our third volume, No. 60, p. 201, and our fourth volume, No. 82, p. 309, our readers will see the nature of the deception practised by the legislators of Jamaica of that day, and upheld by the West India Committee, and a select body of forty-one planters and merchants, in their respective manifestoes, wherein they represent clause 16 of the Act of 1826, as having conveyed to the slaves " a right of property and of action." But in the Act of 1831, even the slight semblance of protection given to the slave's property by the former act is withdrawn. By that act a penalty of 10*l.*, over and above the value of the property of which a slave might be robbed, or unlawfully deprived, was imposed on the person robbing him. But in this, the penalty is limited to the precise value of the property so robbed, while it expressly takes from the slave, and vests exclusively in his owner, all right, whether in law or equity, to sue for the recovery of any such plundered property. (Act of 1831, § 14.) " This part of the law," Lord G. justly observes, " is altered considerably to the slave's disadvantage, and when the owner himself is the wrong-doer the slave is left without any remedy." (Papers by command, &c. p. 56.)

Such is the Jamaica mode of conferring on the slaves, " a right of property and of action!" What say the West Indian Committee, and the West Indian Elite of forty-one to this view of the case? Here indeed, we have what *they call a law for giving to the slaves " a right of property, and a right of action,"* every word of which seems deliberately contrived to withhold from the slave any such right; at the very moment too that they are assuring the people and parliament of England that they have conveyed it to him.

5. We have before exposed the evasive nature of that pretended amelioration, in former Jamaica Acts, by which, while executors were not " required," but merely " authorized" to pay bequests made to slaves, the slave legatee was expressly debarred from all action, or suit, at law or in equity, for the recovery of such bequest. Ashamed, it would seem, of this barefaced mockery, the Assembly, in the Act of 1831, have added a proviso, which is farther illustrative of their grand principle of legislation, namely *evasion*. It is this, " Provided always that the owner of such slave may institute any such suit or suits as he may conceive necessary for such slave's benefit, giving security for costs." (Act of 1831, § 15.) Lord Goderich, it is true, expresses something like satisfaction even at this slight modification of the former iniquitous law ;

" But," he adds, " as the owner must sue in his own name, there can be no redress against himself, should he be the executor withholding the legacy." " The obligation of giving a security for costs, will, I should fear, deter most owners from engaging in such a litigation, especially as the legacy must be recovered, if at all, in the Court of Chancery. Neither can I perceive the justice of subjecting slaves to an onerous condition of this nature, from which other suitors are exempt. A slave must usually be a pauper ; and, therefore, according to the usual habits of Courts of Justice, is rather entitled to peculiar indulgence than liable to more than ordinary rigour."

6. " I observe, with concern," his Lordship proceeds, " a change in the lan-

guage of the seventeenth section, which, in 1826, exempted the mothers of six living children 'from all hard labour in the field or otherwise.' They are now exempted merely from 'hard labour':—an expression less humane, in proportion as it is less definite, than the former."

If a practical illustration of the working of this apparently humane law be desired, it may be found in our Fourth Volume, No. 89, p. 468. But in truth, the law, which first appeared soon after the agitation of the slave question, in 1787, has stood a dead letter in the Jamaica statute book, being obviously designed to blind the eyes of the British public, but having no practical operation in Jamaica itself. To be convinced of this let Government call for the result of all this parade of legislation; let them call for the amount of public taxes remitted, since its first enactment, on account of these "mothers of six living children," and we take upon us to predict that they will find it to be NIL.

7. His Lordship goes on to remark, "The 26th clause of the act of 1826, subjected persons compelling their slaves to work in the prohibited hours to a penalty of 50*l.* It is now provided that the penalty *shall not exceed* 50*l.* The minimum of punishment, in a case of very grave importance, is thus left indeterminate."

8. Again, "The former statute declared that 'for the future all slaves in the island, should be allowed the usual number of holidays that were allowed at the usual seasons of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.' It is now enacted that they shall be allowed the holidays of Christmas and Easter; thus the three annual holidays are reduced to two, and the slave is deprived of the security formerly given to him, that he should enjoy 'the usual number' of such days."

This again is probably done, as we have already ventured to surmise of other clauses, on the ground of indemnifying themselves for the cruel necessity of excluding from the Act the persecuting clauses against Methodists and Dissenters.

9. The subjects of qualified approbation, to which the Secretary of State, with his usual candour, has adverted, seem to us to throw rather a lurid than a very cheering light on the whole subject of the slavery of Jamaica. One is, that a price is no longer put on the head of slaves in rebellion. Another is that Magistrates shall take cognizance of the fact of branding slaves. A third, that in one or two cases the *maximum* of penalty on the master, for ill treating his slave, is raised from 10*l.* to 20*l.*; and that, in a few other cases, the punishments to be inflicted by the Magistrate instead of being left indefinite are defined. Lastly, a workhouse keeper is prohibited from flogging slaves on a mere *verbal* order (it must now be a *written* order) of the owner!—Such are nearly all the positive ameliorations of this vaunted law, the fruit of so much deliberation, and the occasion of so much angry controversy!

10. "I cannot pass the subject of the Workhouse," observes Lord Goderich, "without expressing my decided opinion that no Proprietor of Slaves should be permitted to impart an authority, in any form whatever, to public officers, to inflict punishment in gaol, or by personal chastisement. The prisons of the island should be regarded as exclusively public property; and the gaolers as officers intrusted with none but public duties."—But if this be the decided judgment of his Lordship, why is it that the acknowledged abuse is permitted to continue for a single day?

11. The former law of 1826 had restricted the use of chains, collars,

&c., to a light collar without hooks, which should only be put on by direction of a magistrate. The act of 1831 is more liberal, and permits the magistrate to connect the light collars, riveted round the necks of two or more slaves, with each other by a light chain, so that a whole gang may be thus chained together by the neck while at their work; for such is the effect of a few new words insidiously introduced into clause 39.

"Against this change," observes Lord Goderich, "it is my duty to make a distinct protest. The use of chains for the punishment of slaves in such a manner as to confine two or more together, is a practice to be condemned, not only as tending to inflict unnecessary pain, but as subjecting the wearers of such instruments to degradation. In all legislation on the subject of Slavery, it is impossible to bear too fully in mind the principle that the slaves should be taught to cherish self respect, in order that they may become more entitled to the respect of others, and better qualified to assume a higher station in the scale of society."

12. Lord Goderich goes on to remark:—

"The provisions which have been introduced respecting tickets to be given to slaves, who may be hired out for more than three months, invite and even require the remark, that if the slave should violate the law, at the bidding of his master, it is unjust that he should be punished by the magistrate; because, by disobedience, he would incur a domestic punishment.

13. "I must further object to the new clause which requires that security for costs shall be given before a writ 'de homine replegiando,' can issue. I cannot understand why the Plaintiff, in an action for asserting his freedom, should be exposed to a difficulty with which no other suitor has to contend."

Those who are acquainted with the course of the present controversy, will remember how much the Assembly of Jamaica took credit for extraordinary liberality, in affording, to an alleged slave, an opportunity of proving his freedom by means of the process called *Homine Replegiando*. The path to freedom by this process was of itself sufficiently arduous; but even of the slight facility which it afforded to persons unjustly held in slavery to vindicate their freedom, the legislators of Jamaica seem to have become impatient. They have therefore introduced into the present Act the clause adverted to by Lord Goderich, and which applies an extinguisher on all future hope of vindicating freedom by means of this vaunted device.

14. "I gladly acknowledge," says his Lordship, "the propriety of excluding the 88th clause, respecting slaves having in their possession articles used in the practice of Obeah." We cannot however ourselves derive much consolation from this slight modification of a most unjust and cruel enactment, while the laws on the subject of Obeah itself continue to deform the statute book of any British Colony, and to be sanctioned by the British Crown.

We took occasion, in considering the disallowed Act of 1826, (Vol. ii. No. 38, p. 267,) to advert to the excessive severity of the clauses (84, 89, and 90,) which inflict a capital punishment on Obeah, that is, in other words, on pretences to supernatural powers and practices, partaking of the nature of pretended conjuration and witchcraft. We then observed that, "of this description of offence both the belief and the effect are mainly to be ascribed to the undue severity of the laws enacted for its suppression. The negro must conceive that there

is some awful reality in pretences and practices, which excite such unsparing vengeance on the part of the legislature; and the very evil therefore which neglect would reduce to insignificance, and above all, which Christian instruction would speedily eradicate, is thus actually fostered and increased by the misapplied severity with which it is denounced and persecuted. Heathen superstition may thus have its martyrs, as well as Christianity itself." And again we added, (No. 43, p. 345,) "In the midst of much that is marked by the most enlightened views of policy, we were surprised to find a mind like that of Mr. Huskisson, conceding, for a single moment, the propriety of enactments against Obeah."

Perhaps however we ought to blame ourselves, much more than Mr. Huskisson, for not having denounced, more frequently and more loudly, this too long tolerated, though extensively legalized outrage on every principle of justice, humanity, and even common sense. But before we proceed, let us see what it is, which in the year 1831, His Majesty in Council has sanctioned as law in Jamaica, as well as in other Colonies, by permitting Obeah to be treated as a capital crime, punishable with death.

"§. 83. And in order to prevent the many mischiefs that may hereafter arise, from the wicked arts of negroes, going under the appellation of Obeah, or Myal men and women, and *pretending to have communication with the devil, and other evil spirits*, whereby the weak and superstitious are deluded into a belief of their having full power to exempt them, whilst under their protection, from many evils that might otherwise happen: Be it further enacted, that from and after the commencement of this Act, any slave who shall pretend to *any* supernatural power in order to excite rebellion, or *other evil purposes*; or shall use, or pretend to use, any such practices, *with intent, or so as to affect, or endanger, the life, or health, of any other slave,*" (not of any free man!) "*or under any other pretence whatsoever,* shall, upon conviction thereof, suffer DEATH, OR TRANSPORTATION, OR ANY SUCH PUNISHMENT AS THE COURT MAY DIRECT; any thing in this, or in any other Act, to the contrary notwithstanding."

"§. 85. And be it further enacted, that if any negro, or other slave or slaves, shall mix or prepare, with an intent to give, or cause to be given, any poison, or poisonous or noxious drug, pounded glass, or other deleterious matter, *in the practice of Obeah or otherwise,* although death may not ensue on the taking thereof; the said slave or slaves, together with their accessaries, as well before as after the fact, being slaves," (all this then is no crime in free persons!) "*being duly convicted thereof, shall suffer DEATH, OR SUCH PUNISHMENT AS THE COURT SHALL AWARD, any thing in this, or in any other Act to the contrary, in any wise, notwithstanding.*"

And let no man flatter himself that these atrocious enactments are, like those clauses in this Act which profess to give protection to the slave, almost a dead letter. Oh no! they are in living and almost unceasing and ferocious operation. And what are the many executions which, from time to time take place under them, but so many judicial mur-

ders? What, we ask, can justify such laws and such proceedings, which would not equally justify the revival of our own ancient and bloody statutes against witchcraft; or even the enactment of a new law which should condemn, to the gallows, all the pretenders to supernatural communications and powers, in our own day? For their condign punishment, the very same plea might and would be urged by many, that “the weak and superstitious are deluded by them.”

It is not a little remarkable, that in the Island of Antigua, where no law has ever existed against Obeah, no complaint has ever been made of the existence or danger of the practice. It is no less remarkable that in Africa itself, the native country of the Obeah superstition; even at Sierra Leone, filled with native Africans, imbued with a belief in that superstition, no measures of penal repression have been ever called for, or even dreamed of for a moment, as necessary; and that the exclusive remedy which any one there has thought of applying to the evil, and under the operation of which indeed it has been rapidly disappearing from day to day, has been the diffusion of Christian light among the subjects of it.

15. The only other remark made by Lord Goderich, refers to some unimportant variation in the still inadequate and defective law of Slave evidence, and the reason he gives for his having limited his animadversions to the clauses noticed above, he distinctly states to be, that he had been anticipated, in the greater part of those he should otherwise have had to make, by Mr. Huskisson's despatches of the 22nd September 1827, and 22nd March 1828, and which he distinctly refers to, as containing “*a full exposition of the views of His Majesty's Government, respecting the present state of the laws of Jamaica on the subject of Slavery.*” His own remarks are thus therefore almost entirely confined to the few points in which the Act of 1831 varies, either for good or evil, from that of 1826. He thus concludes his despatch:—

“I have now adverted to every material topic which this statute has brought, for the first time, under the notice of His Majesty's Government. It is not without very sincere reluctance that I observe, that the value of the advantages gained by the rejection of the clauses respecting religious worship, is, in no small degree, impaired by some of the alterations to which I have adverted. The advance made since the year 1826, cannot, I fear, be truly stated as considerable, while, as I have already shewn, the law passed in that year has, in the act of February last, undergone changes which, in many important respects, diminish its value and impair its efficacy. Still, upon the whole, I am happy to acknowledge, that by passing this act into a law, the colonial slave code will be improved. It is for that reason, and not as regarding this statute as a satisfactory compliance with the repeated injunctions of His Majesty's Government, that the Ministers of the Crown have humbly advised His Majesty that it be left to its operation.”

If it be true, and to a certain, though we must say a very limited degree indeed, it is true, that the Jamaica Slave law of 1831 is an improvement on the slave law which it has superseded, namely that of 1816, (all the intermediate acts having been disallowed on account of their persecuting clauses, and never therefore having come into operation) then the act will only shew, when the law comes to be viewed as a whole, what it is which, under the most favourable cir-

cumstances, we have to expect, when, forgetful of our own highest obligations, we delegate to any body of slave holders, however respectable, the task of framing laws for the government and protection of their wretched bondmen!

In this view we deem it our duty to exhibit an analysis of the entire Act, bearing date the 19th of February 1831, as it now stands, and is left, by the King in Council, to its operation over 330,000 of his Majesty's subjects.

§ 1 and 2. It is declared expedient to revise and consolidate the laws now in force; and to enact other provisions to promote the *religious and moral instruction*, and to *increase the general comfort and happiness of the slaves* "as far as is consistent with due order and subordination, and the well-being of the Colony." All previous acts on the subject, therefore, are repealed.

§ 3. Renews, *totidem verbis*, a clause which has stood in almost every slave act since 1696, commanding owners and managers to teach Christianity to their slaves; a clause, however, which, being without sanction or penalty, and without any means prescribed for effecting its professed object, has hitherto been a dead letter, and wholly without the slightest practical operation whatever.

§ 4. Professes to encourage, while in fact it impedes, the marriages of slaves. (See Vol. iii. No. 60, p. 195.)

§ 5. Slaves taken under execution are to be sold *singly*. In the case of families, however, when levied together, they shall be sold together; but it is distinctly provided that *in the levy families may be separated*.

No provision is made against the separation of families, by sale, in any other case than that of slaves taken in execution.

§ 6. Sunday markets are actually legalized, for the first time, by this law, at least, until eleven o'clock. It is only after eleven o'clock that they are required to cease.

§ 7. "To render the Sabbath as much as possible a day of rest, and of religious worship,"* slaves are not to be levied upon for their master's debts on Saturdays, any more than on Sundays.

§ 8. Slaves are to be allowed, exclusive of Sundays and certain holidays, a day in each fortnight, out of crop time, so as to make 26 week days in the year, besides Sundays, to cultivate their provision grounds. The penalty for failing to do so is only £20, which is not equal to more than two or three days' labour of a large gang.

§ 9. Slaves are debarred from being employed for hire on Sunday, by any but their owner, without the consent of such owner in writing, under a penalty of £5.

This seems a harsh, and uncalled for restriction.

§ 10. *During crop* slaves are to be exempt from plantation labour on Sundays; and mills are not to be put about between 7 on Saturday evening, and 5 on Monday morning, under a penalty of £20.

* The hypocrisy of this preamble is manifest. How can it be said that all that is possible has been done to make Sunday a day of rest and worship, while no other day is given to the slave, and while he *must* still employ the Sunday in marketing, and in cultivating his grounds?

Nothing is said of exemption from labour on Sundays, out of crop. In fact Sunday is appropriated by the slaves, both in and out of crop, to cultivate their provision grounds, which is virtually labouring for their masters, and in going to market.

§ 11. The negro grounds are to be inspected monthly by managers, under a penalty of £10. If there are no grounds proper for cultivating provisions, or the grounds are unproductive from dry weather or other causes, then the owner is to make "other good and ample provision of food for his slaves," under a penalty of not more than £20.

How vague and worthless an enactment in a case so vital!

§ 12. Masters are to give to each slave, *proper and sufficient clothing*, to be approved of by the Justices and Vestry of the Parish, under a penalty of 5*l.* for each slave not so provided.

§ 13. Once every year Managers shall, under a penalty of not more than 20*l.* give in, at the Vestry, an account, on oath, of the nature and quantity of clothing actually served to each slave; and shall declare, also on oath, that he has inspected the negro grounds, and that every negro has been allowed twenty-six week days for the cultivation of them during the preceding year, and is sufficiently provided with grounds; and, where there are not grounds, with other ample provision.

How vague still! The accounts, too, are to be approved by the Justices and Vestry, each of whom has his own account to render.

§ 14. Pretends to give to slaves a right of personal property, but as we have shown above, (p. 59.) does not give even a shadow of it.

§ 15. On this clause, respecting bequests to slaves, we have already commented above (p. 59.)

§ 16. For this clause, respecting "mothers of six *living* children," see also above, (p. 60.)

§ 17. Prohibits owners, &c., from turning away their aged or infirm slaves, or permitting them to stray from the plantation, on account of infirmity or disease, but directs owners to provide them with "sufficient clothing and wholesome necessaries of life," under a penalty of 20*l.* It further directs, that such slaves when found wandering, shall be lodged in the Workhouse, and maintained there at the owner's expense.

§ 18. This clause professes to make provision for "the many unhappy objects," who have been "manumized," but are become "a burthen or nuisance" to the country.

We have here a kind of legislative argument against manumission. And yet, when in 1826 returns on this subject were called for, and laid before Parliament, (see No. 353, of 1826,) it appeared that while, in Jamaica, where the white population amounted to only about 15,000, the paupers of that class were about 300; the paupers of the black and coloured classes, being the "manumized," whose population amounted to upwards of 40,000, were only about 150, being in the proportion, according to their respective numbers, of only one "manumized," to six "white" paupers; but, in the amount of relief, only about one to twelve. Of the "manumized" paupers, too, almost

all, it would appear, had been the concubines, or illegitimate children of deceased pauper and destitute "whites." Vol. i. No. 19, p. 275.

§ 19. Owners manumizing old and infirm slaves, are to allow each slave so manumized 10*l.* per annum for life, under a penalty of 100*l.*

§ 20, 21. Aged or disabled slaves, belonging to persons insolvent, are to be removed to the owner's parish, and there provided for.

§ 22. Field Slaves are allowed half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner; and are not to be compelled to *field work*, before 5 in the morning, or after 7 at night, except during crop: under a penalty of *not more* than 50*l.*

This clause thus gives to the master a *legal* right to eleven hours and a half of *field work* in the twenty-four, all the year round, besides an indefinite addition to this monstrous exaction, during crop, which lasts for four or five months in the year; and a variety of other exactions of a very onerous kind, for which we must refer to our Vol. iii. No. 60, p. 204; and Vol. iv. No. 82, p. 296.

§ 23. Slaves are allowed Holidays at Christmas and Easter, but *no other*, under a penalty of 5*l.*

They are now *for the first time*, deprived of holidays at Whit Sunday also, which by law they had hitherto had. The number of holidays to be given them, is not specified in the Act. It may therefore be only one; and it is not, in any case, to be more than three. Easter being a Sunday, is obviously no boon, without at least one additional day. (See above, p. 60.)

§ 24. Slaves detecting runaways, or informing so as to convict persons of concealing or harbouring runaways, are to be rewarded with from twenty to forty shillings, as any justice shall determine.

§ 25. If any person hereafter shall, *with malice aforethought*, kill or murder any negro or other slave, such person, so offending, shall, on conviction, be adjudged guilty of "felony without benefit of clergy, and shall suffer death accordingly, for the said offence."

§ 26, 27. The rape of a female slave under ten, as well as of any female slave, is made a capital felony.

§ 28. No conviction of felony under *this* act, shall extend to the corrupting of blood, or forfeiture of lands, or chattels of the felon.

§ 29. Any person, who shall by himself, or by his direction, or consent, or will, or privity, "mutilate or dismember, or wantonly or cruelly whip, maltreat, beat, bruise, wound, or imprison, or keep in confinement without sufficient support, or *brand* any slave," (branding being now first made an offence) "shall be liable to be indicted for such offence," and "on conviction shall be punished by fine *not exceeding* £100, or imprisonment *not exceeding* twelve months, or both, for each slave so treated as aforesaid; such punishment to be without prejudice to any action for damages, where the injured slave is not the property of the offender; and where he is, and the case is atrocious, the Court convicting, may declare the injured slave free from all servitude whatsoever, and may direct the fine exacted from the convict, to be given to the Justices and Vestry of the parish, who shall pay, to the slave so made free, ten pounds a year for life."

§ 30—32. These three clauses refer to constituting the Justices

and Vestry of each parish, a Council of Protection, to inquire into the complaints of the maltreatment of slaves, and giving them power to prosecute all persons guilty of such maltreatment.

The total inefficacy of this boasted contrivance for the protection of the slaves, by appointing to protect them the very men against whom they need to be protected, is now matter of history, as it was always matter of reasonable anticipation and presumption. To find abundant evidence of the most authentic kind to this fact, it is only necessary to turn to the index of our four volumes, under the heads of Protectors, and Councils of Protection. The institution of such Councils has proved not only useless, but actually injurious to its professed object.

§ 33. By this clause, "*in order to restrain arbitrary punishment,*" for such is its professed intent, the power is actually given to every driver, or *quasi* driver of inflicting ten lashes, and to every owner, or *quasi* owner or manager, of inflicting, on every slave, man, woman, or child in the island, *arbitrary punishment*, to the extent of thirty-nine lashes of the cart-whip at one time, under a penalty, if that number be exceeded, or too soon repeated, of not less than £10, or more than £20.

An attempt to pourtray the whole enormity of this merciless enactment, this mockery of a restraint on arbitrary punishment, may be found in our fourth Vol. No. 82, p. 500, and in various other parts of the Reporter.

§ 34. This clause, under a penalty of £5, limits the monstrous power which had hitherto been possessed by owners, of arbitrarily sending their slaves to gaol for an indefinite period, to a committal of them for ten days, unless a justice's warrant extends the term;—and on those in gaol, limits the formerly unlimited power of arbitrarily inflicting corporal punishment, to not more than twenty lashes, unless a justice's warrant enlarges the number. It moreover subjects the repetition of such punishment for the *same* offence to a fine of not more than £20; the workhouse-keeper being also liable to a penalty of not more than £10 if he shall be a party to any such unlawful infliction. (See above, p. 60.)

§ 35. No workhouse-keeper shall receive any slave for punishment, or punish such slave without a *written* order from the owner or manager, under a penalty of not more than £10.

If he has however this *written* order, he may punish the slave, without even the assignment of an offence, at the mere bidding of the owner or manager, whoever he may be. (See above, p. 60.)

§ 36. Workhouse-keepers may not employ for their own profit either slaves committed to them for punishment, without leave of the Governors of the workhouse; or slaves committed for security or protection; under a penalty of £10.

§ 37. Any justice receiving from any slave probable intelligence of any other slave having been improperly punished, may inquire, and if he find cause, may proceed against the offender; but if the intelligence should prove groundless, then the justice may punish his informant with 39 lashes, or hard labour in the workhouse for a month.

What slave would give information on such terms ?

§. 38. No person shall punish a slave by fixing a collar on his neck, or loading his body or limbs with chains or weights, other than a light collar without hooks, for one slave ; and “ light collars and chains where there are more slaves than one ; ” but this can only be done by order of a magistrate, under a penalty of not less than £5, or more than £50. And magistrates are required, under a penalty of £100, to remove, on information or view, all chains or collars that have not been put on by a magistrate’s order.

This is a much harsher clause than the corresponding one in the former act. (See above, p. 61.)

§. 39. No slave is to travel except to and from market, nor to be found off his master’s plantation without a written permit, in which are to be specified the particulars of the case, under a penalty of not more than 40s. on the master, if the fault be the master’s ; or corporal punishment to the slave, if the fault be the slave’s.

What a system of restraint have we here ! !

§ 40. Prohibits, without certain onerous formalities, the hiring out of slaves for a shorter period than three months, on pain of whipping to the slave, and a fine of £5 on the master permitting it.

The drift of such an enactment is not very obvious.

§ 41. All slaves shall be deemed runaways, who are absent without leave for *five* days ; or who shall be found eight miles from the master’s domicile, except when going to, or coming from market.

§ 42. Slaves convicted of being runaways for more than six months, shall be transported for life, or punished with confinement to hard labour, for periods according to the magnitude of the offence.

§ 43. Slaves running away for less than six months, may be punished by flogging not exceeding 39 lashes, or by confinement to hard labour for not less than three months ; but if they shall have frequently run away, and be declared by their owner or manager to be “ incorrigible runaways,” they may, on conviction, be confined to hard labour, or transported for life, as the court shall direct.

§§ 44, 45. Slaves harbouring, or aiding runaways, shall on conviction receive such punishment, not extending to life, as the court may direct ; and free persons guilty of this crime, shall be fined not more than £50, or imprisoned not more than three months, and shall pay besides 3s. 4d. a day for every day such slave shall have been absent.

§ 46. Justices may issue warrants to search for runaways, or for persons suspected of harbouring runaways, and in the search, may break open all doors of negro houses.

§ 47. Free persons giving false permits or tickets of absence to slaves may, on conviction, be punished by fine or imprisonment, or both, or such other punishment, as the court in its discretion may direct, not extending to life.

§. 48. Any person, except maroons, apprehending a runaway, shall receive from the owner, 10s. and mile money at fixed rates. Maroons, instead of 10s. shall receive 40s. for each runaway they shall apprehend. Runaways, when apprehended, are either to be conveyed to

their owners, or lodged in the nearest workhouse; the owner, or workhouse-keeper, paying to the party bringing him the reward and the mile money. Those lodged in workhouses shall be advertised by the keepers of them in the different newspapers, with particular descriptions; for which advertisements the owners shall pay, together with certain rates per day for the expense of such slave's maintenance and medical attendance, and all other necessary expenses.

§ 51. The keepers of workhouses and gaols, under a penalty of £10 for every neglect, shall give, daily, to each slave, a provision of wholesome food, not less than one quart of unground Guinea, or Indian corn, or three pints of the meal of either, or three pints of wheat flour, or eight full grown plantains, or eight pounds of cocoas or yams, and one herring or shad, or other salted provisions equal thereto; and also good and sufficient clothing, where necessary.

This is more than twice the Demerara and Leeward Island allowance to field slaves. (See Vol. iv. No. 82, p. 294.)

§ 52, 53. If any slave sent in as a runaway alleges himself to be free, it shall be the duty of the senior justice of the parish, to convene a special sessions of not less than three justices, to examine the truth of such allegation, due notices being first given; and if the person detained as a runaway is found to be free, he shall forthwith be discharged, or if not, he shall be remanded to the workhouse; the decision of the special sessions being however, without prejudice to the right either of the person claiming to be free, or of any person claiming a right to him as a slave; and no person, so detained as a runaway and claiming to be free, shall be sold, until such special session shall have met, and certified their decision.

§. 54, 55. Impose penalties on persons fraudulently purchasing slaves sold out of workhouses, and on workhouse-keepers conniving at such practices.

§. 56, 57. Regulate the proceedings to be had in cases of *homine replegiando*. (See above, p. 61.)

§. 58—60. Any slave running away and going off, or conspiring to go off the island, in any boat or vessel whatever, or aiding or abetting slaves to do so, shall suffer such punishment as the court shall think proper, not extending to life; and any free person convicted of aiding in any such going off, shall forfeit £300 for each slave so aided, and shall be imprisoned for not more than 12 months; half the fine to go to the king, and half to the informer; and the persons aiding or abetting may be prosecuted, whether the principals are convicted or not.

§. 61. No slave shall travel the public roads, "with dogs, or cutlasses, or other offensive weapons;" without a ticket from his owner, or hunt any cattle, horses, &c., with lances, guns, &c., unless in company with his master, or some free person deputed by him, or by permission in writing, on pain of suffering such punishment as three justices may inflict, not exceeding 39 lashes, or three months' hard labour in the workhouse.

§. 62, 63. If any owner or other free person shall suffer any slaves to assemble on any plantation to beat drums or blow horns, and shall

not endeavour to prevent and disperse the same, applying to a magistrate for aid if necessary, may be indicted, and if convicted, fined £50; and all officers, civil and military, are required to disperse all such unlawful assemblies, and prevent all such unlawful drummings and other noises;—provided that this shall not prevent owners or managers from permitting their slaves to assemble on their plantations for any innocent amusement, so as that they do not use military drums, horns, or shells, and that they put an end to the amusements, by 12 o'clock at night.

§. 64. To prevent riots, and injury to health, all negro burials shall take place in the day time, so as to end before sunset, under a penalty on the master or manager permitting it of £50. And if a burial takes place after sunset in other places than plantations, the person on whose premises it occurs shall be fined from £5 to £50, and the slaves attending it, shall be punished, on conviction before three justices, with not more than 39 lashes.

The health of the slaves which becomes the subject of lively apprehension when a funeral, or attendance on Christian worship in an evening, is in question, is thought little of by the planters when the night work of crop, or the continuous labour of 16 or 18 hours in a day, is required of them.

§. 65, 66. Any free person suffering an unlawful assembly of slaves on his premises, shall be fined not more than £100, or imprisoned not more than six months. Free persons suffering slaves to game in their houses, or gaming with them, may be committed by three justices, to the common gaol for six days, and slaves doing the same may be punished by 39 lashes. What a disproportionate punishment!

§. 67—75. These clauses treat of manumission, and they afford certain legal facilities in cases of manumission by bequest, or where the owners are *willing* to manumit, but are prevented by mortgages or other incumbrances from accomplishing their object;—but they afford no means whatever of effecting the manumission of a slave, under any circumstances, without the consent of the master.

§. 76—79. Order persons travelling about to traffic in the purchase and sale of slaves, to be committed, and the slaves so trafficked in to be sold and the proceeds given, one half to the informer, and the other half to the poor of the parish; and any sale of slaves made by such itinerant traffickers in slaves are declared void, and the slaves are to be resold and their proceeds applied as before directed.

We are at a loss to conceive the ground of this enactment, except it be the jealousy felt by the great slave traffickers, who compose the assembly, of the petty chapmen in the same commodity who would interfere with them.

§. 79. “No writ of *certiorari* or other process, shall issue, or be issuable, to remove any proceedings whatsoever, had in pursuance of this act, into the supreme Court of Judicature, or into any other of the courts of this island.”

It is difficult at first sight to conceive the object of this enactment; and care is taken to throw no light upon it by any preamble or explanation whatever. It stands too quite alone, isolated from all other

points of legislation. The only end we can suppose it to be intended to answer is to keep all matters connected with the administration of the slave laws in the hands of the justices, and of the slave courts—generally consisting of planters—and thus preventing the trial and discussion of such cases before an enlightened court, a liberal bar, and town juries, as less likely to be imbued with the inveteracy of colonial prejudice. At least, we can imagine no other rational motive for it. Indeed we are the more inclined to this opinion from recollecting that, in the case of the Rev. Mr. Bridges and Kitty Hilton, an attempt was made, by a reference to this very enactment, to prevent the cause being brought before the grand court, sitting at Spanish-town, under the presidency of the late Sir William Scarlett. The question itself was not, however, discussed in court, as the grand jury threw out the bill of indictment preferred against Mr. Bridges. The reader will find some light thrown on the subject in our third volume, No. 66, p. 381.

§. 80—135. These fifty-six clauses may be considered as the penal, criminal, slave law of Jamaica. This is wholly independent of all the restraints and privations, and separations; of all the exactions of labour and abridgements of natural repose; of all the inflictions of arbitrary punishment, by the owner or his delegate, with their cart-whip, and their stocks; of all the details of plantation discipline; and of all the nameless indignities, attendant on the ever present and ever wakeful domestic despotism to which they are subject. Of all this, we say, it is wholly independent; it is a criminal code for *slaves* in addition thereto, which is peculiarly their own; and it is written, as we shall see, in characters of blood.

DEATH, transportation, or such other punishment as the court may direct, is, by this code, awarded to all slaves guilty of *rebellion*, or *rebellious conspiracy*; of *murder*; *felony*; *burglary*; *robbery*; *firing negro or other houses, cane-pieces, grass-pieces, or corn-pieces; breaking into such houses in the day time and stealing thereout, no person being therein*; or *committing any other crime which would subject free persons to be indicted for felony* (§. 80.);—all slaves, moreover, “*assaulting or offering any violence, by striking or otherwise to or towards any free person,*” provided it be not by command, or in defence of his owner (§. 81); all slaves pretending or practising Obeah, (see above, p. 62, §. 83 and 85); all slaves “*found at any meeting formed for administering unlawful oaths, by drinking human blood mixed with rum, grave dirt, or otherwise, or for learning the use of arms for any unlawful purpose,* (§. 86,) in which punishment freemen, aiding or assisting at such meetings, are joined (§. 87); all slaves stealing or killing any cattle, sheep, goat, hog, horse, mule or ass, or *stealing any part of the flesh thereof* (§. 89); and all slaves wantonly cutting, chopping, maiming and injuring any such animals, if they die within ten days of the offence, or any other slave, so as to kill or dismember or make him a cripple (§. 92, 93.)

Besides these crimes, which are all made capital, the law subjects

all slaves found carrying fire or other arms without the knowledge and consent of the owner, to transportation, or such other punishment as the Court may direct (§. 82); all slaves attending nightly meetings unknown to owners, &c., or not informing a magistrate of any unlawful meetings, to hard labour for such time, or to whipping to such extent as the Court may direct (§. 84 and 88); all slaves having any fresh beef, mutton, &c., in his possession, unknown to his owner, if under 20 pounds, to 39 lashes, if above 20 pounds, to such punishment not extending to life, or to transportation or imprisonment for life as the Court may direct (§. 90); and all slaves having in their possession unknown to their owner, not exceeding 5 pounds of sugar, or coffee, or pimento, or one gallon of rum, to 39 lashes, or more than 20 pounds of sugar, &c., or 5 gallons of rum, to such punishment not extending to life, or to transportation or imprisonment for life as the Court shall think proper. And when slaves are found guilty of any of these crimes, and sentence either of death or transportation is passed upon them, such sentence shall not be carried into effect but by warrant of the Governor after the whole of the evidence and proceedings have been submitted to him, "*except* when sentence of death shall be passed on any slave or slaves convicted of rebellion or rebellious conspiracy, in which case the Court shall and may proceed to carry the sentence into execution as heretofore," that is, without any reference to the Governor (§. 95.)

The exception here made is the very case above all others which requires the review and interference of the Governor. It is the very case in which the passions of the judges and jury are likely to be the most excited, and all the substantial ends of justice to be overlooked and frustrated. A striking proof of this was given in the House of Commons on the 2nd of March, 1826, when the present Attorney-General, then Mr. Denman, brought before the view of Parliament, the many judicial murders which had been perpetrated in Jamaica, in 1824, on slaves charged with rebellion and rebellious conspiracy, and whose only crime really was that such convictions and executions were called for in order to impress on the public mind in England the belief that insurrections would infallibly attend the agitation of the question of slavery in the British Parliament. On this occasion, even the members of the Government, with Mr. Canning at their head, and who had entered the house intending to oppose Mr. Denman's motion for condemning these proceedings, found themselves compelled to depart from their purpose, and to concur in reprobating them. The House unanimously resolved that "it 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 on 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."

And now, after all this, we have the same Jamaica planters, who formed the tribunals thus reprobated in 1826, claiming a right summarily to inflict death on the king's subjects, without even a reference of their

judgment to the king's representative in the island, and this claim admitted by the *allowance* of the present act.

The proceedings in Parliament on this occasion, may be seen in our First Volume, No. 10, p. 113—126; and the facts on which those proceedings were founded in a pamphlet, entitled "The Slave Colonies of Great Britain, or a picture of Negro Slavery drawn by the Colonists themselves," published by Hatchard, p. 35—63.

But to proceed with our analysis of the Slave law of 1831.—One clause (§ 97) directs that slaves who have stood committed to gaol for six months without being indicted shall be discharged by proclamation; and another (§ 100) that the Magistrates and Vestry of every parish, *may* (not shall) employ a Barrister or Attorney, to defend slaves tried for capital offences, at such remuneration as they shall see fit. By another clause (§ 103) Records are to be kept *only* of the judicial proceedings against Slaves condemned to death, transportation or hard labour. In no other case is any Record required.

Slaves who are sentenced to death, or to transportation, or to imprisonment to hard labour for life, are to be valued by the Jury, and the value, not exceeding £50, in the case of runaways, or £100 in the case of other convicts shall be paid to the owner (109 and 111.)—This most iniquitous principle has been strongly protested against by each succeeding Secretary of State; but it still continues, under the Royal sanction, to disgrace the Slave Code not only of Jamaica but of almost every chartered slave colony belonging to the Crown.

Slaves returning from transportation, or escaping from confinement, are to undergo their sentence; or if the crimes for which they are transported would lawfully have subjected them to death, they shall suffer death without benefit of clergy, and the person apprehending such shall receive a reward of £25, (§ 112—114, and 123.) The Governor may commute sentences of transportation or imprisonment and hard labour for life or a term of years for a shorter term (§ 122.) Gaolers, &c. suffering slaves to escape from neglect, or compelling slaves committed to their custody to labour, are to forfeit £50. (§ 125.)

Slaves accused of inferior crimes and misdemeanours (not provided for above) including *swearing, obscene language, drunkenness and indecent and noisy behaviour*, shall be tried in a summary way by two or more justices, who may punish to the extent of thirty-nine lashes, or three months' hard labour. (§ 128.)

This is indeed a summary and sweeping enactment.

§ 130—135. These clauses contain the new law on the subject of slave evidence; but we need not now enter upon its details, having already fully considered them. We refer our readers to Vol. ii. No. 33, p. 179; and No. 38, p. 266; and Vol. iv. No. 82, p. 305.

The remaining clauses (§ 136—139.) respect merely technical matters and need not detain us with any observations.

Before we proceed to close this article, there is one circumstance to which we think it incumbent upon us again to call the special attention of our readers. We have already informed them that from the present Act, that of 1831, the persecuting clauses against the Methodists and other Sectaries, and against slaves instructing their fellows, or *contri-*

buting their money for religious objects, have been excluded. These clauses had stood in the former disallowed Act of 1826, and in the other disallowed Acts which succeeded it. In that of 1826, those clauses are numbered 85, 86, and 87; and they are singularly placed between two clauses, 84 and 89, one of which condemned to death the professors, and the other the practisers of the Obeah superstition. The clause 84, in the Act of 1826, is the same with that numbered 83 in the Act of 1831; and the clause 89 of 1826, is the same with that numbered 85, in the present Act. Transcripts of these clauses will be found above, p. 62.

Now it is exactly between these two clauses that in the Act of 1826, the Jamaica legislature had contrived to thrust the three persecuting clauses which they so fondly cherished, and to which they have so tenaciously clung. The first of them (§. 85,) denounces the practice of slaves attempting to teach or instruct other slaves, as of "pernicious consequence," and as even producing risk to life; and punishes the offence by whipping and imprisonment to hard labour in the workhouse. The second (§. 86,) denounces all religious meetings of dissenters as dangerous to the public peace, and injurious to the health of the slaves, if held after dusk; and imposes on all teachers holding any such meetings between sunset and sunrise, a fine of from £20 to £50. The third (§. 85,) makes it highly penal for any dissenting minister or teacher to receive any money from slaves, in the way of contribution for religious or other purposes; it being alleged, in the preamble to the clause, "that large sums of money and other chattels had been extorted by designing men, professing to be teachers of religion, practising on the ignorance and superstition of the negroes, to their great loss and impoverishment."

It seems, therefore, fair to inquire, what could have induced the legislators of Jamaica, even if they saw it right to frame and pass such iniquitous clauses as these at all, to choose deliberately to place them in the midst of the criminal part of the code, bristling as it does with all sorts of enormities, and especially to connect them by more immediate juxtaposition, and interfusion, with the *capital* crimes of the *profession* and the *practice* of OBEAH? It may have been, and probably was, their intention to intimate thereby their own opinion that the Methodist and other dissenting missionaries had found only their proper place, in the scale of moral turpitude, among murderers and felons, and would deservedly also share (had they so dared to enact) the murderer's and felon's doom of death or transportation. Or they might have wished to intimate that the pernicious lessons these missionaries conveyed to the slaves,—the Christianity professed and taught by these sectaries—were on a level with the dark superstitions of the Obeah and Myal men and women. Satanic as such a purpose would be, yet, how, by any possibility, without some such intent, could the particular position for the insertion of these persecuting clauses have been so very curiously and aptly selected, by the Jamaica lawgivers of 1826, as inevitably to produce the impression in question? We would not willingly impute to them so flagitious a design; and yet let any man cast his eye at the Act of 1826, and calmly consider the order in which the clauses

from 84 to 90 follow each other, and then say whether it be possible to escape from the inference we have ventured to draw from it. And are these men to be still intrusted with the work of legislation? The guilt, however, is not theirs alone, but ours also, if we go on to tolerate such abominations;—if among all our other sins we continue obstinately to cling to such a system of crime, as has now been laid bare to the eye of the national conscience.

When we recollect also the fabricated, and suborned, and garbled testimony by which the House of Assembly of that day, endeavoured to support their nefarious project of crushing or expelling Christian missionaries from the island of Jamaica, (see vol. iii. No. 50, p. 24, & No. 55, p. 162,) what can we conclude but that the whole of the allegations contained in the preamble to the persecuting clauses of the Act of 1826, were deliberate falsifications of fact? But have we not reason also to discredit their statements with respect to the professors and practisers of Obeah, without the shadow of an attempt at proof of the facts on which they have pretended to found their sanguinary enactments respecting them? For our own parts we believe the one just as much as the other, and no more. Their charges against the Obeah and Myal men and women, of dealings *with evil spirits*, and of proficiency in the art of poisoning, which have led to so many judicial murders in time past, and which are still likely to lead to many more, are, we firmly believe, as utterly untrue, and as little substantiated by any semblance of proof, as were their allegations of the seditious tendency of the Christianity taught by Methodists and dissenters, and of the pecuniary extortion and rapacity of which their missionaries were affirmed to be guilty.

The latest effort of Jamaica legislation stands now before us fully exhibited to public view, and we require no other proof of the innate and incurable malignity of Colonial Slavery. The West Indians have been calling loudly for evidence. We demand, they say, a committee of the House of Lords, where witnesses may be examined on oath, and where proofs may be given of the lenity and humanity, nay, of the loveliness of the system we administer, drawn, not from musty records of the olden time; not from witnesses who have quitted the Colonies for thirty or forty years; but from men who, on their oaths, can testify to the actual comfort and happiness of the enslaved negro's lot,—so just a subject of envy to the British peasant,—so superior to that of those who are cursed with freedom. But can they produce more conclusive evidence than this new act contains, this perfect emanation of the wisdom and humanity of Jamaica, in the very year which has just passed over our heads? Do they hope to strengthen it by bringing forward the men who, in 1825, expunged from the minutes of the Jamaica Assembly the testimony of the Rev. J. M. Trew, on the evils caused by the rejection of Slave evidence, lest it should find its way to England; (Vol. iv. No. 76. p. 108.) or even by calling upon the Elite of the West India body, the forty-one associated advocates of West Indian humanity, to confirm on oath the gross perversions of fact, the impostures which they have permitted to issue under the sanction of their high names, (Ibid. No. 82, p. 290.) In reply to all this and a thousand times more, we have only

to exhibit the Jamaica slave law of 1831,—that latest and most perfect representation of the Colonial mind, that infallible interpreter of their present principles and their present practice. Of these too it exhibits a favourable specimen. They were legislating in the view of the British public. They knew that their proceedings would not escape observation and scrutiny. And yet such is their total unacquaintance with every sound maxim, whether of legislation or morals, and even with the feelings by which men, not breathing the atmosphere and wedded to the gains of Slavery are actuated, that the work they have at length so elaborately produced, and are holding up to admiration—this Act of theirs which we now present to our readers—can be viewed only as an outrage on humanity, and as a crime in those who framed and in those, who when they shall have duly considered, shall continue to sanction, or even to tolerate it. What then is the remedy? Need we answer the question? It is the extinction of Slavery; the entire, the final, and we add without hesitation, the immediate extinction of Slavery; its extinction, indeed, accompanied by all due guards and precautions, and a just regard to all fair and well founded claims on the part of individuals; but still its extinction, its utter extinction in every part of his Majesty's dominions.

II.—FURTHER ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE EFFECTS OF SLAVERY ON MANNERS AND MORALS IN JAMAICA.

Drawn from the periodical press of that Island.

The CHRISTIAN RECORD of Jamaica, (No. 1. of a new series,) for September 1831, has just reached us. It is a work which ought to be read by every owner of slaves in that island, especially by every one who is resident in this country at a distance of 5000 miles from the sight and hearing of his wretched dependants. The first paper in this number is especially addressed to them, and a few extracts may possibly stimulate their curiosity to peruse the whole, with which they can have no difficulty in being regularly supplied from Jamaica.

“It has often,” say the Editors, “been a matter of surprise and deep regret to us, to observe the carelessness and criminal unconcern with which the proprietors of estates commit their slaves, body and soul, into the power of persons, as their representatives in this country, who are totally unfit for such a charge.” “They cannot imagine that they are not responsible for the religious instruction, as well as for the temporal well-being of their slaves; and that they will not be called on hereafter to give a strict account of the spiritual advantages which they have afforded them.” “With what consistency, then, can a religious proprietor, in common with all others, commit his estates to a man, whom he knows to be grossly *immoral*, and therefore of necessity, *irreligious*? Every proprietor must be presumed to have some acquaintance with his attorney, and with so much of his character as the attorney takes no pains to conceal. At least, he cannot *know* or *believe* him to be a Christian man; and yet he abandons the slave's spiritual, as well as temporal, welfare *wholly* to his care! What does he expect will be the conduct of such a man? Does he imagine that he will teach the slaves to condemn and abhor himself? or that he will allow others—the ministers of religion for instance, to teach this to the slaves, *if he can prevent it*?” “So sinful are the *views* of the *majority* of attorneys in this country, and so little trouble do they take

to conceal their vices from public view, that the faithful minister of religion is compelled, by every obligation of duty, publicly to warn others from following their example; and when, *as is the case every day*, the slaves refer to the example of their managers in exculpation of themselves, it becomes his imperative duty to expose the sinfulness of these men, and, it necessarily follows, to hold them up as objects of disgust and pity—a feeling which we know is too frequently mingled with contempt. Now, will these men permit this to go on, if they can prevent it? Will they not endeavour to obstruct the acquisition of such knowledge by the slave, and to counteract, by all means in their power, the influence and usefulness of the minister? Should any one be inclined to doubt upon this subject, we now, on our personal knowledge, declare the fact to him. We tell proprietors at home—Christian Proprietors—that their representatives do, by every means and especially by secret and covert influence, endeavour to check the spread of *true* religion among their slaves, and to render nugatory the efforts of the minister to enforce the *moral* observance and the *spiritual* doctrines of the Gospel. This, we declare to be the conduct commonly pursued by the great *majority* of the white people on estates in Jamaica. And this their opposition arises, not only from the general hatred which an irreligious man always evinces to spiritual truth, but also from more immediate and obvious causes. Can it be supposed that an attorney or overseer, who is living in adulterous intercourse with one of the slaves of the property on which he resides, (or with one, whom he has *hired** or bought elsewhere, for the purpose!!) will render facilities to a clergyman to enforce the obligations of the Seventh Commandment on that property? Will he not rather ‘prevent the meddling hypocrite from interfering in his private concerns?’—with his private *property*? Such is the conduct which would in general be expected from such men; and such is the course which we personally know to be frequently pursued.” (p. 2.)

“We concede that there *are* a few Attorneys who do not discourage religious instruction, further than by setting an irreligious example: but even these permit the respective Overseers under them, together with all the white persons on each property to act as we have described. And wherein, we would ask, consists the difference between these, who are the better sort, and those who are utterly depraved? Merely in this;—the one permits persons under his authority to do that which the other does *himself*:—the example and the injury is, in both cases, the same to the slave. And it is an example followed to so appalling an extent, that morality and principle are almost unknown among the young females on estates in this country. Where a solitary instance of moral principle does occur, should the unhappy individual become an object of lust to the Overseer, or even to a Bookkeeper, every means—means altogether unjustifiable in the estimation of even the most abandoned, are resorted to for the purpose of overcoming her repugnance, and destroying her principle. The feelings of proprietors would be harrowed, were they made fully acquainted with the scenes of this nature, which are transacted on their estates. We have it in our power to detail not a few that would curdle the blood in the heart of every one not altogether deadened in morality, by having long inhaled the pestilential atmosphere of a country which is poisoned by ‘colonial sin.’ But we forbear;—not simply because ‘the greater the *truth* the greater is the *libel*,’ especially when tried in matters of this kind by

* “The Proprietors in England are of course anxious to ascertain every particular relating to their estates in this country, and especially the extent of the crop made; and no doubt many have correct copies of the crop accounts recorded in the Secretary’s Office transmitted to them. When examining these accounts of *annual profits*, proprietors may have met with such items as these, “hire of Gracey, a mulatto, to Mr. — at £20 per annum.”—“Hire of Anne Clarke, a mulatto, to Mr. — at £16 per annum;”—“Hire of Jane Munro, a quadroon, to Mr. — at £16 per annum;”—“Hire of Catherine Stewart, to Mr. — from 5th June to 31st December, at £20 per annum.”—We wonder if it has ever occurred to them to inquire the *purpose* for which these females are hired!”

a Jamaica Jury; but because we would not be so unjust to the individuals implicated in those cases, as to make them singly the objects of indignation for conduct they are only guilty of in common with the great majority of their fellows."

Again, "Overseers seldom appear in church. We speak within bounds when we say that *not one in twenty* of the white people in the country parishes presents himself in church on any Sunday; the greater number are never within the walls of a place of worship from January to December. Sunday is regarded by them as a day set apart for a totally different purpose. It is a day of recreation and pleasure—the day usually selected for dinner and festive parties, which frequently end in disgusting and degrading excesses, exhibited to the population of the estate. Or, among those who are not so totally lost to shame, it is spent in travelling to and fro from the Post-Office for the purpose of reading the newspapers, &c. passing, in very many instances, in their way to the Post-Office, the house of God, where the clattering of their horses' hoofs and the rattling of their chaises, attract the attention of the assembled congregation to behold their contemptuous disregard of God and his ordinances. Sunday is also the day universally fixed upon by Attornies and Overseers for travelling.—They will tell you, 'they choose this day because they do not wish to be absent from the business of the estate during the week :'" (p. 3.)

The Colonists, it is asserted by their advocates "are not unfriendly to the religious instruction of their slaves; on the contrary they are anxious to promote it."—Yes, they would have the slaves taught a certain sort of religion,

"A religion which will not condemn a man to eternal damnation, because, '*from unavoidable circumstances and his peculiar situation,*' he had been compelled to commit a little fornication, provided he '*kept constant*' to his sin:—which would not condemn him for a little drinking, swearing, lying, or bearing false witness, or for a little cruelty—'provided in the whole he did his duty to his fellow-creatures.' Which would not condemn him for profaning the Sabbath, 'provided on the whole he did his duty to his God.' A Clergyman, or a Catechist, who will, by his *prudent* silence and discreet behaviour, sanction such *doctrines*, they *will* be happy to receive and to '*admit*' on the properties under their charge; but the slaves must be guarded against the '*pernicious,*' not to say '*seditious,*' preachings of '*Evangelicals and Sectarians*'—men who, by their '*indiscreet zeal,*' thus '*circumscribe the sphere of their usefulness!*' These, although they may appear too absurd to come from the lips of men of common sense, are nevertheless the very sentiments, or equivalent to the sentiments, which we hear expressed around us every day, *aye—which we have on record!*"

"In further illustration of the feeling of the planters towards the teachers of religion, we select from the writer we have already quoted, the following sentence. 'They,' (the benevolent and pious) 'greatly err, if they suppose the Colonists inimical to the object they have in view, however much they may occasionally have been irritated by the conduct of Anti-Slavery Missionaries.'—Now what does Mr. Barclay mean by Anti-Slavery Missionaries? Does the Anti-Slavery Society send Missionaries to Jamaica? No. Are the Missionaries in Jamaica sent here for the purpose of secretly promoting the supposed objects of the Anti-Slavery Society? No man of *sense* thinks this—no man who observes their conduct impartially will credit it. Then why are they called '*Anti-Slavery Missionaries*?' Because they have taught true Christianity; and having been persecuted by the Planters for so doing, they have very naturally appealed for protection to their friends '*at home,*' and the Anti-Slavery Society have taken up their complaint."* (p. 5.)

* This feeling of irritation and hostility is not evinced to the '*Sectarians*' alone. It is true that the clergy of the Establishment did, for a long time, escape this

They conclude with solemnly calling on all, and especially on Christian Proprietors to reflect on what they have said, and to reflect that

“The generally degraded state of moral and religious feeling among the Attornies and Overseers in the Colonies is in no slight degree to be attributed to the indifference of their *Employer* to their character, in every other respect than that of ‘plantership.’ Let them but once know that immoral and irreligious conduct will as surely be followed by ‘*dismissal*’ as the failure of their crops, and we should very shortly witness at least an outward reformation—we should no longer be disgusted by the universal prevalence of ‘unblushing libertinism,’ or find the Ministers of religion insulted, and opposed in every effort they may make for the spread of real religion. Let the Proprietors at home give their orders, even to their present Representatives, *expressly*, neither to live in concubinage themselves, or to permit it on their estates;—to afford ‘every facility’ to the ministers of religion (making those ministers the judges of what are facilities):—to employ none but married overseers, or such single ones as will lead strictly moral lives. Let them give these, and similar explicit and positive directions, and at the same time make those to whom they are given intimately sensible that *the continuance of their attorneyship depends upon obedience*—that if they will not obey, OTHERS WILL BE SOUGHT WHO WILL.” (p. 6.)

2. A second letter from Mr. R. Grundy to the Editor, vindicates the Sectarians, as they are called, from the heavy charges brought against them, “as hypocritical, dishonest, seditious,” &c., and affirms “they have done more for the true good of Jamaica, than any other set of men that ever stepped on its shores. Just think for a moment,” he adds, “what this country was forty or fifty years ago, before any dissenting church was planted in it.

“When the parish Rectors used to baptise a parcel of poor Heathens in the morning, and thus make some times as many as a hundred good Christians out of them before night, and at the same time put a good round sum of money into their own pockets for the job, while scarce ever afterwards did they, believing I suppose that baptism is regeneration, trouble their heads about the moral state of the new converts. And, Sir, what is it but these very Dissenters coming here that has made all the change which we see, even in the Establishment itself? Is it more than reasonable to suppose, that but for their being here to act like a whip of many thongs, it would still be a great useless burthen upon the country, living upon its fat things, and making no manner of return, just like that lazy animal called the Sloth, that I once read about in a book of the history of beasts, which is said to climb up a fine flourishing tree, and never leave it while it can find a green leaf to feed on.

“May be you will say, good Sir, that all this is very harsh, but I ask you is it not very true, as to what was the state of the Established Church formerly? Thank God it is different from this now; though still far behind what it ought to be, and wanting many a stroke of the cat-o-nine tails just mentioned. The great error into which its Ministers have fallen, and which I wish to speak about in this letter, as appears to me, is *the seeking of worldly patronage, and the striving to labour with worldly instruments*. Into this grievous mistake the Bishop has fallen, for he writes to Magistrates and Vestries asking them to help him in his labours, while most of them are giving all their help quite another way. He

serious accusation; and we must add that we fear they escaped the charge, because they sacrificed *duty* to *conciliation*. But what is the fact now, since latterly a few of them have come forward to stem the torrent of false religion? Why they too have been assailed by the very same outcry! They too have been denounced as ‘tools of the Anti-Slavery Society!!!’ In short Evangelical, Sectarian, Anti-Slavery, and seditious, are synonymous in Jamaica.”

tries to sail along with the current of bigotry and prejudice, when he ought to do his best to work up the stream. His Clergy are for the most part right good fellows, boon companions of all the ungodly people about them, and dare not, for their lives, do any thing to displease men so necessary to their comfort." "I cannot mention a stronger instance of the endeavour to go hand in hand with prejudice, and gratify the wishes of the worldly people about them, than that one which you have yourself often spoken strongly about. I mean the making Catechists and religious teachers of immoral book-keepers. I hope and trust this business is going to be soon put an end to. It is a disgrace, a crying shame to a body of professedly Christian Ministers, to be playing into the hands of the enemy, as they must do, by upholding such a system. I hope and trust the day is not far off when the Bishop and all the Clergy will have their eyes fully opened to the impossibility of doing God's work with such means as they know he cannot bless, and I am sure it is your and my duty to pray for that day's speedy coming." (p. 16.)

3. The Christian Record had been charged with exaggeration in the account given in one of its early numbers of the "Libertinism of Jamaica." (Reporter, vol. iv. No. 76, p. 137.) The Editors now come forward to justify it by giving an authentic statement of the Baptisms of illegitimate and legitimate free children in the different parishes of the Island, in 1830, as taken from the Registry in the Bishop's office in Spanish-town. (p. 24.) The account is confined to the free, there being no slave children that can be called legitimate.

Return of Baptisms in Jamaica, from the 1st January to the 31st December, 1830.

	Illegitimate.	Legitimate.	Total.
St. Catherine	78	34	112
St. John	7	5	12
St. Dorothy	5	2	7
St. Thomas in the Vale	8	6	14
Clarendon	23	9	32
Vere	7	5	12
Manchester	53	7	60
St. Mary	25	11	36
St. Ann's	37	12	49
Kingston	174	109	283
Port Royal	25	24	49
St. Andrew	37	38	75
Portland	40	5	45
St. Thomas in the East	35	9	44
St. David	9	2	11
St. George	13	7	20
St. Elizabeth	116	28	144
Westmoreland	49	12	61
Trelawny	84	26	110
Hanover	21	11	32
St. James	112	18	130
Total	958	380	1338

(These Illustrations to be continued.)

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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FOR MARCH 10, 1832.

[VOL. v. No. 3.

A CALM, AND AUTHENTIC REVIEW OF THE CAUSES, THE COMMENCEMENT, AND THE PROGRESS TO A CERTAIN PERIOD, OF THE INSURRECTION WHICH IS REPORTED RECENTLY TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE AMONG THE SLAVES IN THE COLONY OF JAMAICA.

A PAMPHLET was published, about the close of last year, by Mr. Jeremie, the late President of the Royal Court of St. Lucia, and now the King's Procureur General at the Mauritius, entitled, "Four Essays on Colonial Slavery." This work, which has already reached a second edition, has given a very striking and most instructive view of the nature of those occurrences which in Slave Colonies are dignified with the imposing appellation of Insurrection. He had been the instrument in the hands of Government of framing, and afterwards carrying into effect, a new code for the government and protection of the slaves in the island of St. Lucia. This code was extremely obnoxious at first to the planters of St. Lucia, and all the ordinary means of opposing its introduction and thwarting its execution were tried in vain, having been rendered abortive, by the firmness and decision of Mr. Jeremie. At length the hitherto never-failing expedient, in the tactics of slave holders, of a servile insurrection, was thought of, and got up with some effect. The main agents in the plot were the planters themselves, aided by the influence of some members of the King's Council, and of not a few of the public functionaries of the colony, and countenanced even by General Stewart the governor. But the case will be better understood if Mr. Jeremie is permitted to narrate the facts.

About the close of 1828, or the beginning of 1829, the feeling became very strongly prevalent in St. Lucia that Government wished to relax the rigour of the laws which Mr. Jeremie had introduced; and as he proved inflexible, an attempt was made, by means of a pretended insurrection, to get rid at once of him and of his obnoxious regulations. The attempt indeed did not succeed; but the matter was so represented by the governor in his public despatches, as to produce the impression at the Colonial Office that an insurrectionary movement had actually taken place among the slaves. In consequence of this base and criminal conduct, Mr. Jeremie "deemed it his duty to bring charges of wilful and corrupt misrepresentation against two privy counsellors and the secretary of government." (p. 100.) "The inquiry into these charges was made in open court," and "the whole case will furnish a tolerable insight of what is meant by a West Indian insurrection. This," he adds, "was not the only occasion in St. Lucia when such things were reported: but this transaction having gained rather more

notoriety, and *the facts being proved beyond question*, it forms a tolerable example of the whole." He thus proceeds:—

"Rumours the most unfounded were at once set afloat, estates were specified where the gangs were in utter disorder, nine or ten especially, and one of them, where, owing to the slave law having avowedly been neglected, the manager had been cautioned. This estate was said to have been abandoned by the negroes; some to have fled—the whole to have so neglected their duty, that the produce (of the boiling house) had diminished from 16 to 3 hogsheads a week. The slaves, it was said, had fled to the woods, mountains, and ravines;—negroes had been taken up with large bundles of newspapers of the precise year when the slave law was promulgated, (1826,) and it was added, that gangs from the most distant and unconnected quarters had struck, and had also sought refuge in the woods, after destroying their master's property, as manufacturers destroy machinery at home.

"Accordingly, militia detachments were sent out, headed by field officers, in addition to two permanent detachments, in various directions, in search of the insurgents: five were sent out from one quarter,—three from a second,—three from a third,—three from a fourth; and hundreds—aye, thousands, of ball cartridges, were distributed throughout the country. The white troops were to be quartered on the refractory estates; and the planters in one of the quarters and its neighbourhood were desired to turn out with their best negroes; this description of force alone amounting to several hundred men.

"Next, the governor himself went into the mountains, with a numerous staff, to point out the exact plan of operations by which that insurrectionary movement was to be put down. Then a militia order was to be issued, and read at the head of the detachments, comparing these various convulsions, ('though it had not quite reached that height,') to the melancholy period of 1796, when it cost Great Britain 4,000 men, headed by Abercrombie, to restore order in St. Lucia alone.

"Now, what was the fact? In the whole of that part of the island, where the governor had taken on himself the direction of the troops; where these detachments, under their colonels, had scoured the woods, mountains, and ravines; it appeared there were exactly eight negroes in the bush, including females. The bundles of newspapers were a piece of wrapping paper, about the size of a man's hand, on which an ignorant slave had made a few crosses, and produced as his pass. The story of the destruction of property was a pure fiction. The specific complaints proved to be worse than frivolous, and the only gang, where there had been the least movement, was one with respect to which the proprietor, on a subsequent inquiry, has been proved never, since the promulgation of the slave law, to have clothed his negroes, and where they had been made to get up to labour in the field by moonlight. On that occasion, fifteen had left their owner in the evening, and had presented themselves in the morning to the next planter, to intercede for them. He had done so, and they had returned quietly to work before any of these extraordinary measures were taken.

“ In short, it was proved, that throughout the island only the usual average, 5 in 1,000, (taking the whole slave population) which is probably less than in the best disciplined regiments in the service, were away from their estates ; and this too was at the very commencement of crop, when the number of runaways is always largest.

“ Again, in October, another panic was attempted to be created, but was put down. Indeed, throughout the year, endeavours in every shape were made to prove the impracticability of continuing these new regulations.

“ But how did the matter end ? By placing, beyond question, the advantages resulting from them.”

Mr. Jeremie proceeds to detail the evidence which produced this satisfactory conviction, and thus closes his statement :—

“ Such was the result of the fullest inquiry that could be held, not at a distance from the spot, or with persons insufficiently defended, but in the island itself, in the midst of their friends and partizans,—partizans unbending in their prejudices, firm in their purpose, not over scrupulous as to means, yet when they came to facts utterly impotent ; though provided with what they considered the best legal advice that could be obtained in the West Indies ;—and this, too, in the very island where measures of reform had made the greatest progress, and where, avowedly, the authorities were firmly bent on seeing them executed to the letter.

“ Here, then, is the testimony of the authors of the measure, of its reluctant friends, and of its most determined opponents, backed by official returns. Never could measure be more completely sifted.”

If the very slightest doubt should be entertained as to the accuracy of these statements, by any gentleman in Parliament, and especially by any of the numerous West India proprietors who crowd the benches of the House of Commons, he has only to call for the evidence taken in the course of this inquiry. It was officially transmitted to Downing Street by Governor Farquharson, in December 1830, and is now deposited in the office of the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department. The purpose, for which these documents are now referred to, will appear in the sequel of the remarks now offered to the public. But it will first be necessary to turn to another part of the subject.

On the 15th of April, 1831, Mr. Buxton moved in the House of Commons the following resolution :—

“ That in its resolutions of the 15th of May, 1823, this House distinctly recognized the evils of colonial slavery, and the duty of taking measures for its ultimate abolition : that, during the eight years which have since elapsed, the Colonial Assemblies have not taken adequate means for carrying those resolutions into effect : that, deeply impressed with a sense of the impolicy, inhumanity, and injustice of colonial slavery, the House will proceed forthwith to consider and adopt the best means of effecting its abolition throughout the British dominions.”

To this motion an amendment was moved by Viscount Althorp, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to the following purport :—

“ That this House, in its resolutions of the 15th of May, 1823,

distinctly recapitulated the evils under which the slaves in the colonies laboured, and the duty of the colonies to take decisive measures to relieve the slave population, and to prepare the negroes for participating in the privileges enjoyed by the other subjects of those colonies. That in those colonies, where there are no legislative assemblies, laws have been promulgated for ameliorating and improving the condition of the slave population; but in those which have legislative assemblies, though eight years have elapsed since this House passed the resolutions referred to, and though these colonies have been repeatedly urged to enact similar laws, no such laws have been enacted, nor have any measures been adopted to give effect to the resolutions of this House, to the urgent opinions of the Government, or to the wishes of the British nation."

And then, he said, he should propose a mode in which the colonies would find that they had an interest to adopt the proposition before made by the House. The resolution he should propose was as follows:

"That in the rate of duties levied on the produce of the labour of slaves, such a distinction shall be made as will operate in favour of those colonies in which the resolutions of this House have been adopted and the wishes of the Government complied with."

The noble Lord accompanied this proposition with a speech, in which he stated, that while he could not concur in going the whole length of Mr. Buxton's motion, he nevertheless was "a friend to the abolition of slavery," "had always voted for it," and "felt the greatest anxiety that the period should arrive when the emancipation of the slaves might be *safely* undertaken." "Eight years ago a resolution was passed, declaring they should be ultimately emancipated," and "Orders in Council were issued to carry its spirit into effect; but, up to this time, in *none* of the colonial legislatures have the recommendations of the Crown been adopted." "It is impossible, then, for the House to stand still." "We are now nearly in the same situation in which we were in 1823." "We are called upon, then, not to stand still." "Often have I heard Mr. Canning say from this bench, that fair notice had been given to the colonists, and that unless they voluntarily complied, it would be necessary for the Government and for this House to take some strong measures to enforce their determination. The time I think is now come to give notice to the colonists, by other measures than those of mere recommendation. We must adopt means to convince them that we are in earnest, and will persevere in the steps we have recommended, and satisfy the country that the resolutions we have passed were not intended to be a dead letter on our table. On the other hand, I do not think the West Indian interests should be surprised, after so long an interval, if Parliament at length took steps to carry its will into effect. There are two modes by which this may be done: it may be done by direct legislative interference in colonial affairs—we may pass laws in the Imperial Parliament to impose regulations on the colonies; but I admit this is a step which I should wish very much to delay, although ultimately, if the colonies persevere, it will be the bounden duty of Parliament to act in such a manner. I agree with the object which the hon. gentle-

man has in view, but not exactly with the resolution by which he proposes to effect it.

“ This proposition calls on the Colonies for a compliance with our wishes, by making an appeal to their interests. This appeal, I admit, would not be a fair or justifiable proceeding, if we asked from the colonies anything that was unreasonable; but we ask nothing of the sort—nothing which it has not already been proved might be safely adopted—nothing which has not already been carried into effect with the utmost degree of security in the Crown colonies, and which, indeed, has worked so well at St. Lucia, that that colony has sent up an address to the Government, expressive of their approbation of the measures which the Government has adopted, though they state at the same time, that on the first appearance of these measures they were viewed with some degree of prejudice. In conclusion, I think it is impossible for any man to say that a state of slavery, whether productive of a diminution in the amount of population, or of any other evil, is not to be regretted, and I am satisfied there is no man in this House who will stand up and say that it is a state which it is not desirable to get rid of. Every exertion ought to be made to rid us of its presence. Of the evils of its existence we are assured, and I do not therefore see the advantage of appointing a Committee of Inquiry. The point on which I put the case is, that the resolutions of 1823, were unanimously agreed to eight years ago—I put it on the Orders in Council, and on the adoption of those orders in the Crown colonies—an adoption which has been followed by nothing but the most beneficial effects—and, finally, on the fact that these resolutions have been pressed upon the other colonies, but have not been adopted. These are facts which we do not require a Committee of Inquiry to make out. We know what are the laws that have been adopted in the Crown colonies, and what are those that are in force in the colonies which possess legislative assemblies; and I therefore think that a Committee of Inquiry would be useless, and that this House, if it consults its own dignity, and the wishes of the country, will do nothing but insist on the enforcement of the measures which, on previous occasions, they have desired should be adopted.”

This temperate but decided speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was followed, at a later period of the debate, by one from Viscount Howick, the Colonial Under Secretary of State. It is only a part of this able speech, which on the present occasion, we shall have occasion to cite, but that part has a most important bearing on the subject of the present pamphlet.

“ The Honourable and Learned Gentleman (Mr. Burge the Agent of Jamaica) asks, if we mean to abandon the policy of 1823, and to sacrifice property? For myself, I have no hesitation in answering in the negative. I would, unquestionably, preserve the rights of property, but I would not preserve them at the expense of the rights of the slave. I object to immediate emancipation, for the sake of the slaves themselves;* but were I convinced that immediate emancipa-

* Is there then any really substantial ground for the apprehension implied in this opinion?

tion could be effected with safety to the slaves, I should say, let it take place at once; the planter might then, indeed, have a just claim on the British nation, by whose encouragement and sanction he has been induced to acquire the property of which he would be deprived. It would be unjust that the whole penalty should fall on those who have only shared the crime by which it has been incurred. But, however large the claim of the West Indian for compensation may be, I do not hesitate to say that it should not stand in my way for a moment, as weighed against the importance of putting an end to the sufferings of the slaves. I consider the whole system of slavery one of such deep oppression, and iniquity, and cruelty, that, if I could be satisfied it was safe to emancipate the slaves now, I would say, 'Do so, and do it at once; and we will settle scores among ourselves afterwards, and determine in what proportion the penalty of our guilt is to be paid; but the victims of that guilt must not continue for one hour to suffer, while we are haggling about pounds, shillings, and pence.'*

"I confess I do feel more difficulty in combating the resolution proposed by my Honourable Friend the Member for Weymouth, than in meeting the opposition with which we are threatened from the West India body. But much as I abhor slavery, I feel that we could not without danger adopt the course proposed. On mature consideration, I feel that it would not be safe to the colonists, nor advantageous to the slaves themselves, that slavery should be abolished immediately and at once; and I believe that the course which my Honourable Friend, the Member for Weymouth, proposes for our adoption, would be attended with many dangers. Even if I were prepared to agree to actual emancipation, I should object to that course. I consider that the only wise mode of carrying it into effect would be by a full and detailed measure; and, until some safe and practical plan of emancipation is laid down before the House, I shall protest against the adoption of resolutions, which could have no other possible effect but that of irritating the master, and of exciting in the breast of the slave expectations which must be disappointed. We had lately a tragical instance of the effect of vague expectations on the minds of slaves; and if the slave should come to know that it was declared, by so high an authority as this House, that he was entitled to his freedom, and should yet find that he was left for months and years in unmitigated slavery—if he should be left in this state of high-raised expectation and actual suffering, I cannot contemplate the consequences without shuddering.†

"I should not propose, at once, to emancipate a large number of slaves if I had the power of doing so; I should not emancipate ten to-day, and ten more to-morrow: I should rather take off a part of the weight of slavery, and endeavour gradually to assimilate the slave

* Compare these sentiments with the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, Nos. 70 and 75, and their coincidence will appear very remarkable.

† This is just; but is it not the very best reason why the measure should be prompt, immediate and irresistible? See *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 70.

to the freeman.* If the House sanctions the resolutions proposed by my Noble Friend, an amended Order in Council, now in course of preparation, will be issued—the adoption of which, word for word, it is proposed to render imperative upon every colony which seeks for the indulgence it holds out. In this Order will be embodied the improvements referred to in the different Orders of Council issued by Lord Bathurst, and by the Right Honourable Gentleman opposite. (Sir G. Murray.) We shall, therefore, continue to advance towards our great object, on the same principle on which we set out.

“The honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Burge) complains that we propose to do more than Lord Bathurst proposed. But I contend that it was never the intention of Lord Bathurst to stop short at what he first proposed. In his first despatch Lord Bathurst uses these expressions:—‘These suggestions are not to be understood as affording a full development of the intentions of his Majesty’s Government; but merely as recommending such changes as may be conveniently adopted at present; and as may lay the foundation for further and more effectual measures of improvement.’ And the same principle was distinctly laid down by the Right Honourable Gentleman opposite, during the last year, in the circular with which he accompanied the amended Order in Council. The proposed new Order in Council will proceed upon the principle laid down by Mr. Canning, that no regulation for the benefit of the slave which has been adopted in one colony, can be considered impracticable in any, and that by collecting every thing good which has been found successful in any colony, and applying it to all the other colonies, a great advance will be effected. Such an Order in Council is now in preparation, embodying every improvement which has already been tried with success, either in our own colonies or in those of any other Power, and, without adopting any new principle, supplying any defects which have been discovered in the manner of carrying it to execution what has already been attempted. Other and pressing business has prevented the Government from giving that attention to the details which is necessary before it can be finally issued. It was my most anxious wish that, previous to this debate, it should have been before the House. This Order in Council will be sent out to the colonies with the intimation that, to entitle them to the indulgence which it is intended to hold out, they must adopt it word for word, without addition or alteration.

“The honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Burge) complains that this is an improper interference with the internal regulations of the colonies. It is what it professes to be, a measure of coercion, but it is not a legislative interference with the internal regulations of the colonies. That we have a right so to interfere, in common with my noble friend, I most strenuously maintain. And if the measures now proposed fail,—if they do not turn out according to our wishes,—I shall contend that we have not only the right, but that it will be our duty to interfere by direct legislation. But, Sir, there is another

* Yet Government have at once emancipated 2000 slaves of their own, without any apprehension, and without any evil consequence arising from the measure.

reason which seems to have escaped the honourable and learned gentleman, for making the proposed distinction, in the duty on their produce, in favour of those colonies which adopt the measures we recommend. What is the motive for all the hardships which the slaves are liable to? Slavery is maintained chiefly for the purpose of raising sugar, and if we admit the sugar raised by the labour of slaves on the same terms, whether or not the regulations are enforced which we think necessary for their protection, and for the amelioration of their condition, are we not parties to the guilt of maintaining the system in all its barbarity?

“This country has the clear right to disclaim all participation in such a system, and to say, I will not encourage so objectionable a system; I will not receive the produce of the labour of slaves unless you assure me that no cruelty is practised in raising it. All that now remains for me to do is, to endeavour to shew to the House that, by the measure we propose, a great practical improvement will be effected in the condition of the slaves. The changes already introduced into the Crown colonies, with the farther improvements which are in contemplation, will, I trust, be speedily adopted in every colony under the British dominion; and, supposing this to be the case, let me call to the recollection of the House how great a change will be effected in the condition of the slaves in Jamaica. In the first place, the banishment of the whip from the field will in itself effect a complete change in the character of slavery. The Negro now labours under the continual dread of the most severe bodily suffering. Any relaxation of the intensity of labour causes the lash immediately to be applied. By this means that degree of labour is obtained in our colonies which is found to be so fatally destructive to human life. Now, Sir, the system of driving, under which both men and women at present labour in Jamaica, will be abolished; the use of the whip, with regard to women, will no longer be permitted at all; in cases of punishing men, not more than fifteen lashes will be allowed to be inflicted in the space of twenty-four hours, and this not until six hours after the commission of a specific offence. The nature of the offence, and the amount of punishment inflicted, must also be recorded in a book to which the protector of slaves will have access. Instead of seeing the whip continually brandished over him, the slave will be only subject, in case of a specific offence, to not more than fifteen lashes in the twenty-four hours, inflicted six hours after the offence has been committed, and the punishment awarded. Many honourable members who have not considered the subject, may not be aware of the great importance of this change. It is a radical change, I may say, in the system; for it is the substitution of one motive to exertion, one stimulus to labour, for another. The prospect of punishment will be sufficient to prevent the slave from refusing to work; but it is not enough to extort from him the last degree of human exertion, which is done when the whip is continually brandished over his head. The driver may say to the slave, ‘If you don’t take care, you shall have fifteen lashes in the evening;’ but he cannot continue that threat—its force will be speedily exhausted. While the slave-owner is allowed to employ the whip in

the field, he can extort the labour of the slave by the constant stimulus of fear, but if you deprive him of this power, if you reduce the whip to an instrument of discipline, you impose on the planter the necessity of finding out some other stimulus, and this, in some shape or other, must be hope. It will probably be the hope of some indulgence it is in the master's power to bestow, for it is not to be expected at present that the master will give his slave wages; this is a farther step in our progress; but he will apply the stimulus of hope in another manner; he will probably find it impossible to compel the slave to work as hard as he is able during a certain number of hours, and will be induced to give him task-work to a reasonable amount. The task must necessarily be within the utmost exertions which the Negro could make; and the sooner he performed his labour, the sooner he would enjoy a respite from it. By this change we shall reduce the whip to an instrument of punishment, and it will be no longer, as it now is, a stimulus to labour. The slave will no longer be like a horse in a team, who works through fear of blows, and we shall convert him from a brute beast to a rational animal. We shall appeal to the reason and the hopes of the slave, and not to his instinct and his fears—this will be a great change.

“The next point is the separation of families, which will be effectually guarded against. Without entering into any discussion on this point, I may observe that the separation of families is not guarded against by the laws of Jamaica; but that, by the measures proposed, it will be effectually prevented. In the same manner the right of compulsory manumission will be fully established. And here I cannot refrain from alluding to what has fallen from the honourable and learned gentleman on the subject of compulsory manumission. The honourable and learned gentleman has contended that it is unjust to compel a master to dispose of his own slave against his will—to sell his own *freehold property*. This observation shocked me more than I can describe. Is it not the ordinary practice of the British Legislature to compel a man to dispose of his own freehold property when it is for the public convenience? Does the honourable and learned gentleman mean to say that it is unfair to make a man part with his slave for the value of that slave, when we every day compel a man to part with his property for the mere convenience of the public? When, for the purpose of constructing a rail-road or a turnpike-road, we compel, by an Act of the Legislature, any man to sell property which he has neither acquired nor holds by guilt, or with a shadow of injustice, and this, too, upon the mere ground of convenience, is it to be said that we are to be barred from pursuing the same course when justice is concerned, and where the subject of the compulsory sale is that which no man can have acquired, or can retain, innocently—the freedom of an unoffending slave—the birthright of every human being?

“I did hear with astonishment this argument of the honourable and learned gentleman, and though it excited a great sensation in the House, I wonder that the sensation was not infinitely greater.”

“It is also proposed to allow the slave to purchase the freedom of his children. A slave will frequently be enabled to purchase the

freedom of his child when he could not purchase his own. When a child is first born, it is of little value to the master, and he would be inclined, for a small sum in possession, to give up the contingent profit to be derived from the labour of the child. On the other hand, in many instances, I believe the negro will be ready to pay a large sum, to exempt his offspring from the evils of that condition under which he is himself suffering. As to the due observance of the Sabbath, that is to be provided for by the most complete regulations. Not only will the slave be protected against being called on for the performance of any manner of labour on the Sabbath-day, but his free access to places of public worship will also be secured;* the hours of labour will also be carefully limited; and the insufficiency of food guarded against. I think I have now, though I am aware most inadequately and imperfectly, stated the great change in the condition of the Jamaica negro which will be effected, when the Order in Council, which we propose to issue, shall become law in that island. I hope, however, I have said enough to shew, that a great and substantial improvement will have taken place. I trust the House will see that this is not a mere attempt on the part of the Government to get out of a popular question, but a real step, and a decided advance in our progress towards that result, in which we are bound to persevere until we arrive at it. The measures proposed hold out a prospect of doing something effectual, and, therefore, I conceive that they are entitled to a fair trial. All I ask is, that we should give to these measures a fair trial before we proceed to others, which, if more speedy in their operation, are of more questionable safety—which are of such a nature, that one false step may lead to irreparable consequences. If the plan does not answer my confident expectations, I shall acknowledge that, after no long delay, it will be our duty to enter into the consideration of some such plan as that contemplated by my Honourable Friend.

“I entirely concur with my Honourable Friend in the principle he has laid down, that it is the bounden duty of Parliament to put an end to the monstrous system which now exists. All I contend for is, caution in the manner of doing it. I hope my Honourable Friend will give a trial to the plan we propose; and I hope further, that such a plan having been proposed, he will not think it necessary to press his motion to a division.”

The House did not divide upon the question. The debate was adjourned for ten days, and in the mean time parliament was dissolved. It will probably be renewed ere long.

Highly creditable to these two noble lords, as were the principles avowed, and the feelings expressed by them on that occasion, it was but too manifest to all, who had assiduously watched the progress of the anti-slavery controversy, that at least as far as respected the chartered colonies, the course it was proposed to pursue, was not likely to produce speedily a beneficial result, but might issue not merely

* The new Order, it is to be deeply deplored, fails in both these particulars. See the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 92, p. 20—27, and p. 31 & 32.

in delay, but in disappointment and perhaps disaster. This had been the uniform effect of prospective notices of parliamentary interference, whenever, as in the present instance, the colonists believed them to be given with a serious intention of being carried into effect. No measures of reform which have tended, in even a remote degree, to the abridgment of the power of the master, or the ultimate extinction of slavery, however strenuously recommended by the Government, have ever been proposed to the deliberation of the colonial authorities, without exciting a general clamour among the planters, and leading them to have recourse to such expedients as might seem best fitted to avert the apprehended interference. Among these expedients, that which has been most frequently adopted, and has proved the most successful, has been the creation of alarms, in the public mind of this country, on the subject of servile insurrection.

Accordingly when Mr. Wilberforce, in 1815, gave notice that it was his intention, in the ensuing session of Parliament, to move for leave to bring in a bill for the due registration of colonial slaves, the very proposition to interfere, by direct parliamentary enactment, with the subject of slavery, excited a universal clamour throughout the whole extent of the West Indies. That clamour, however, met with so feeble a response in this country, and seemed, to every unprejudiced mind, to be so wholly misplaced, that it would probably have entirely failed of its object, but for the servile insurrection which so seasonably occurred in Barbadoes, and of which the intelligence reached this country, only a few days before that which Mr. Wilberforce had fixed for the second reading of his bill. The consequence was—its rejection.

It certainly is difficult to conceive how an act for the Registration of slaves, should have been confounded, even by West Indian prejudice, with an act for their emancipation. But such was the construction which the colonists chose to put upon it. They felt that a precedent of parliamentary legislation, on the subject of slavery, might open a way to ulterior measures which might involve the dreaded result, and they therefore assailed it with a vehemence which has scarcely been surpassed in any subsequent stage of the controversy. In Barbadoes, especially, the clamorous rage manifested by the white portion of the community, at this alleged measure of enfranchisement, was such, that it would not have been surprising had the slaves been led to suppose that it was really the purpose of Government to emancipate them, and that that purpose was only frustrated by the resistance of their masters. But this, though a very natural conclusion, does not appear to have had the very slightest influence in producing the tumult and the carnage which so opportunely arrested all parliamentary interference at that time. A plantation brawl between the slaves and their manager, a matter of frequent occurrence in all slave colonies, happened to take place, in the neighbourhood of Bridgetown, the capital of the island, the white inhabitants of which were at the time in an extraordinary degree of excitement, and ready to credit any rumour however extravagant. The intelligence was soon conveyed to that place, and the troops stationed

there, but especially the insular militia, chiefly composed of the low whites, rushed to the scene of disorder, and commenced the work of death with undistinguishing fury. They met with no resistance. The slaves fled and were pursued in all directions. At least 1000 of them were massacred in cold blood, and some hundreds more had already been suspended on gibbets before Sir James Leith the Governor, who was on a visit to a neighbouring island, returned, and put some stop to this wanton effusion of blood.*

This melancholy transaction was of course at once dignified with the name of the Barbadoes insurrection, although it has never been officially announced, nor is it known, that a single white person fell by Negro violence, or that a single plantation was set fire to by the slaves. Much property, it is true, was destroyed on the occasion. The militia, it was admitted, had burnt down the *Negro houses*, on all the plantations which were considered as disturbed, from motives, it was said, of *policy*; and how far these conflagrations may have extended to cane-pieces or to works it is impossible to say. But the most remarkable circumstance in the whole of this dark and bloody transaction was this, that the Colonial administration of that day refused to lay the Despatches of Sir James Leith before Parliament, and that the West Indians acquiesced without a murmur in that refusal. If the statement now made should be controverted, all that can be desired is, that the Despatches in question may *now* be produced. No pretence of danger can be alleged, now, as then, for refusing to disclose them to the public.

Here, then, we have exhibited to our view the real nature of a servile insurrection, applied to the purpose, (if not got up for the purpose,) of upholding Colonial slavery in all its malignity, and averting the interference of Parliament for its mitigation or extinction. The success of the expedient resorted to was so complete that for seven long years no attempt at such interference was renewed. Government and Parliament contented themselves with passing some barren resolutions on the subject of Colonial reform, which were understood by the Colonists, to mean nothing; and which produced no results whatever. After their defeat of Mr. Wilberforce's bill, they quietly resumed their cart-whips, and for these seven long years, slavery, with all its

* The slaughter of 1000 or 2000 slaves must have been attended, it may be said with such severe loss to individual proprietors, that no one will believe that that loss would have willingly been incurred without an overpowering sense of danger. But it ought to be recollected, that in such cases, according to the standing policy of Colonial legislation, individual proprietors are always indemnified by the public for slaves executed or transported or otherwise devoted to the public service. And perhaps no impost was ever less complained of by the white community of Barbadoes than this, which might be regarded as a cheap premium for the security it had purchased from any future invasion of the imprescriptible rights of colonial despotism. This remark may be applied to all other cases of a similar description. This policy however smells of blood. It has been reprobated by successive Secretaries of State, but it still disgraces every Colonial Statute Book, and bears we are sorry to say, the stamp of royal approbation.

attendant crimes, went on without disturbance. In 1822, the country and the government were again roused to the consideration of the subject, by some well-timed publications which fastened, on the minds of His Majesty's Ministers, a conviction that they could no longer decline the duty of attempting to abate this nuisance. Hence the well known resolutions of the 15th of May, 1823, moved by Mr. Canning, and the consequent communications of Earl Bathurst to the different Colonial Governors, containing His Majesty's recommendations of Reform, backed by the resolutions of Parliament, and by the voice of the people of England, and declaring, in terms the most express, "the NECESSITY of proceeding to carry these improvements into effect, not only *with all possible dispatch*, but in the spirit of perfect and cordial co-operation with the efforts of His Majesty's government;" and if any serious opposition should arise, he would "take the *earliest* opportunity of laying the matter before Parliament, and, submitting, for their consideration, such measures as it may befit to adopt in consequence."

No sooner did this despatch arrive in the Colonies than the clamour of 1816 was renewed with similar fury. Lord Bathurst, judging of Colonial feelings by his own, which had never been sophisticated by holding the lash over a parcel of crouching slaves, preferred exercising, even towards the planters of the Crown Colonies, a generous confidence, by giving to them also, in the first instance, as well as to the chartered colonies, a deliberative choice with respect to His Majesty's recommendations. What was the consequence? Demerara, which, had the King spoken to them by an Order in Council, would have at once submitted, and taken, as their best remedy, the necessary means for preserving the peace of the Colony, joined the general clamour with more than the common licence. The outcry reached the slave. A number of them were proceeding to the Governor to learn from him the real state of the case. The very act of assembling for that purpose, though in a peaceable manner, was deemed rebellion, and the work of slaughter soon commenced. They were hunted and shot like wild beasts; numbers were gibbeted by the summary sentence of courts-martial, and others had their flesh torn from their quivering limbs by cruel whippings, to the extent of even a thousand lashes, and to crown all, the Missionary Smith, who had taught the poor slaves those Christian lessons of mercy which had withheld their hands from shedding blood (for no white suffered from their violence), was arraigned as a traitor, tried with a solemn mockery of all the established rules of justice, and condemned to die as a felon.*

All this might have been prevented had the Government of the day exercised its unquestionable right of *commanding* those measures to be enforced, on the planters of Demerara, which they chose rather to *recommend* to their adoption.

* The powerful exposure of the whole of this case, made in the House of Commons, by Mr. Brougham, now the Lord High Chancellor of England, will never be forgotten by any who had the happiness to witness that extraordinary display of genius in the cause of liberty, justice, and national honour.

But in addition to the bloody tragedy in Demerara, the public ear was assailed with incessant rumours of plots from other places; from St. Lucia, Trinidad, Dominica, Barbadoes, &c. &c. In Jamaica alone, however, was any confirmation given to the rumour, by the shedding of innocent blood. The absolute destitution of all proof of any servile plot in that island, though not a few lives were sacrificed to give it some colour of reality, is now matter of history. The powerful exposition of Mr. Denman, the present Attorney-General, in the House of Commons, forced, from the Ministers and Law Officers of the Crown, a reluctant admission of the absence of all rational evidence of a conspiracy, and of the headlong impetuosity with which men were hurried to the scaffold, (we allude particularly to the pretended conspirators of St. Mary and St. George,) on grounds which would not, under any other rule than that of slave holders, have justified a warrant of commitment. Even of the imperfect and altogether unsatisfactory evidence produced, much was afterwards found to have been suborned. But still the end was gained;—alarm was spread;—the march of reformation was arrested;—and the pledge of parliamentary interference, given by Mr. Canning and Earl Bathurst, postponed, *sine die*.

If any doubt should be entertained of the correctness of these statements, we have only to refer for their proof to a document laid on the table of the House of Commons, and printed by its order, on the 1st of March, 1825, No. 66, p. 37—132;—to the records of the debate which took place in that House on the subject of the Jamaica trials on the 2d of March, 1826;—and to a pamphlet published by Hatchard, in 1825, and re-published in 1826, entitled “The Slave Colonies of Great Britain, or a picture of Negro Slavery, drawn by the Colonists themselves.” (p. 35—64.)

Here again we have a second servile insurrection, excited just at the critical moment when it was especially needed to avert the threatened interference of Parliament, and it was unhappily attended by the same complete success as before. It has now, therefore, we presume, become the tried and approved specific for such occasions, and nothing could have more happily illustrated its real nature and objects than the circumstances of the St. Lucia rumoured insurrection brought to light by Mr. Jeremie, in his admirable work already referred to above. (p. 81—83.) This last, however, through his vigilance and sagacity, was fortunately bloodless.

Under such impressions, which are the impressions of almost all impartial men who have studied with attention the course of our Colonial history, it will not be matter of surprise, that when on the 15th of April, 1831, the fixed determination of His Majesty's Ministers was announced, at length to redeem the pledges, respecting Colonial Reform, given by the Government and Parliament in 1823, the usual and hitherto successful expedient, for defeating this purpose, should have been again resorted to. In the Crown Colonies, indeed, where nothing was to be left to the choice and deliberation of the planters, but where an Order of the King in Council was at once to frame and promulgate the requisite provisions, and to enforce their

due execution by adequate sanctions and penalties, no resistance or even disturbance was to be apprehended. In the Chartered Colonies an Act of Parliament, embodying that Order, would have been equally efficacious, and equally safe. The planters might and would grumble at the laws which restrained their power within due bounds, but we should have had no resistance which the firm and temperate execution of the Act would not at once have repressed. Submission, on the part of the planters, must have followed as a matter of course; and the gratitude of the slave, for the benefits conferred upon him, would have secured his peaceful demeanour. He would have valued too highly and felt too deeply the blessings of such an alleviation of his condition, as the promulgation and enforcement of that Act would have produced, not to have shrunk from the slightest movement which could interfere with its beneficent operation. The very remission of the intense and continuous labour now exacted from him, under the stimulus of the lash; the very idea that the exposed body of wife or daughter could no more be lacerated by the cart-whip, would have been felt in every pulse of his frame, and have enlivened all the charities of domestic life.

Instead of an Act, however, conferring even these partial alleviations of his lot, came out only the annunciation, in the public papers, that such an Act would be recommended to the adoption of the Colonial Assemblies, under pain of fiscal inflictions on such as should reject the recommendation.

The slaves, it may be supposed, were not wholly unapprized of this intelligence; and though the assurance of alleviation was so remote, they appear to have manifested no symptom of impatience, nor the slightest wish to disturb the public peace. And it seemed to be the uniform opinion of all classes of the free community, from the governor downwards, that, as far as the slaves were concerned, no indications whatever of insubordination had appeared in any quarter of the Island during the months which intervened between the arrival of the intelligence in question and the close of the year. And this state of tranquillity was the more remarkable when contrasted with the extraordinary excitement which the intelligence produced among the white colonists.

Immediately as it became known to the planters of Jamaica, they seemed to arise as one man, vehemently to protest against the menaced violation of their "dearest rights." The clamour became loud and universal. During the months of July, August, and September public meetings were convened in almost every parish in the Island. Speeches were delivered and resolutions passed there, of the most unmeasured and inflammatory description, in which resistance to the mother country, and the renunciation of the King's allegiance were distinctly threatened; and similar language was used, even within the walls of the Assembly. It would be endless to detail the whole of these proceedings, partaking almost all of the character of rebellion and revolt; but it is necessary, for the clear understanding of the case, that some specimen of them should be laid before the public.

The first meetings which took place appear to have been held in

the very parishes of St. James and Trelawney, which have been the almost exclusive scenes of the late disturbances. In the former, Mr. Grignon, who since stands distinguished as Colonel Grignon, in the recent despatch of Lord Belmore, took the lead and proposed the resolutions. The same office was performed in Trelawney by Mr. Frater, a member of the House of Assembly, whose name will be found not very honourably associated with the case of a poor Mulatto female slave of the name of Eleanor Mead, recorded in the third volume of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 64, p. 346, and No. 71, p. 484. No man can read that authentic account of the harsh, unfeeling, and even brutal conduct of this person, and not augur ill from the result of any proceeding relative to slaves, in which he took a part and still more a lead.

The following are some of the resolutions of Trelawney :—

“ Resolved, that the means devised by a faction in the House of Commons to deprive us of our property, if carried into effect, cannot fail to create a servile war of too horrible a nature to contemplate, and that any person who attempts to produce or promote such war is an enemy to his country.”

“ Resolved, that the conduct of the British Government in taxing us higher than other subjects ; in fostering our enemies and listening to their falsehoods against us ; in rejecting statements from impartial persons in our favour ; in allowing designing men, under the saintly cloak of religion, not only to pilfer our peasantry of their savings, but also to sow discontent and rebellion amongst them ; in threatening to withdraw troops, for whose protection we have doubly paid, and which we might claim as our right, at a time a servile war may be apprehended ; is most heartless, and in violation of justice, humanity, and sound policy.”

The resolutions proceed to state, that “ thrown ” as they are about be, “ as a prey before misguided savages, we have no other alternative than to resist ; ” and to pray the King “ that we may be absolved from our allegiance, and allowed to seek that protection from another nation which is so unjustly and cruelly withheld from us by our own.”

The resolutions of St. James, proposed by Mr. Grignon, are in a similar strain. They talk of civil war and bloodshed, and renunciation of allegiance, with a levity which shews that they thought only of the impression such language would produce in England ; and set wholly at nought the impression it might make on the slaves around them.

In St. Thomas in the East, the resolutions, alluding to the fiscal regulations by which Government proposed to enforce the adoption of the reforms contained in the new Order in Council, state that if their constitutional rights are thus to be infringed upon, “ whether by the sword, or by a system of robbery, under the name of fiscal regulation,” the attempt “ will be resisted by every means in our power, and to the last extremity.”

Again, “ That never can the West Indian Colonists hesitate between resistance in a just cause, however unequal the contest, or submission to the merciless fangs of a bigoted faction, who most basely revile

and persecute us, nay, who thirst for our very blood, as evinced by the desire expressed in their frantic publications, to see the knife at our throats—to stand by and cheer on the blacks to our destruction.”

One of the resolutions generally adopted in the different parishes has respect to the establishment, in each, of a permanent militia to protect their lives and property from the designs of His Majesty's ministers, while we seek, say the men of St. John, “protection under some other power where we may secure to ourselves a peaceful enjoyment of life and property.” “Possessing, as we do, British feelings and honour,” say the inhabitants of St. George, “we here publicly declare, that we will never submit to the spoliation of our property without a spirited and desperate resistance.”

The people of St. Ann resolve, “That hitherto, under the most marked infractions of our rights and principles, we have been loyal. Our attachment to the Mother-country has indeed long, very long, outlived her justice, and it would now be with grief that we should divest ourselves of a feeling which ‘has grown with our growth, and strengthened with our strength,’ but when we see ourselves scorned, betrayed, devoted to ruin and slaughter, delivered over to the enemies of our country, we consider that we are bound by every principle—human and divine—TO RESIST.”

All the resolutionists concur with a surprising unanimity in declaring, that to comply with the wishes of Government on the subject of the treatment of slaves, (of course as expressed in the new Order in Council, for that embodies those wishes,) would be “to submit to annihilation,” to incur “entire ruin.” It may be well therefore, to look back to p. 88, to see what it really is which it was proposed to require, and which has excited all this violence on the part of the planters. A slight glance at the measures which have roused their rage, will do more than volumes of controversy, or the accumulation of oral evidence, to place, in the clear blaze of day, the real character of colonial bondage. Whatever may be the feelings of the resolutionists on the subject, it cannot be that the slaves should not be glad to learn that it is the purpose of Government to appoint protectors for them; to put down the driving-whip; to forbid the flogging of women; to legalize their marriages; to prevent the separation of families by sale; to secure to them the enjoyment of their property; to admit their testimony in Courts of Justice; to allow them to buy their freedom, or that of their children at a fair price; to secure to them the rest of the Sabbath; to provide them with sufficient food and clothing; and to prevent their being forced to labour beyond their strength, by duly limiting their hours of labour. These points comprise nearly all that the Government have required, and it is their horror of these enactments which has led the planters of Jamaica to declare themselves ready to resist the lawful authority of the King and Parliament, even unto blood.

And yet, who are the people who thus bluster and set at defiance the power of the parent state? The whole white population of Jamaica does not exceed 14,500, men, women, and children. The numerical force of the white militia, if they were all collected into one

point, would not amount to 4000 men of all arms, and this supposes every man from sixteen to sixty to wield a weapon. Why the king's troops stationed in the island, whose business it would be to repress the violence, and secure the submission, of these noisy insurgents, are nearly as numerous, and far more effective; besides the 40,000 free persons of colour, who would to a man resist the slightest movement towards a transfer of allegiance to any other state whatever; and still more the 330,000 slaves, whose interests and feelings would of course be deeply embarked on the side of loyalty.—What can equal the folly and senselessness of such language in such circumstances! They resort to it only because they trust to its having some effect on the public mind in England.

The Resolutions, which we have cited above, continued for several months to fill all the newspapers in the island, and their nature and object could not fail to be known to the slaves, who saw their masters in a state of almost open war with the supreme authorities of the empire, on measures intimately connected with their comfort and happiness. And yet amidst all this clamour and excitement, they maintained a calmness and forbearance which might well have put to shame their superiors. The public peace continued unbroken to such a degree that, towards the end of November, a member of the Assembly, who had distinguished himself as a supporter of the Ultra Colonial party, had the good sense to perceive that now was the very time to make concessions, by which the interference of parliament might be obviated; and he proposed to bring in bills to abolish female flogging and to sanction the principle of compulsory manumission. After considerable debate the propositions were rejected, the first, by a majority only of 27 against 3, and the second by a majority of 34 against 2. This was about the beginning of December.

Still not a symptom of insubordination was visible among the slaves, notwithstanding the natural tendency of all that had thus been passing, in their sight and hearing, on questions to them of the most vital interest. Nor does it appear that apprehensions of disorder were entertained by the most timid, until the very eve of the alleged servile insurrection, which did not occur until the Christmas week, the closing week of the year.

Having brought these preliminary details to this point, it will be necessary to put the reader in possession of some other circumstances with which he may not be acquainted, but which are essential to a right understanding of this whole case.

It had always been the custom in Jamaica to allow to the slaves three holidays at Christmas, during which no limit was put to the licence of their amusements, provided it did not interfere with the public peace. These three days were in fact their Saturnalia, and the complete relaxation of the ordinary restraints of slavery during their continuance, was of course very highly prized by the slave. As West Indians in this country may affect to doubt the correctness of this statement, we refer them to an authority which they will be loth to gainsay, we mean that of Mr. Alexander Barclay, a Member of the Jamaica Assembly, and who after more than twenty years' resi-

dence in that island, undertook to refute Stephen's Delineation of Slavery, and to defend the whole West India system, against the formidable attacks of that gentleman and of all its enemies. So highly valued is this work by the West Indians, that they have gone to an expense of several thousand pounds in giving it circulation. Now what is Mr. Barclay's account of this matter? We quote from the edition of 1826 of his "Practical View of the present State of Slavery," p. 13.

"While on the subject of Christmas," he says, "I may observe that THE WHOLE of the negroes in Jamaica have THREE, and some of them FOUR days allowed for their amusements; and that on this occasion their masters give them an allowance of RUM, sugar, and codfish or salt meat." After adding some additional circumstances of indulgence, he concludes with this reflection:

"To many who contemplate the West Indian labourers" (not slaves) "as 'wretches born to work and weep;' who have them associated in their minds with horrors, cruel oppression, and broken heartedness, the description I have given may appear a picture altogether imaginary, but let such persons ask any one who has been upon a Jamaica plantation, at a Christmas season, if the description is not correct."

Admitting it to be so, it will serve to throw some light on the "horrors, cruel oppressions, and broken heartedness" which have accompanied the Christmas revels of 1831, in one district of Jamaica.

We have quoted Mr. Barclay at present, chiefly for the purpose of proving, by the best testimony of which the case admits, that the whole of the Negroes of Jamaica had *usually three* days allowed them for their amusements at Christmas.

This is fully confirmed by the terms of the 28th clause of the Act passed by the Jamaica Assembly in 1826, but which was disallowed by the King in Council on account of its persecuting clauses. The terms are:—

"And be it further enacted, that for the future all slaves in this island shall be allowed the *usual number* of holidays *that are allowed at the usual seasons of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide*, provided that at every such respective season *no more than three* holidays shall be allowed to follow or succeed immediately one after the other, any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding."

In the Slave Act passed in 1829, and which was also disallowed, the Assembly first shewed a disposition to tamper with the feelings of the slaves respecting these holidays. The holidays at Easter were wholly omitted. The Council amended the Bill by restoring the word Easter or Good Friday, thinking probably that it had been an inadvertent omission. But the Assembly rejected the proposed amendment, and Easter remained excluded. (See Papers by Command, of 1830, No. 676, p. 34.)

We now come to the existing and *allowed* Act of 1831, in which the clause on this subject assumes a somewhat new shape. It is as follows:—

§. 23. "And be it further enacted, that for the future all slaves in

this island shall be allowed the holidays of Christmas and Easter. Provided that at every such respective season no more than three holidays shall be allowed to follow or succeed immediately one after the other, any law, custom, or usage to the contrary, notwithstanding.”

Now here, not only are the words *usual number of*, and the words *that are allowed at the usual seasons*, which stood in the Act of 1826, carefully expunged, but *Whitsuntide* is excluded from the list of holiday seasons, and the three *usual* holiday seasons are therefore reduced to two.

It is difficult not to believe that these changes were intended either as a kind of retaliation for the painful necessity imposed upon them of excluding the persecuting clauses, or as a trap for the unwary slaves. The Act itself, of 1831, did not come into operation till after Whitsuntide, 1831, not indeed till the 1st of November, 1831, otherwise the change might probably then have caused murmuring and discontent among the slaves. Christmas 1831, therefore, was the first occasion on which the attention of the slaves could have been particularly called to this new version of the law respecting holidays.

The remarkable change in its structure had already called forth the pointed animadversions of Lord Goderich, who seemed almost to foresee the possible inconvenience that might arise from it. His Lordship's words are these :—

“The *former* statute declared, that ‘for the future all slaves in the island should be allowed the usual number of holidays that were allowed at the usual seasons of Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide.’ It is *now* enacted that they shall be allowed the holidays of Christmas and Easter. Thus the three annual holidays are reduced to two, and the slave is deprived of the security formerly given to him, that he should enjoy ‘the usual number’ of such days.”

This despatch of Lord Goderich was submitted to the Assembly on its meeting in October last, with a request that they would adopt this, and the other suggestions contained in it; but the Assembly refused even to enter at all into the consideration of this despatch. It was unceremoniously ordered to lie on the table, and no further notice has been taken of it.

The reader will excuse the length and minuteness of these details on the subject of Christmas, as it will be found to be intimately connected with the whole of the melancholy events which have taken place in two or three parishes, and which have produced the opportune occurrence of another servile insurrection, at the very moment when it was most likely, once more, to be of use in averting parliamentary interference.

It does not appear from Lord Belmore's despatches, or from any account which has been received in this country, that any disturbance whatever had occurred in eighteen of the twenty-one parishes which Jamaica contains; neither is it stated, in any account which we have seen, that any attempt was made by the masters, in any of those parishes to abridge *the usual number of holidays*, which the whole slave population of Jamaica had always enjoyed at Christmas, and which Mr. Alexander Barclay assures us was THREE and sometimes

four days; a statement which seems fully borne out both by the terms of the Act of 1826, and by the insidious alterations introduced into that of 1831. Certainly, at Kingston and its neighbourhood, no doubt whatever appeared to be entertained of the right which the slaves had to the *three* days following Christmas, namely the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, the 26th, 27th, and 28th of December, 1831. The Sunday on which Christmas day happened to fall was no holiday, nor was it ever considered as such in Jamaica, any more than in the public offices in this country where holidays used to be observed. Accordingly, we have now before us a letter from Kingston, dated the 5th of January, which distinctly affirms the fact that not only the 26th and 27th, but also the 28th had been observed as holidays in that city, and the surrounding districts. Not the slightest symptoms of disturbance occurred in that quarter. Moreover in a Kingston newspaper, which bears date the 31st of December, and is now before us, we find the following decisive passage.

“We have endeavoured to ascertain the causes which led to the disturbances in St. James, and find that an attempt to deprive the negroes of two of their holidays, is the principal, if not the only one. Christmas day was Sunday. This latter is unquestionably the property of the slave. They were therefore entitled to Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, and it was an attempt to deprive them of the two last named, that led to the disagreeable results which all must lament. This view of the subject is borne out by the circumstances of Colonel Lawson’s letter being dated the 28th, (Wednesday,) a circumstance, in itself, sufficient to justify the conclusion, that attempts had been made on the previous day (Tuesday) to compel the negroes to work. If our view be correct, it is easy to perceive on whom the blame ought to rest.”

Now without pleading for the correctness of this Editor’s view of the subject, and even admitting that Colonel Lawson’s letter, though written on the Wednesday may refer to that day, and not to Tuesday, which we think the most probable construction, enough remains to substantiate the fact, that an attempt was made in St. James to deprive the slaves of *one* of their usual holidays, and that this attempt was the cause of the unhappy events which followed.

But this is not all. We have in the Extraordinary Gazette, a letter from Mr. Macdonald the Chief Magistrate of Trelawney, to the Governor, dated Dec. 28, 1831, (Wednesday) in which he states that he *believed* that “nine-tenths of the whole slave population, have *this morning* refused to turn out to work;” and this refusal to turn out to work he regards as “an actual state of rebellion.” The refusal therefore to turn out to work on the master’s plantation, on a day which the negroes hitherto had considered their own, both by law and by immemorial usage, is here assumed, by the chief magistrate, to be “actual rebellion,” and to justify him in treating the recusants as rebels in arms.

This would be deemed strange doctrine in this country, if the Master of Eton College were so insane as to order his scholars to ply their school tasks, on the day usually dedicated to the *montem*, and,

on their refusal to obey his mandate, to call for a military force to punish their rebellion.

Utterly absurd as such conduct must appear to us, it was precisely the conduct which Mr. Custos Macdonald, had he not been happily confined to his bed by a fever at the time, says he would have pursued with respect to the 700 slaves belonging to Orange Valley estate. He learnt that these 700 slaves had, *that morning*, (the 28th, Wednesday,) refused to employ their own day of revelry in plantation work; and he tells Lord Belmore, that had it been in his power, he would forthwith have assembled the militia and *attacked* them. How *he* would have proceeded in conducting that attack, is plain from the orders he afterwards gave to Colonel Cadien, with respect to these very slaves, as related in his letter to Lord Belmore of the 4th of January.—“My advice to Colonel Cadien was *to take as few prisoners as possible*,”—in other words, to slaughter all he could in cold blood. And yet all that we can discover the Orange Valley slaves to have done, was, to cease from work on their own Wednesday, and when the military were sent to punish this rebellion, to retreat from the coming storm into the woods, quitting their houses, and carrying with them *their own* valuables. Their depôt, it is true, was discovered and burnt; but it is not said that the slightest injury was done by these slaves to their master's property. Orange Valley is no where mentioned as having had even a trash house burnt. Nay, it appears from Mr. Custos Macdonald's letter, in which he had just before communicated his cruel order to give as little quarter as possible, that the slaves, at least many of them, were at the very moment of his writing quietly “turned out to work” on the plantation.

The only damage done on Orange Valley estate, therefore, as far as the Gazette affords us any information, was done to the property, not of the master, but of the terrified slaves, who had fled to avoid the merciless fate to which the Custos tells us he had foredoomed them, namely, to the bullet or the bayonet, with *as little quarter as possible*.

That we do him no wrong in this judgment is clear, from what he says in the same letter about the “refractory Negroes,” the rebels in short, belonging to Kent estate; an estate, which, like Orange Valley, is not stated to have sustained any damage whatever. The slaves of Kent had, it seems, taken “*every thing from their houses, even their children*,” and, as we suppose, had fled into the woods to escape the tender mercies of Mr. Custos Macdonald's detachment; “but,” he adds, with the energy to which he lays peculiar claim, “*strong measures are to be immediately pursued against them*.” We await the result with no small degree of solicitude.

And yet what was the crime, (even upon the shewing of the Custos himself, so far as he has chosen in this letter to throw any light upon it,) which had thus provoked his vindictive fury. They had taken a day, which had always been their own, for their accustomed revelry, and had refused to employ it in plantation labour; and when about to be attacked by an armed force, they had fled to the woods for shelter, and had carried their *valuables* and their *children* with them!

Before we quit this subject of the wanton violation of the customary

holidays at Christmas, we will briefly advert to the only document in the whole Gazette which bears any mark of authenticity, though not only that, but every other document which has been given to the public in the Extraordinary Gazette of Feb. 22, seems to be made up in great part of mere suspicion, or of vague conjecture, or of idle rumour, or of terror and alarm. We allude to the affidavit of a man of the name of Annand, the overseer of a small property, called Ginger Hall, belonging to a Mr. George Longmore, which we can hardly believe to be a sugar estate, having only a hundred Negroes upon it, who distinctly states, that he had given orders to the slaves to turn out to work on Wednesday, the 28th of December; from which order, according to his own account, evidently resulted the disorder that followed; for till that moment, he admits, that he had seen nothing in their conduct to lead him to suspect any thing of the kind: he was, therefore, he says, "much surprised at their insubordination."

We have now established the fact, that in the parishes where any serious insubordination occurred, it seems to have been directly excited by the attempt of at least some planters to deprive the slaves of a day to which they conceived themselves to have an undoubted right, and in which opinion they seem fully borne out by immemorial usage; by the laws which had preceded that which had come into operation, for the first time, only a few weeks before; by Mr. Alexander Barclay's clear and decided testimony; and by the course pursued throughout the Island, except in St. James and one or two adjoining parishes; in which alone disturbances seem to have occurred. That in such circumstances some disturbance should have taken place can hardly be matter of surprise to any one, especially when it is recollected that Christmas is a time of revelry, and that, among other things, an allowance of RUM, Mr. Barclay tells us, is then distributed to the slaves; under the added excitement of which many of them may have been found, when the premature and unwelcome summons reached them to resume the hoe on pain of the cart-whip.

Having established this point, and also that the refusal, under these circumstances, to turn out to work was regarded as an act of rebellion to be visited with summary and unsparing military execution, we must forbear from prosecuting farther at present the history of these melancholy transactions. That during the subsequent stages of the disturbance many violent acts may have been committed by the slaves we cannot pretend to deny; but the details which follow the 28th are so vague and uncertain, either as to the nature or the effects of that violence, that we dare not venture, without further authentic information, to speak with any precision on the subject. We must, therefore, satisfy ourselves for the present with having traced the disturbance home to its real source. Which of the conflicting parties, when the *meleé* had once commenced by calling in the military, have shared most largely in the subsequent outrages, and in the guilt attendant on those outrages; we shall probably be better able to appreciate before we publish another number of our work.

But while we decline to pursue the history of these painful occurrences beyond the point at which we have arrived, the 28th of Dec.,

(the abstracted Christmas holiday) there are several circumstances which appear on the face of Lord Belmore's despatch, and its voluminous accompaniments, which merit a brief notice.

1. It is no where stated that a single life had been taken by those called insurgents, while it is stated that Negro blood had flowed freely and copiously. On this point, however, we shall probably soon have fuller and more precise information. Sir Willoughby Cotton, it is true, says of "these infamous wretches," that "their *cruelty* in various instances has been *excessive*," but he stands alone in this assertion, and neither he nor any one of Lord Belmore's numerous correspondents has specified one instance of the kind, or given the name of a single victim of their personal violence. All this, however, Sir Willoughby will doubtless explain hereafter, although there is one passage in his latest despatch, January 5, which manifests a precipitation and immaturity of judgment that do not promise well for the interests of fairness and candour. He had then been only four days in St. James, to which he appears to have been before a perfect stranger, and during these he had been busily employed in the work of pursuing and slaying, in apprehending, trying, and executing Negroes, men and women. And yet he ventures, with only four days experience, thus to write to Lord Belmore:—"The fact is, the Negroes in this district have behaved *infamously*, nor is there the *slightest palliation* for their conduct. I have *most minutely* inquired into the treatment, generally and particularly, and can *aver* it has been *MOST KIND*." Now, on whose authority is it that this British officer ventures to make this solemn *averment* in a public despatch, while he fills a situation in which he should have stood as an impartial judge between the parties? What can Sir W. Cotton have known, in these four days, of the slavery that had existed in St. James, but from the information, possibly, of guilty, but most certainly of interested individuals? But we will not pursue this subject. We await Sir Willoughby's farther details, only remarking that he does not allude once, in any one of his letters, to the abstraction of the Christmas holiday.

2. Much has been said of the very large and extensive destruction of property which has taken place; but as this was subsequent to the occurrences of the 28th of December, the day on which we have proved that some Negroes of the disturbed parishes were deprived of the holiday which justly belonged to them, and were deemed and treated as rebels for daring to assert their right to it; all is so vague and uncertain and even so contradictory, that we prefer waiting for farther advices before we enter upon its history. The whole number of properties of which any mention is made, in the whole of the despatch, is sixty-four; but it does not appear that more than fifty-three of these sustained any injury at all. Of those injured, about forty-five appear to have been sugar estates; but the extent of injury is not specified. On some it is limited to the trash-house, a shed covered with shingles, and standing apart from any other building, where the dried stalks of the cane, reserved from the preceding year's crop, for fuel with which to commence the next year's boiling, is deposited. In only two or three cases is the burning of the works *specifically men-*

tioned, though the probability is, that *many* may have been destroyed. But what is more extraordinary is, that no allusion to the firing of cane pieces, on any one of the estates, is made in any one of the communications; except that Sir Willoughby Cotton states it to have been, as he understood, the *intention* of the slaves not to fire the canes; and something to the same effect is said by Mr. Annand, in the single affidavit transmitted to this country. Under these uncertainties it would be vain to attempt any elucidation of the subject. One thing, indeed, appears certain, that the houses of the absent Negroes were set fire to, both by the King's troops and by the militia, an act of wanton barbarity, and of serious loss, both to masters and slaves, for which it is difficult to account. This example at least of useless vengeance ought to have been prevented, we think, by the British commander-in-chief. He speaks of the slaves, it is true, as "infamous wretches," who have acted "*infamously*," and whose conduct admits not of "*the slightest palliation*." But there was no good to be done by burning their houses. But what says Mr. Macdonald, the Custos of Trelawney, writing at the very same time, and whose testimony must be more worthy of attention than that of one who speaks from four days' knowledge of the parish? His testimony is this, "I am happy to inform you, that every estate under my charge have continued faithfully at their work and completely protected their masters' property, which is very gratifying to me. I do not wish to make any invidious remarks; but *if other gentlemen had acted with the same kindness*, and taken the same pains to explain the real nature of things, as I have done, I do not think that this unfortunate insurrection would have been so general, as in St. James in particular, their vengeance seems pointed against certain individuals." Mr. Macdonald, we presume, had given *his* slaves their Christmas holidays!

This pointed testimony of the Custos, worth a thousand such testimonies as that of Sir Willoughby Cotton, led us to examine more closely the statistics of all the disturbed estates mentioned in the Gazette; and we found, as we had expected, that on almost every one of them, there had been a regular and progressive decrease of the slave population from 1821 downwards, of one and two per cent. per annum, and in some still more. We reserve this list, with the particulars of the actual decrease on each estate, for another occasion. But in the mean time the single fact of the general decrease, for which we vouch, of itself speaks volumes; and may stand in contradiction to Sir Willoughby Cotton's hasty conclusions, respecting slavery in St. James's. If his judicial sentences should prove equally hasty it will be but the more unfortunate, as respects the possibly guiltless, though "infamous wretches," men and women, whom his military *fat* may condemn to die.

3. But for the seriousness of the catastrophe over which we are called to mourn, and the numbers who have been slaughtered, and whom even Sir Willoughby Cotton says, he finds to be *more considerable than he had imagined*, no one could help being amused by the alteration in the tone and bearing of the same men in the months of July, and of December, 1831. In July all was bluster as we have

seen, and menace and arrogant defiance. The heroes of St. James and Trelawney then gallantly led their wordy war, not against a few miserable, naked, and unarmed slaves (though servile insurrection flourished as a touching figure of speech throughout many a vehement and inflammatory harangue); but against the might and majesty of Great Britain. "We will rebel," said the planters; "we will resist even unto blood," the vile attempts of the King's ministers, to protect our slaves from the driver's lash. "We will renounce the King's allegiance" if he shall dare to prevent our negresses from having their flesh torn from their exposed limbs by the cart-whip. In all this they were, it is true, but practising on the fears and the credulity of the British public, while they wholly overlooked, in the blindness of their rage against Lord Goderich and Lord Howick, and the saints, all the nearer fires that were ready to burst beneath their feet, and which the very breath they were thus wasting was likely to kindle to a flame. War, war to the knife, with Great Britain, and with the troops of Great Britain, was then their mad cry, wholly unmindful of their own feeble means of resistance, and thinking only of the effect they might be able to produce on the apprehensions and the ignorance of British statesmen.

But contemplate them in the December following. Even Colonel Grignon, who so doughtily led the van in this war of bluster and menace, seems now alarmed almost at his own shadow. He and his brother magistrates, then so vaunting and so confident in their own prowess, now condescend to sue even for a single company of the King's troops to shield them from destruction. Let there be but even one "company of the regulars:" it will "do away with the notion the slaves entertain, that the King's troops will not act against them." Let but the muzzles of the guns of one of the King's ships, even of the smallest class, be seen on our side at Falmouth or Montego bay, and we shall feel safe; our militia, they say, is "weak," our arms "generally very inefficient;" the balls and cartridges do not suit the bores of the rifles; the cartridge paper is unserviceable; the men are without clothes;—only send us a few red coats, and let them appear willing to act for us, we shall then feel ourselves to be secure, but not otherwise. And yet these are the very men who, in loud and menacing tones had shortly before bid a bold defiance to the power of an Act of Parliament, backed by the military force of England. Where would have been their boasting, what would have been their means of a single hour's resistance had that Act gone out; and had Sir Willoughby Cotton been charged to support the Governor in carrying it into full effect. Resistance, forsooth, in such a case! It is utterly ludicrous! To speak of such a thing is the merest insanity!

4. But we must glance for one moment at the reviled and maligned missionaries. The despatches treat them, on the whole, with more moderation than we had ventured to hope. A Mr. Box, whom Mr. Custos Macdonald, forgetting his office of justice of the peace, has chosen to condemn, previous not only to trial but even to accusation, as "*one of the incendiary preachers*," implying that there were many such, had only escaped the arrest designed for him by the Custos, by

having gone to attend a Missionary meeting at Kingston, in ignorance of any such design. He was, however, taken into custody there by the Governor's orders, without any other ground than the above vague imputation; but the Governor had prudence enough to discover that this ground was insufficient, and he, therefore, takes credit for his humanity in not sending him back at once to Falmouth, and thus causing some delay "in hurrying him to trial" at a moment of so great excitement.

But let it not be supposed from this apparent moderation that such was the tone and temper either of the press or of the white population of Jamaica.

The *Cornwall Courier*, of the 4th of January last, published at Falmouth, in Trelawney, scruples not to affirm "that the acts of rebellion and incendiarism in Trelawney and St. James are occasioned" (not by the open resistance of the masters to the benevolent designs of the British Government, but) "by the slaves having been deceived and misguided by the Sectarrians" (not by the angry invectives of Mr. Grignon, or the harsh deeds of such declaimers as Mr. Frater; but) by Baptist and Methodist missionaries "preaching rebellion to the slaves, and instilling it into their minds in the place of religion." "Doubt no longer exists," it is added, "as to the instigators of the rebellion." "Three Baptist missionaries, William Knibb, William Whitehouse, and Thomas Abbott, have just been forwarded, under an escort, to the head quarters at Montego Bay, where a military tribunal is sitting, and where five rebels were tried and shot yesterday." "Immediate steps should be taken to place the whole of the Sektarian preachers in the island, if not in close custody, at least under a most rigid surveillance: this is not a time for half measures!"—And to the *Courier* of Falmouth responds in still fiercer tone the *Courant* of Kingston. "The Sektarian preachers have now the *pleasing* satisfaction of knowing that they have succeeded in rendering the fairest fields in Jamaica barren wastes, and have sent forth many of our most respectable families houseless and without the means of existence. These indeed must be *gratifying* reflections to men who *pretend to preach and teach the mild and benign doctrine of our Saviour to our slaves*, but whose souls are bent on the destruction of the fairest portion of the British empire; and that *merely*" (we use the Editor's italics throughout) "because they are paid by the Anti-Slavery Society to hasten our ruin. They have progressed one step too fast, and we may perhaps be able to make their infamous conduct recoil upon themselves. Three Baptist preachers are now in custody; and as we are satisfied they would not have been taken into custody on slight grounds by Sir Willoughby Cotton, we hope he will award them fair and impartial justice. Shooting is however too honourable a death for men whose conduct has occasioned so much bloodshed and the loss of so much property. There are fine hanging woods in St. James and Trelawney, and we do sincerely hope that the bodies of all the Methodist preachers who may be convicted of sedition may diversify the scene. After this, our hostility even to men so reckless of blood, carnage, and slaughter shall cease."—This is mere raving in men who

for the previous six months, had been filling their pages with direct provocations to insurrection on the part of the slaves, and is only what was to be expected from them. But when we see newspapers in this country joining in this senseless whoop, and affecting to believe that the missionaries have been in fault on this occasion, and condemning them unheard, we do indeed wonder; and we could have wished that that regard to mere justice, which their Editors affect to feel so sensitively on some occasions, had on this operated to arrest the pen. But the missionaries do not need our defence. Their own friends are fully equal to the task, and to them for the present, at least we leave it. But we must at the same time beg to suggest to all who adopt such senseless and unfounded calumny as their own, that they should inquire before they add to it the sanction of their authority.—Can they tell how far the lessons of the very men whom they are so prompt, on no tangible evidence to stigmatize, may have been the means,—though, through the hostility of the masters, they may not have produced all the effect that could be wished on the minds of the slaves,—may have been the means by which the effects of the frantic clamours of the planters against the benevolent purposes of the Government may have been neutralized; may have been the cause why we hear of no blood having been shed by the slaves; why Samuel Sharp should have told Mr. Annand that he wished “to take no life;” and why, moreover, they should have resolved, as both Mr. Annand, and Sir Willoughby Cotton himself states to have been their declared purpose, not to set fire to the cane-pieces?

5. But we must turn to another topic. Lord Belmore says that “Sir Willoughby Cotton expresses his astonishment that I had not been made acquainted with the determination of the negroes not to work after New Year’s Day without being made free.” “This,” says the General, “is most astonishing, as it would appear to have been known on almost all the estates that these were the sentiments of the negroes.” How could Sir Willoughby have been so very weak and credulous as to have believed this afterthought of the gentlemen of St. James and Trelawney? Or how could Lord Belmore have given to it the slightest heed, as if it were founded on fact, in the face of all he himself has stated on the subject? When every idle rumour, every piece of parish gossip, seems to have been instantly conveyed to him by the worshipful custodes and magistrates of these two parishes, is it to be imagined that the communication of this fact, alone so much more important than all the rest, should have been withheld from him, if it had, as Sir Willoughby rashly asserts, been a matter notorious on all the estates? Some one, doubtless, told him so, and he believed the fact. But what does Lord Belmore himself tell us in complete explosion of its authority? He had addressed, some months since, letters of inquiry (circulars we presume) to the custodes of parishes, “from none of whom,” he says, “did I receive unsatisfactory accounts, nor did any complaint reach me of insubordination amongst the slaves, or of any disposition to insurrection, although the members of Assembly, from all parts of the island, had only separated, on adjournment, on the eve of the insurrection.” The adjournment was on the 16th of

December. One of the Christmas holidays had not yet been insanely attempted to be taken from the slaves by any of the planters.

This, indeed, is by far the most inexplicable part of the whole affair. On the 16th of December, and for six days after, all was tranquil. Not a whisper had been breathed from any quarter of the slightest insubordination; and yet, on the 24th of December, Lord Belmore deems it right, by the advice, without doubt, of his official adviser, Mr. William Bullock, to issue with great solemnity, a proclamation of the King himself, which had been sent to him six months before, by Lord Goderich, to be issued only in a case of great emergency. This proclamation he takes this very occasion of peculiar quiet to issue; and it naturally produced throughout the island that alarm, and distrust, and suspicion, between master and slave, which he had just been assured on the best evidence were at rest.

“ BY THE KING.—A PROCLAMATION.

“ WILLIAM R.

WHEREAS it has been represented to Us, that the *SLAVES* in some of Our *WEST-INDIA* Colonies, and of Our Possessions on the Continent of *SOUTH AMERICA*, have been erroneously led to believe, that Orders have been sent out by Us for their emancipation: *And whereas such Belief has produced Acts of Insubordination, which have excited our highest displeasure:* We have thought fit, by and with the advice of Our Privy Council, to issue this Our Royal Proclamation: And We do hereby declare and make known, That the Slave Population in our said Colonies and Possessions will forfeit all claim on our Protection if they shall fail to render entire submission to the Laws, as well as dutiful obedience to their Masters: And We hereby charge and command all our Governors of Our said West-India Colonies and Possessions, to give the fullest publicity to this Our Proclamation, and to enforce, by all the legal Means in their power, the Punishment of those who may disturb the Tranquillity and Peace of Our said Colonies and Possessions.

Given at our Court at Saint James, this Third Day of June, One thousand eight hundred and thirty-one, and in the Second Year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.”

Can any one wonder that such a proclamation as this, at such a time, actually asserting the existence of acts of insubordination, without specification of time or place; acts too of such a very formidable nature, as to excite his “Majesty’s highest displeasure,” must have astounded, and did astound, both white and black. Where, it was anxiously inquired, is this dreadful rebellion raging, which has called forth so alarming an annunciation from the King himself, on the very eve of Christmas, disturbing the devotions of the sanctuary on that day, and poisoning the festive enjoyments which are to follow? No one could answer the question to his own, or his neighbour’s satisfaction. All was doubt and trepidation; and the mind of the public was prepared for some direful events.

Lord Belmore seems to be aware, that he is bound to give some good reason for this rash, unadvised, and most perilous publica-

tion. He accordingly takes great pains to elaborate a reason for it, and the ingenuity of Mr. Bullock seems taxed to the utmost, to supply one, and yet to what a miserably lame and impotent conclusion does the whole lead?

The despatch sets out with preoccupying the mind, by a certain sort of portentous obscurity, which may serve to conceal the absolute littleness and insignificance, we may say nothingness, of the information which had led him thus to drag forward the sacred name of his Sovereign, to support assertions essentially untrue, and to tamper, by the force of His authority, with the peace and happiness of the people committed to his care. For what was the only information which had reached him, *prior* to his putting forth this apparently uncalled for publication? "On the 22nd of December, it was," he says, "that I received *any* accounts to excite alarm," and this was a letter from a Colonel Lawson, a person who does not seem very deserving of confidence, if we may judge from other parts of this very despatch; and we hesitate not to say, that no judicious man would have ordered a dog to be whipped, much less a whole community to be frightened out of their wits, and out of their peace, by the idle statements of this Colonel. Lord Belmore, we know not why, has withheld the original letter thus received on the 22nd, on which the whole affair turns; but loads his confused detail with a mass of particulars which has no apparent connection with it; and bearing a date subsequent to the issue of the proclamation, it could not, therefore, have influenced that proclamation. But *the* letter received on the 22nd, and which can alone form the justification of this proceeding, is not given. We have only Mr. Bullock's interprefation, and that interpretation so clouded and obscured, by jumbling together events which we find, from the subsequent correspondence, to have been all transmitted to the Governor, from St. James and Trelawney, not earlier than the 25th of December, the day *after* the proclamation, and which therefore could not by any possibility have reached him till the 26th or 27th. But the matter is so important that we shall transcribe the whole of this part of Lord Belmore's despatch of the 6th January, 1832.

"It was not until Thursday, the 22d ult., that I received any accounts to excite alarm. The apprehensions which appeared to disturb the *public** mind during the summer had nearly subsided. The planters complained of poverty and distress—the delegates sent forth an ambiguous declaration, deprecating (as they expressed themselves) 'the insidious attempts to undermine and render valueless what little remains of their property;' but the brink of danger on which they stood formed no part of their deliberations.

"On the 22d of December, I received a despatch from Colonel Lawson, a magistrate, and commanding the Saint James's regiment of militia, dated the 20th, stating that, on the Friday preceding, he met the overseer of Salt Spring estate, who informed him, that on the

* There is a convenient ambiguity in this expression. Lord Belmore doubtless meant the *white* mind, for that alone was disturbed in the summer. But Mr. Bullock has managed to leave the point in doubt.

previous day the negroes had behaved with great insolence to Mr. Grignon, the attorney or chief manager of the estate;* that two constables, who had been sent to convey the ringleaders to Montego Bay, had been assaulted and deprived of pistols, with which they were armed, as well as their mules, and that the negroes had expressed their determination not to work after New Year's-day. Mr. Grignon having repaired to Montego Bay, a special session of magistrates was assembled, when he and other persons employed on the estate gave information of the circumstances which had occurred, and of the riotous and disorderly state of the slaves; in consequence of which, an order was issued by the magistrates to Major Coates, as the nearest field officer of militia, to send a detachment of the Saint James's regiment to Salt Spring estate, for the purpose of restoring order. Major Coates immediately communicated the directions he had received to Colonel Lawson, commanding the Saint James's regiment, and who, anxious to avoid the necessity of having recourse to the militia, and being for many years well known to the negroes of the estate, delayed the detachment from marching, and accompanied by Mr. Tharp, a neighbouring proprietor, proceeded to the estate, in the hope, by his influence, to prevail on the negroes to return to their duty. He found the negroes assembled in groups about the buildings on the estate, and was informed that the senior book-keeper had suffered ill-treatment, and that his life had been threatened. He endeavoured to expostulate with the negroes, telling them he came as their friend, and asked them to listen to him; they would not, however, suffer him to approach them, and walked off; and finding all his endeavours to restore order ineffectual, he left them. Soon after, a party of fifty men of the militia arrived, when almost every negro on the estate disappeared. The next day they began to return, and when Colonel Lawson wrote his despatch, the principal offenders only, amounting to six persons, were absent. This conduct of the negroes on Salt Spring estate, and information which the magistrates had received, that the negroes on other estates would not return to work after New-Year's-day,† induced the magistrates assembled at Montego Bay to forward a requisition to Major Pennefather, commanding the 22nd regiment at Falmouth, to order a detachment to march to that town, which Major Pennefather immediately complied with. On the following day I received an application from certain magistrates and inhabitants of the parish of Portland, desiring that a vessel of war might be ordered to Port Antonio, on account of some unpleasant rumours which had reached them of discontent amongst the slaves in that quarter."

Now here we have the whole of the information on which the

* Mr. Grignon seems every where. He began the clamour among the Whites in July. We find him now at the bottom of the Black movement. Salt Spring estate is under his care; it belongs to Mr. Deffell, of London, and had upon it in 1826, 177 slaves, being a decrease of fifty-six from 1821, when there was upon it 233. This is a decrease of about 5 per cent. per annum!

† No man has ever lived in Jamaica without hearing precisely the same idle rumours, propagated by silly and timid people, on the return of every Christmas, for the last forty years.

Governor professes to have acted on this occasion. And yet, to what does it amount? Colonel Lawson tells the governor of what he had heard from an overseer, who said the negroes had behaved *insolently* to Mr. Grignon. And can we not suppose a body of negroes so treated, (see note last page) as to be diminishing in number by eleven a-year over and above the births, to have complaints to make, which Mr. Grignon, their attorney, might construe into *insolence*; and that, when in his displeasure he sent troops to punish this insolence, they should disappear? Nothing can be a stronger proof, than that this affair amounted to nothing more than one of those plantation brawls, which generally end with a few cart-whippings, than this, that they almost all returned voluntarily to the estate, and were upon it when Colonel Lawson wrote his letter, dated on the 20th, which Lord Belmore received on the 22nd. But another most decisive proof, that we are right in our estimate of this affair, is this, that during the whole of the subsequent disturbances, the negroes of Salt Spring estate appear to have remained perfectly tranquil. Neither the estate nor the negroes are noticed in any way, after the date of the letter which reached Lord Belmore on the 22nd December; nor does it appear that they took any part whatever in the tumult around them, or that they have injured the property of Mr. Deffell to the value of a single farthing. As for the letter from Portland, which is also suppressed along with that of Colonel Lawson, and which taken together constitute the whole motive for the issue of the King's proclamation, it is really unworthy of notice.—The burning of the trash houses on York was not known to Lord Belmore on the 24th, and probably was an accident, and not design.

On such grounds, was this portentous paper published, exciting indescribable alarm and anxiety through every corner of this extensive island, and calling forth remonstrances in some of the public prints on the inutility of the proceeding, and the gratuitous mischief it was so well calculated to produce. Nothing more occurred till Christmas, of which we have already treated largely.

Having brought this examination to a close, we call on the Government and the Parliament and the public to open their eyes to these statements—to think of the blood that has been causelessly shed, and of the misery that has resulted in a variety of ways from this unhappy event; and would urge upon them, again and again, the obligation it imposes to put a speedy termination to that crime of slavery which is the prolific source of these, and of multiplied evils besides. This country will not and cannot go on to tolerate such abominations, and to continue loaded with the guilt arising from them. **SLAVERY MUST CEASE.**

POSTSCRIPT.

We have this moment heard that all the other Colonies have united, in the contumacious purpose of Jamaica, to resist the recommendations of Government, respecting the provisions contained in the Order of Council of the 3d of Nov., 1831. If this be so, we trust it may lead, forthwith, to the only rational remedy for these bloody disorders; we mean one general Act of Parliament, extending to all the Colonies, which shall be far more effective than any measure which has yet been contemplated.

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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[VOL. v. No. 4.

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- II. RECENT INTELLIGENCE FROM JAMAICA:—PERSECUTION OF THE MISSIONARIES; TREATMENT OF HENRY WILLIAMS.
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I.—DEBATE ON THE SUGAR DUTIES.

ON the 23rd of March, a discussion of considerable interest took place in the House of Commons, upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer moving the order of the day for the House going into committee on the Sugar Duties Bill. On this occasion, Ministers, in defending their colonial policy from the attacks of the West India advocates, were led to give a statement of the measures pursued by themselves and their predecessors in office, from the adoption of the Parliamentary Resolutions of 1823 to the present period. The speech of Lord Howick may be considered as a sort of ministerial exposition of the policy and proceedings of His Majesty's Government in regard to the West India question generally; and on that account, a more full and accurate report of it than is to be found in the daily newspapers, appeared to us likely to be acceptable to our readers, and at all events worthy of preservation in the Anti-Slavery Reporter. Among the other speeches on this occasion, the reader's particular attention is requested to that of Mr. Buxton, in reply to the fifty times refuted statements of the West Indians, on the progress of colonial reform.

Lord ALTHORP, in opening the debate, said, that it might be convenient for the House, if he made a few observations before they went into committee. He had been pressed by gentlemen connected with the West India interests, to declare specifically the nature of the measure of relief contemplated by Government. When pressed in the House to make a similar disclosure, he had stated that he did not think it advisable to do so at that time, or before he was able distinctly to propose the adoption of the measures contemplated. He had since maturely considered this point, and he was but the more convinced that Ministers would not be acting consistently with their duty if they now stated specifically what the measure of relief was to be. He was, however, prepared to repeat what he had before stated, that it would be a relief proffered to such of the West India colonies as shall have shewn themselves disposed to accede to the wishes of the Government; and, indeed, it must be evident to all, that, by only moving for the renewal of the sugar duties for the short period of six months, Ministers were quite willing still to leave the door open to discussion. But, besides the measure referred to, the House was of course perfectly aware, that in different parts of the West India colonies severe recent calamities had taken place, involving great destruction of property. He alluded to the hurricane in Barbadoes, and the insurrection in Jamaica, which calamities had necessarily greatly aggravated the local suffering in those colonies. Looking at this distress, Ministers

had felt that it would be perfectly consistent with that sympathy which the mother country ought to feel towards the colonies, to come forward with temporary relief, without affixing to that aid any portion of those conditions which he had alluded to in speaking of the other more permanent plan of relief. He was aware of the difficulty connected with such a proposition; but he trusted that the extreme exigency of the case might form a sufficient justification for bringing it forward. He had, therefore, to state to the House, that it was the purpose of the Government to afford assistance to the sufferers under these two calamities by way of loan. The House had already agreed to assist with a grant of money the poorer class who had suffered by the hurricane in the Leeward Islands; but there were a great number of sufferers that did not belong to that class, and by whom security could be furnished for the amount of the assistance given by Government, who would take care that the securities were good, and that their claim should have the priority over others. These were the views and intentions of His Majesty's Ministers, which he hoped would shew that they sympathized with the colonists, who he trusted would in return display a kindly feeling to the mother country, and a tendency to effect measures the accomplishment of which the Government and people of England had so much at heart.

Mr. BURGE said it was necessary for the colonists to know the nature and extent of the general measure of relief alluded to by the noble lord, which was to be considered as a purchase for the surrender of their rights. It must be well known to His Majesty's Government that it was quite impossible for the colonies to accept relief under the humiliating conditions attached to the offer. The proceedings adopted with regard to the West India islands had been as unexpected as they were unjust. Ministers, instead of modifying their opinions expressed when in opposition, by a sober practical standard, had hastened to put them into operation, to the risk of the most important interests. They had been only six months in office when the speech of the noble viscount, the under-secretary for the colonies, with a royal proclamation, arrived in the islands to create a most perilous excitement. Ministers had advanced all those principles and opinions which were calculated to produce the greatest mischief in the present state of colonial society. The hon. and learned gentleman proceeded to animadvert upon the Orders in Council, and said that the advisers of them seemed to doubt the wisdom of their own act, for they paused before they sent them to the Mauritius, although it was a crown colony, and he believed they were not sent there even yet. Lord Goderich, in a former period of his public services, had shewn himself deserving of the public confidence, and he (Mr. Burge) could hardly credit the fact that the circular despatch to which his lordship's name was affixed had in reality received his sanction. That despatch cast one indiscriminate censure on colonial society; and if he were called upon to exhibit proof of the total ignorance of Ministers as to the state of the colonies, of their unfitness to legislate for them, to that despatch he would refer. The Government had acted unfairly and precipitately towards the West India islands; and it was his decided conviction that the dreadful state of affairs in Jamaica had been produced by a delusion on the minds of the negroes that further measures with regard to them were contemplated. The hon. and learned gentleman reverted to events recorded in colonial history, in support of the views he had adopted on this point. With respect to the measure of conditional relief, he maintained that there never was an instance of such a proposition being brought forward by the Government of any country. Here were Ministers, knowing that distress existed,—knowing that they had the means of relieving this distress,—and yet they add, that this relief will be withheld, unless the colonists obeyed the legislation of Downing Street,—unless they followed *verbatim et literatim* the Orders in Council. They were for proposing a penalty for disobedience on persons, two-thirds of whom were not in a situation to obey the Orders in Council. What, he asked, would be the feeling among a great mass of the colonial population, when they found that, although ships of war were sent out, and an additional military force, to repress insurrec-

tion, Ministers still persevered in that plan which had made such a powerful impression and created so much excitement when it was first announced. In Jamaica, for an extent of forty or fifty miles, the country was a perfect waste, and the whole slave population was thrown out of employ. The loan which the Government was going to advance to the planters of Jamaica would be of little use, unless there was at the same time a policy adopted toward them which would restore that confidence among them which was necessary to induce them to set about replanting their lands. The same effects had not yet, indeed, been produced in the other islands which the world had unfortunately witnessed in Jamaica; but similar discontent and disaffection were known to exist there, for the negro population in those islands partook of the same delusion by which the negro population of Jamaica had been misled. In some of the Colonies he was informed that in consequence of this circular of the British Government the slaves had refused to obey the orders of their masters. Instead of irritating these colonies, a wise Government would endeavour to win their affections by a course of judicious concession and conciliation. These colonies wished to continue united with Great Britain,—their natural affections as well as their interests led them to desire British connexion. But were Government aware of the language in which the rulers of other countries were addressing these colonies? Had they seen, for instance, the language in which the United States spoke to them through the *North American Review*? To conciliate them was therefore no less a matter of duty than of policy. If the Government continued to press upon them by harsh fiscal resolutions, it might produce their ruin: but when their ruin was effected, the merchants and manufacturers of England would find themselves deprived of one of their principal markets, and one of their main sources of wealth. Deprived of these colonies, England would be deprived of the main source of her strength, and her empire would be contracted within the narrowest compass. He therefore could not agree to the House going into committee upon this occasion. If the noble lord had stated the nature of his measure of relief for the West Indian planters,—if he had abstained from these proceedings at present,—if he had granted a committee of inquiry, in which all the relations of the colonies, and the state of society in them, could have been explained to the country,—if he had attended to the suggestions which had been made to him by the West Indian interest, suggestions which were founded on a just consideration, not only of what was due to the slave, but also of what was due to the master,—if such a course had been followed, he (Mr. Burge) should not have persisted in his opposition to this motion, as such a course would have restored that security to property, and that confidence to the planters, which did not exist at present, and without which the West India islands could not be prosperous.

Lord Howick spoke as follows:—"It has not been without much pain that I have listened to the speech of the hon. and learned gentleman who has just sat down, convinced as I am that the satisfactory adjustment of the very difficult and embarrassing question which he has brought before the House, is daily becoming of more pressing importance, and that it cannot be deferred without the risk of great calamities, while it is impossible it can be effected unless there be a spirit of concession and forbearance, and a mutual good understanding between all the parties concerned. Feeling, I say, this conviction, I do most deeply regret that an honourable and learned gentleman, who stands so high in the confidence of the Legislative Assembly of the principal of our colonies, should have so entirely misconceived the whole policy and views of the Government. But severe as his censures on that policy have been, aggravated as are the charges which he has brought against those who have been concerned in acting upon it, I still feel the most perfect confidence, that when the House comes fairly to consider what that policy really is, it will meet with its approbation.

"Sir, I would beg the House to consider what was the position in which this question stood at the time when the present Government came into office. Every member of this House must be aware, that by the Resolutions of 1823,

Parliament was most distinctly pledged to make every effort to promote the immediate mitigation, and to aim at the ultimate extinction of slavery. It must be equally well known that, acting upon the policy which had been recommended by Mr. Canning, and which had been sanctioned by all parties in this House,—successive Governments had, since the year 1823, introduced into the Crown colonies, which are under the legislative authority of His Majesty in Council—regulations which had produced a very marked effect in mitigating the condition of slavery, and which held out a prospect of its ultimate extinction. But as the hon. and learned gentleman has abstained from discussing the particular provisions of the different Orders in Council, I will follow his example; nor will I inquire whether or not they were carried to the length which the more ardent advocates of the abolition of slavery had a right to expect. Be this as it may, it is, at least, certain that, as far as they went, these regulations were greatly to the benefit of the slaves, and did not injure the masters; and, unhappily, it is equally certain that, notwithstanding the success of the experiment which had thus been tried in the Crown colonies, the example which had been so strongly recommended to the colonies having legislatures of their own, had not been followed.

“ I will not at this moment attempt to contrast the laws passed for the protection of the slaves, by the different colonies having independent legislatures, with the Order in Council which was passed for Trinidad in 1824, and which was the model proposed for their imitation. On a former occasion I was obliged to institute such a comparison, and I gladly avoid going over the same ground again. I think the hon. and learned gentleman will not dispute the fact, that no one of the colonies having legislative assemblies had carried the principles of that Order in Council into full effect, and that in some hardly anything had been done. What, then, was to be the conduct of the present Government when they came into office? Notwithstanding the example which had been set them by all their predecessors, who had concurred in representing to the Assembly of Jamaica the necessity of adopting the views of Parliament, and the unsatisfactory nature of the progress they had yet made, were the present Ministers to rest satisfied with this progress, and leave slavery in Jamaica in the condition in which they found it? Sir, the respect due to the opinion of Parliament, as it was declared by the Resolutions of 1823, made it their duty not to give up the attempt to ameliorate the condition of the slaves; and even if their sense of justice and humanity could have allowed them to entertain such a thought as that of abandoning this duty, the universal feeling amongst all ranks and all conditions of society would have rendered such a course impossible. Things could not, then, be allowed to remain where they were; it was absolutely necessary that the wishes of Parliament should not be suffered to remain unheeded by the Colonial Legislatures.

“ Mr. Canning, in moving the resolutions to which the Government had to look as the rule of their conduct, had stated that the first course to be pursued was that of trying upon the Assemblies the language of remonstrance and exhortation; but when the present Government came into office, this had already been done. During the eight years which had elapsed from the date of the Resolutions of 1823, a correspondence had been carried on of a nature, I regret to say, far from satisfactory, in which successive Secretaries of State had endeavoured, with the utmost earnestness, to impress on the Legislatures of Jamaica, and of the other colonies, the necessity of adopting the views of Parliament. But the language of remonstrance and exhortation was now exhausted; it was impossible to add anything, either to the weight or urgency of the expostulations which had already been made by the former Governments. This circumstance is so important, that I must take the liberty of troubling the House with a statement of the negotiations which had been carried on with the Assembly of Jamaica. I do so with reluctance, for there is nothing which I am more anxious to avoid than to say anything which can possibly give the slightest offence; but after the speech of the hon. and learned gentleman, it is absolutely necessary that I

should recal to the recollection of the House what had been the nature and the result of these negotiations. On the 28th of May, 1823, shortly after the Resolutions I have already more than once referred to had been adopted by the House, a circular was sent out by Lord Bathurst, announcing the fact of their having been so. This was succeeded by another on the 9th of July, in which the strongest possible exhortations were addressed to the Assembly of Jamaica, as well as to the Assemblies of other colonies. The conclusion of that despatch is couched in the following terms :—

“ In conclusion, I have most earnestly to impress upon you the necessity of proceeding to carry these improvements into effect, not only with all possible despatch, but in the spirit of perfect and cordial co-operation with the efforts of his Majesty’s Government. More particularly you will be attentive to have the necessary laws framed with such precaution and foresight as, if possible, to provide an effectual security for the faithful observance of them. To this end you will consult with the legal advisers of the Crown on the frame of the necessary bills, and you will, from time to time, communicate with me upon the progress you make in this work, or upon the difficulties which may obstruct its completion, and if (what I am unwilling to imagine,) you should meet with 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.”

“ The manner in which this communication was received by the Assembly of Jamaica, will be best shewn by the following extract from a Report made by a Committee appointed to consider of the matter,—a Report which, I fear, still stands unrescinded upon their journals. The Report is dated 11th of December, 1823, and runs thus :—

“ ‘ That your Committee observe, with surprise and regret, that his Majesty’s Ministers have, by the above resolutions, sanctioned the principles laid down by our enemies in the mother-country, and pledged themselves to enforce such measures as shall tend, ultimately, to the final extinction of slavery in the British colonies.’

“ Sir, it is, I think, deeply to be regretted, that the Legislative Assembly of Jamaica should have thus peremptorily refused to entertain even the notion of the ultimate extinction of slavery.”—[Mr. HUME here said, “ Read the latter part of the resolution of the Committee.”]—“ I have only an extract here; but I believe that it contains the whole of the passage in question.”—[Mr. BURGE observed, “ The Report contains something more, for in that very session important measures were passed.”]—“ Sir, I have said that I have here only an extract from the Report; but I leave it to the House to judge, whether any thing which precedes or follows the words I have read, can alter their sense. As to the measures which the hon. and learned gentleman says were adopted by the Assembly in the same session, I will, in imitation of his example, avoid going into any examination of their details. I am content to leave it to be decided by the hon. and learned gentleman himself, whether these measures approach even to those which were recommended to the Colonial Legislatures, and I will venture to assert, that he will be unable to shew that any thing has been done which makes against the conclusion which I meant to draw from this extract, that a spirit has, from the first, been displayed by the Assembly of Jamaica, which, after nine years of fruitless exhortation and remonstrance, would have made a continuance in that course more than childish.

“ But, Sir, to resume the series of these negotiations. On the 14th of July, 1824, and on the 31st of July, 1825, Lord Bathurst again wrote, to exhort the colonies to adopt the views of the mother country; and complained that the only measure that had been proposed in furtherance of those views, had been one for the admission of slave evidence, which had been lost, one person only voting for it. On the 18th of May, 1826, Lord Bathurst again wrote a circular despatch to the governors of the legislative colonies, and sent the drafts of eight separate bills, which he desired to have submitted to the Assemblies for their concurrence; a course which was treated (like that now adopted by the present Government)

as an infringement of their privileges.”—[Mr. BURGE. “No!”]—“The learned gentleman says, ‘no;’ but he must be aware that these bills were struck out of the orders of the day, by the legislatures of all but one or two of the smaller colonies; the consideration even of the bills so proposed being rejected as a breach of their privileges. On the 2nd of September, 1827, another despatch was addressed to the Governor of Jamaica, by Mr. Huskisson, now become Secretary, taking up the same views as Lord Bathurst, representing the unsatisfactory nature of the progress made by the Assembly, and complaining of the spirit which had been manifested. He disallowed, also, the Act which they had passed in December, 1826, on account of certain clauses it contained contrary to the principles of toleration. In doing so, he further stated, in great detail, in how many respects this Act would have been far from satisfactory, even had the objectionable clauses been omitted. This fact it is of importance to remember, for the Act which was passed last year, and which the honourable and learned gentleman says ought to have induced the Government to abstain from the course which has been pursued, was the very same law, only without those clauses which have hitherto prevented its being allowed to come into operation, which Mr. Huskisson had, six years before, declared would, even with this omission, have been altogether unsatisfactory. A long answer was drawn up by a Committee of the House of Assembly, to this despatch from Mr. Huskisson. To this he again replied, in a despatch dated the 22d of March, 1828. In that despatch, he expressed his anxious desire that the reformation might be carried into effect by the Assembly itself, in whatever manner might be least inconvenient to the inhabitants of the colony; but conveying an explicit warning, that a continued refusal on the part of the Assembly to act, would throw upon the Government and Parliament the necessity of acting for it. Sir George Murray afterwards became Secretary of State, and within a few months after his accession to office, he wrote two circular despatches, one dated the 3rd, and the other the 15th of September, 1828, in which he uses language not to be mistaken. In the last-mentioned despatch, he states that ‘there are few circumstances which would occasion more regret to his Majesty’s Government, than that the neglect of the colonists to exercise their right of legislature, should at length produce the necessity of a legislative interposition from home. Such is the language of Sir George Murray, on the 15th September, 1828, more than two years before the present Government came into office. In April, 1830, upon the advice of that right honourable gentleman, the same Act, which had been brought under the consideration of Mr. Huskisson in 1827, and had again been passed, was again disallowed, Sir George Murray adopting all the sentiments of his predecessor.

“Such Sir, when the present Government came into office, had been the course of the negotiations which had been carried on with Jamaica; and I ask whether it would have been satisfactory to the country,—whether it would not been derogatory to the honour of the Crown, and of Parliament, again to tender advice which had been so often, and so contemptuously rejected. But, Sir, there was a still stronger reason against persevering in an attempt, evidently futile, to obtain by mere remonstrance a compliance with the wishes of Parliament: such a course would have been that which, of all others, would have been the most injurious to the interests of the West Indian proprietors, and to which they would, with most reason, have a right to object. The whole of this correspondence had, from time to time, been laid before Parliament and the country, and the remonstrances which had failed to produce the desired effect upon the Assembly of Jamaica had necessarily increased the general impatience of the public in this country, for the accomplishment of an object to which they attached so much importance. To have gone on, therefore, addressing exhortations and admonitions to the Assembly, when there was no longer a hope that such language would be attended to, would have been merely to increase the excitement and irritability which existed upon this subject at home. I am willing Sir, to make every allowance for the conduct of the Assembly of Jamaica, suffering as they

and their constituents were under the severe pressure of distress, and irritated by the constant attacks of which they had been the object ; neither surprise nor any other feeling but one of regret is excited in my mind by this conduct ; but I say that it made it absolutely necessary (if for no other reason, with a view to the interest of the planters themselves) to take measures for putting an end to the controversy which was going on between the executive Government and the local Legislature. Nor, Sir, is this my opinion only, for I am sure I have heard my hon. friend, the member for Thetford, more than once declare that it was the duty of the Government to take the matter into its own hands, to come forward with some specific plan, and propose some means for carrying it into execution. Sir, I think that my hon. friend is right, and that it is greatly to be lamented that this course was not earlier adopted. It is only one among so many instances of that miserable and temporizing policy, to which so many of our present difficulties are to be attributed, which, never looking at dangers while still at a distance, —never seeking to deal with great questions while they can be easily and satisfactorily arranged,—merely attempts to get through, for the day and for the hour, the ordinary routine of business, with no other object than that of not increasing the pressure to which the Government is exposed, without considering the ultimate consequence of such ill-advised and impolitic delay.

“ Sir, this policy, which I think has been too long persevered in, could no longer be maintained ; and the present Government were necessarily compelled to choose between abandoning the object to which Parliament and the country stood pledged, by submitting to the resistance of the assemblies, or taking measures by which that resistance might be overcome. I say that, if the Government could not rest satisfied with the progress which had been made in the amelioration of slavery, still less could it persist in mere idle remonstrances. It was absolutely necessary that some final step should be taken ; and, agreeing with Mr. Canning, that coercion ought to be had recourse to only in the last extremity, the Government was anxious to avoid making an appeal to the direct legislative authority of the Imperial Parliament, and hoped that the obedience of the Colonial Legislatures would be secured by measures which would at once have the effect of manifesting the determination of this country not to recede from her just demands, and afford the main inducement to yield,—holding out as the reward of compliance, the prospect of relief from that distress which the Government acknowledged and deplored. Acting upon these views, when the hon. member for Weymouth last year brought forward his motion, and it became necessary to explain to the House and to the country what was the policy intended to be pursued on this subject, my noble friend moved, as an amendment, the Resolutions, the effect of which would have been to pledge the House to afford advantages, in the shape of a remission of duties to those colonies which should consent to adopt the recommendations of Government ; at the same time that an intimation was given, that an Order in Council would be drawn up, completing that which had been passed the year before, and which Sir George Murray had at the time expressly stated he had left imperfect, for want of further information. The unconditional adoption of the contemplated Order in Council would, it was announced, be the condition attached to the indulgence proposed to be afforded.

“ This course has been the subject of loud and vehement attack. It is said, that the imposition of discriminating duties is only a mode of evading the privileges of the Colonial Legislatures. The learned gentleman who has just sat down, not a little to my astonishment, asked whether any Government had ever thought of adopting such a course, and stated that in not one of Mr. Canning’s speeches, was it intimated that it was desirable to do any thing, except through the Colonial Legislatures themselves. No doubt Mr. Canning thought it desirable, as every man must, that the wished-for reformation should be the work of the Colonial Legislatures themselves ; but I deny that he did not, in case of necessity, contemplate taking a different course. We have heard much of the effect

produced in the colonies, by the debates upon this subject, and I should have thought that the speech of Mr. Canning, in moving the resolutions of 1823, would have been eagerly read in Jamaica, but I am surprised to find that this cannot have been the case. No accurate report of what passed on that occasion can have reached the colony, or surely the hon. and learned member, who must have been there at the time, would not have forgotten what Mr. Canning said, in the splendid and masterly speech with which he introduced his amendment to the motion of the hon. member for Weymouth. The right hon. gentleman said :—

“ ‘ We have a right to expect from the Colonial Legislatures, a full and fair co-operation. And being as much averse by habit, as I am at this moment precluded by duty, from mooted imaginary points, and looking to the solution of extreme, though not impossible questions, I must add, that any resistance which might be manifested to the express and declared wishes of Parliament,—any resistance I mean, which should partake not of reason, but of contumacy, would create a case (a case, however, which I sincerely trust, will never occur) upon which his Majesty’s Government would not hesitate to come down to Parliament in council.’ ”

“ ‘ Sir, I think it is sufficiently clear from this, that Mr. Canning contemplated other measures, in case of resistance on the part of the Colonial Legislatures. But on the 16th of March 1824, his language was still stronger: he says—

“ ‘ There are three possible modes in which Parliament might deal with the people of Jamaica ;—first, as I have said, it might crush them by the application of direct force ;—secondly, it might harass them by fiscal regulations and enactments, restraining their navigation ;—and, thirdly, it may pursue the slow and silent course of temperate, but authoritative admonition. Now, Mr. Speaker, if I am asked what course I would advise, I am for first trying that which I have last mentioned ; I trust we shall never be driven to the second ; and with respect to the first, I will only now say, that no feeling of wounded pride—no motive of questionable expediency—nothing short of real and demonstrable necessity, shall induce me to moot the awful question of the transcendental power of Parliament over every dependency of the British Crown.’ ”

“ ‘ Such, Sir, was the language of Mr. Canning in 1824 ; in 1826 he proposed that the Resolutions which had been agreed to three years previously by this House, should be sent up to the Lords for their concurrence. I will read to the House a part of the speech he made on that occasion. He said—

“ ‘ He would not, however, deny but that from the spirit which the colonies had already displayed on this subject, it was more than probable the time might arrive when it would be necessary for that House to interfere more directly.

“ ‘ He was desirous of giving to the Colonial Legislatures another chance of bringing about, by their own agency, all that the British Parliament wished, without the disturbance of the established system, or the agitation of the question, from which, though he should not hesitate to enter into it when the occasion demanded, considerable difficulties, which he wished, if possible, to avoid, would of necessity ensue when it was once mooted. He would give them space and respite for a further trial. He agreed with the hon. member for Westminster, that after the time of that space and respite had expired, the period might come when it would be the duty of the Parliament to take the matter out of the hands of the Colonial Legislatures, and when it would be the duty of Government to come forward and ask Parliament for those additional powers it would be requisite to use for the accomplishment of those objects which the Colonial Assemblies had refused to effect by their own exertions.’ ”

“ ‘ Here then, we have a clear exposition of the views entertained upon this subject by Mr. Canning, and by the Government of which he was the organ. He would have us first try exhortation, then fiscal regulation, and, lastly, direct legislation ; and, so long ago as the year 1826, he considered that the first had almost failed ; his forbearance was already nearly exhausted, and he was desirous of giving to the colonies only ‘ space and respite for one further trial.’ To warn the local legislatures how nearly the season of indulgence had expired,—to convey to them the clearest intimation of the determination of Parliament, he, in this year, made a motion to send the Resolutions of 1823 up to the House of Lords for their concurrence. Is it possible to deny, then, that the conduct of

the present Government has been the most lenient which, consistently with its duties, it could adopt? Exhortation having failed, the principle of the course recommended by my noble friend in the Resolutions he moved last year, is distinctly pointed out by Mr. Canning, in his advice to harass the colonies by fiscal regulations and enactments, restraining their navigation. The hon. and learned gentleman cheers me; he means, I presume, that I am wrong in saying that there is an exact agreement between the course proposed by my noble friend, and that which was recommended by Mr. Canning. Sir, the hon. and learned gentleman is right; there is a distinction between them, and it is this,—Mr. Canning held out a threat to the disobedient; my noble friend a promise of reward to the obedient. My noble friend does not threaten to stop up the ports of the contumacious colonies, to harass their trade, and compel them, by dire necessity, to give way; but he says, on the contrary, ‘We will not, in the first instance, at least, adopt any measure to punish and coerce those which resist, but we will promise to those which yield to our just and reasonable demand, such assistance and relief as it is in our power to bestow.’ I say, then, that the distinction in point of leniency is not in favour of Mr. Canning’s Administration, but in favour of the Government of 1831. But, if I am not mistaken, something more was implied by the cheer of the right hon. gentleman opposite (Mr. Goulburn). He meant to imply that Mr. Canning always proposed to come down to Parliament, and that we have acted without that authority. But a moment’s reflection must have shewn the right hon. gentleman that this is not, in fact, the case, and must have led him to perceive the obvious reasons for the course the Government has pursued.

“The Resolutions moved by my noble friend last year were not formally assented to; but there could not be the slightest doubt in the mind of any hon. gentleman, that, upon a division they would have been carried; and the only reason why they were not so was, that the hon. member for Preston, as usual, moved an adjournment of the House, and a few days afterwards Parliament was dissolved. They were not again brought forward for this simple reason,—that there could not be a rational doubt on the mind of any man of what were the sentiments of Parliament and of the country; and it was thought most desirable, from the danger of these discussions in this House, to avoid unnecessarily agitating the question. It was their anxiety not to bring on such a debate which induced the Government not to ask for the mere formal expression of an opinion which could not be doubted, to postpone coming to Parliament until acting upon that opinion, its concurrence in the measures to be adopted was actually to be required. It was not, however, in disguise or concealment that they took their course; for after the debate in April last, not a day was lost in collecting the materials for the Order in Council alluded to by my noble friend.

“The right hon. and gallant gentleman, the late Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, in the despatch which accompanied the former Order in Council, had stated to the governors of the different colonies, that certain points were omitted in it on which he was not then prepared to legislate, but to which it was intended to revert at a future opportunity. Now all must agree that, if we were to make a specific offer to the Assemblies at all, it was most desirable that the whole plan with which it was connected should be laid before them altogether. For this reason, a new Order in Council was drawn up to supply the omissions of the former. The draft was printed and transmitted to the hon. and learned gentleman opposite, to the agents of the different colonies, and to all who were thought particularly interested in the subject; they were at the same time invited to make any objections or remarks, which they thought could be of service, and contribute to render the Order in Council as complete and perfect as possible. They accepted the invitation; remarks were sent in, which were carefully considered; and considerable alterations were in consequence made in the original draft. The Order in Council, so framed, was transmitted to the Crown colonies in the first instance, and afterwards to the Legislative colonies, in a cir-

cular despatch, in which Lord Goderich explained the intentions of the Government, and stated his extreme anxiety that the Colonial Legislature should understand that the only object of the Government was to promote the true interest of all parties, and should be convinced that this course was not adopted in a spirit of hostility towards the colonies; but, on the contrary, in a sincere belief that it was absolutely necessary for their own safety, that some decided step should at length be taken.

“But I am going a little out of the line of argument I mean to pursue. The hon. and learned gentleman has stated it as the *gravamen* of the charge against the Government, that the Order in Council was required to be adopted without alteration or amendment. The hon. and learned gentleman, in making that charge, had not, I think, exactly considered what other course it was possible to pursue. When certain advantages are to be granted or withheld according to the compliance of a party, with particular conditions, is it not indispensably necessary that those conditions should be precise and definite? We all know, from daily experience in this country, that by some unexpected construction of the expressions made use of, and by verbal inaccuracies, the intended objects of Acts of Parliament are not unfrequently, in a great measure, defeated. Could the Government, then, leave the framing of Acts, upon the wording of which their whole efficiency must depend, to legislatures which were not anxious to accomplish the objects they were intended to promote, and which only yielded a reluctant assent in the hope of participating in the advantages which were conditional upon their doing so? If the task of framing the Acts had been committed to the Colonial Legislatures, how, let me ask, would it have been possible for the Government to say, that any one colony was or was not entitled to the advantages held out to those, which consented to the adoption of the measures recommended to them? Is it so easy to pronounce, positively, how far any given law carries into effect its professed object? We know that the agents of the West Indian colonies circulated last year an abstract of the laws passed by the different local Legislatures, intended to shew that the Assemblies had, in many particulars, adopted the suggestions made to them; whilst, on the other hand, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, if I may be permitted to allude to it, entered into a long argument to shew that the supposed compliances with those suggestions had been perfectly nugatory. I do not say which was right or which was wrong, but I state the fact to shew how great a difference of opinion may exist as to the effect of a law, and to prove the utter impossibility of the Government undertaking to decide between the opposite constructions put by different parties upon the Acts passed by so many separate legislatures.

“I should not trouble the House with any further vindication of the course taken by the Government subsequent to the debate of April last, or with any further reference to that debate, had not the hon. and learned gentleman brought a charge against the Government, which I think it absolutely necessary to answer. He has said, that what passed on that occasion was the direct and exciting cause of those calamities in Jamaica which we have now to deplore; and, in proof of that assertion, he states, that as soon as my speech arrived in the West Indies, it became necessary to issue a proclamation, in order to undeceive the negroes as to what was intended to be done. Now, what was the fact? I will not venture to assert that in my manner of speaking last year (though I totally deny having entertained the slightest feeling of bitterness or animosity against the gentlemen connected with the West Indies) there may not have been too great an appearance of warmth; if so—if there was anything in my speech which could be thought by any hon. gentleman intemperate, or calculated to give offence, I can assure him that it was not so intended; having had no great experience in debate, and that little on the benches opposite, that it is possible, in answering a speech to which I totally dissented, I may have adopted too much of the tone and manner of a disputant, I will not deny; but I do most positively deny, that in consequence of that speech, it became necessary to issue the proclamation in question.

That proclamation was sent out at the instance of the hon. and learned gentleman opposite, of the agent for St. Vincent, and others interested in the West Indian colonies, not in consequence of what passed in this House in April last, but in consequence of what passed in the same month in the island of Antigua. It was impossible that the debate on the intentions of the Government could have been surmised in the West Indies in April; but some slight disturbances having occurred in Antigua in that month, and reports having reached this country that an erroneous impression had been created in the minds of the slaves, the proclamation alluded to was drawn up and sent out by Lord Goderich, with a circular despatch, dated the 3d of June (more than two months after the debate,) in which the different governors were directed to issue the proclamation, in case of its being found necessary to do so. Lord Belmore's answer to this despatch is dated the 20th of July, and is among the papers which are now printing, and which I am sorry are not in the hands of hon. members. Lord Belmore, in this communication, informs Lord Goderich that the appearance of tranquillity among the slave population was such, that he had not thought it necessary to publish the proclamation; and he then adds the following observations:—

“Accounts in the public papers will inform your Lordship of various parochial meetings which have already assembled, and the resolutions they have adopted. The transactions certainly manifest considerable excitement and alarm; but, in my apprehension, are more calculated to disturb the minds of the slaves than any report they may casually have heard of something being intended for their benefit, which their owners endeavour to withhold from them. My own opinion of the slave population is, that, collectively, they are sound and well-disposed.”

“This, the House will observe, was written full two months after the speech, which it is said did all the mischief, had arrived in Jamaica. But, although Lord Belmore did not think it necessary to issue the proclamation, he thought it right, in consequence of Lord Goderich's communication, to put the magistrates of the different parishes upon their guard. I am sure that the hon. and learned gentleman must have observed the two circulars written by Mr. Bullock, by Lord Belmore's direction, to the custodes of the different parishes. In the first of these letters he tells them, that Lord Goderich ‘had disclaimed, in the most distinct manner, any intention on the part of his Majesty's Government to adopt any measure which might have the effect of interfering with the spirit of the Resolutions of the House of Commons of 1823, relative to the ultimate extinction of slavery in his Majesty's colonies.’ Further on, Mr. Bullock expresses a hope ‘that this explicit declaration of his Majesty's Government will remove any alarm or apprehension which some of the parochial resolutions may have excited in the minds of the community at large;’ and Mr. Bullock concludes, by requesting the custodes to give the greatest publicity to this communication. The hon. and learned gentleman will find this letter in the correspondence published in the *Gazette*, and he will see that the concluding sentence was intended to warn the planters of the danger of the course which they were pursuing, and to point out to them that mischief was to be apprehended, not so much from the debate which had taken place in this House, as from the intemperate resolutions come to by the colonists themselves.

“The second circular to which I have referred, and which is also in the *Gazette*, is dated a few days after the former, on the 30th of July: it is marked confidential, and is addressed, like the former, to the custodes. In this letter, Mr. Bullock desires ‘the earliest information of any circumstance which might arise to require the adoption of further measures, in order to remove any erroneous impression which the slaves might have received of the designs of his Majesty's Government;’ and observes, ‘that vigilance is more necessary, when discussions had taken place which were liable to misconstruction or misrepresentation.’ This was six months before the insurrection broke out. On the 4th of August, Lord Belmore wrote word, ‘that nothing had occurred to manifest the least uneasiness or excitement among the slaves.’ Afterwards, on the 6th of

September, Lord Belmore transmitted home various resolutions of the parochial meetings,—terms them ‘violent and intemperate,’ and observes, that committees had been appointed in some parishes to correspond with other districts, and had nominated delegates. In a private letter, of the 21st of November, Lord Belmore gives a similar account; and I am sure the Hon. and Learned Gentleman’s attention must have been attracted to the despatch of Lord Belmore, dated the 6th of January, printed in the *Gazette*, in which he observes—

“The delegates had sent forth an ambiguous declaration deprecating, as they expressed themselves, the insidious attempts to undermine and render valueless what little remains of their property; but the brink of danger on which they stood, formed no part of their deliberations.”

In fact, the planters did not see their real danger. There seemed to have been two notions in the minds of the slaves, which may be looked upon as the proximate causes of the insurrection: first, that the Government had sent out their freedom, which their masters withheld from them; and, next, that if they attempted to gain it by force, the King’s naval force and regular troops would not act against them. The overseer, who was in the power of the slaves, states in his deposition, that some of the ringleaders asserted that the King’s ships were landing gunpowder, or black dust as they called it, to help the slaves in their resistance. I will not trouble the House with reading the resolutions of the planters which gave rise to these notions among the slaves.—[Mr. BURGE here said, “They have not been printed.”]—They were printed in every newspaper in the colony and in this country; and they were certainly calculated to create precisely that false impression upon the minds of the slaves, which it is agreed produced the catastrophe. But, Sir, I will not read these resolutions, as the hon. and learned gentleman objects: indeed, it is better that the violent language which has been used should be forgotten. Nor did I mean to quote what passed at the parish meetings in Jamaica during the last summer and autumn, to reproach the planters; they were, perhaps, not unnaturally excited by the distress they suffered and the attacks to which they were exposed; but I meant to shew the danger occasioned by their giving way to their feelings, and by allowing an impression to be made on the minds of the slaves, that a serious difference existed between their masters and the Government.

“Sir, I think what I have now said sufficiently proves that it is not to the policy pursued by the Government that the insurrection of the slaves in Jamaica is to be attributed; but I have a still stronger and most satisfactory proof to adduce, that the tendency of that policy, when fully acted upon, is to avert, not to produce disturbance. During the last autumn notions similar to those which have led to such a melancholy catastrophe in Jamaica, obtained admittance into the minds of the slaves in British Guiana; but, instead of leading to a similar result, the Governor was apprised of the fact by the slave protectors—in whom the negroes know that they can confide—and was enabled to take measures to avert the threatened mischief. Sir B. D’Urban not being kept in the same state of ignorance as Lord Belmore, was able to take the steps which were necessary to correct the false impression which had got abroad. He made a tour through the colony,—had the most intelligent slaves of every gang brought before him at particular places,—talked with them, and told them that if they attempted anything like disturbance, the result would be great suffering to themselves, and perhaps the defeat of the measures the Government intended for their benefit. What was the consequence? Why, that the Governor in his last despatches says, that he never knew a Christmas pass off with greater gaiety and good humour. So that on that fatal Wednesday morning, when so large a portion of the most fertile district in Jamaica was laid waste with fire, the slaves in Guiana were enjoying their holidays with the greatest good humour and gaiety. I think that this fact is conclusive as to the wisdom and soundness of the policy pursued by his Majesty’s Government in the Crown colonies. But it is not a solitary instance.

“In Trinidad something of the same nature took place. On two estates there

were a number of slaves who had been imported from Tortola ten years before, as they said, under a promise of being set free in seven years. That time having long expired, they resolved to work no more, and some of them had actually gone into the woods. On Sir L. Grant being apprized of what was going on, he went to the disturbed district, and settled everything quietly, by explaining to the slaves, that if they had a right to their freedom, this was not the way to claim it, and persuading them to send deputies to bring their case before the protector, in order that it might be tried before the regular tribunal. In St. Lucia, on the arrival of the Order in Council, the most violent and intemperate measures were adopted by the planters, and although, in consequence of the death of the Governor, the administration of affairs was in the hands of the senior military officer, who was twice changed in the midst of these transactions, nothing like an insurrection took place.

“Sir, I contend that, in the instances I have adduced, the House has the clearest and most decisive proofs of the beneficial tendency of the policy pursued by the Government. That policy is calculated to effect a gradual, easy, and safe transition from a state of slavery to a state of freedom. And, Sir, I do most sincerely hope that the lesson which is offered in the catastrophe which has occurred in one place, and the escape of three other colonies from similar calamities, will not be lost upon the proprietors and planters of Jamaica. I trust they will be convinced, not only that his Majesty’s Ministers, in the policy that they recommend, are doing that which they believe to be for their interest, but also that they are correct in that belief. I most earnestly hope that all interested in West Indian property will calmly reflect upon the present position of this question. Let them bear in mind that it is only too true what they have themselves so often asserted, that the discussions upon this subject are full of danger—that we are standing upon the brink of a frightful precipice, and that we ought, therefore, well to consider what ought to be our conduct in order to extricate ourselves from so perilous a position.

“I am sure the hon. and learned gentleman need not be told, that there is in this country a large and powerful party, who entertain a sincere and conscientious belief, that it is a sacred duty imposed upon them, to endeavour by every means in their power to effect the overthrow of the system of slavery in the West Indies, the continuance of which, even for a single day, entails, in their opinion, such deep moral guilt upon all who even passively contribute to its support. He must be equally well aware, that of those who are not prepared to adopt (which I certainly am not) these extreme opinions, and the violent measures supported by the hon. member for Weymouth, the immense majority of all ranks and conditions of society, only tolerate the temporary continuance of slavery, because they believe that by a more cautious and temperate course of proceeding, the same end may be accomplished, and a great and acknowledged evil be got rid of, with a less amount of human suffering than might be occasioned by immediate and sudden emancipation. Such, Sir, is the recorded opinion of Parliament, upon which honourable members have regulated their conduct, and which they have endeavoured to carry into effect with a view not less to the real interest of the proprietors in the colonies, than to that of the slaves themselves.

“Sir, when we consider the opinions universally entertained,—when we remember that almost every Englishman will declare, that we are bound to effect either the gradual, or the immediate abolition of slavery—let me ask, how can that sudden and violent change, from which, like the honourable and learned gentleman, I should anticipate so much mischief, be averted, except by satisfying the public mind, that a real improvement is taking place in the condition of the slaves? This, Sir, is the only mode in which those discussions, which we must all think so dangerous, can be prevented. And here, I cannot but call upon the House to remember, that during the discussions upon the Abolition of the Slave Trade, it used constantly to be said that the debates in Parliament were calculated to disturb the minds of the slaves, and excite them to insurrection: if so

—if such an effect could be produced, when so large a proportion of the slave population consisted of ignorant savages, recently imported from the coast of Africa,—what must be the effect of the discussions of the present day? The slave trade has now been abolished for the last twenty-five years in the British colonies. Since that period, a race of slaves has grown up in our colonies, acquainted with our language, some of them converted to our religious faith, and, with that faith, with their increasing intelligence, they have necessarily acquired a sense of their degraded condition, and an anxious desire for its improvement. These feelings are, of course, fostered by their connexion with the class of free persons daily becoming more numerous, who have emerged from the same state of slavery. But these discussions are more dangerous than formerly, not only from the alteration which has taken place in the character of the slave population, but also in consequence of their being brought much more immediately within the reach and hearing of the controversy. We must not only calculate the difference between the savage African and the Creole slave who speaks perhaps our language, but we must also take into the account the increased attention which the controversy is likely to attract, now that it is carried on, not at the other side of the Atlantic, but in the colonies themselves. Formerly in the colonies, at least, the discussions on this subject were all on one side, and no one dreamt of breathing a word in favour of emancipation; indeed, any one who stood forward as the advocate of the slave, would have been overwhelmed on all sides. But what is the case now? A large and influential class of free persons has grown up in the colonies, whose religious opinions induce them to adopt the notions on slavery of the hon. member for Weymouth. Among the conductors of the colonial press, powerful advocates of these opinions are not wanting. There is now a newspaper published in the town of Kingston, in Jamaica, conducted, undoubtedly, with considerable talent and ability; but, at the same time, I am sorry to say, with by no means equal temper or moderation. I do not blame the editors of this paper for the spirit in which it is written; with the example which is set by their opponents of still greater violence, it is not to be expected that they should abstain from strong language; I mention it not to censure or impute improper motives to any one, but as a fact too important to be lost sight of,—that the controversy relative to the abolition of slavery is now raging with yet greater violence in Jamaica than it is at home. The *Watchman* on the one side, and the *Jamaica Courant* on the other, urge, in the strongest language, the extreme doctrines of either party.* That such a dispute, so maintained, must produce a powerful effect on the minds of the slaves, and that it must make the existing state of things one full of danger, it is impossible to doubt. It becomes, then, urgently and vitally important to determine by what course the fatal catastrophe which this state of things threatens can be avoided. After the most mature deliberation of the subject, it appeared to the Government that the only course left open is, steadily, temperately, but, at the same time, with firmness and determination, to enforce a full compliance with the Resolutions of 1823. This is the course which the present Government have pursued—this is the course which I trust that Parliament will continue to support; and, however much we have hitherto been disappointed, this course I also trust the Legislature of Jamaica will at length be prevailed upon to adopt. They have admitted the free people of colour to the enjoyment of civil rights, and I trust that the same feeling which induced them to yield in this instance will induce them to abandon their opposition to the measures recommended by the Parliament and the Government. In putting an end to the distinctions of colour, they have evinced a liberality which, when

* We regret to see Lord Howick do such great injustice to the *Jamaica Watchman* as for a moment to compare it for violence of language to the *Courant*. Upon the Slave Question, at least, the *Watchman* has been remarkably cautious and temperate, whilst the *Courant*, on the contrary, has taken the lead of all the colonial *Pro-Slavery* papers in outrageous, disloyal, and bloodthirsty violence.

we consider how powerfully the minds of men are affected by long-cherished prejudices, cannot be praised too highly; and I trust that an equal liberality will soon be exhibited by them, in the far more dangerous and difficult question of slavery. I hope that the decision of Government, to come forward to afford assistance to the sufferers by the insurrection and by the hurricane, in the manner which my Noble Friend has stated, not coupled with any conditions, will be accepted by the colonists as a proof that no ill-will or animosity has been excited towards them by their long resistance to the measures which they have been urged to adopt; but that, on the contrary, the House and the Government sympathise in their distress, and can pity their misfortunes: and I also hope, that by attaching the proposed conditions to the general measure of relief which is to be brought forward, Parliament will manifest that resolute adherence to its declared purpose of effecting a real improvement in the condition of the slaves, which is, I believe, no less necessary than a conciliatory spirit, for the satisfactory settlement of the question.

“Before I sit down, I must express my regret, that in the course of what I have had to say, I have been under the necessity of making some observations implying censure of the past conduct of the Colonial Legislatures, and of stating truths which, I fear, will not be agreeable to those interested in the West India colonies. I have been induced to do this only by my conviction that, in the present critical situation of their affairs, it is the first duty of one sincerely anxious for the welfare of these colonies, frankly and candidly to point out to them the errors which have been committed, and the dangers by which they are, in consequence, surrounded. I hope, therefore, that what I have said will be received as it was intended, and that where no offence was meant, no offence will be taken.”

Mr. Robert GORDON, in a short speech, deprecated the introduction of topics calculated to excite angry feelings on either side, and recommended conciliatory measures towards the colonies.

Mr. HUME, after some strictures upon the system of the British Government in the management of our colonies generally, observed, in reverting to the present question, that to the Parliamentary Resolutions of 1823, he did not think that any man who possessed the common feelings of humanity could object; and he hoped that they would be carried into effect to the fullest extent they were capable of. The House, however anxious it might be in the cause of humanity, was bound to do justice to those parties who stood unfortunately in the situation of slave proprietors; and it was equally the interest of those proprietors to go along with Parliament in raising the condition of the unfortunate slave population. But the West Indians, he contended, agreed in every thing which that house proposed for the benefit of those in whose favour the resolutions of May, 1823, were framed. What did those resolutions set forth? The first recognized the justice and propriety of ameliorating the situation of the slave population. Now he never met an individual connected with the West Indies, with whom he had conversed on this subject, who dissented from the proposition contained in that resolution. Upon that point the House of Commons and the West India proprietors were agreed. The second resolution set forth, that temperate and judicious measures should be taken for the progressive improvement of the slave population, in order to fit them for the enjoyment of the rights and privileges that were possessed by other classes of His Majesty's subjects. Again, he never heard one of the West India proprietors express himself against that proposition. His hon. friend, the member for Weymouth, wished this change to be immediate, and not gradual; but he could not concur with him, because the negroes were not prepared to enjoy those advantages which freedom, if they were educated, would impart to them. Successive Ministers had endeavoured to ameliorate the situation of the negroes; and though much still remained to be done, yet he could not agree with the noble viscount in declaring, for so he understood the noble viscount, that nothing whatever had been effected by his predecessors in office. The papers on the table, indeed, proved that a great deal had been done. The third resolution set forth, that

the House was desirous, for the safety of the colonies, that, in altering the condition of the slaves, a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property should be adopted. He would ask, had this last proposition been ever acted on? Had any plan of emancipation been proposed, by which the rights of property would be respected? No such thing. If he understood the papers rightly, if he understood what had occurred in the colonies, he must arrive at this conclusion,—that the West Indians rejected certain propositions, because they were not accompanied by a measure which would have the effect of securing that respect which was due to their property and to their interests. He believed that if a plan were devised by which the amelioration of slavery could be effected, while property was respected, the colonists would gladly agree to such an arrangement. The noble viscount stated that we stood on the brink of a frightful precipice. He admitted that such was the fact. And then came the question—were the measures proposed by His Majesty's Ministers calculated to avert the danger? Trinidad, Jamaica, St. Lucia, had all protested against the proceedings adopted by Ministers. Their protests, he allowed, were strong and violent; but looking to all the circumstances, that was not to be wondered at. He hoped when his hon. friend, the member for Weymouth, brought forward his motion, that Ministers would be ready to state in what way they proposed to ameliorate the situation of the slave, and at the same time to give security to property. The measure of October last, was a rash and hasty one, and the flame which it had excited in the colonies might have been avoided, if the Ministers had waited for the opinion of a Committee of that House and of the House of Lords.

Mr. Buxton then rose and spoke as follows:—"The hon. member for Middlesex has complained of every body, with only one exception. It seems I am rash; the Orders in Council are mischievous; the Government are seriously to blame; the planters alone are meritorious in his eyes. My hon. friend has stated that he never met with a planter who was disposed to dispute the authority of the Legislature at home, or who objected to the Resolutions of 1823. I do not ask what they may say; but has my hon. friend ever met with a planter who was ready to carry the Resolutions of 1823 into effect? Let me state the plain truth to the House. We have heard much of the tumults and disturbances in the colonies, but, I believe, comparatively little is known in this country of what takes place in Jamaica and some of the colonies. I would ask hon. gentlemen whether they are aware what was the last point discussed in the House of Assembly in Jamaica before the late events in that island? It was whether women should be flogged in public or not."—[SEVERAL HONOURABLE MEMBERS.—"Oh! Oh!"]—"I am resolved to speak out. I repeat, this was the question discussed in the Colonial Assembly in Jamaica. Hon. gentlemen may be unwilling to hear, but I am determined to state the facts to the House. I have been almost challenged to come forward, and I will declare the truth. The Colonial Assemblies have been designated as obedient to the wishes of Parliament, but I would ask, what has been done? As I said before, one of the last points discussed was whether women should be flogged in public. Now the abolition of this practice was urgently dwelt upon by Mr. Canning. He called the flogging of women an unseemly and detestable practice; and declared that the immediate discontinuance of it was the first step to be taken towards the moral advancement of the slave. This, therefore, it was understood was a point which the Government was to press on the colonies; and yet, in the year 1831, the Assembly of Jamaica rejected a proposition for the abolition of the flogging of women by a majority of 35 to 2. And yet my hon. friend, the member for Middlesex, sees nothing to condemn in their conduct. After this illustration of the good feeling and cheerful obedience of the planters, let me be told what other steps they have taken to fit the negroes for emancipation.

"If I had seen any disposition on the part of the Colonial Assemblies to prepare the Negroes for emancipation by the communication of religious instruction, it would have been some satisfaction. I will not say that the adoption of such

a course would have prevented me from urging the matter on the attention of the House; but if there was any thing that would have tempted me to forbear, it would have been seeing such a disposition on the part of the planters;—*that* would indeed have been a bribe to me. But now I do not hesitate to declare, that the whole aim of the Colonial Assemblies has been to suppress the religious instruction of the Negro. This is the direct charge which I make against the Colonial Assemblies of all the colonies. Individual and honourable exceptions there have been, but the general aim and object is the suppression of religious instruction. Let the House recollect only a single case which is an illustration of this. I am sure the case of the missionary Smith, of Demarara, is not yet forgotten. Now not only was this martyr persecuted to death, but the people of Demarara entered into a resolution, that the missionaries ought to be banished from the colonies, and that a law should be passed to prevent their entering it for the future.

“In Trinidad a public meeting was held, at which a public functionary of the colony presided, when the persons assembled came to the following resolution on the subject of instruction; ‘Resolved, That any attempt to instil religious instruction or education into the minds of the slaves is incompatible with the continuance of slavery.’ Here the fact is candidly confessed—Christianity is indeed a blessing, but so is slavery; unfortunately they are incompatible. If you will have religion you must renounce slavery, and if you will retain slavery, you must do without religion. In this dilemma they came to the resolution to reject the lesser and retain the greater and more necessary blessing.

“In Barbadoes, need I remind the House of the disposition to foster religion evinced by their celebrated proceedings in 1823; the respectable inhabitants assembled and publicly proceeded to the demolition of the chapel; they hunted the missionary through the island, with the avowed purpose of taking his life. They published a proclamation exulting in what they had done; it was a day, to use their own words, ‘as glorious to true Barbadians as Trafalgar to Britain;’ and they conculed with warning every missionary from the island under a penalty of death. What I think of such acts is of little moment. Can honourable gentlemen forget the strong language once used by this House relative to this transaction? The memorable words of the resolution were, ‘That this House deem it their duty to declare, that they view with the utmost indignation that daring and scandalous violation of law.’

“I now come to Jamaica, with which colony the hon. and learned gentleman (Mr. Burge) is more immediately connected, and I do not hesitate to assert, that in no place is the spirit of religious persecution more unequivocally manifested. I need hardly advert to the language of the colonial newspapers,—‘the hanging woods of Trelawney,’—the clamour against the too indulgent Governor, who refused to hang the missionaries before trial;—let newspaper ebullitions pass. But look to the Act of the Legislative Assembly of Jamaica in 1826. The planters were obedient enough as far as words went; they announced their intention of introducing an Act, which should for ever put to silence the cavils of their enemies on the score of religion; they passed the act; and then boast of it as if they had accomplished some miracle of charity. The Act comes over to England, and there is rejected, first by Mr. Huskisson, and the Government to which he belonged; secondly, by the right hon. and gallant General opposite (Sir George Murray) and the Government to which he belonged; and thirdly, by the noble lord, the present Secretary for the colonies. To use the language of Mr. Huskisson, it was rejected by him ‘because it was a violation of that toleration which is due to all His Majesty’s subjects.’ This Act, which in Jamaica was cried up as a measure of excessive liberality, and had no fault but that of carrying Christian toleration too far, was rejected in this country with indignation, as an Act of unbearable bigotry. I do not hesitate to assert, that it was an Act of intolerable oppression, and one that has gone further than almost anything else to excite detestation of slavery in the breasts of the people of

England. The meaning of that Act was the suppression of religious instruction. It was an attempt to do that by process of law in Jamaica, which was done by violence in Barbadoes—by murder in Demarara—an expedient for shutting up the schools, pulling-down the chapel, and banishing the teachers. Nay, the purpose was not concealed; the Committee in Jamaica to whom it was referred, give this recommendation, ‘that the most positive and exemplary enactments should be passed to restrain the interference of the missionaries.’ But nothing, perhaps, will so clearly illustrate the temper of the Jamaica planters on the subject of the religious instruction of their slaves, as one or two cases which I will quote. I recommend them to the serious attention of gentlemen who have heard much of the beneficent treatment and superior happiness of the Negro. To those also I recommend them who believe in the often asserted disposition of the planters to promote religious instruction. But more especially do I recommend them to the diligent reflection of the Member for Middlesex, and of all those who with him hate religious persecution; for he will find, in what I am going to state, persecution, not in its modern and mitigated meaning; not that which carries this odious name in Ireland and elsewhere, the denial of civil rights, the usurpation of authority in matters of conscience; but persecution as meant in the worst and darkest of times—in the days of Queen Mary, in the dungeons of the inquisition—persecution to torments and to death.

“The first case to which I shall allude is that of Henry Williams. I am not aware whether the House is acquainted with the facts of this case; if my hon. friend says that he is acquainted with this case, and at the same time declares that there is no religious persecution in Jamaica, I will not go on with the subject. I ask my hon. friend whether he is acquainted with the case to which I refer?” [Mr. HUME.—“I know nothing about it.”] “Then he ought to know something about it, and I will tell him. The negro in question was accused of no fault; he was a remarkably respectable man, and entrusted, in some degree, with the superintendence of his fellow slaves. He belonged to the congregation of the missionaries, and attended chapel many years with his master’s sanction. His master dying, a new system was adopted by the new manager, a Mr. Betty, who issued anathemas against the chapel, and told Henry Williams that if he attended there again, he should be sent to Rodney Hall workhouse. On hearing this, the sister of Williams sighed, and for that offence she was instantly stretched naked on the earth, in the presence of the gang, and severely flogged. This was the award of this ‘natural protector’ of the slaves, as the planters call themselves; this was ‘willing obedience’ to the voice of the people of England; this was toleration; this was humanity; this was justice. But to return to Williams: he obeyed the order, and abstained from chapel; but Mr. Betty, who was evidently resolved to put down the missionaries with a high hand, and to make an example of their best convert, found a pretence in Williams’s not having also brought the gang with him to church: he sent him to Rodney Hall workhouse, where he was loaded with chains, flogged repeatedly, till he was reduced to such a state, that even the gaoler took pity on him, and sent him to the hospital, where he was obliged to lie on his face, his back being one mass of corruption. I refer gentlemen for further details of this case to the Parliamentary Papers.—Nor is it a solitary one; but it is not my intention to dwell on the acts of individuals, however atrocious; and I only mention this one, in order to impress on the House the further, and much more appalling fact, that Mr. Betty said, and said truly, that all his proceedings on this case were fully justified by the existing laws of Jamaica. The case was submitted to the law authorities there as well as in England; and it was the opinion of these authorities, that there was no law which forbade the flogging of the female for sighing, or of her brother for worshipping God. Mr. Betty’s language was—‘Submit the act to a jury of twelve honest planters, and their verdict shall convince you that I have exercised only the undoubted and constitutional rights of a West India manager. I did flog the woman; I did send the man to the workhouse; was there any thing

illegal in it? 'Trouble me,' he says to the right honourable baronet, Sir George Murray, 'trouble me not with your interrogatories; I will answer none of them.' The same law which permits the torment of these innocent beings, justifies those by whom those torments are inflicted. I complain not of Mr. Betty—he acted as a ruffian, but he acted legally; my complaint is levelled at the law, which makes such acts legal. Law in England is for the protection of the weak; in Jamaica it is the security and safeguard of those who, like Mr. Betty, first revel in the sufferings of their fellow-creatures, and then plead the law as their justification. But what if a tumult had been excited? Suppose such a riot as that which has lately occurred in Jamaica—(it may have been more than a riot—it may have been an insurrection; but I can shew who are the real insurgents; I will undertake to prove to demonstration that the planters were the authors of these disturbances.)—Suppose a riot had occurred on the occasion which I have alluded to, who could have lamented it? If the miscreant who committed this atrocity had been put to death on the spot, who could have lamented it? I know that if this had occurred we should have heard of insurrection, and the Government would have been called upon to put martial law in force. And is the Government to feel no compassion, and Parliament to afford no protection to those whose sighs are visited as crimes, and whose religion is rewarded by the cart whip? I cannot refrain from mentioning one more case, that of a negro, who, in 1830, was found guilty of merely having attended a prayer-meeting at the house of his pastor, and having been seen in the act of prayer.—This was the only charge against him, and he was convicted of that crime and sentenced to imprisonment and flogging. It will be unnecessary for me to go into the facts of the case."

Mr. BURGE here said,—“I rise to order. I put it to the House whether this train of argument ought to be continued.”

Mr. BUXTON continued—“I am in order, and I will go on. The hon. and learned member has provoked this discussion, and he shall have it. I forget the name of the slave, but I will state the circumstances of the case. It appears that Mr. Nibbs, a dissenting clergyman, being ill, his congregation met on Easter Monday for the purpose of prayer. In this there was nothing illegal; but a negro who attended by permission of his master, perpetrated an act which aroused the indignation of the colonists. He was seen in the act of prayer.” [Several MEMBERS.—“Oh! oh!”] “Gentlemen may well be astonished at what I have related, but I am satisfied of the correctness of my statement. If the Noble Lord, the Under Secretary for the Colonies, will say that I have deviated from the truth in the slightest degree, I will sit down. If the Gallant Officer will say that I have exaggerated the facts of the case in the slightest degree, I will at once sit down. But until I am contradicted I will continue to repeat what I know to be the truth. I repeat, then, that the negro, whose name I have for the moment forgotten, and which the Noble Lord will perhaps have the goodness to recall to my mind, was tried for having been seen in the act of prayer. I do not recollect the name of the man at this moment, but I have no doubt I shall presently; but the truth is I was not aware that a discussion of this nature would have arisen, or I would have prepared myself for the occasion. When the slave was put on his trial, he said that he had been guilty of no crime. One witness deposed that he saw the man's lips move; another that he was in the attitude of prayer; another made nearly a similar deposition. On the trial, Mr. Nibbs acted as the prisoner's counsel as well as his pastor, and he said that there was no charge against the slave, as prayer was not illegal. The Custos replied that praying was preaching, and unlicensed preaching was illegal, and consequently convicted the prisoner. I now recollect that the name of the slave was Swiney. He was convicted; and thus Mr. Nibbs describes the result:—‘Early on the following morning, I went out express to see the disgusting scene that was then enacted. What my feelings were I will not now express, when I saw a fellow creature—a respectable tradesman of his class—stretched indecently on the earth, and lacerated with a cart whip, and immediately after chained to a convict and sent to work on the road—to gratify the prejudices of those who hold that preaching and praying are the

same, and equally infractions of the law of Jamaica.' I will pledge myself to the facts of this case. Now for another. A negro was convicted of a similar offence in August, 1830, and sentenced to an equally severe punishment. His name was Ankle. The first witness said, 'I saw him stand up and pray.' The second 'he is in the habit of praying.' They are asked what is the character of the man;—'An excellent man; always pleases every body.' His own defence is that he thought there was no harm in praying for himself and his companions that God would bless them all. Convicted, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour.—A white man and his wife were convicted of the most horrible murder—Gentlemen will not forget the red pepper rubbed into the eyes of the dying victim—and were sentenced to five months imprisonment and a fine;—so much more criminal is it in the eyes of planters for a negro to worship God, than for a white man to commit murder!—Other pleas may be given for punishing slaves, but the face and front of their offence is their attending religious worship. This is the great, the unpardonable crime in the eyes of the planters. After the facts which I have stated, which at once demonstrate the existence of religious persecution, the defence of the honourable and learned member for Eye falls to the ground. The truth is that nothing has been done for the religious instruction of these people. There are many exceptions, but the system of slavery requires that its victims should be kept in darkness, and have no knowledge of divine truth.

"If it be true, as the people of Trinidad tell us 'that religious instruction and slavery are incompatible,' the people of England have then to determine, whether the slave population of the colonies shall or shall not be entirely debarred from religious instruction, and from the blessings and consolations which Christianity holds out to them. I do not mean to deny that there has been a rebellion in Jamaica—I do not mean to say that it was not attended with danger—but I say that the planters were the cause of it. (Hear! Hear!) I repeat that *the planters were the cause of it*, and I wish my words to be taken down. For the last six months what have we heard of, in their Colonial Assemblies, but seditious and inflammatory language, the tendency of which was to excite tumult? Public meetings have been held in every parish in Jamaica, in which they have talked of casting off the yoke of Great Britain, and of throwing themselves upon America for protection. They have told this country that they are prepared to take up arms—that they are ready to shake off their allegiance, and to go to war with the mother country. It may be thought that I have exaggerated the language used at these public meetings, but as a proof that this is not the case, I will refer to the resolutions agreed to at a meeting of the parish of St. Ann, in the island of Jamaica. I find the following resolutions in the *Royal Gazette* of the 13th of August.

"At a very numerous and respectable meeting of the inhabitants of the parish of St. Ann, convened by his honour the Custos, this 6th day of August 1831, and held at the Court House, St. Ann's Bay, his honour the Custos having been called to the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

"Resolved—That we, the inhabitants of the parish of St. Ann, have repeatedly expressed our warmest indignation at, and abhorrence of, the oppressive measures pursued by the British Government towards the West India Colonies.

"Resolved—That while there was a hope of conciliating our implacable foes, we acquiesced cheerfully in the conduct of our legislature; but it is now evident that the concessions yielded by that body, have been successively obtained under pledges and promises on the part of Ministers, 'to abstain from all future interference in our local concerns;' which pledges have been violated in every instance; giving us thereby convincing proof that perfidy and determined oppression, as far as regards the colonies, are the ruling principles of the British Cabinet.

"Resolved—That hitherto, under the most marked infractions of our rights and privileges, we have been loyal; the attachment to the mother country has indeed long, very long, outlived her justice; and it would now be with grief that we should divest ourselves of a feeling, 'which has grown with our growth, and has strengthened with our strength;' but when we see ourselves scorned, betrayed, devoted to ruin and slaughter, delivered over to the enemies of our country, we consider that we are bound by ever principle, human and divine, TO RESIST."

“The two last words are printed in capitals. Again I would call the attention of the House to an advertisement, which appeared in *The Courant* of the 16th of July last.

“‘Shortly will be published, *THE SIGNAL, Carpe Diem*, a periodical work, written for the express purpose of rousing the latent energies of the inhabitants of Jamaica; to lay open the perils which await them; to point out the means of avoiding them; to stimulate all classes to a close and unanimous effort in defence and preservation of their just rights and privileges, their altars, their homes, their families, their properties, and their lives; to show the necessity of throwing off the yoke of a tyrannical Government; and, finally, to lead to that independence of which local advantages promise the attainment.

“‘The Government which arbitrarily or capriciously invades the right of private property, releases the oppressed sufferer from obedience and allegiance.—To your tents, O Israel!’

“Such is the language used in their newspapers as well as at their public meetings. I know that nothing is to be feared from such language, as it is rather ridiculous than any thing else. I know well that they cannot think seriously of throwing themselves into the arms of America. As for resistance that would be quite out of the question. How can the whites of Jamaica think seriously of throwing off the yoke, when the whole male white inhabitants of that colony capable of bearing arms, between the age of sixteen and sixty, does not exceed 4,000. I say, I do not dispute the valour of this band; but these 4,000 heroes would have something upon their hands; they would have, first, to conquer his Majesty’s troops—no doubt an easy task; secondly, they would have to overthrow the free people of colour; and having accomplished these two exploits, they would have to subdue, and to keep in subjection, 330,000 slaves. I acquit them, then, of seriously meaning to punish Great Britain; they meant to frighten us here; they supposed that timid persons would imagine that men so terrible in word, would be as terrible in deed. They talk of transferring their allegiance to America. Will the free people and the negroes consent to it? Now I hold in my hand an Act of the Legislature of Carolina, which I will quote for the purpose of showing, whether there is likely to be a junction between the colonies and America. It is called, An Act for the better Government of our Slave population. It states, that if any vessels arrive at any state in that place containing a crew of free blacks, they shall be immediately taken to gaol, there to remain for a given time. The clause contains these words, to which I will beg to direct the attention of the House—‘and such free people, or persons of colour, shall be deemed and taken as absolute slaves, and sold, in conformity with the provisions of the Act passed for that purpose.’ Why this is a positive decision upon the subject, a clear answer to the argument to which I have just referred. There is not a Government on the face of the earth which has expressed such disaffection to, and contempt of persons of colour, as the American Government. Here is the olive branch. This is the temptation held out by America to seduce away the affections of the people of colour. England need fear no dangerous rival in that quarter.—I have done; I had no intention of speaking to-night, and if I have spoken warmly, the learned member for Eye, and the hon. member for Middlesex imposed upon me the necessity of doing so.”

Mr. GOULBURN deprecated the discussion of the subject of Slavery on the present occasion, and wished to confine the attention of the House to the main question now before them. He approved of the liberal conduct of Government, in compensating the planters for the losses they had sustained, and thought that great evils and dangers would be thereby averted. But he contended, that Ministers were bound to declare their specific intentions in regard to the proposed plan of relief, for the benefit and satisfaction both of the growers and consumers of sugar.

Lord SANDON followed in the same strain; severely blaming Mr. Buxton for intemperate language on the Slavery question; and while he admitted that the colonists had been guilty of great indiscretion, he thought that much allowance

should be made for them on account of their situation, their belief that their interests were neglected by Government, and the provocation they had received by the language used towards them by certain parties in this country.

Lord ALTHORP stated in reply, that the Order in Council which had been sent out to the colonies was the Order, a compliance with which was the condition on which relief was to be granted. At the same time, if any gentlemen connected with the colonies could point out any thing in the details, the operation of which would be unsuitable to the management of the slaves, his Majesty's Government would be quite ready to attend to such suggestions; but to the principle of the Order in Council, his Majesty's Government were determined to adhere. After some remarks on the introduction of the Slavery question into the present discussion, which he showed had been necessarily brought on by the course adopted by the West India gentlemen, the noble lord, in explanation of not stating in detail the intended course of proceeding, observed, that the grounds upon which he abstained from doing so were, first, that up to the present moment the Committee upon West India Affairs had not made their report; and secondly, as the measures of relief were to be conditional, he wished to give time to the Colonial Legislatures to consider the Order in Council before the measures of relief were brought forward. The alterations to which he had alluded would be merely in the details of the Order; the principle would remain precisely the same. No delay would therefore take place.

Mr. KEITH DOUGLAS said, that the principal objection made to the Order in Council was, that it was inapplicable to the state of many of the colonies. But if his Majesty's Government were willing to re-consider the details of the Order, to which the chief objections applied, then, to a certain extent, the whole question was altered, and the explanation of the noble lord might lead to a satisfactory issue. Every person would allow that, in the present state of the West Indies, it was desirable they should have perfectly new laws for the protection of the slaves; and therefore he hoped that the explanation now given would remove the difficulty, which he believed was principally owing to the belief that the Order in Council was to be applied *verbatim et literatim*.

The House then resolved itself into Committee on the Bill.

We postpone all remarks upon this debate, and on the measures proposed by Government, until the Report of the Committee shall appear.

II. RECENT INTELLIGENCE FROM JAMAICA.

Persecution of the Missionaries—Treatment of Henry Williams.

The disturbances in Jamaica have been for the present suppressed, with the unnecessary effusion apparently of much negro blood, and the perpetration of much wanton cruelty. The details are, however, as yet too imperfectly known to enable us to enter upon a satisfactory examination of these lamentable transactions and their probable results; and we therefore confine ourselves to one or two brief extracts from the *Watchman* newspaper.

Our readers are aware that, as usual on like occasions, a violent outcry has been raised by the Jamaica slave-holders against the Christian Missionaries, denouncing them as the direct instigators of the late negro insurrection, and calling loudly for their blood, or, at the very least, for their entire extirpation from the colony. Several of them, Wesleyans, Moravians, and more especially Baptists, have been tried or examined; but the slightest shadow of blame has not been made good against them, even before Jamaica courts of justice. Nevertheless, such is the state of colonial feeling, that some of these worthy servants of their Divine Master, for no other offence than preaching his Gospel to those wretched outcasts of humanity, the negro slaves, have narrowly escaped assassination; and their chapels, to the number of ten or twelve, have been burnt or pulled down by the infuriated white inhabitants. The following are some of the remarks of the *Watchman* on this subject:—

“A hue and cry has been raised by a venal press, first against one missionary, and then against another; still we do not find a single circumstance to criminate them, if we except the testimony of a few rebels and traitors, whose iniquitous acts should at once invalidate their evidence. Under other circumstances, no reasonable man would listen to their tales; but because they happen to make against the missionaries, men who have been, almost without intermission, persecuted and reviled in this island for many years past, they are greedily caught at, and by many implicitly believed. In short, testimony is received against them, which would be scouted at and rejected if brought forward against any *white* man, not suspected of being a saint.

“That the negroes rebelled, and were guilty of acts the most unjustifiable, is admitted; but how their acts can be charged on the missionaries, we leave the prejudiced, the vindictive, and sanguinary, to explain. The fact is, a confederacy exists against every thing which savours of religion, and the extermination of Christianity is the object of the infamous coalition. When the Bible is denounced by a newspaper,* published in the city of Kingston, in the island of Jamaica, as *a blasphemous and unchaste book*, can it be wondered at that exertions are being made for the destruction of the places of public worship, and the annihilation of Christianity itself? But let the chapel destroyers, and those who are even now plotting the destruction of those places of worship in this and Spanish Town, beware! for retributive justice still exists. Those already destroyed are said to have cost upwards of £14,000. This sum will again be raised for the rebuilding of those very places, consecrated to the worship of the Most High God, which the hands of fiendish impiety have levelled with the ground.”

We add the following notice of the recent treatment of that unfortunate Christian slave, Henry Williams, the particulars of whose previous persecution we have detailed in Nos. 65, 69, and 77, of the Reporter: (see also p. 130, of this No.)

“The public may no doubt recollect the slave, Henry Williams, who was so severely punished by Mr. Betty, at the instigation of the Rev. George Wilson Bridges, the rector of St. Ann’s, because he refused to attend the ministry of that rev. gentleman, preferring that of the Wesleyan missionaries, to which society he belonged. This unfortunate slave, we understand, was, about a week ago, taken from the estate, which he had been superintending in the absence of the white people, (who were on militia duty,) and questioned as to what the missionaries at that place had preached to them, &c.; but his answers, we are told, were deemed unsatisfactory and impertinent, and he was sentenced to receive 340 lashes, the whole of which could not be inflicted, a doctor who was near by, declaring he would die under it. We do not profess to be acquainted with all the particulars of this case of unparalleled barbarity; but, as soon as we are in possession of them, we shall not fail to expose the whole case and its authors to public execration.”

III. COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

A Committee of Inquiry on West India affairs in the House of Lords, has been obtained by the importunity of the Colonial Interest, and will commence its proceedings in a few days. The chief object of this inquiry appears to be, to show that the recent Order in Council is injurious in its tendency; although that Order professes to do little more than to give to the slaves the more effective protection of law; to put down the whip in the field; to forbid the flogging of women; to legalise and facilitate marriage; to prevent the separation of families; to secure to the slaves their property; to admit their testimony; to facilitate manumission; to insure adequate food and clothing; and to prevent the undue exaction of labour.

* The Jamaica Courant.

And will it be endured by the British people, now generally awakening to a full conviction of the miserable impolicy as well as the awful national guilt of longer upholding the system of colonial slavery, that even its proposed MITIGATION shall be indefinitely postponed, and the claim for its ABOLITION virtually abandoned! And for what? To enable the West India planters to persist in their insane career, till this system of iniquity shall be broken up with a crash which must involve their own destruction; until it be too late, in short, for legislative wisdom to interfere, and slavery be extinguished not by the decree of a repentant nation, but by the judgments of an offended God.

IV. MR. BUXTON'S MOTION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The discussion of Mr. Buxton's motion in the House of Commons, for the speedy and total extinction of slavery in the British colonies, has been finally fixed for the 24th of May. It is confidently expected that all sincere friends of that object throughout the kingdom, will unite in strongly urging upon their representatives in Parliament the duty of strenuously supporting Mr. Buxton in the important debate anticipated at this eventful crisis of the Question.

V. THE ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

The Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, in compliance with the often expressed wishes of numerous respected correspondents, have commenced a new and cheap periodical publication, adapted for general circulation. We subjoin the following introductory notice from the first number, which is to be issued on the first of May, and recommend the work to the cordial support of the friends of our cause.

“The Anti-Slavery Record is issued at the request of many zealous friends of Negro Emancipation throughout the country, and is intended to meet the increasing demand for fresh information on every topic connected with this great question. Its purpose is not to supersede, in any respect, other more important publications of the Anti-Slavery Society, but to act as a useful auxiliary, by supplying, at the cheapest possible rate, intelligence adapted for popular circulation, on a variety of points to which the Society's Reporter cannot always conveniently advert.

“The RECORD will appear on the first day of every month, should public encouragement warrant it. The price will be One Penny; each number consisting of 12 pages duodecimo. The topics will, of course, vary with the current of events; but an abstract, more or less extended, according to circumstances, will be regularly given of the REPORTERS, and of other Anti-Slavery publications, as they issue from the press—for the information of such readers as, either from necessity or choice, direct their attention more to matters of fact than to the argumentative discussions arising in the progress of the controversy. In a word, the special business of the Anti-Slavery Record will be to collect and communicate authentic intelligence; while, as its title imports, it will at the same time be a general register of all interesting information connected with the cause of Negro Emancipation.”

VI. GENERAL MEETING OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A General Meeting of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions, and of the Friends of that Cause, will be held at Exeter Hall, Strand, on Saturday the Twelfth of May, 1832. The doors will be opened at eleven o'clock, and the chair taken at twelve *precisely*.

Tickets of admission may be had on application after the 28th of April, at the Society's Office, 18, Aldermanbury; at Messrs. Hatchard and Son's, 187, Piccadilly; Mr. Nisbet's, 21, Berners Street; Messrs. Seeley's, Fleet Street; and Messrs. Arch's, 61, Cornhill.

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 96.]

MAY, 1832.

[VOL. v. No. 5.

- I. PROCEEDINGS OF A GENERAL MEETING OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AND ITS FRIENDS, HELD AT EXETER-HALL, ON SATURDAY, THE 12TH OF MAY, 1832, JAMES STEPHEN, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.
- II. DEBATE ON MR. BUXTON'S MOTION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

I.—PROCEEDINGS OF A GENERAL MEETING OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AND ITS FRIENDS, HELD AT EXETER-HALL, ON SATURDAY, THE 12TH OF MAY, 1832.

THIS meeting, in point of respectability, number, and ardour in the cause, was calculated to afford the highest gratification to the friends of humanity. Notwithstanding the absorbing interest of contemporary occurrences in the political world, which deprived the Society of the personal presence and support of some of its most distinguished members, we have on no former occasion witnessed so much eagerness among the intelligent classes of society to be present at the discussion of the cause of the Negro. In consequence of this eagerness, the passages leading to the place of meeting were thronged at an early hour, and it was found requisite to open the doors long before the time announced in the advertisement. The capacious hall, calculated, we believe, to contain not fewer than three thousand persons, was crowded to overflowing in every part; and many hundreds went away without being able to obtain entrance. Among those present on the platform we observed Lord Suffield, the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, Hon. G. J. Vernon, M. P., Dr. Lushington, M. P., Messrs. James Stephen, William Smith, T. F. Buxton, M. P., Z. Macaulay, W. Whitmore, M. P., Daniel O'Connell, M. P., P. C. Crampton, M. P., Solicitor-General for Ireland, W. Evans, M. P., J. Wilks, M. P., J. W. Pendarvis, M. P., A. Johnstone, M. P., J. Bennett M. P., Rev. J. W. Cunningham, Rev. John Burnett, Rev. Joseph Ivimey, Rev. Dr. Cox, Rev. Dr. Bennett, Rev. Mr. James of Birmingham, Messrs. Samuel Hoare, W. Allen, J. and R. Forster, W. A. Garratt, G. Stephen, H. Pownall, and many other persons distinguished by their long services or their ardent zeal in the cause of Christian humanity.

LORD SUFFIELD having moved "that the old and tried friend of negro emancipation, James Stephen, Esq., be requested to take the Chair," that gentleman was called by acclamation to preside, and, after a few introductory words from Mr. Buxton,—

Mr. STEPHEN rose and briefly addressed the meeting. It was not, he said, an unnecessary introduction with which he had been favoured by his friend; for, however singular it might appear, it had unfortunately happened that of late he had not attended any of the

Annual Meetings of the Anti-Slavery Society, nor indeed had taken any public or prominent share in its proceedings for the last four or five years. It was, therefore, reasonable to conclude that to many persons, in the large assembly in which he had the honour of presiding, he might be personally unknown. Those, however, who were in possession of his sentiments would, he was persuaded, do him the justice of believing that his absence from the scene of their deliberations was not attributable to a want of inclination—to an abatement of zeal—but to an overwhelming necessity, which barred the indulgence of his wishes. The truth was, that the infirmities of increasing years had unfitted him for taking an active part in the proceedings of a public meeting; and he had abstained from attending, lest, sitting as a silent spectator, he might cast a damp upon the exertions of others. If he now consented to occupy the chair, it was from a conviction that, in such a meeting, his labours must be light, and because if they proved too heavy for him he had the kind promise of his noble friend, Lord Suffield, that he would act in his place and allow him to retire. He had made this explanation, as some of his friends might have deemed him inconsistent. On this occasion he had certainly departed from his general rule; but it was an occasion of extreme urgency, and he could not refuse to come forward, probably for the last time in his life, at a period when it was imperative on every faithful friend of the slave to lend his cause all the countenance he could. (*Applause.*)

Lord SUFFIELD rose to propose the first of a series of resolutions, to be submitted to the meeting. His Lordship was happy to congratulate the friends of the cause upon the number and respectability of the assembly by which he was surrounded; but mingled with his congratulations must be the expression of some surprise and of great regret. His surprise was not awakened by the cheering sight of so large an audience: for last year also the Hall was crowded, and sure he was that crowded it would be if it were twice as spacious; that was not the cause of his surprise, still less of his regret; but his surprise and regret were excited by the fact that at this period—that in the nineteenth century—in the year 1832—that in a land of liberty—in England, a country proverbial for its love of freedom—they should be assembled—to do what?—why, to debate upon the existence of slavery among British subjects! (*Hear.*) He was persuaded that the meeting would sympathise with him in expressing his surprise and regret at the nature of the question which had called them together. What, he demanded to know, was the subject they were now to discuss? Was it a topic on which any human being in any corner of this vast empire could entertain or dare to avow a difference of opinion? (*Hear.*) Would not one and all say they were averse to slavery, and ardent for the liberty of 800,000 of their fellow-subjects, at a moment when Britons were struggling for what they conceived to be their inalienable rights? (*Great Applause.*) Warmly as he was known to feel on this subject—strongly as he had declared himself to be in every way, a determined reformer (*renewed applause*)—resolute as he was in retaining that course of public life on which it was unneces-

sary for him further to expatiate—still he should reserve his observations on these points to a more fitting opportunity, and keep to the object immediately before them. He begged not to be misunderstood. It was not his design to introduce any political theme—and, if he had adverted to events then in progress, it was only incidental to his mention of the word liberty. Britons were, he repeated, struggling to recover what they conceived to be their just rights;—on the nature of those rights he would forbear to enter;—but were they, he would ask, struggling for the redress of personal injuries—such redress as was contended for on behalf of their fellow subjects in the West Indies? Whence arose the necessity of all this ceremony? Whence the necessity of this meeting with its Committee, and Chairman, and Secretary, convened formally to express the detestation with which the British public regarded slavery? He was bound to admit—and herein lay the cause of his regret—that there existed among a certain portion of the community (a portion not confined to the much calumniated and contemned lower classes of society) an apathy on the subject of slavery which filled him with astonishment, and which could only be accounted for by supposing them ignorant of the question. Now, it was the object of the Anti-Slavery Society, by holding public meetings, by distributing tracts, and by every other practicable method, to inform people who would read (and he suspected that the love of reading was now more general among the lower than the higher classes) not only of what slavery actually was, but of what it must necessarily be so long as it was suffered to exist. Hence the use of the Anti-Slavery Society, and the importance of its efforts in dispelling the clouds of darkness which veiled the deformities of the system against which it pronounced judgment.

It was impossible for any person, however superficial might have been the view he had taken, not to contemplate with horror the atrocious cruelties inflicted on the unhappy slaves in the West Indies. He did not wish to excite their feelings by a recital of those unhalloved acts, or by a reference to their details. He touched upon them merely for the purpose of introducing that which he considered of consequence to their case; namely, the way in which the statement of these cruelties was met by the colonists. He hardly recollected one occasion on which he had made a statement of the kind that he had not been met by the reply, "These things are bad enough; but are there not cruelties in England as well as in the West Indies? Are there not cruelties in every country under the sun?" For the sake of the argument he would admit the truth of the replication; he would concede the position, that cruelties were unfortunately committed here and elsewhere—though he was not prepared to believe that our domestic misdeeds equalled in atrocity those perpetrated in the West Indies. But then (and he would press this point upon the attention of his audience) what was the popular feeling in regard to the perpetrators of such deeds in England and in the West Indies respectively? In the one country a case of cruelty excited the greatest indignation, and exposed the perpetrator to the vengeance of the public; in the other, the culprit was shielded and protected, and sometimes pub-

licely rewarded. His Lordship, in corroboration of this statement, referred to the case of Mrs. Brownrigg, who was accused in England of starving her apprentices; and to the case of the Mosses, in the Bahamas, who had been found guilty of committing the most horrid and revolting cruelties upon one of their female slaves. In the former case, it was with difficulty that the delinquent was saved from the fury of the populace; in the latter the most respectable inhabitants of the island petitioned the government to remit the sentence of a fine of £300 and six months' imprisonment; and, not succeeding in their petition, they recompensed the parties by a grand dinner to celebrate the occasion of their coming out of prison! It was thus that cruelty to the slave was looked upon by the "respectable" inhabitants of the Bahamas! and these occurrences took place not at a distant date—not at a time when attention was little directed to the condition of the Negro—but in the year 1829, when the colonists professed their readiness to soften the hardships of their bondmen. This example (and it was only one out of innumerable instances) showed that, not only were acts of inhuman atrocity committed in the West Indies, but that the slaves in these colonies were peculiarly liable to their infliction, from the indifference with which such offences are regarded, even when a conviction (and that was a matter of extreme difficulty) could be obtained. It had been stated by the advocates of the planters that the cases of atrocity were rare. He would admit that the number of cases which came to the knowledge of the public were comparatively few, and thus far they might be pronounced rare; but how could it be otherwise, when almost the only means of information were derived from parties universally interested in the concealment of the facts? (*Hear, hear.*)

His Lordship then adverted to the general question of slavery, and remarked that it embraced a great number of points, many of which he must pass by, both for the sake of time, and on account of other gentlemen prepared to speak upon them. He had a memorandum of ten points upon which he would have liked to dwell:—1. The general neglect of the moral, intellectual, and religious instruction of the slaves. 2. The profanation of the Sabbath, as a day of rest, ordained by a beneficent Providence for relaxation from labour as well as for spiritual improvement. 3. The licentious and indecent treatment of females. 4. The excess and barbarity of punishment to which the slaves are subjected. 5. The discouragement of marriage. 6. The shameful neglect or perversion of the laws intended to restrain cruelties. 7. The hardship of the present law, which enables the colonists to separate families, or the nearest kindred, by sale. 8. The incompetency of slave evidence, which makes it almost impossible to secure the conviction of the perpetrators of acts of cruelty. 9. The extreme difficulty thrown in the way of a slave recovering his freedom by purchase. 10. The uncertainty in which he held his liberty, even if it was procured.—These points, his Lordship remarked, he must leave to be handled by other speakers, whose line of argument he would not preoccupy. He would confine himself to a few observations upon two others; namely, the excess of labour to which the slaves are sub-

jected, and the insufficiency of their maintenance. With regard to the first point, it might be asked, what good proof had he of the slaves being overworked? He had proof at once irrefragable and horrifying, in an entire reversion of the order of nature, a decrease, a large decrease, in the slave population, as furnished by the parliamentary returns, out of the mouths of the planters themselves. The official returns, on which he founded his statement, it must be observed, were confined to the sugar colonies, and specially related to the field Negroes in those colonies; that is, to those slaves who are subject to that symbol of office, as the colonists call it,—the cart whip. This circumstance merited attention, as showing that the decrease was not in the slave population generally, but in that part of it subjected to excessive labour under the stimulus of the cart-whip. The following was stated by his Lordship to be a summary of the parliamentary returns, showing the amount of decrease in the population of field Negroes:—In Antigua, the decrease in 11 years was 868—in Berbice, in 9 years, 1844—in Demerara, in 12 years, 13,367—in Grenada, in 12 years, 2,597—in Jamaica (and this was the island where a naval officer said he found the Negroes so happy that he almost wished he had been born a slave!)—in Jamaica, the decrease was, in 12 years, 19,163—in Montserrat, in 11 years, 131—in Nevis, in 11 years, 192—in St. Christopher's, in 10 years, 69—in St. Lucia, in 13 years, 1942—in St. Vincent's, in 10 years, 1248—in Tobago, in 10 years, 2803—in Tortola, in 10 years, 143—in Trinidad, in 13 years, 6068. The decrease in these 13 colonies, therefore, on an average of 11 years and a half, was 50,435. (*Hear! hear!*) In the Mauritius, the decrease in 10 years and three quarters was 10,767. These facts were indisputable, and what reply could be made to them? Why, the planters attempted to meet the case, by alleging that the decrease arose out of the inequality in the number of the sexes. This, however, must utterly fail: for the respective numbers of males and females in these 13 colonies were as follows—males 381,191, females 374,110. (*Hear! hear!*)

He might also take a particular case. On the estates of Fahie and Orton, in St. Christopher's, there were 140 slaves, and the proportion of women to men was exactly that most likely to increase the population. But what was the fact, in the course of 12 years—that is, from 1812 to 1824, at which time the estate passed into new hands, and a census was taken? Why, out of 140 slaves, only 60 remained alive; and, of these sixty, 3 out of 20 were recruits by purchase, who had also perished.

There was another remarkable case in the island of Trinidad. A number of slaves, who had escaped from the United States, landed in that island between the years 1815 and 1821, where they were put under restraint, and made to work, but without being subjected to the whip. And what was the consequence? In nine years the increase was 147, the original number being 774. At the same time, in this same colony, the decrease among the slaves subjected to the whip was at the rate of $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

This then, said his Lordship, was the irrefragable proof to which he had referred. Here was a waste of life by slow torture. Slaves half

fed were worked beyond their strength, till exhausted nature sunk under a weight of cruelty and oppression unparalleled in the history of the world. If this were not so, why was the decrease confined to sugar colonies, and in them to field Negroes who were subjected to the whip? But, perhaps, it might be desirable to show a little more in detail how the system operates. What amount of labour is required, and what is the amount of maintenance to support such exertion? It was presumed by the Colonist that the Negro is an indolent animal, and that he, like most other natives of hot climates, is disinclined to labour. This might be true; but surely it was no less true that man, like all other animals (but man, perhaps, in a superior degree), has instinctive feelings, from which he learns to seek that which is salutary, and to avoid that which is injurious; nature warns him, by the aching of his limbs, to seek timely repose; and as, in the hottest climates, great exertion is attended with the most danger, so are the natives of such climates more especially warned against a degree of labour amounting to excess. But these warnings of nature do not suit the interest—the short-sighted policy of the planter. The aching of the limbs, painful as it is, must be overcome by some powerful incentive to noxious exertion, or salutary repose (as requisite to life as food) would ensue. Then the cart-whip was resorted to: the happy expedient of the planter. The aching of the limbs, the stiffness of the joints, were to be overpowered by less endurable pain. That which a man will not do for wages, or any other earthly inducement, he was found, by experiment, to do to escape torture. How many hours are the slaves, was it supposed, compelled to work in the twenty-four? No less than sixteen; that is, fifteen and a half hours, by the Colonist's own account, for seven months in the year; and eighteen hours during the remaining five months, being crop time, making an average of sixteen hours throughout the year.

He would just allude to an assertion, to which it appeared to him almost incredible that any countenance should be given by the persons of high rank who, he lamented to say, promulgated it: namely, that the condition of the British peasant was inferior to that of the slave in the West Indies. Let them institute a comparison to test the character of this monstrous assertion. The slave was employed for sixteen hours a-day in a burning climate, and constantly goaded to the *maximum* of exertion by the application of the cart-whip. The English labourer selected his employment, and was always at liberty to pause when he pleased. The slaves worked in "gangs:" they were arranged in rows, they were all obliged to work with equal vigour, and none was permitted to wait for his fellow; and if any dared to stop (even a delicate woman, who might be placed side by side with a robust man, with a view to equal labour,) the lash of the cart-whip was instantly used to quicken reluctant nature. This was the character of the slave labour and its stimulus. What comparison then could be instituted between the condition of the English peasant and that of the trampled and fettered African?

He remembered a case that occurred in Berbice, as detailed in the official report of the Protector of slaves. Four females complained of

the grievance of being overworked ; and on just grounds—for they were allowed but three hours in thirty-six for the enjoyment of rest. They were obliged to work by night as well as day. What was the issue of their complaint ? Did they obtain a remission of labour ? Yes ; but it was only to suffer confinement in the stocks during four days and nights. Such was one of many atrocities which he could enumerate on the evidence of undisputed and indisputable documents.

The noble Lord proceeded briefly to advert to the insufficient maintenance allotted to the slave, which he held to be, in a considerable measure, attributable to the conflicting interests of the proprietors and the managers of colonial estates—it being the proprietor's interest to secure the longevity of the slaves, and the manager's interest to force the largest amount of produce in order to increase the amount of his commission. His Lordship, after expressing his sense of the inexpediency of making any further observations when there was a number of gentlemen waiting to address the assembly, said that he would conclude by declaring, in the words of a high authority, that “such were the evils of slavery that they admitted but of one means of mitigation—to limit the time of their duration ; and such the effects of slavery that they admitted but of one cure—total abolition.” (*Great Applause.*) His Lordship then proposed the following resolution :—

“That the almost universal voice of the British nation, raised in upwards of 6000 Petitions to Parliament, has pronounced the slavery in which 800,000 of their fellow-subjects are held to be wholly repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, to the claims of humanity and justice, and to the principles of the British Constitution ; and that nine long years have elapsed since Parliament, concurring in this sentiment, unanimously resolved to put an early period to the guilt and crime of slavery, by restoring its victims to their just rights as British subjects ; but that hitherto little has been done to effect that object.”

Mr. BUXTON rose to second the resolution. He felt considerable distress, he said, at being called forward at that particular moment, and should have been glad if his noble friend had not been restrained by an over-scrupulous sense of delicacy from extending that address which contained so many important facts. The Society and its supporters were under great obligations to the noble Lord ; for it might be that they would have but few friends so firm in the momentous hour that was approaching—a period most important to the interests of the Negro slave.—He must confess that he had been almost alarmed at the commencement of the noble Lord's address, in which he glanced at events then passing in the political world ; and regretted lest that great meeting should become absorbed in the consideration of rights slight and insignificant, compared with those vital and primary rights which it was their unceasing object to restore—(*cries of “No, no,” mingled with marks of approbation.*) He must be permitted to repeat,—and no man had a deeper impression of the value of those rights which Englishmen were struggling to obtain—that, however important were the political privileges in question, still they were comparatively insignificant when

weighed in the scale with those that had been wrested from the slaves—(*cries of "No," and applause.*) He would not obtrude remarks that were foreign to the occasion; but he entreated those who heard him only to consider what they were seeking for the Negro. What they were seeking for him was not the future possession of a paramount interest like that of which their fellow subjects had been deprived, but it was to secure for him the common claim of the whole human race—the mastery of his very life and limbs.—But he would cry a truce to politics, and proceed to the subject that had called them together.

He must acknowledge that it was with feelings of concern and disappointment that he at present addressed them. When before them last year he indulged the hope that the period was not distant when he should be able to congratulate the opponents of slavery, if not upon its extinction, at least upon an act passed for its extinction. He hoped that its death-warrant would soon have been signed, and that this powerful nation would have shown itself awake to what was due to justice, common honesty, and a Christian profession, and have renounced and repented of that crime of crimes, the permission of Negro slavery. (*Applause.*) No such tidings, however, had he to communicate; but in their stead he had to report one of the most extraordinary events within the range of his recollection: they had asked for the extinction of slavery, and they had got a Committee of the House of Lords! (*Hear, hear.*) Now what did they want with a Committee of the House of Lords? Was it to solve their doubts as to the excellence or the evil of slavery? Was there any man so stupid as to dare to tell them that they wanted a Committee of the Lords to announce that slavery was in very truth, and in reality, a crime? (*Applause.*) Were they to be informed by the advice, counsel, and wisdom of that body, that slavery was a blessing in the West Indies, but a curse in every other portion of the globe? Did the British public, at this day, require to be informed as to the fact that slavery hardens and corrupts the heart of him who is the unfortunate agent in its infliction, and makes him in mind and body a slave?—facts notorious to every person in these realms, always excepting the Committee of the House of Lords! (*Hear, hear.*) Were that Committee called upon to consider whether the Negro be a man, or an inferior animal, there would be some sense in their appointment: by determining this point, they would have gone a good way to settle the question at issue. If it were once established that the Negro was not a man, then they would have no right to object to his being treated as a marketable commodity. But if, on the other hand, he were held to be a man, then assuredly they were not warranted in treating him as a beast. (*Applause.*) If the Committee had been appointed to enquire whether the European or the West Indian application of the doctrine, "Do unto all men as you would that men should do unto you," were the correct one, he should have been glad, because its profound investigations might have discovered that they had all been in error, and that the true interpretation was, "Do unto all men, except blacks, as you would that men should do

unto you; but, with regard to the blacks, do with them what you please." (*Applause.*) Had it indeed been a Committee acknowledging that slavery was a crime, in the sight of God and of man, and enquiring how they might get rid of it in the best, safest, and speediest manner, he should have acquiesced in the propriety of its appointment; but a Committee assembled to enquire whether it was decent to flog females—whether it was merciful to sever the ties of kindred, to tear the wife from the husband and the child from the parent—whether it was equitable to submit our fellow-creatures to the torture of the cart-whip—whether it accorded with the principles of religion to turn the Sabbath into a market-day—and whether it was consistent with nice morality to despoil a man of his liberty, and burthen his limbs with grinding bonds—these assuredly were the last questions on which he should deem it necessary to advise with their Lordships. (*Applause.*) He would not stop to enter into an examination of the composition of that Committee. He had indeed been told that a great proportion of its members had a direct interest in the question of slavery; and he would put it to the world whether, if one party in a suit were a powerful English noble and the other a poor Negro slave, the issue would be doubtful; was it righteous, was it just, was it decent, that the West-Indian planter should sit in judgment on West-Indian Slavery? (*Hear.*) He would not anticipate the verdict which that Committee was likely to pronounce, but he should be sorely disappointed if it failed to be a panegyric upon slavery. (*Laughter and applause.*) If there were not among the witnesses that would be brought forward some who had seen slavery in all its blessedness, and wished to participate in its joys, he should, he repeated, be disappointed if the verdict did not prove consonant to the views of a noble Lord, who once designated the West Indies as a paradise to the Negro slaves. He would abstain from dwelling farther on this point: he hoped that this intelligent meeting perceived the object of the Committee: he hoped they did not misunderstand the motives that had led to its formation: it was hardly possible to misinterpret the shouts of triumph with which the appointment of it was hailed by the West India body, or to conceive that it was not like the similar proceedings of that body at a former period—a pretext for delay, and nothing else. (*Applause.*)

Looking on the formation of this Committee as a calamity to their cause, but feeling assured that he was surrounded by those who also looked upon it as a calamity to their cause, and who, mourners in heart, regarded the measure as the last stroke to the Negro's defeated and expiring hopes,—with the sentiments that he entertained, under a sense of bitter disappointment,—there was a matter of practical business which he wished to bring before the assembly. Were they, he demanded to know, all of one mind? were they, in one word, for emancipation?—for total emancipation? (*Great applause*)—for emancipation with as little delay as honest necessity would allow? (*Renewed applause.*) These were his doctrines, and he wanted to ascertain whether or not they were theirs. (*Loud and unanimous tokens of approval.*) He had been driven into this declaration—he

had not always thus expressed himself; but seeing what was passing, and what had passed, he was compelled to embrace the conclusion that emancipation, total and early emancipation, was now the only battle they ought to fight. (*Great applause.*) There were persons among them, to whom he gave every credit for honest intentions, who were for the mitigation of slavery. (*Cries of "No, no."*) Yes, there were, he begged to say, such persons among them, but he wished to have that question settled. (*Hear.*)

Let him not be misunderstood; he was not disposed to go along with some of their friends, who desired to move farther and faster than prudence could sanction. He alluded to the placards which had recently been affixed to the walls of the metropolis. These were not the work of the Anti-Slavery Society; he said it with the utmost respect for the good and brave men with whom they originated; but it was important that it should be known that they were not put forth by the Anti-Slavery Society.

Yet, while making this disclaimer, he would add that he did not belong to that party who advocated the adoption of mitigating measures; though at the same time he did not object to mitigation, in whole, or in part. He was glad to observe, in the returns of slave punishments from Demerara, that there had been a decrease of 40,000 stripes in a single year; and, if they could but save one wretch on the brink of suffering, he should not think that their exertions had been thrown away. But situated as they were, with their friends so feeble in parliament, and their enemies so powerful in parliament, he felt bound to speak out, and to declare that he would not seek that one wretch should be delivered, but that the system—he could not help calling it the accursed system! (*Hear*)—the system which destroyed annually so many thousands—that this system should be abolished (*applause*), and that the victims of British cupidity should be restored, not to any peculiarity of privilege, but to those natural rights which God in his mercy had given, and which man in his wickedness had taken away. (*Applause.*) Now would mitigation do this? (*Cries of "No, no."*) He really wished this question to be soberly considered among themselves, as it had been by him. Would mitigation do? (*"No, no."*) What had they been about for the last thirty or forty years?—Lords, Commons, and People of England? Why, mitigating slavery. And how had they succeeded? what had they achieved? (*A voice exclaimed, "Nothing."*) He would not take that answer, but he would apply to those veteran champions of their cause then among them, to tell what slavery was in former times, and what it was at present. There was Mr. William Smith (*applause*), who delivered speeches against slavery before he (Mr. Buxton) was born; there was their friend the Chairman, who was fighting their battles at the same time (*applause*); and there was Mr. Macaulay, than whom no man living had rendered, or could render, their cause more essential service. (*Applause.*) He would ask these veteran champions, What were the complaints made by Wilberforce, and Pitt, and Fox, at an earlier day? did not they complain of the torturing cart-whip---of the breaking-up of families---of the profanation of the Sabbath---of the absence of religious instruction

---and of the buying and selling of our fellow-creatures ? These were the complaints of the advocates of humanity forty years ago ; and what were they now ? Precisely the same---not one of all the grievous catalogue had been obliterated. (*Hear.*)

Nine years ago they witnessed the commencement of a new era.—A resolution on the subject of slavery was brought forward in the House of Commons, to which Mr. Canning proposed an amendment, pledging the legislature to the immediate mitigation and eventual extinction of slavery. Not only did he do this, but he traced the course that was to be pursued in order to accomplish the object of his amendment. He first directed his attention to the difference of sex, and recommended that they should abstain from the unseemly and disgusting practice of flogging females. “This,” said Mr. Canning, “is the first step, without which you cannot proceed farther.” A West Indian (Mr. Ellis) declared that this was a change which all would concede without hesitation. Well, the nation applauded—Parliament approved ; but had the obvious, the unobjectionable change yet been effected ? (*Hear.*) Why, not above six months had elapsed since that very question of flogging females came before the House of Assembly of Jamaica, when there was but one vote for and all the rest against the discontinuance of the practice ! (*Hear.*)

Then as to religious instruction. Mr. Wilberforce, in 1797, moved for the abolition of the slave-trade, and Mr. Ellis said “No—we can’t afford that—it would be a piece of roguery (*laughter*) ; but we’ll do something better—we’ll strike at the root of the system and make all the Negroes Christians.” (*Hear.*) A resolution was consequently adopted, decisive of a measure for affording to the Negro the blessings of moral and religious instruction. This resolution produced the effect it was doubtless intended to produce, namely, it lulled the people asleep for another ten years, which was, he supposed, the end contemplated by the Committee of their important and dignified friends the Lords ; but, as to its making the Negroes Christians, they would appreciate its efficiency by the fact that Mr. Ellis, who moved the resolution in 1797, this same gentleman (now Lord Seaford) said in a place which he must not name, on the 17th of April, 1832, that, prior to the year 1823, there was not one Christian Negro in the West Indies, but, continued he, “a great change has occurred since that period, and they are all Christians now.” (*Hear.*) Now, if he (Mr. Buxton) could entertain such a belief—if he could leave this meeting with a sense of the truth of this statement, he should feel a degree of exultation, at that moment very foreign to his heart. Something of importance they had done, but he would disdain to assume the credit of doing what had not been done at all. What ! were the Negroes all—
all Christians ? Let them inspect the symptoms. Shortly after the passing of Mr. Canning’s resolutions came the tidings of the murder of the missionary Smith. Close upon this event followed the destruction of the chapels in Barbadoes. Then came the Toleration Act of Jamaica in 1826, which was applauded to the skies by the West Indians, as indicating the excess of liberality, but which, when it ar-

rived in England, was, notwithstanding, rejected by three successive governments, because, to borrow the language of Mr. Huskisson, "it was the violation of that toleration which was the right of every English subject." (*Applause.*) Then came the persecution—the trial, conviction, and punishment of Christian Negroes for the crime of worshipping their God. (*Hear.*) He could scarcely expect that persons unacquainted with the evidence could lend credit to an account of these excesses, but he would stake his character on the accuracy of the fact that Negroes had been scourged—ay, scourged to the very borders of the grave—uncharged with the imputation of any crime save that of worshipping their God! (*Hear, hear.*) To these enormities succeeded the persecution of the shepherds of the flock. The religious public of England had sent these men forward, and the religious public must fight their battles in this country. Either withdraw your missionaries directly, or insist that justice shall be done to them! (*Enthusiastic applause.*) There could be no tampering with the question any longer. (*Hear.*) The missionaries had borne to the utmost pitch of endurance; and were he of this number he would relinquish his post if the whole religious public of England did not express their sentiments—he would not say with violence—but with a strength of determination that should produce the effect of bringing them justice. (*Applause.*) But where were the missionaries that had been sent to the West Indies? In jail!--he hoped they were in jail, for he dreaded lest they had been already sacrificed to the fury of those in whose eyes the most capital crime was the attempt to put an end to religious thralldom. (*Hear.*) Where were the slaves—their converts? Drenched in their own blood. Where were the chapels in which they ministered? Levelled to the earth or consumed by fire. Where were the colonial magistrates? (*Hear.*) Were *they* present at these scenes? were *they* active? Yes, active they were—in aiding the conflagration! (*Hear.*) And was there no semblance of aid in Jamaica for these injured persons? They had the "Church Union Society" (*a laugh*) organized for two distinct objects—the demolition of places of worship---and the banishment or murder of the missionaries! (*Hear.*) As to the *Jamaica Free Press*---but he would not insult the dignity of the meeting by adverting to its language---he would merely say that there had not been in our day such persecution as these wise and good men, who pursued their sacred vocation in the West India Colonies, had been constrained to endure. Let them bear in mind that it was one thing to fight with numbers---with the multiplied assurances of victory—on their side, and another and a greater thing to stand alone, and stem the torrent of wickedness and cruelty, which, wherever it predominated, created misery and desolation. He would say that hereafter they must make selections among these missionaries. Was there a man whose timid or tender spirit was unequal to the storm of persecution? Let them send him to the savage---let them expose him to the cannibal---let them save his life by directing his steps towards the rude haunts of the barbarian. But if there were a man of a stiffer, sterner nature---a man willing to encounter

obloquy, torture, and death---him let them reserve for the tender mercies of their Christian brethren and fellow countrymen---the planters of Jamaica. (*Applause.*)

He had, perhaps, dwelt longer than he ought to have done on the subject of religious instruction; but he had protracted his remarks because he was invariably met by the argument, "Surely you would not emancipate these people!---wait till they are prepared for freedom by the gentle influence of Christianity." He would have waited if he had been allowed to wait; but what said the people of Jamaica to "the gentle influence of Christianity?" They did not dread a tornado half so much. They announced plainly that their dungeons were ready, their whips prepared, their scaffolds erected, and these should preserve them from the contamination of a "church-going, psalm-singing population." Their own language had set forth that "any attempt to instil religious instruction into the minds of the Negroes was incompatible with slavery." They saw that religious instruction and slavery could not co-exist, and they naturally enough clung to their system. But were we to be deluded by that? Was Christianity to be on this ground withheld from the poor Negroes? To say to them "You shall be free, but only when you cease to be Heathens," was the same as saying "You shall not be free at all"---it was, in fact, equivalent to the announcement that they should be free when they passed a certain barrier which they could not by possibility pass. They might just as well promise them liberty on condition of making their skin white. Could the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? It were quite as easy a task to accomplish either of these changes as to win the consent of the Jamaica planters to afford effective religious instruction to the Negroes. (*Applause.*)

What did the whole state of affairs in Jamaica prove? There, and in the other West India colonies, the state of affairs demonstrated that slavery was equally detestable for its physical cruelties as for its rancour against religion. Only look to the mean position in which we Christians stood with respect to the Negroes. What had we done to those innocent people? Doomed them to bondage. How had they merited such treatment at our hands? They had given us no provocation---they had been made the victims of crime, and we and our ancestors were the criminals. His noble friend who had just addressed them had dwelt on the diminution of numbers. We had mowed down these unfortunate beings---we had ground them under the iron heel of oppression---and as the climax of our iniquity we had not scrupled to shut them out from holiness and heaven, and had barred their advances on that path of peace which an all-merciful Providence had left wide open for people of every tongue and kindred, Jew and Gentile, bond and free. (*Applause.*) Now, was that rancour to Christianity necessary in the West Indies? Yes, it was good in a mercantile point of view to keep the Negroes as Heathens, in order that we might keep them as slaves. The planters did not object to religion as religion (*a laugh*), but they were averse to it because they were convinced that it and slavery could not go hand in hand. They felt bound to take the utmost precautions against the inroads of

divine truth, lest their imprudence might stir up an insurrection and the Bible be found to turn traitor. Now, if slavery and Christianity could not co-exist, it was incumbent on the people of England to stand forth and choose their side---to select between the word of God and the capricious cruelty of man. It was nonsense going on for ever holding public meetings: it was their duty to demand with united voice---whatever administration might chance to be in power---the total abolition of slavery as the only way of accomplishing the moral, religious, and intellectual improvement of the Negroes. (*Applause.*) When he called to mind the fact adverted to by his noble friend (Lord Suffield) that, contrary to the law of nature, in a country friendly to the increase of population, it had diminished with such frightful rapidity, he would tell all who countenanced such a system that they would have to account at a solemn tribunal for the 50,000 murders that had been committed through its agency. When he thought of this, and of the cart-whip, and the millions of stripes inflicted by that accursed instrument, he was at a loss for words to express his feelings. When he traced the system through its baleful ramifications, when he contemplated this black cluster of crimes, there was but one language, the language of divine inspiration, that could convey what passed within him. "They are a people robbed and spoiled; they are all of them snared in holes, and they are hid in prison-houses; they are for a prey and no man delivereth, for a spoil and no man restoreth." When they looked at the career of affliction of their brother man---for after all he was their brother, moulded in the same form, heir to the same immortality, and, though in chains and in suffering, on a level in the eyes of God with the proudest noble in that Committee which had been appointed to sit in judgment upon him (*applause*)---when he viewed him entering life by the desert track of bondage---when he viewed him writhing under the lash of his tormentor---when he saw him consigned to a premature and unregarded grave, having died of slavery---and when he thought of the preparation which we, good Christian men and women, had enabled him to make for his hereafter, there could be but one feeling in his heart, one expression on his lips.---"Great God! how long, how long, is this iniquity to continue?"---The hon. gentleman sat down amidst loud and general acclamations.

The Chairman then put the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The Rev. J. W. CUNNINGHAM then came forward; and loud cries were raised for the name of the speaker. This being duly announced---the Rev. gentleman began by stating it was no matter of surprise to him that his name and countenance should be unknown to many in that assembly. From the first moment in which he had begun to judge for himself as an English clergyman, he had felt the strongest indisposition to connect himself in any way with what he might call the topics of diurnal politics. To do so was, in his judgment, to descend from the high ground where divine providence had called him to move and to act, and to dishonour his profession. And he had found the constant effect of such a descent to be---not the production of a religious politician, but of a political priest---not of a

system of devout policy, but of worldly priestcraft—a system which looked mainly to the honour and self-aggrandizement of the offender. (*Hear and applause.*) But it by no means followed that, because a minister of religion was not to lend himself to subjects of ephemeral and party politics, the mere infusion of a certain quantity of political feeling into a moral or religious question should prevent him from giving his mind to that question. And he must say that the question now before him was infinitely far from a question of mere politics. It was, in the highest sense, a question of religion and morals. And one of the main injuries which had been inflicted upon it was—that it had not been sufficiently argued upon the wide basis of the gospel of Christ. Every argument of his hon. friend, Mr. Buxton, had touched some chord within him. But, when he passed from time to eternity, and enquired into the manner in which we had dealt with the immortal souls of the Negroes, the reasoning was irresistible; and he felt that a man acting on such principles must, in the end, subdue all enemies before him. (*Hear and applause.*)

When he had agreed to take any part in the proceedings of the day, he had taken time to consider to what party in that assembly he could hope to be of any use—and he had come to the conclusion to seek out, if it were possible to find him, any one man who was more ignorant than himself on the subject of slavery, and address himself to that single man—and to such he meant especially to speak.

The resolution he had to propose was in the following terms:—
 “That it is the duty of the Government and Parliament of this country to proceed without any farther delay to fulfil their pledge, and to adopt forthwith the necessary measures for the total abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions; it being now unquestionable that it is only by the interposition of parliament any hope can be entertained of peaceably terminating its unnumbered evils, or any security afforded against the recurrence of those bloody and calamitous scenes which have recently afflicted Jamaica.”

As he found that Dr. Lushington was to second this motion, who was, perhaps, of all men the best qualified to enter into the details of the question—and who would, perhaps, be so kind as to begin by telling us who were the “*Government*” referred to in the motion, and where the “*Parliament*” referred to would be in a few days—(*hear and laughter*)—he would not intrude upon subjects of which he was comparatively so ignorant. This, however, he would say, that he had little dependence, as to this work, on any Parliament. He was disposed to look higher, and rest his confidence upon the God and Father of all nations—and upon the accuracy of that immutable maxim—“truth is great and must prevail.”

In order, however, to account for his little reliance upon Parliament, and to give some instruction to that portion of his audience who might not have had the privilege, if a gentleman, of roasting under the gallery of the House of Commons, or, if a lady, of being smoked-dried in its chimney, he would endeavour to give them a slight sketch of what he saw and heard there on the occasion of the last motion made by Mr. Buxton for the extinction of slavery. The very instant

his honourable friend got up, a great hubbub arose---not the hubbub of gratitude and applause which had been heard to-day, but a West Indian hubbub (*laughter*)—for, as Mr. Wilberforce once said in Parliament on a similar occasion, “every animal has its cry” (*hear and laughter*), and there is a West Indian cry, with which Mr. Wilberforce was too familiar—and the object of that hubbub was, at once, and by a summary process, to put down Mr. Buxton. He did assure the meeting that, among the ten thousand reasons for sending his honourable friend to parliament, there were two not to be forgotten, that he was at least six feet high, and had a voice like a lion; for a feebler man or a feebler voice was no match for the West Indian legislators. (*Hear and laughter.*) After Mr. Buxton had spoken, a gentleman arose, who began by a beautiful descant upon the blessings of general liberty, and ended by an equally beautiful descant on the evils of individual liberty (*laughter*)—general liberty, according to this parliamentary orator, being the very best thing in the world, and individual liberty the worst. Like the early French philanthropist, whose benevolence was a circumference without a centre, embracing the whole world in its arms, but not caring a rush for any one man of whom it was composed. (*Laughter.*) Having gone through this beautiful descant, and endeavoured, as far as in him lay, to bind every existing evil upon the slaves, and to establish the fact of their present happiness, by their privilege to dance and get drunk on a Sunday, the honourable member finished, as he had began, by insisting loudly on his own intense hatred to slavery, his own intense attachment to the slaves, and his own burning desires for the promotion of religion and morality. It was a singular fact, that, touch any such advocate, at any one moment, in any one place, with the spear of Ithuriel, he was sure to start up a West Indian proprietor or agent. It was rare, indeed, to find a man who was not one of these, or who had not some private interest to secure, who was the parliamentary advocate of West Indian slavery. (*Hear.*) After this gentleman arose another, the possessor of £50,000 or 60,000 a year, and of course therefore, by personal experience, a capital judge of the trials of starving and naked men and women; and, after paying a high compliment to Mr. Buxton (not such a one as I find in a Jamaica newspaper in my hand—“that double, treble, fool, ass, Buxton, and his crew”) but a real compliment to his heart, though at the expense of his head (*laughter*), calling him at once the most tender and credulous of human beings—(how otherwise could Mr. Buxton have given credit to the facts he had so often stated?) He then adverted to flogging; but he much questioned whether the whip was ever used for field labour. And, as for flogging women, that was quite impossible. (*Laughter.*) What he wished was that a Committee, just such a Committee by the bye as the Government had recently been persuaded to appoint, should be appointed to examine into these very doubtful facts of the honourable member. And let it be remembered that the object of that Committee was not, as his honourable friend had stated, to enquire “whether flogging was a blessing;” who could doubt that? but “whether any man, woman, or child, had ever been

flogged?" After this gentleman arose a third, a cold-blooded lawyer---he meant no reflections, as he need not look far to find lawyers, not merely with clear heads, but warm hearts---who took upon himself to prove that *all* the improvements suggested by the Order in Council had been effected in the Colonies. And the manner in which he accomplished it was somewhat ingenious---he showed, or rather asserted, that, in one island, they had abolished flogging females; in another, the Sunday market; in another, had admitted slave evidence or encouraged marriage; and, by a figure of speech not unknown to rhetoricians of a certain order, went on to infer, this being the case, that *all* the islands had adopted *all* the improvements which had been suggested to them. Such was the logic of the House of Commons---of the Parliament, on which they were to rely. (*Laughter.*)

But he was afraid of appearing to trifle with this question. He would, therefore, now briefly advert to the notorious decision of the planters of Trinidad---that Slavery and Christianity were incompatible! Had they stopped short at the mere enunciation of this abstract truth? Far from it---the premises were---"Slavery and Christianity are incompatible." But what was the conclusion? "*Therefore*, get rid of Christianity." He desired to speak reverently; but, to his mind, that decision was to be paralleled only by that of the Jews---"save Barabbas," and "crucify Christ." Nothing, as far as he could see, could be more indefinable than the conduct of many of the leading authorities of Jamaica in the late insurrection. Magistrates had headed the parties to destroy the places of religious worship. It might come from him with better grace, as belonging to a body of persons not the immediate object of attack in this instance---he meant the ministers of the Church of England---but he desired on all general questions to take the broad, common, scriptural ground of our common Christianity, of the religion of truth and love, and he felt it right to say that religion *must* have "free course" in the West Indian Islands, and every minister of religion, Churchman and Dissenter, must have full and free liberty to publish the gospel of Christ to every sinful, miserable creature who was ignorant of it. Was it possible for Christians in England to come to the decision so universally adopted in the West Indies---that, if Christianity and slavery come into competition, slavery was to be preferred, and Christianity persecuted? What had the two systems done to the slave population? Slavery fastens on the manacles of the slave---Christianity dissolves and destroys them. Slavery starves the Negro---Christianity feeds him. Slavery strips the Negro naked---Christianity clothes him. Slavery drives the iron of affliction and ignorance into his soul---Christianity gives him the "glorious liberty of the children of God." (*Great applause.*) Such was the comparison; and let the people of England decide whether slavery should survive, and Christianity be extinguished, in that country of guilt and wretchedness. His honourable friend, Mr. Buxton, had called on the ministers of religion to "adopt effectual measures" for establishing the rights of the gospel in the West Indian islands. What measures did he mean? They were here to-day prepared for the adoption of all measures which were pacific, constitu-

tional, and scriptural. And he, for one, was ready to be here to-morrow, and the next day, and the next, till the great object was accomplished. But they must be directed what to do, so as not to let the feelings roused by this meeting evaporate in mere words.

There were two classes to whom, in conclusion, he would say a few words. Were there those present who regarded the question merely as a question of *benevolence*? Then, let them look at the fact stated by Mr. Buxton---that, in 11 years, there had been a destruction of 52,000 slaves; and let them remember that the extinction of these 52,000 slaves was a small part of the evil. The population ought not only not to have diminished by 52,000, but to have increased at the rate of doubling in 25 years. How many lives, then, had been destroyed in anticipation? How many Negroes had been, as it were, stifled in the birth? Of what torrents of Negro blood had slavery been guilty? Nothing, as he thought, could be more dreadful, affecting, and awful than the spirit of many of the planters as to the Negro population. Not satisfied to exclude them from all the privileges of this life, they wished, if it were possible, to legislate for another, and cut them off from all the privileges of eternity. And it was to this point he wished to address his concluding remarks. Had the religious part of the community even approached to the discharge of their duty as to this momentous question? Was the complaint of his honourable friend Mr. Buxton well grounded---that, both in and out of the House of Commons, they had failed him? If so, did they recollect that, while slavery remained, Christianity could make no real progress among slaves, or among the whites by whom they were controlled? All that the Negroes knew of Christianity they were left in many instances to learn from the planters---from apostles, that is, who came to them with a whip in one hand and a chain in the other. Were such teachers likely to recommend the gospel of the meek and lowly Jesus? Let Christians then especially arise to the discharge of their duty---let the Negroes look at Christianity through a right medium---let them see, in every professor of the gospel, a man whose first object it was to teach the ignorant, comfort the miserable, and liberate the enslaved. (*Cheers.*)

Dr. LUSHINGTON rose to second the resolution proposed by the Rev. Gentleman who had preceded him. He felt it incumbent on him to express his warm congratulations, that, at a time when a great national question was so strongly bearing upon the attention and devotion of the public---at a time when the household fire of liberty was burning in every British bosom---so numerous, so respectable a meeting had withdrawn itself from the absorbing topic of domestic rights, to devise means for the extinction of that oppression which; while it had reduced tens of thousands to degradation, had likewise accumulated a fearful load of guilt on the head of the oppressor. He had ever said that the condition of the slave was most deplorable, both as to his mind and his body. He had always considered him the innocent victim of the most iniquitous system of oppression that had ever prevailed, and which, for the sake of obtaining sordid advantages, had continued to stain the character of England for 200

years. But it was for the benefit of the master, as well as the redemption of the slave, that he appeared as a humble soldier in the sacred cause; and he besought those who heard him to reflect that, if at that very hour there were hundreds of thousands in this country so excited as to be ready to sacrifice life—fortune—all that was dear to them, to obtain what they conceived to be a security for their political liberties; he entreated them to bear in mind what this political liberty was, compared to the personal freedom denied to the slave. What was the question of a form of government, in comparison with the interest that should be excited in the mind of every reflecting man by the question of whether a fellow-creature should be allowed the right of enjoying that domestic security without which life itself became a burthen (*applause*)—whether he might protect the wife of his affections from the degrading lash—whether he might preserve inviolate the chastity of his daughter—whether he might retain the son of his hopes under his paternal care, to mould his character as a man, and confirm him in habits of obedience to his God?

The resolution before the meeting set forth the necessity of Parliament redeeming its pledge, and taking effective measures for the abolition of slavery. He would not detain them many minutes in demonstrating the necessity of obtaining the abolition of slavery, contrasted with a measure of mitigation. He had always contended that the existing laws relating to the treatment of slaves mitigated the system to a certain extent, only on the condition that the remaining part should be perpetuated. They might as well take a thief, condemned to the gallows for an offence of the greatest magnitude, and tell him they would allow him to perpetrate any misdeed, however atrocious, provided only that he did not overstep a line which they had drawn. The Almighty had invested man with no such powers of moral compromise. He had laid down an immutable line of truth and justice, and had explicitly pointed out where they were to act and where they were to forbear. It was not permitted them to say “We shall give so much to God and so much to Mammon.”

While reflecting on this subject, he had occasion to examine the laws and the records of the legal proceedings of the West India Islands, and had directed his attention to the Act passed by the Jamaica Legislature in 1831, which has been held up by the Committee of West Indian proprietors in London as the great prototype of the mercy, justice, and protection which they are desirous to extend to the slave population of their estates. This act had been framed by certain persons, to establish a system calculated to deceive the people of England, and not to dispense mercy to the slave. He would state to the meeting a few of the provisions of this law, that they might see the spirit in which it had been framed. For instance, it was provided that if a slave should strike or offer violence to a white man, he should be punished with death, or some lesser punishment according to the discretion of the court, unless he acted under his master's orders, or for the defence of his master's person or property. Now, what would any person in this country think of such a law and its exceptions—a law through which a man might be punished with death for the de-

fence of his own life—of his dearest connexions—for protecting his wife or his child—while he was privileged in resorting to violence when under his master's orders, or in defending his person or goods? (*Hear.*) The slave must submit unresistingly to every scorn—to every insult—to every injury: whatever might betide himself, not a muscle must he move against his white lord. But mark—to atone for this restriction, he was empowered to hazard life and limb at his gentle master's mandate—for the safety of his beloved person, and the security of his bales and his casks. Mark the distinction! (*Hear, hear.*) He could not have believed, but for the testimony of his eyes, that the world had produced men so blind to every sense of justice, so destitute of common feeling, as the framers of this law; and yet this was a law enacted within one year from the present hour by Christian men, boasting to be Englishmen, and followers of Christ. (*Hear, hear.*)

But this was not all. He would specify some of the compassionate regulations of this humane Code. By the clause for the limitation of slave-punishment it was enacted, that in the absence of the owner, attorney, or overseer, any person having charge of the Negroes might inflict ten lashes without being liable to undergo consequent investigation—so that any subordinate person left in charge of the slaves had full leave and liberty to punish to this extent according to his pleasure. But this power was nothing to that of the owner, attorney, or overseer. Each of these parties, when on the spot, for any cause, or for no cause beyond his personal whim or caprice, and without being liable to be called to any account, might inflict thirty-nine lashes of the cart-whip, and the punishment might be repeated after a short interval. Had it not been set forth in the Act, he could not have given credence to the legalized existence of powers so revolting—even after the refusal of religious instruction to the Negro. But, when once men abandoned the straight forward course prescribed by nature and morality, the understanding became mystified, they viewed their conduct only through their interests, and grew callous to the indignation which oppression, in all its gradations, awakens in the generous and unsophisticated heart.

Yet the answer to all that the Government had said, in its intercession for the Negroes, to the Colonial Assemblies, in substance, is, that they were most anxious to do their duty; and that, by way of a remedy for every possible injury, with a view to compensate for all defects in the legislature, the Colonists had established a Council of Protection, whose duty it was to administer justice between the slave and the master, and which is vested with authority to punish the party who unduly inflicted sufferings on the unfortunate slave. The report of the Committee of the West India body represented this Court as pledged to the strict performance of its duty. But, at the very period when this announcement was made, there appeared another West Indian report, which illustrated very strikingly the kind of protection that was afforded by this Council, namely, the case of Mr. Jackson, the Custos or Senior Magistrate of Port Royal in Jamaica, and two of his female slaves. The facts are given in a despatch from Lord Goderich to the Earl of Belmore, dated Nov. 1, 1831.

[Dr. Lushington's statement of this case was given in language so

forcible and affecting that many of the audience shed tears, and the ladies wept, many of them audibly; but this part of his speech has been so imperfectly reported that we adopt the following narrative of the facts from the Official Despatch of Lord Goderich.]

“ It appears that the elder of these slaves was the mother of the younger, and that they had both passed their lives in domestic service, and without having been employed in field labour. A dialogue seems to have taken place between Mrs. Jackson and one of her children and these women, in which it may be inferred that the slaves exhibited some violence of demeanour, attended with language unbecoming the relation in which they stood to Mrs. Jackson. It is not without a painful sense of the degrading light in which the narrative exhibits a lady in Mrs. Jackson’s rank of life, that I proceed with it. She with her own hands took a ‘supplejack’ and flogged the younger slave with it till the instrument broke. The flogging was then renewed with a whip. On this the mother broke out in violent remonstrances, when Mrs. Jackson (in terms which I will not venture to transcribe or to characterize) threatened to punish her. In her renewed remonstrance the mother stated that her mistress ‘had flogged her before Christmas, had laid her down and flogged her by the driver.’ The daughter is said to have then been placed in the corner of the room to stand up the whole day. The mother was placed in the stocks, and kept there ‘two or three weeks, night and day.’ At the end of that time she was carried to the other stocks, in a place called the hot-house, where she was kept ‘for about two or three weeks,’ the daughter being placed in those stocks from which her mother had been removed. For no less than four months these unfortunate women, though bred as domestics, were employed in the field, and, when not in the field, were confined in the stocks; and both the labour and the confinement were so arranged that, during the whole period of the punishment, they should have no opportunity of speaking to each other. This protracted confinement in the stocks appears to have been peculiarly strict, and even the Sundays were passed in this dreadful situation. Incredible as it might appear, the mother, even while labouring under fever and ague, was still kept in the stocks. She had lived for twenty-two years in the service of the family by whom she was thus treated.

“ The younger female, in her evidence, describes herself as having been beaten with a strap by the hands of Mr. Jackson himself; as having then been flogged by Mr. Jackson’s orders with a new cat; as having been confined in stocks so narrow as to wound her feet; as having been kept there at night for more than six weeks or two months. During her labours in the field, she states her arms, neck, and back, were blistered; that, on complaint being made of this to Mr. Jackson, he answered merely by a brutal oath, and that he proceeded to send for scissors, with a view to cut off her hair, to compel her to remove from her head, and place round her neck, a handkerchief, which was the only defence from the sun.”

It appeared, from the evidence referred to by Viscount Goderich, that the cruel treatment of these unfortunate females, and their nightly confinement in the stocks, were continued for very nearly six months,

namely, from the middle of January to the 4th of June, 1831. At the latter period, a complaint having been preferred to Dr. Palmer, a neighbouring magistrate, that gentleman interfered, and addressed a letter to Mr. Jackson to apprise him of the measures which he proposed to take for investigating the affair. Upon this, Mr. Jackson applied to Mr. Campbell Jackson, his own brother, who was also in the Commission of the peace, to undertake the investigation of the complaint, with a view to screen himself, of course, from the scrutiny of an independent enquirer; and Mr. C. Jackson accordingly summoned the two slaves before him.

This, continued Dr. Lushington, was the commencement of West Indian justice, and its progress was worthy of such a commencement. Without detaining the meeting by going over all the details of the proceedings, he would briefly state that the brother of the accused party having pronounced the complaints of the two slaves, in regard to the treatment above described, to be “frivolous and vexatious,” hurried the case, in defiance of the remonstrances of Dr. Palmer (who had appealed to the Governor) into the hands of a “Council of Protection” (as it was called), “every member of which virtually owed his appointment to the magistracy to the recommendation of the Custos whose conduct they were required to investigate.” And what was the award of this “Council of Protection?” It was (to use again the words of the Colonial Secretary) “that there were not sufficient grounds for a prosecution; that neither the letter nor the spirit of the law had been infringed.” (*Cries of shame!*) Now he (Dr. Lushington) believed that the Council had arrived at a true decision. (*Hear.*) As a living man, destined to answer before the throne of everlasting justice, he believed that the statute was not framed either in the letter or spirit of equity; he believed that it was framed not for the protection of the slave from cruelty, not to serve as a shield against oppression, but as a means to perpetrate all the horrible excesses of arbitrary will---to give full scope to the power and authority of the master, uncontrolled by responsibility---without the fear of incurring the possibility of punishment for the outrages offered by his distempered passions to the unfortunate beings whom Providence had, for a season, committed to his charge. (*Applause.*) But the decision of the Council of Protection went on to state “that, in cases of confinement, the duration of the punishment was not limited by law.” Was that justice? Did that show the spirit of amelioration---of improvement of the condition of the slave, which the colonist had so often promised, and which that very Act itself affected to give? Thus it appeared that the limitation of imprisonment was to be determined only by the will of the master; for the Council added to their decision that the owner was bound only to show that his slave had a sufficiency of necessary support during the time. The Council, indeed, did admit that, though the language used by the slaves was bad, “it would have been desirable that a less protracted punishment had been resorted to by the parties accused, or that they, on finding confinement had not the effect intended, had brought the slaves to trial.” “Here,” said Lord Goderich, in his notice of the case, “was a mother, for the alleged offence of intemperate language,

compelled to witness the scourging of her daughter." Who was there, he begged to ask, in that assembly---was there a mother present who could see her daughter violently scourged before her face and remain silent? The feelings of human nature were outraged by the sight, and that feeling which was above all the tenderest and strongest---maternal attachment.

The rest of the melancholy tale was told in a few words. After the decision of the "Council of Protection," the Attorney-General, by order of the Governor, preferred a bill of indictment against Jackson and his wife to the Grand Jury, which, as might be expected, was ignored, and thus the parties screened from all legal punishment.

Lord Goderich did what he could to mark his sense of this atrocious case: he directed that the two Jacksons should be forthwith dismissed from the magistracy; and desired the Governor, unless some local enactment existed to prevent such a measure, to instruct the Attorney-General to proceed in the case by a criminal information.*

But what he (Dr. Lushington) wanted to know was, the condition of the poor slaves, the wretched mother and daughter, thus left in the power of an irritated man and a merciless woman, who could of course wreak their anger and disappointment upon them with impunity? The feelings of this man and woman (they scarcely deserved the name) were pretty well evinced as to what they could do, in the manner in which they had already punished these two poor wretches; for the mother and daughter were kept apart, and not allowed to see each other during the whole period of their confinement. Could they, then, hope for much better treatment in future? And, since the law allowed the owner to inflict thirty-nine lashes of the cart-whip on his slave without investigation, what day could they say, "We are safe, and free from persecution?" But the cruelty of Jackson was not confined to the imprisonment of these creatures. It was further shown in the brutal treatment of the younger slave, while suffering from the effects of a scorching sun, in the field, as described in Lord Goderich's letter.

[Here the learned gentleman stated some of the revolting facts of the case, by which the audience were powerfully affected.]

And, with such facts before him, was he not justified in saying that neither the letter, nor spirit, nor practice of the law, was ever intended to prevent cruelty? Was he not justified in saying that the monstrous evils which had grown up, under this odious system, required immediate redress, and that there was no hope of any effectual measure of that kind but from the interference of the Legislature at home? Was there any one, he would not say in that assembly, but in all England, so great a dolt as to expect it from the legislature of Jamaica, when he knew that the representative of that Island in

* The decisive conduct of Lord Goderich in regard to this flagrant affair, as well as the entire spirit and tenor of his official despatch on the subject, claims our most unqualified respect and applause. We regret that we cannot find room here for his Lordship's stringent and unanswerable observations on the whole case; but a full statement of the facts, with his Lordship's comments, will be found in the "Anti-Slavery Record" for June, 1832.

this country [Mr. Burge] had publicly, in the hearing of persons now present, and to the disgust of the House of Commons, asserted the claim of the owner to his slave as to his freehold? Surely those who asserted that man had property in the life and liberty of his fellow-man were not the parties to whom should be left the task of legislating for any real amelioration of his condition.

He would now say a word as to the constitution of the Committee appointed by the House of Lords on this subject; and he must observe that, of all the ingenious subterfuges to which detected guilt had ever had recourse for obtaining a temporary respite, that Committee—that curious measure—that ingenious device—was inferior to none. He unfortunately belonged to the law, and he had got, somehow or another, he knew not how, it might be perhaps from his legal reading, or from the study of moral and religious works, that old prejudice, that a man who was to be judge in a case ought not to have any interest in the matter on which he was to decide. But the Committee of the House of Lords seemed to be formed upon the principle that men should be selected as judges just in proportion to the interest they had in the matter before them; and, in order to let the meeting see this, he would read to them the names of some of that Committee. There were among its members as follows—the Duke of Buckingham, a slave-owner; the Earl of Harewood, a slave-owner; Lord St. Vincent, a slave-owner; Lord Combermere, a slave-owner; Lord Howard De Walden, a slave-owner; Lord Holland, a slave-owner (*hear, hear*); the Marquis of Sligo, a slave-owner; and not the son only, but the father—we had now Lord Seaford, a slave-owner. If he did not declare to the meeting that he had no very high respect for a Committee of the House of Lords, let it not be supposed that he had not formed a very strong opinion on that subject; however, to prevent any mistake, if those present would not repeat it, he would tell them that he had no respect for that Committee. (*Cheers and laughter.*)

But could they imagine the people of England to be such dolts as to have one particle of confidence in a body so constituted? He must say that, with the exception of Lord Suffield, there was not one member of that body who had ever distinctly pledged himself to the total abolition of slavery. (*Hear.*) There was indeed upon the Committee the name of another Lord who was as friendly to the unhappy Negroes as a man could be who thought that it was enough to make their chains lighter and their pains less grievous, but who would not pledge himself unqualifiedly to support their just claims to freedom—he meant Lord Goderich. (*Hear, hear.*) He regretted deeply that that noble Lord was not able to carry with him into his retirement the consolation that, whilst his office gave him the power (as it imposed upon him the duty), he had advised his Majesty to recommend to parliament a measure for the total and speedy extinction of that diabolical system. (*Cheers.*) Let him add, that if ministers, whoever they should be, would not endeavour to do their duty to God and man on this great question, he would, to the extent of his humble abilities, never flinch from declaring his sentiments, without reference to party.

He believed that there were men on the Lords' Committee who were utterly ignorant on the subject---men who did think that great progress had been made in the religious instruction of the slaves in our colonies, and that by the Church of England; and who also believed that, though the planters so much disliked the Baptists and Wesleyans, they would encourage the services of the Church of England. But he believed that those very planters would detest the Church of England as cordially and sincerely as they did the Baptists or Wesleyans, if they did not think that the clergy of that church were not very earnest, or pains-taking, in the spread of Christianity among the slaves. The subscriptions which had been made by the planters for the erection of churches in the West Indies were deemed a proof of their disposition, by means of the Church of England, to promote religious instruction there; but he laid little stress upon that fact; and when he knew how popular one reverend member of that church (the Rev. Mr. Bridges), the libeller of Mr. Wilberforce and the tyrant of his own slaves, was among them,—he was convinced that it was only if the planters could have men of the Church of England of that stamp that they would be disposed to give them encouragement. (*Hear.*) The Church of England, he must say, had for a century and a half been grossly negligent in giving instruction to the slave population of our colonies. Whatever was done in that way (and much had been done for the dissemination of Christianity amongst the slaves) was done, not by the Church of England, but by the Moravians, Baptists and Wesleyans. He was aware that he laid himself open to misrepresentation in this matter, but this was a time at which the truth ought not to be concealed.

As to the late rebellion in Jamaica, he would not say that it had been directly incited by white men, or caused by their rebellious example. It was enough to say that rebellion was the natural and inevitable consequence of slavery: and he believed that as long as the condition of the slave remained as it was—as long as the cart-whip was used as the stimulus to labour—as long as the parent might be separated from his wife or child at the caprice of his owner—so long, if man in those colonies was regulated by the common impulses of our nature, would the slave owner be without security against the recurrence of rebellion. The late rebellion had been productive of great loss of life at the moment, and hundreds were afterwards sacrificed on account of it; but he should like to know in what form an indictment would be drawn up against a slave for having taken part in that rebellion. If it were drawn up in this country, it would be something in this shape:—That he (the slave), being instigated by the devil, had in the first instance been taken from his home, his friends, and his country; that he had been fettered and brought a prisoner across the seas to the West Indies, and there by the interchange of a little money, between those who brought him and those who received him, he was condemned to labour for life for a man to whom he had never done any injury; and that he had (by the same instigation of the devil) endeavoured to release himself from that wretched condition! The guilt of the Negro

consisted, in fact, in his seeking to recover that freedom which was his inalienable right. Then, as to his punishment, he would ask, could any man, who had any sense of justice, say that he deserved death who had done this without having violated any one law of humanity? He must contend that those who condemned a slave to death, on such grounds, would draw down upon themselves the damning guilt of taking away an innocent life. The utmost severity of the law had been exercised upon hundreds of individuals whom no man of common sense or justice could pronounce guilty of a criminal act.

The honourable and learned gentleman then proceeded to contend that the only effectual way of putting an end to the evils of slavery was the total abolition of slavery itself. The question of profit or loss, which might be urged as a ground for the continuance of slavery, he regarded as absurd and wicked; no man had a right, he contended, for any acquisition of wealth to violate the laws of God and nature. In England, even in cases where guilt was certain, there were many who strongly disapproved of taking away life, though forfeited according to penal law; but, in the West Indies, sentence of death was inflicted on those who in their efforts to gain freedom did not violate a single principle of morality.

Before he sat down he would beg to impress upon the Meeting (and he would beg of them to impress it on their friends) the necessity, in every future Election, of urging on those who came forward as candidates that they could hope for no favour or confidence from the electors, unless they gave a most deliberate, a most explicit, pledge to support the immediate and total abolition of slavery. (*Applause.*) Let them not be satisfied with ambiguous answers or vague promises of considering the subject; but let them bind down every individual whom they sent to parliament by the strongest, the fullest, and the most explicit pledge, that he would vote for total and speedy abolition. If this were done, the final settlement of that question could be no longer delayed, but without this assurance all governments would be alike unable to afford them co-operation. Let them recollect that the West Indian body, to whom they were opposed, were a strong and powerful body, an embattled phalanx, bound together by what they considered their common interests, the strongest bond of union, and that nothing but the most united and energetic efforts of the people of this country could be sufficient to overcome the opposition of that body. Earnestly did he implore the people to make those exertions. Let them recollect that, in thus acting, they served the cause of Him who made them; that their great object was to rescue 800,000 of their fellow-subjects from slavery, and to change, as he might call it, the still worse condition of their unhappy owners. (*Loud Applause.*)

The Resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. WILLIAM SMITH, before he proceeded to propose the resolution entrusted to him, would endeavour to set the meeting right with regard to a point which had been adverted to. He would assert on behalf of that revered man, Mr. Wilberforce, and of those who had acted with him, that it could not be justly said they had as yet achieved nothing. On the contrary, he thought he could point

out essential services which they had rendered in the early stages of the slavery question. In every great enterprise—to every large army—there must be pioneers; and neither Hannibal nor Buonaparte could have scaled the precipitous Alps without having assistance of this class to clear their way. When they commenced their efforts on behalf of the injured Africans, an attempt was made, under the auspices of some of the slave-traders of Liverpool, to deny to the Negro the claims of humanity. They actually denied that they were men! (*hear, hear*); and one of the reasons assigned, in support of their opinion, was, that the murder of a slave in Barbadoes was punishable only by a fine of £11. 5s. 0d. Wilberforce and his friends (among whom the name of Clarkson should ever be recorded with distinguished honour and gratitude) succeeded in driving out of the field these first and most disgraceful of the opponents of negro emancipation. And at no distant period (only thirty years ago) Lord Seaforth, then Governor-General of Barbadoes, desired the Attorney-General of that island to introduce a bill into its legislative assembly to make the wilful killing of a slave—murder. Nor was this bill proposed as an act of justice, but because a man in the garb of a soldier—a militia-man—had wantonly put to death a negro woman by a thrust of his bayonet. He was tried and found guilty, with the salvo “if the killing of a slave constituted legally a murder.” Under these circumstances the Attorney-General applied for the Act, and declared “it to be impossible to refuse it, for, as the law stood, it was (as he expressed it) in the power of any planter to metamorphose his dwelling into a slaughter-house for human beings.” In answer to this officer, a gentleman got up, and, designating the proposition as an insult to the colony, moved, and successfully, its rejection. Attention having been called to the circumstances in this country, the wilful slaying of a negro was soon after legislatively pronounced to be murder. That was the first point in which the friends of the slave were triumphant. They persevered, and, after the struggle of years, they succeeded in 1807 in getting the Parliament of the United Kingdom to denounce the slave-trade as “an abomination not to be endured,”—notwithstanding the opposition of the West Indian body, who defended the vile traffic to the last moment. The next step, and it was no inconsiderable one, had been achieved by the exertions of the present chancellor Lord Brougham. Through his able endeavours, the practice so unblushingly defended in previous years was degraded to the rank of a felony, in which most fitting position it at present stood. The West Indians had continued for 20 years maintaining the advantages that arose to the country from a practice which, if now detected, would incur the penalties of felony. In addition to these beneficial changes, he was of opinion that the abolitionists had also done something in attracting such an assembly as that which he looked upon with infinite gratification. The spirit of the nation had been roused, and it was only necessary to prevail upon those who had not hitherto joined their ranks to read and reflect. When it was once established that a negro was a man, and that to steal him was felony, the principle of the object they desired to attain

was virtually admitted; and, if they went on as they had begun, they could not fail in a short time to secure, in its full extent, the object itself. At that hour of the day he would not farther detain them, but would move,—

“That, under these impressions, this Society has contemplated with no small astonishment and alarm the appointment of a Committee of the House of Lords, not for discussing the means of abolishing Slavery, but for now commencing an inquiry into the nature and effects of Slavery, although these have been conclusively established by the evidence of the last forty years.”

Mr. O'CONNELL, who was received with loud plaudits, seconded the resolution. The Honourable and Learned Gentleman said that it was by brevity alone that he could compensate so flattering a reception: indeed his sole claim to be heard at all was included in one sentence—he was an abolitionist. (*Applause*). He was for speedy—immediate abolition. (*Great applause*.) He cared not what caste, creed, or colour slavery might assume; he was for its total—its instant abolition. Whether it were personal or political—mental or corporeal—intellectual or spiritual, he was for its immediate abolition. (*Renewed applause*.) He would submit to no compromise with slavery—his demand was for justice in the name of humanity, and according to the law of the living God. (*Applause*.) Let him, however, not be mistaken. He would not say that he was opposed to the mitigation of slavery—he would, on the contrary, support every measure for the mitigation of slavery, provided always that it were a real mitigation, and not a West Indian delusion—(*applause*)—provided it were not that mockery of mitigation which—

—“Kept the word of promise to the ear
And broke it to the hope.”

The meaning of real mitigation was, that it would strike off some particular portion of slavery—that it would make the master less a master—the slave less a slave, and in so doing would make the master less a tyrant; for it was not in human nature for man to have dominion over his fellow-creature without degenerating into a tyrant, in consequence of possessing that dominion. (*Applause*.) And what did this prove? Why the radical, essential, and perpetual injustice of slavery. He denied that any man could be justly the slave of another. If they asked the West Indians why they were opposed to the abolition of slavery, the reason assigned would be, that to take this step would be to rob them of their property. He would meet it at once, and deny the proposition—(*Hear*.) He would tell them that *they* had robbed men of that which it was not in the power of their victims to bestow—nor to sell---namely, the soul's unchanging equality, which belongs to all persons, and apart from the institutions of civil society. There was a natural equality between man and man, and there could not, therefore, justly be any such relations as owner and slave. But in this case the men did not even sell themselves---(*Hear*)---he denied that they could make a transfer of their freedom---but, supposing that they could, what power, he would enquire, had they over the liberties of

their unborn children?---(*Hear.*) Lived there the parent who could contemplate with other feelings than anguish and horror the prospect of giving birth to a brood of slaves? Where was the mother who could rejoice to think that her pains and perils would be rewarded by the chuckling laugh of an infant, were that infant doomed to be a slave? (*Applause.*) He would tell the West Indians that they could put forward no plea for delaying emancipation on the ground of having a property in the slave. They could not have such property---it was in contravention of the everlasting decree of heaven. He would admit that they had a property in houses, sugar canes, plantations, sheep, and oxen, ay and in swine. (*A laugh.*) He would give them the swine, but this would not satisfy them, for they placed pig and man in the same class, and called them both property. But then, said the Colonists, must they be compelled to feed negroes that were not their property whether they worked or not? To this he would answer---“No; but when they did labour equitable wages should be paid to them, and he who could get labour and pay ought not to be fed except by the produce of his industry.” Let the Negro have the stimulus of wages to undertake employment, and the punishment of starvation if he refused to labour. (*Hear.*) But then it was assumed that the negro was not prepared for the reception of freedom. Admitting the fact, who was it that had unfitted him for the exercise of his rights? The planter! and surely he who stood between the negro and every species of instruction---he who impiously and blasphemously placed himself between the negro and his God---should not be permitted to tell him that slavery must continue to be his portion, because he had unfitted him for freedom. (*Applause.*) But he denied the position. Who would pretend to assert that it was easier to bear slavery than freedom? When the negro bore the horrors and cruelties of bondage, where was the insolent man who would declare that he could not bear the privileges of freedom? (*Hear.*) The period had arrived when every man who had honest feelings should avow himself the advocate of abolition. He who tolerated and countenanced crime was himself a criminal, and wherever he (Mr. O'Connell) was able to utter his sentiments with effect, whether there or elsewhere, his voice should be raised for liberty, for the complete enfranchisement of the slave. (*Applause.*)

He did not choose to interfere with the phraseology of the first resolution, which touched upon the almost universal sentiment of the British nation, on the subject of emancipating the Negro, but he would respectfully submit that they should include in the resolution the sentiment of the Irish nation; for he had the happiness of saying, and he made the statement with pride, that among the representatives of Ireland, no matter what might be their differences of opinion on political topics, there was not one who would not vote in favour of the abolition of slavery. (*Hear.*) On many subjects they might be divided in parliament, and out of it; political dislikes and animosities might, and unfortunately did exist; but he could say to the credit of all the Irish members that there was not a man of them, of any sect, party, or denomination, that had raised his voice on

this question, save to cry down Negro slavery. But with this general unanimity, it might be enquired why, since the occasion of their last meeting, they had acted supinely, and allowed the time to pass unimproved. An excuse was, however, unfortunately ready in the protracted adjustment of a question which had absorbed the exertions that ought to have been made for the Negro, and it was only by waiting until public opinion obtained a true and efficient organ that they could obtain the full accomplishment of their endeavours.

The West Indians had of late taken their stand upon the rebellion in Jamaica; this event had proved quite a God-send to them. (*A laugh.*) They had been the unluckiest fellows in the world but for this rebellion; not a leg had they to stand upon---they were utterly incapable of motion till supported by the crutch of a rebellion. (*A laugh.*) But what was the amount of this much-talked-of movement? Let it be recollected that the Negroes had never rebelled before without inflicting the greatest cruelties on the whites---without retaliating the barbarities they had suffered from their task-masters by putting to death all prisoners, men, women, and children, indiscriminately. How should they, the friends of the Negro, who had assisted in diffusing the principles of Christianity among them, rejoice in the delightful recollection that in the late revolt the prisoners had been almost universally spared, and that, amidst the confusion and terror that prevailed, scarcely a single white man had been deliberately murdered! It had been the most humane insurrection recorded in the annals of negro history. This insurrection, so far from being an argument against emancipation, was a most decided argument in its favour; for if slavery be so intolerable that the unarmed are impelled by it to oppose the armed---if, driven to madness, the defenceless and undisciplined are incited to struggle with the disciplined---if it were so unendurable that it causes its victims to rush almost to the certain forfeiture of their lives, no fact could be adduced more strongly indicative of the necessity of emancipation. He would counsel the planters to emancipate for their own sakes, and before it became too late. He would tell them to do it before the load of their guilt became so grievous that a moral earthquake would take place, and sweep them from the islands.

Let not the friends of abolition allow their humanity to evaporate in mere words: let them look throughout the country, and ascertain who were with them in the cause. Let every man who abhorred slavery petition against it: and he would suggest that those who graced and softened human life---those in whose bosoms dwelt the social charities---he would suggest that the women of England should petition for the abolition of slavery. (*Applause.*) Why should there not be a universal prayer for emancipation? Humanity, justice, religion, called upon them to wipe away this foul blot, and to effect a change by which they would not only be the agents in producing an immediate good, but the future benefactors of countless millions.

It was not Britain's brow alone that displayed the black spot of blood. The republican States of America were also partici-

pators in the guilt. O, the rank inconsistency of those apostles of liberty who dared to talk of freedom while they basely and wickedly continued the atrocious servitude of the black native of America! Republicans were generally proud and high-minded, and the pride of the Americans should be made the weapon for breaking down slavery in their States---for if it were not for the example of England, which mitigated the impression of the disgrace and criminality attached to the system, they would not have the audacity to sanction it in the face of the world. If the American States continued slavery after Britain had proclaimed emancipation, they would be placed under civil exclusion by the civilized world; it would be said to them, "Ye, hypocrites! Talk not to us of liberty when you fold to your bosom the chains of human thralldom!" Let slavery be extirpated in the British Colonies, and it must speedily disappear in America. (*Applause.*)

There remained but one topic more—a most momentous one---the great question of religious instruction. How could they call themselves Christians and see the progress of their faith barred by Negro slavery? He hoped to witness Dissenters, and members of the Established Church, and the humble Catholics also, among whom was included the individual who then addressed them,—he hoped to behold them in the name of their common God---dispensing the benefits of his sacred word among the degraded Negroes; and he would call upon that assembly to see that the blessings of redemption be no longer stayed by slavery. The missionaries might differ from him on particular points of faith and practice; but he trusted that they were combined in the greatest point of all---charity; and he pledged himself that, if support were wanted to their cause in any assembly of which he was a member, no man would give it more zealously---more sincerely than he. (*Applause.*) Though differing from the missionaries in some religious opinions, he would do them the justice to express his conviction, that there was not one charge of all that there was brought against them, which was not utterly false. Their only crime was, that they were not criminal—but that they were exerting themselves meritoriously—teaching the Negro to submit to his hard fate, in the hope of receiving a reward for his sufferings, in another and a better world. (*Applause.*) It had been alleged that the religious public—for which he owned the highest respect—had not shown sufficient sympathy for those who had suffered for their efforts in instructing the slave. He could not personally speak to the fairness of this charge—he had heard it with great regret, and would believe it with still greater reluctance. Religion was a combination of humanity and justice, and that person could not be religious who was insensible to the cries of humanity or the demands of justice; nor was there any liberty secure or stable that was not founded upon religion. They might attempt to build, but every wind of heaven would scatter the work of their arrogant erection, unless it were firmly based upon religious sentiment and religious practice. He trusted that the accusation made to-day would not be realized to the re-

proach of the country. They were on their trial before the British nation, and, to go clear of blame, they must aid the persecuted missionaries, and put an end to oppression. (*Applause.*)

He was reminded of the resolution, which was about a Committee of the House of Lords. He had no great confidence in a Committee of the House of Lords, and, as his countrymen would say, "small blame to him for that" (*a laugh*)—nor, though his taste might be bad, had he much confidence in a majority of the Lords. (*Applause.*) He therefore laughed to scorn their attempts to stop the progress of humanity and religion, by getting up a paltry committee of West India slave-holders, only throwing in one or two Lords of an opposite description—just adding a sprinkling of virtue and goodness, that there might be something good floating on the fœtid mass. (*Applause.*) Till the age of miracles returned—till a courtly peer should be enabled to repel, with his open palms, the waters of the Thames from London bridge to Richmond, and confine them there—until this occurred, he should not believe that the Committee of the House of Lords could arrest the current of opinion. (*Applause.*) The meeting seeming to concur with him, he need not therefore detain them by entering on the consideration of its merits; he could not conclude, however, without reminding them that they should all be for abolition. If persons talked of postponing it, they would answer that they could not afford to do so; slavery was a crime—a high crime against heaven, and its annihilation ought not to be postponed. They had heard a great deal lately of the iniquity of the East India Company getting money from the poor infatuated wretches who throw themselves beneath the wheels of the chariot of Juggernaut; he would call upon them to be no longer parties to the cruelties of the West Indian Juggernaut, for the tyranny was the same, whether the instrument were a wheel or a lash, whether the torture were voluntary or involuntary. The priests of Juggernaut were respectable persons compared to those who were opposed to benevolence, humanity, and religion. No exertions of his should be wanting to forward the cause; and he would conclude by imploring all who were around him to think of what had brought them there, and to unite heart and hand in promoting this great work. (*Loud Applause.*)

The CHAIRMAN said, that, in compliance with the suggestion of the honourable and learned gentleman, he would make a slight change in the terms of the first resolution, by inserting, in lieu of the phrase "British Nation," the words "People of Great Britain and Ireland."

The resolution moved by Mr. Smith was then put, and carried unanimously.

The Rev. Joseph Ivimey, at this period of the proceedings, called on Mr. O'Connell to explain why he had not redeemed the pledge he had given at the last Annual Meeting of the Society, to bring forward a motion in Parliament to the effect that no children should be born in slavery in the British dominions after the 1st of January, 1832.

Mr. O'Connell, in reply, said he would appeal to Mr. Buxton, whether

he had not been solicitous to redeem his pledge, and whether he had not been prevented from doing so by his honourable friend undertaking to bring forward a more comprehensive motion, which would include those already born. He should not have conceived himself justified in weakening the effect of the honourable member for Weymouth's motion, by submitting a lesser proposition to the House of Commons. (*Applause.*) He begged to thank the gentleman who had given him the opportunity of making this explanation; and he would add that, if any individual present thought that the motion should be made by him on Monday, the sun should not set on that day before he had proposed it.

Mr. Buxton fully exculpated Mr. O'Connell from any lukewarmness in the cause; and said, though since last year's General Meeting the advocates of the Negro had met with both opposition and desertion, among the few who supported them steadily was the gentleman who had just addressed them.

The Rev. J. BURNETT said that the resolution he held in his hand was a weighty one. It came in, it was true, at a late hour of the day, but he trusted that, until the business was completed, those who really loved freedom, and were the friends of the slaves, would endure a little slavery for their sakes. (*Hear.*) He was satisfied unless that was done in this meeting, and in many meetings, and in all our meetings, the slaves would never be emancipated. The gentlemen who had gone before him had been chiefly members of the House of Commons, who had shown that they had no great confidence in the House of Lords; but the resolution he had contained something against the House of Commons. When he looked back upon what had actually been done, he felt compelled to say, that with the resolution he was about to move he most fully concurred. They were told that the slaves had been, to a certain extent, introduced to the privileges of men; they could not now be slain like animals, for their wilful slaughter was now murder. He granted this was something. Then there had been a variety of mitigating circumstances introduced into the slave code. This he would likewise admit was something. But what were these things when put in comparison with the fact that they were still in bondage, and bought and sold in the public market-places? (*Hear, hear.*) Such was the fact, and, however they might regard these mitigating circumstances, it must be maintained that almost nothing had been done until the men had been set free. And why was it that they were not set free? (*Hear.*) Certain resolutions had been passed in 1823, and a sufficient measure of time had elapsed for them to obtain all that they desired; but they had been told that it was right to continue the system of amelioration, and this was all the length they had got up to the present moment.

If the House of Commons had acted its part by the black man as it had by the white, if it had again and again sent up the black emancipation Bill to the House of Lords, both Houses would have covered themselves with the halo of glory which was now, perhaps, justly withheld from both. (*Hear and applause.*) Why did they not act so? (*Hear.*) Who made the House of Commons? (*Hear.*) Let us

trace the criminals. We heard high authorities blamed for not making peers, but who made the House of Commons?—The people: and let him tell the people they were not justified in blaming the Lords, or the power that made the Lords (*Hear, hear*), until they sent up men who were united on the principle that emancipation was a right, and a privilege, and a matter of justice. (*Cheers.*) Let them trace the crime to its sources. Let them tell the constituency that, if they had played a proper part for the last half century, the slaves would, at this moment, have been blessing them for the enjoyment of their freedom, which their united efforts had given. (*Applause.*) They had heard a great deal *said*, and the object of this resolution was to give them something to *do*. There must not only be hearing, and clapping, and applause, but work—and work not merely when countenanced by their fellows, but in private—not merely the work of field days like this, but all the year round, and through every moment of time, until there shall not be a man in bondage within the wide range of the British dominions. (*Applause.*) This was the work he was about to give this meeting and the electors of the empire; but, previously to doing this, let him ask what the friends of the cause had been enabled to do in the House of Commons, for he did not like to blame unjustly. (*Hear, hear.*) It was not sufficiently known that there were very few in that House who went the whole length of eternal justice: it was not known that this was the real cause why the slave had not been emancipated. One honourable member made a motion for a speedy and safe emancipation; then got blamed out of doors for not using the term “immediate emancipation,” and was said to have deserted the great cause: but, if this were done, be it known that the House would scout it, and deride it, and mock it. (*Hear.*)

He did not deride the House for this, but he wished to state facts tending to show that it ought to be made a better House. (*Hear.*) If emancipation was said to be necessary, it was immediately replied that it would throw the whole of the colonies into disorder. Were they now in order? (*Hear and laughter.*) Were they in such a condition that they would be thrown into confusion by the use of such a sparkling epithet as *immediate*? were they not under martial law? Were there not trials, and judges, and councils, and all the paraphernalia of justice without the reality? They were in any thing but order: it was almost impossible to make them more confused. (*Hear.*) Were not the planters acknowledging that the law was not strong enough, and dismissing it to introduce the bullet and the bayonet? There was much greater confusion likely to arise from the loading of muskets, the fixing of bayonets, dismissing the judges, discharging juries, and shooting slaves, than from using the words “immediate emancipation.” (*Hear.*) He did not believe that these gentlemen were afraid of introducing confusion—he believed they raised the cry for the express purpose of creating confusion, in order to subdue the rising spirit of freedom, that cried for justice in behalf of the sons of Africa. (*Applause.*)

But they were often told that they did not do the West Indian planters justice. (*Hear.*) They told us they detested slavery in the

abstract ; this was their constant language in the House of Commons. When he was at school, there was not certainly in any map that he saw a place called “the land of Abstraction.” (*Hear.*) But he found in the West Indies that they hated slavery in the abstract ; that was in the land of abstraction. (*Laughter.*) And, wherever that land might be, the slavery that prevailed there must be detestable indeed to be hated by West India slave-holders. (*Laughter and applause.*) He, however, could not agree with them even here ; for he was most attached to slavery in the abstract ; and if all slavery could be thrown into “the abstract” he would sink all emancipation together, and move the dissolution of the Anti-Slavery Society. Yet this was the language of the West Indian body in and out of the House, and, with all the fury of their nature, they turned round and told us how we maligned them, when we knew that they hated slavery in the abstract. (*Laughter.*) But it was not the abstract slave, nor the abstract whip, nor the abstract market-place, stocks, or jail, nor any thing in the abstract, that visited whole generations with misery and death : it was with nothing of this kind that they had to deal, but with fearful realities—and that was his reason for hating slavery because it was *not* “slavery in the abstract.” (*Applause.*) The slave himself did not feel any thing in the abstract ; with him all was in the concrete. Religion was denied him ; personal liberty was stolen from him ; and suffering and oppression were operating upon him until he sunk under the power of slavery in terrible reality.

He would now direct the attention of the meeting to the object of the resolution, which was to adopt an address to the constituency of Great Britain and Ireland, calling on them to unite as one man in the cause of emancipation. After alluding to the frequent but unavailing efforts which had been made by the friends of Negroes to obtain from the legislature the necessary measures for the abolition of slavery in the colonies, the electors were now called upon to return only those men who were friendly to Negro emancipation. The Rev. Gentleman in conclusion said that the address should be sent with their best wishes throughout the kingdom—and, if the friends of freedom were obedient to the summons, it was quite impossible that the day should not be their own.

Mr. W. EVANS, M. P., in seconding the resolution, referred to Mr. Jeremie’s work respecting the state of the slaves in the island of St. Lucia for cases, which, from the official station formerly filled in that colony by the writer, afforded a correct exemplification of the workings of the slavery system. The orders in council had not been acted upon, though no man complained of the conduct of the emancipated slaves. The friends of emancipation had a great many difficulties to encounter, but this afforded no reason for abandoning hope : it should rather stimulate them to unite their efforts, and trust to the justice, righteousness, and holiness of their cause, that God would influence the hearts of the people not to slacken in their endeavours while there remained a single slave within the British dominions. (*Applause.*)

The resolution embodying the address to Electors was put and carried. Mr. GEORGE STEPHEN moved the adoption of a petition to parliament, embodying the sentiments expressed in the previous resolutions, and expressed a hope that it would receive the signatures of all present at the Meeting, and thereby become invested with an importance worthy of the Society whose united sentiment it expressed. That Committee against which it protested did indeed call for their united reprobation. Of whom did it consist but of slave owners, whom common decency ought to have excluded, for it was tantamount to asking themselves if they should continue to practise that system of murder for which they were arraigned by their fellow countrymen. There was Lord Seaford, on two of whose Jamaica estates the slaves were decreasing rapidly. There was Lord Combermere, on whose Nevis estate 44 slaves out of 240 had died in two years and a half. And then, though he did not see upon the platform a single mitred head when a question was under discussion of the deepest importance to Christianity, it was not so in the august tribunal to which he had alluded, for in the Lords' Committee there were not fewer than three prelates enrolled for the purpose of enquiring what particular number of lashes the slave could by possibility endure! (*Cries of "shame."*) Who, he would ask, were these Right Rev. personages? They were all slave proprietors *ex officio*, being in their episcopal capacity trustees of the Codrington estates; and, with respect to these estates, their indirect interest in them was a sufficient reason for restraining the Lords from nominating them to seats on the tribunal of judgment. The slave had asked for bread, and their Lordships had given him a stone! he had asked for fish, and they had given him a serpent. Rather should these Right Rev. Lords have addressed their peers in the spirit of the holy text, "The hire of the labourer who reapeth down your fields, and which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth. The cry of him that reapeth is entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." He was himself a churchman, and felt deeply what was due to the establishment of which he was a member; and it was because he entertained this feeling both warmly and sincerely that he could not pass over the conduct of their Lordships, concerning this question, without reprehension. (*Hear, hear.*)

The Hon. and Rev. BAPTIST NOEL seconded the motion, and proceeded to say that the planters had too long acted upon their declaration—that Christianity and slavery were incompatible. He held in his hand a statement respecting the conduct of the Baptist missionaries, which exhibited the strongest internal evidence of being strictly true. It showed that the insurrections in the West India islands were neither directly nor indirectly to be traced to those meritorious men who had exposed themselves to contumely, to danger, and to death, that they might faithfully discharge the sacred duties to which they had devoted themselves. They had been imprisoned for a month, and were then discharged for want of evidence. The persecution which the missionaries had suffered was far too systematic to be attributable to a momentary excitement. It could only have originated in a determined disposition for vengeance, and in a rooted enmity to religious

instruction, which prevailed in all the colonies, towards all bodies of missionaries. It appeared that the Methodist missionaries had also been imprisoned, and discharged for want of evidence. If there had been a little of *prima facie* testimony to show that the missionaries had forgotten their duty, he could have excused the colonists; but the mode in which they had been treated in Jamaica, Demerara (and in Barbadoes also), was altogether indefensible. If the planters did not entertain a rooted enmity to religion, why was that atrocious Committee formed which voted that the missionaries were introducing sedition?—a resolution acted upon by the House of Assembly in Jamaica. Why did they subject the missionaries, when convening a religious meeting after sunset (the only time when the Negro could receive religious instruction), to a fine of £20? They who watched the influence of true religion on the character must have observed that its effect on the most degraded being was to make him wiser and better, was to render him, when otherwise he had been goaded into madness by insult and wrong, calm and patient—not submissive like a spaniel, but Christian-like---cheered under the hardest earthly lot by the hope of a blessed immortality. Ought not the pulse to beat with the deepest emotions of pity, when they saw communities resolving that the blessed Gospel should be driven from the hearts and heads of the poor Negroes? Were these things accidental? No; otherwise they could not be. The dominion of the West Indian over the slave would go on; the religious man must go on; and the subject before this meeting would go on. It was fitting that they should obey in all things lawful, but beyond that line neither slave nor freeman was warranted in proceeding, for they were responsible to a master higher than the highest among terrestrial authorities. It was, however, for according obedience to this precept that the slaves had been punished—had been flogged and sent to the workhouse. But through every trial, he would say, let the missionaries testify the efficacy of religion by the display of Christian fervour. Let Methodists, Baptists, and Moravians alike concur in the sacred work. He would call on all present, of whatever denomination they might be, if they were the friends of religion, to stand forward in support of the righteous cause. The deeds of the planters were suicidal---they would serve to quicken the energies of those Christian bodies who had been insulted in the persons of their missionaries, and a phalanx would thus be formed that would pronounce a final sentence upon an unhallowed system. Persecution would be the parent of a more powerful opposition. If the West Indians had not persecuted the members of the established faith, they had done worse---they had scandalized it, by their pretended “Church Union Society.” (*Hear.*) The rectors could do nothing in the colonies; it was true they had manufactured Christians by thousands per month by baptism, but they were prevented from advancing the progress of vital religion. (*Hear.*) He was sure every minister of the church who really loved the blessed Saviour, and therefore loved his people, would aid in this glorious cause, and extend his favour to those who were labouring to promote the knowledge of Christ among our species. (*Hear.*)

The petition was then adopted.

Mr. CRAMPTON, the Solicitor-General for Ireland, came forward, and said, that after the able statements, and the eloquent appeals, which this assembly had heard from the platform, it would require more than that portion of modesty which belonged to his country and profession, were he *now* to inflict upon them a speech. He had no such intention: he only rose to move another resolution, and in so doing to draw a few conclusions from what had been so eloquently said. But first he would observe that, however divided on other subjects (and no men were more divided), Irishmen were unanimous in their detestation of slavery. (*Hear.*) He trusted that Englishmen were not less devoted to the cause of liberty. He thought it unjust to charge the continuation of the odious system of Colonial Slavery upon any men, or classes of men, in this country. He would not impute it to the House of Commons; he would not impute it to the House of Lords. He thought the blame should be more equally dif-fused; he thought the people of the United Kingdom generally were to blame—all had more or less sanctioned or connived at this, the the blackest blot, and the foulest stain, that ever disgraced the British nation. He said that there should be no looking back to find fault, but that all should look forward, and every hand and heart should be united in a great effort to remove this abomination from the face of the earth. (*Hear.*) They had it incontestably established that the system of Colonial Slavery was cruel, unnatural, anti-British, and anti-Christian; they had it on the declaration of the very supporters of the system “that Colonial Slavery and Christianity were incompatible;” and on these premises did he arrive at a legitimate conclusion when he asserted that Colonial Slavery ought to be abolished—totally abolished—immediately abolished. (*Cheers.*) That it ought to be abolished they were all agreed; that it might be abolished they could not doubt; and that it must be abolished he hoped they were all determined. (*Cheers.*) Mr. Crampton said he had an office to perform in proposing the following resolution, and they had a duty to discharge, by exerting all their efforts and influence to carry that resolution into effect. The Learned Gentleman then read the resolution, which was to the following effect:—

“That this Meeting resolve to redouble their exertions; and never to relax in their most strenuous efforts in behalf of their enslaved fellow subjects, until the objects of the Society shall be fully accomplished; and that a Collection be now made, and Donations and Subscriptions be solicited, in aid of the funds of the Society.”

“This resolution,” said Mr. Crampton, “asserts the sentiment which I just now uttered with your hearty concurrence: Colonial Slavery ought to be abolished, it may be abolished, and it must be abolished. For the sake of the slaves—for the sake of the masters—for the sake of British Liberty---for the sake of the British people---in the name of justice---in the name of humanity---in the name of religion itself---*slavery must be abolished!*”

Mr. HENRY POWNALL seconded the motion. He called upon the ministers present, and their brethren, to advocate the cause of the

Negroes. He contended that the church of England gave no countenance to slavery, though some of her members did; and he could not conceive that the first founders of that church could have ever countenanced slavery, or have supposed any of their successors would have been slave-holders; for they would not have mocked God by inserting in the liturgy, "have pity upon all prisoners and captives," while they were keeping men in slavery. No, their object was not to perpetuate human thralldom, but to introduce all men into the "glorious liberty of the sons of God." (*Applause.*) He called on the friends of Negroes to be more zealous in the cause in which they had embarked, and pointed their attention to the meeting of those gentlemen who assembled in the Thatched House Tavern, to observe the zeal that animated them. He trusted the meeting would go forth pledged to this resolution, and determined to uphold those men in parliament who would act faithfully in bringing this subject to an issue; and he would say to those men, divide the house on every occasion, and, if they stood alone, it would be a glorious minority. Paul stood alone on Mars-hill, and they need not be ashamed to stand alone in the House of Commons. (*Hear.*) He lamented the appointment of the Lords' Committee, but he could easily account for such a proceeding. He trusted they should hear no more of orders in council; it was contrary to the principles of English jurisprudence that there should be one law for the rich and another for the poor, and, therefore, he wanted to hear of no more orders in council, but the establishment of equal rights and equal laws for all. He would not rest contented with the most beneficial measures that fell short of the entire emancipation of the Negroes from slavery. He recommended them to make the subject a matter of every day thought and domestic conversation, and to lose no opportunity of pressing it upon the serious attention of their families and acquaintances. He entreated them not to be deluded by the cry of mitigation, and not to think lightly of Negro-slavery; for, just in proportion as they thought lightly of slavery abroad, they would undervalue liberty at home.

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

The Rev. J. IVIMEY now came forward to propose an address to the king, which he conceived to be as essential as a petition to parliament.

Mr. SAMUEL THORROWGOOD seconded the motion, and in a short speech recommended abstinence from sugar cultivated by slaves as a certain mode of securing their emancipation. (*Hear.*)

Mr. T. STURGE, a member of the Society of Friends, observed, that the address to his Majesty had not been submitted to the Committee, and could not be recognised as the act and deed of the Anti-Slavery Society, nor was it part of the appointed proceedings of the meeting. Mr. BURNETT also objected to the reception of the address, on the same grounds.

After some desultory conversation, Mr. Ivimey consented to withdraw his address, but stated his intention of calling a meeting for the purpose of adopting it, and declared that he would present it to his Majesty himself, if no one else would.

It was moved by Mr. GEORGE STEPHEN, and seconded by the Rev. J. BURNETT,

“That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Agents and Correspondents of the Society, for their recent great exertions in behalf of the cause, and especially in reference to the petition to the House of Lords.”

It was moved by Mr. BELDAM, and seconded by the Rev. J. BURNETT,

“That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Chairman, for his great kindness in taking the Chair on this occasion, and for his able conduct in the occupation of it.”

The motion being carried by acclamation,

The CHAIRMAN returned thanks for the honour which had been done him, and observed that, however he might seem to have been more active in the cause than some others, it was to be accounted for on this ground, that they had only *heard* of slavery, while he was a witness of it for eleven years. It was said to one who read the orations of Demosthenes, and admired them, What would you have felt if you had heard him speak them? So with respect to a very different theme---slavery---they would have felt their honest indignation roused, and their zeal for its overthrow far more excited, had they beheld its cruelties and atrocities. But he trusted that, while they were spared the painful sight, they would not relax in their efforts, but would unremittingly devote themselves, heart and soul, to the cause of the Negroes, so long as they remained unemancipated.

The meeting then broke up about seven o'clock.

II.—DEBATE ON MR. BUXTON'S MOTION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Buxton's motion on the Slavery Question came on for discussion on the 24th of May. It was in these terms:—“That a Select Committee be appointed to consider and report upon the measures which it may be expedient to adopt, for effecting the extinction of Slavery throughout the British dominions, at the earliest period compatible with the safety of all classes in the Colonies.”

After a very interesting discussion, of which one of the most remarkable features was the obviously improved tone and temper of the majority of the House on this great question, an amendment, proposed by Lord Sandon, and supported by Ministers, to the effect that all measures for the extinction of slavery should be “in conformity with the Resolutions of this House on the 15th day of May, 1823,” was carried by a majority of 73, 163 voting for the amendment and 90 for the original motion. We must reserve for a subsequent number of the *Reporter* a more extended account of this debate and its important results. Meanwhile a list of the minority who voted for Mr. Buxton's motion, and of the select Committee appointed in conformity with the Resolution passed, may be found in the *Anti-Slavery Record*, No. 2.

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 97.]

JUNE, 1832.

[VOL. v. No. 7.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE CAUSES AND REMEDY OF WEST INDIA DISTRESS, WITH THE EVIDENCE TAKEN.—PAPER OF 13th APRIL, 1832, No. 381, CONTAINING 350 PAGES.

The enormous bulk of this Report precludes an analysis of it. It is besides vague and unsatisfactory, and decides nothing. The witnesses, with scarcely an exception, are West Indians, and the evidence of course *ex parté*. We must confine ourselves to some cursory remarks upon it.

1. A common topic with all the witnesses is, the *peculiar* distress experienced, *at the present moment*, by the growers of West India produce. But is the existing distress so very peculiar as is pretended? With occasional gleams of prosperity, which have served only to aggravate the planters' general embarrassments, the whole history of West Indian speculation, for the last seventy or eighty years, has been, if we believe themselves, a succession of losses and disasters of the most extensive and overwhelming description.

“Mr. Long, himself a West Indian and the historian of Jamaica, establishes the fact, that, so long ago as the year 1750, the planters of that island were labouring under severe distress. Mr. Bryan Edwards, also a West Indian planter and the historian of the West Indies, referring to the period which closed in the year 1792, when his work first appeared, asserts (2nd vol. book vi. chap. i. 5th ed. p. 587) that though ‘many have competencies which enable them to live well with economy in this country, yet the great mass of planters are men of oppressed fortunes, consigned by debt to unremitting drudgery in the Colonies, with a hope, which eternally mocks their grasp, of happier days, and a release from their embarrassments.’

“But we have still more decisive authority than that even of Bryan Edwards, for the prevalence of great distress at this period, and during the twenty preceding years.

“On the 23rd of November, 1792, a Report was prepared on the Sugar Trade of Jamaica, by a Committee of the Assembly, and confirmed and printed by its order, which contains the following passage.

“‘In the course of twenty years, 177 estates in Jamaica have been sold for the payment of debts; 55 estates have been thrown up; and 92 are still in the hands of creditors; and it appears, from a return made by the provost marshal, that 80,121 executions, amounting to £22,563,786 sterling, have been lodged in his office in the course of twenty years.’”

Can any thing more disastrous be predicated of the present time?

“ A gleam of prosperity followed the revolution of St. Domingo ; but in a few years the sky was again overcast, and in a Report of the Assembly of Jamaica, of the 23d Nov. 1804, and printed by order of the House of Commons on the 25th Feb. 1805, we have the following statement.

“ ‘ *Every British merchant holding securities on real estates, is filing bills in Chancery to foreclose, although when he has obtained his decree he hesitates to enforce it, because he must himself become the proprietor of the plantation, of which from fatal experience he knows the consequence. No one will advance money to relieve those whose debts approach half the value of their property, nor even lend a moderate sum without a judgment in ejectment and release of errors, that at a moment’s notice he may take out a writ of possession, and enter on the plantation of his unfortunate debtor. ‘ Sheriffs’ officers and collectors of taxes are every where offering for sale the property of individuals who have seen better days, and now must view their effects purchased for half their real value, and at less than half the original cost. Far from having the reversion expected, the creditor is often not satisfied. All kind of credit is at an end. If litigation in the courts of common law has diminished, it is not from increased ability to perform contracts, but from confidence having ceased, and no man parting with property but for an immediate payment of the consideration. A faithful detail would have the appearance of a frightful caricature.*’

In 1807, the consideration of the commercial state of the West Indies was referred to a Committee of the House of Commons. The Report of that Committee was printed, by an order of the House of the 24th July, 1807, and is numbered 65 ; and it may be referred to with great advantage, as exhibiting the uniformly ruinous nature of sugar-planting speculations in our slave colonies, and the desperate and costly expedients which the planters are in the habit of demanding for their relief. At that time, as now, the West Indies were described as liable, without speedy aid, to inevitable ruin, and to the loss of a vast capital.

“ In the following year the same subject was pressed again on the attention of Parliament, and a voluminous Report was printed, by an order of the House of Commons of the 13th April, 1808, No. 178, in which it is recommended that sugar should be substituted for grain in our distilleries. To this Report is appended a detailed statement from the Assembly of Jamaica, dated 13th Nov. 1807, in which they state that, within the last five or six years, 65 estates had been abandoned, 32 sold under decrees of Chancery, and 115 more respecting which suits in Chancery were depending, and many more bills preparing.— ‘ From these facts,’ they go on to say, ‘ the House will be able to judge to what an alarming extent the distresses of the Sugar Planters have already reached, and with what accelerated rapidity they are now increasing ; for the sugar estates lately brought to sale, and now in the Court of Chancery in this Island and in England, amount to about one-fourth of the whole number of the Colony.

“ ‘ Your Committee have to lament that ruin has already taken place, and they must, under a continuance of the present circumstances, anticipate very shortly the bankruptcy of a much larger part of the com-

munity, and, in the course of a few years, of the whole class of Sugar Planters, excepting perhaps a very few in peculiar circumstances.'

"And the remedy which the Jamaica Assembly recommended was to adopt means to raise the price of their sugar in England to from 60s. to 70s. a cwt. exclusive of duty, as alone adequate to afford a living profit to the planter; and to this end they recommend the substitution of their sugar for British grain in the distilleries.

"On the 15th of June, 1812, a 'Representation of the Assembly of Jamaica to the King' was laid on the table of the House of Commons, and printed by its order. It is numbered 279. In this representation similar complaints to those already specified were renewed. They there speak of their ruin as complete:—'For two years has this most calamitous state been endured; the crops of 1809 and 1810 are in a state worse than useless;—a third draws towards its close with no appearance of amendment or alteration. The crop is gathering in' (they are speaking here of coffee), 'but its exuberance excites no sensation of pleasure.' If the slaves of the coffee plantations are offered for sale, who, they ask, 'can buy them?—*The proprietors of the old sugar estates are themselves sinking under accumulated burdens.*' 'If ever there was a case demanding the active and immediate interference of a paternal government, to relieve the burdens and alleviate the calamities of a most valuable and useful class of subjects,' 'it is that of the Coffee Planters of Jamaica.'

"The remedy the Assembly proposed was a high protecting duty, or even a prohibition of other coffee.—But they proceed—

"'The distresses of our constituents are not confined to the Coffee Planters. The growers of cotton, pimento, and the minor staples, are also suffering severely from their depreciation. *The Sugar Planters, however, call more especially for protection and interposition.*' 'The ruin of the original possessors has been gradually completed. Estate after estate has passed into the hands of mortgagees and creditors absent from the island, until there are large districts, whole parishes, in which there is not a single proprietor of a sugar plantation resident.' 'The distress,' they add, 'cannot be well aggravated,' and the most moderate recompence which can save the sugar grower from ruin is said to be 50s. a cwt. exclusive of duty; for 'it is not to be concealed, and cannot be denied, that a crisis has at last arrived, when nothing but the immediate and powerful interposition of the supreme authority of the empire can prevent our utter destruction. Exactions, debasement, and privations have been long and patiently endured by the proprietors. A large proportion of them now see approaching the lowest state of human misery, absolute want to their families, and the horrors of a gaol for themselves!'

"The general effect of these statements, strong as they are, seems to have been borne out, in some measure, by a speech of Mr. Marryat, in the House of Commons, in 1813, in a debate on the East India sugar duties. He is stated to have then affirmed, 'That there were comparatively few estates in the West Indies that had not, during the last twenty years, been sold or given up to creditors.'

“ And now, after a lapse of nearly twenty years more, during which the West Indies have been drawing immense sums from the pockets of the public for bounties and protections, and have had freedom too given to their commerce in an unprecedented degree, what is the language they are at this very moment addressing to Parliament and the nation? It is this,—‘ *The alarming and unprecedented state of distress in which the whole British West India interest is at this time involved,*’ the petitioners say, justifies them in imploring Parliament ‘ to adopt prompt and effectual measures of relief, *in order to preserve them from inevitable ruin.*’ And not satisfied with the protection they already enjoy, and a bounty of 5s. to 6s. a cwt., they again revert to the necessity of a large additional bounty in order to secure to them a remunerating price for their sugar.

“ Instead of looking for help to their own industry and economy, and to the reformation in their plans of cultivation, they throw themselves on the bounty of the public.

“ And what but this ill-timed bounty has been the cause why the West Indies should have continued in that low state of improvement which they now exhibit;—that the miserable hoe, raised by the feeble hands of men and women, driven forward by the whip, should still be the only instrument generally used in turning up the soil, to the neglect of cattle and ploughs;—that all modern improvements in husbandry should be almost unknown;—that one unvarying course of exhausting crops should be pursued without change or relief;—and that in a climate congenial to them the population should continue progressively and rapidly to decrease? These, and many other points that might be mentioned, are anomalies, which can only be accounted for by the withering influence of Slavery and of the factitious aid by which it is upheld. How different would have been the state of things in our Colonies, had a different course been pursued! How different would soon be their state, and this is now a far more important consideration, if they were led to depend on their own resources, and they were released from the injurious effects of that protecting system which has hitherto kept them from all effective efforts of improvement! If there be truth in history, or any certainty in political science, the downfall of the present system, and of the restrictive laws which maintain it, would prove beneficial to none more than to the Colonists themselves.

“ But it is not the distress of the West India planters, as arising from the system we have been pursuing, which is chiefly to be deplored, but the sufferings which it entails on the slave population. For it admits of demonstration that, independently of the other evils of slavery, sugar planting, as conducted in the West Indies, is decidedly unfriendly to human life; and that its destructive influence is aggravated by the circumstances which swell the gains of the planter, namely, the fertility of the soil, and the protection afforded to his produce by bounties and protections. It is not merely that these advantages enable him to live at a distance from his slaves, who are thus left to the care of mere hirelings; but that they form a strong temptation to an

increased exaction of slave labour. Accordingly, we find that where the lands are most productive, yielding the largest return for the labour of each slave, and a proportionately larger share of whatever gain arises from protection and bounty, the ratio of mortality is the highest.

“And it would further appear that while the mortality of the slaves seems to keep pace with the productiveness of the soil, and the consequent high profits of the master, the distress of the planter seems also to run parallel with those apparently favourable circumstances in his lot. The proportion of slaves sold in execution is greatest in those colonies where the quantity of produce they rear by the acre is proportionably the largest. The number of slaves sold in execution in Demerara and Trinidad for example, where the soil is the richest and the planter's gains the greatest, is more than double, when compared with its population, what it is in the less fertile colonies. These details are contained in a volume of official returns laid on the table of the House of Commons, in 1826, numbered 353.”*

2. In affecting to develope the causes of West Indian distress, the witnesses must have been at some pains to hide from the view of the Committee some of those which are eminently influential. A few of these will be found in an article in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, Vol. iv., No. 75 (pp. 94, 94, and 101—104)—entitled, “The question of compensation to the owners of slaves calmly considered”—to which we refer the reader.

3. Great pains have been taken by the witnesses to prove that the principal cause of the present distress of the British sugar grower arises from the immense advantages which the foreign Colonies derive from the continuance of the slave trade. This it is, they say, which has mainly depressed and still weighs down the British planter, and Mr. Macdonnell especially has entered into laborious details to prove this point. But he has overlooked, in his reasonings upon it, some of the main elements of just calculation. He has forgotten that while it may be true that in Colonies enjoying the slave trade the proportion of effective labourers on an estate, as compared with its whole population, may be numerically larger than it is in the West Indies, yet in the former there are sources of heavy loss arising out of this very trade,

* This is in remarkable agreement with the view taken of this subject by Viscount Goderich in his despatch of the 5th Nov. last, lately laid before Parliament. “The existence of severe commercial distress amongst all classes of society connected with the West Indies is unhappily but too evident. Yet what is the just inference from this admitted fact? Not that the body should yield to despair, but that we should deliberately retrace the steps of that policy which has led to so disastrous an issue. Without denying the concurrence of many causes, it is obvious that the *great and permanent* source of that distress, which almost every page of the history of the West Indies records, is to be found in the institution of Slavery. It is vain to hope for long-continued prosperity in any country in which the people are not dependent on their own voluntary labour for support, in which labour is not prompted by legitimate motives, and does not earn its natural reward,” &c. And again, “I cannot but regard the system itself as the perennial spring of those distresses of which, not at present merely, but during the whole of the last fifty years, the complaints have been so frequent and so just.”

from which our planters are happily exempt. While this country carried on the slave trade it was fully admitted and even pleaded by our planters that the mortality among the newly imported slaves, during the first two or three years of their residence in the Colonies, amounted to at least 20 per cent. on the number sold to the planters; and this even while the British slave trade was under strict regulations. But the foreign slave trade has been for the last fifteen years a contraband trade, and in consequence of this the sharp, fast-sailing vessels, which carry it on, are so crowded with their wretched passengers that they arrive in the Colonies in a state of very great debility and emaciation, after enduring a frightful mortality on the middle passage. While in such a state, the process of inuring them to the labours of the field produces a rapid consumption of human life, amounting it is believed, on good authority, in the first three years after importation, to from one-fourth to one-half of the whole number imported. A planter, therefore, who may have purchased 50 slaves, at a cost of £1500 or £2000, may find at the end of two or three years that he has actually lost by death a fourth, or a third, or even a half of the capital so invested. Now, Mr. Macdonnell has not adverted to this part of the case as affecting the cost of production; and yet, unquestionably, it forms a weighty item in counterbalancing the greater number of effective labourers on the plantations of Cuba and Brazil.

It is the more surprising that Mr. Macdonnell should have omitted any reference to this most important feature of the case, since at pages 21 and 22 of his evidence (questions 229—231) he incidentally notices the fact that the mortality, among the slaves in Cuba and Brazil, amounts to 50,000 annually. This part of his evidence is given as loosely indeed, but still as confidently as every other part of it. Whatever, therefore, may be his real meaning, whether these 50,000 annual deaths apply to Cuba and Brazil jointly, or separately; and whether they refer only to the fresh importations into both or either, there will, in any of these cases, be an immense deduction to be made from the aggregate of the advantage which, he labours to prove, is possessed by the Foreign over the British Colonist. As respects Cuba, the loss of 50,000 slaves annually would be an absorption of capital totally overwhelming, being equal to a fifth or sixth of its whole slave population, and far more than sufficient to outweigh the very largest estimate which can be framed of the advantages, over our planters, which those of Cuba possess in consequence of their slave trade. Nay, all that has been said by him and his co-witnesses on the comparative cheapness of slave labour, in the foreign Colonies, grounded on a partial view of the real facts of the case, will actually be nullified by the admission of this single additional item into his calculation.

In fact, Mr. Macdonnell, and the other witnesses hitherto examined, have kept wholly out of view what constitutes the grand and essential difference between Cuba and Brazil on the one hand, and the British Colonies on the other. And yet how they could have overlooked it, if they had wished to state the whole case fairly, it would be difficult to explain. The grand difference is this :

In Cuba and Brazil the planters are almost all resident on their plantations. They superintend their own farms, and look after their own labourers. They can dispense therefore with costly establishments in Europe, at a distance of four or five thousand miles from their farms, and with the no less costly train of attorneys, managers, and overseers, which is requisite to supply their place when absent. They raise their own food; they breed their own beef, mutton, pork, and poultry; they have every thing wanted either for themselves or their slaves, except clothing and wine, on the spot; and these they procure, on easy terms, in barter for their produce.

How widely different is the whole economy of the British planter! He resides, perhaps, in some fashionable part of London, while his farm is in Jamaica or Demerara; and, to supply his place, he has to hire an expensive agency to superintend its agriculture, and to look after his stock both human and animal; an agency, too, necessarily composed of persons of whom he can have but a very slight knowledge, over whom he can exercise but a very slender control, and whose interests are not always in unison with his own, but may, on the contrary, be opposed to them. Instead of rearing his own beef, mutton, pork, &c., he neglects pasturage almost entirely, and pays an immense price for beef and pork imported from England or America. Brazil and Cuba swarm with cattle, which may be bought for a mere trifle, and which form a considerable part of the food of the slaves, while fresh beef in Jamaica is a luxury out of their reach, and which they are most severely punished even for having in their possession. (See Jamaica Slave Law of 1831, §. 90.)

What should we expect to be the result of an English farmer's speculation who should choose to buy and stock a large and costly farm, and then go to reside at Rome or Naples, leaving the whole conduct of his affairs to hired agents, he himself unable to take any part in their superintendence, and only receiving the net proceeds of his corn and cattle after they had passed through all the channels of intervening agency, and sustained all the deductions to which in their progress they would necessarily be subject? What hope of profit or prosperity could any rational man entertain from such a speculation? And yet such is precisely the course pursued by the British planter, while the planters of Brazil and Cuba almost all reside on their farms, superintending them in person, and living on what those farms produce.

Here is a difference in itself of far more moment than all those which the witnesses have specified besides; and yet, for obvious reasons, it has been passed over in silence.

But it is not in Cuba and Brazil alone that we may view the real effect of the slave trade on the prosperity of the Colonists who still have the *benefit* of its importations. The case of the French islands is still more remarkable, and is still better ascertained. Martinique, for example, was restored to France in 1815, with a slave population of about 70,000. By means of a contraband slave trade, from 70,000 to 75,000 more have, in the interval, been poured into it. And yet we are assured by Mr. Jeremie, the late Chief Justice of St. Lucia, that the

slave population of Martinique has not materially increased. "At the end of 15 short years," he says, "all these importations have been swept away, and their slave population stands much now as it did then." "Now, the planters are generally still deeper in debt; and the largest slave purchasers make no difficulty in saying that the last 15 years have been so much lost to them."—Jeremie's *Four Essays on Colonial Slavery*, 1st Ed. p. 100, or 2nd Ed. p. 102.

Now, it must be admitted that Mr. Jeremie is a very competent witness to this point, and his accuracy is unquestionable. He filled a high station for six years in the once French but now British Island of St. Lucia, almost in sight of Martinique, with which it maintains a constant intercourse. He had access to the best sources of information. His clear and decided testimony, therefore, on this point, is surely more entitled to credit than the vague rumours on which the present witnesses have erected their interested theories, and their random calculations. He even places the actual prosperity of the British planters of St. Lucia in favourable contrast with the present depressed state of the planters of Martinique, and directly traces the latter to their enormous slave trade, the effect of which has been, in consequence partly of the dreadful extent of the mortality caused by it, to overwhelm them in deeper distress. The planters of Martinique have lately petitioned the Chambers for relief, in nearly the same terms, and on much the same grounds with our own planters who have solicited the present enquiry.

4. But there is another remarkable fallacy which pervades the whole of this evidence. It is the position that land which has been used to cultivate sugar is not convertible to other purposes. The witnesses admit that sugar is the most exhausting of all crops, and it must therefore require either a rich soil, or that the land should be highly manured. Indeed, sugar is the only growth on which the West Indian farmer ever bestows manure. It may be true, therefore, that lands planted with sugar cane for many years, until the soil is so completely worn out as to require high manuring before it will yield a fair crop, will not be worth cultivating for any other purpose to which manure is never applied. But it is obvious that the same principle applies universally. It belongs to England as well as to the West Indies. A soil thoroughly worn out by any species of culture cannot be made productive without being renewed by manure, or permitted for a time to lie fallow. Land which, without manure, would yield no sugar, could not be expected to be very productive of other articles; and yet, without manure, it would bear any other article better than sugar. But to say that cane lands which are *rich*, and *not worn out*, are not convertible to any, nay, to every other purpose, is altogether untrue; it is contrary to all experience in all parts of the known world.—It is notorious that in Demerara,* Berbice, and Trinidad, many plantations have been turned from coffee to sugar, and they might be turned from sugar to coffee

* In Demerara, the quantity of sugar grown has increased amazingly since the peace, and almost all this increase arises from the conversion of coffee or cotton estates into sugar estates.

again, without any difficulty whatever, as far as the quality of the soil is concerned; and that the real impediment arises from the cost of the sugar works, and the time required for the growth and maturity of the coffee tree. Many of the coffee plantations and grass farms in Jamaica were formerly sugar estates that had been abandoned; and it is perfectly absurd to suppose that a coffee plantation, which may have been converted to sugar in 1828, for example, should not be capable of growing coffee again in 1831 and 1832, merely because it has produced an intermediate crop or two of sugar. In India, where sugar is extensively cultivated, there is no such difficulty as these witnesses state. Having there no expensive works for the manufacture of sugar, there is a regular alternation of crops, as is the case in all good husbandry, and the land which grows sugar one year bears other crops in succession, and then reverts to sugar again.

In our own island of Antigua, sugar is made to alternate with other crops, and in Barbadoes canes grow intermingled with provisions in the same field. Nay, even in Jamaica, nothing is more common than to see the cane land, when newly planted, bearing at the same time a luxuriant crop of Indian corn or maize, which is reaped before the cane is so high as to be injured by the corn planted between each row.

Cane land, it is also admitted, is convertible into pasture land, and the neglect of this species of culture is in nothing more visible than this,—that while, in Brazil and Cuba, cattle abound to such a degree as to form the common and cheap food of the inhabitants, in the British islands fresh beef is so dear that they import salted beef, with pork, and butter, from England or America, even for the use of their white agricultural servants, instead of rearing their own, which they might do at a fourth of the cost. But the land, and especially the labour, which in this direction would minister so essentially to the comfort of all classes, whether white or black, are required for other purposes; namely, to make up the quantity of sugar which, at all hazards, and with whatever sacrifices, must be sent home to the British consignee, in order to pay him the heavy interest on his advances, and the no less heavy commissions on the produce consigned to him.

5. This leads us directly to the consideration of that system which has been established between the West India planter and his consignee in this country, and which the witnesses in general state to be so *necessary* as to render a change nearly impossible; but which entails on the grower of West Indian produce a far heavier burden than even that which they ascribe to the operation of the foreign slave trade.

It is alleged, indeed, by some of the witnesses, that the double commissions charged by West India consignees, first on the proceeds, and then on the duty, is not peculiar to that line of trade. But does it prevail in any other? The whole of the tea trade, for example, a trade much larger in amount than that of sugar, is carried on without this enormous aggravation of charge. And such, it may safely be affirmed, is the case almost universally; and to suppose that the same course might not be advantageously pursued in the West Indian trade is wholly to misapprehend the power of British capital and the facilities

of British commerce. Sugar is, by this single contrivance (independently of all the benefits resulting to consignees from high freights, profits and commissions on insurances, commissions on the supply of stores, &c. &c.), loaded with a direct tax of three per cent.—viz. two and a half per cent. for the merchant's commission, and a half per cent. for the brokerage, on the duty, as well as on the sale price of the article; to which no other trade appears to be liable. This of itself is a large deduction from the profits of the planter. But, indeed, the whole system is framed so as to swell the gains of the consignee lender, at the expense of the dependent borrower; and it is with this view, doubtless, among others, that the whole system also of fiscal regulations, respecting the export of refined sugar, appears to have been framed.

6. The witnesses affect to state the reasons why, with every facility afforded, by the present state of the law to the West Indians, to export their sugars direct to the Continent (to which a certain proportion of them must ultimately, though circuitously and indirectly, be conveyed), they choose universally, with not an exception, first to import them into this country, and then, after being refined, to export them to the Continent, thus incurring the expense of a double voyage, with all the attendant charges of freights, insurances, commissions, landing and shipping charges, &c. &c. &c. One main reason is doubtless, in many cases, to be found in the binding engagements under which the planters are placed by their creditors and consignees to ship their produce direct to this country. But another and stronger reason, which has been very much kept out of view in this examination, and which applies not to the encumbered planter alone but to all, is, that it is only by passing their sugar through the refining process in England that they can bring them into competition with foreign sugar in the continental market, or proportionably raise the price in the home market. In spite of the silence observed on that point by most of the witnesses, it is nevertheless true that at this very time there is obtained, by the West Indians, in the shape of drawback, a bounty, which operates not on the exported sugar merely, but on our whole consumption, of not less than from 5s. to 5s. 6d. or 6s. a cwt. The West Indians, it is true, deny this, and affirm that the bounty, if there be any, is a mere trifle. But the contrary may be proved; and indeed nothing else but such a bounty could account for it, that *no* sugar should go from the West Indies to the Continent except through England, till loaded with the additional charges of a second voyage, and after having undergone some refining process, however slight.

To elucidate this subject, a statement will be here inserted, which was first published in 1827, but which will be found to apply in a still stronger degree, in consequence of improvements in refinery, to 1832 than to 1827. At that time, indeed, the highly respectable agent of Jamaica, Mr. George Hibbert, scrupled not to admit in a confidential letter to his constituents, which they afterwards published in their own Gazette, that “THE DRAWBACK UPON THE EXPORT OF REFINED SUGARS, WHEN TAKEN ALTOGETHER, WAS LITTLE IF AT ALL SHORT OF A GRATUITOUS BOUNTY OF SIX SHILLINGS PER

cwt.;" and he gives this as a reason for not attempting to disturb even the high rate of duty of 30s. per cwt. then payable. And yet, at the very time that he was making this admission, Mr. Whitmore's motion in the House of Commons for a committee on the subject was opposed by the whole West India body, on the ground that there was in fact no bounty.

But, if there be indeed no bounty, 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 necessarily 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, though the continental ports are open to receive it, but that the whole quantity exported thither from this country in a raw state, for example, does not exceed a few hundred 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.

The law at that time allowed to the exporter of one ton of refined sugar a drawback of £41. 8s. 4d. And, if it had required 34 cwt. of raw to produce a ton of refined sugar, this might have been an equitable arrangement. But, in truth, 30 cwt. of raw sugar is equal or nearly equal to the production of 20 cwt. of refined, besides leaving a considerable residuum, after refinement, of both bastards and molasses.

The statement of 1827, to which we have alluded, was as follows:—

“The calculation of drawback may be thus made :

30 cwt of raw sugar yield about 20 cwt. in all of refined, being about 75lbs. for each cwt. of raw: on which 20 cwt. a drawback is allowed on exportation of	£41 8 4
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 lbs. 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
	£48 7 10

Making in all

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 £7 17 10

Or nearly 5s. 3d. 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 (200,000 tons), of upwards of a million a year.

“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 74lb. to 75lb.: 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.

“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 it operates upon us, to a large extent, as a tax for the benefit of the West Indies.”

Having made these preliminary observations, it is proposed to advert briefly to a few parts of the evidence which has been taken by the Committee.

ALEXANDER MACDONNELL, ESQ.

Mr. Macdonnell is the Secretary of the West India Committee, and the person who is chiefly employed in preparing the various statements of the West India body. He has resided in Demerara for some years, but is not practically acquainted with tropical agriculture, or with the details of plantation management.

Nothing can be more vague and unsatisfactory than the whole basis on which not only his evidence, but that of the other witnesses is made to rest. He is asked (Question 12) what is the expense of raising 112lbs. of sugar on the average of estates in the British colonies?

*“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 enquiry.” [The duty is now 24s. and the drawback in the same ratio; the bounty, therefore, proportionately less than in 1827.]

The answer is, " I consider fifteen shillings and tenpence a fair average."—Now in the colonies of Demerara, Trinidad, and some others, it is admitted that, owing to difference of soil, the same number of labourers will produce more than double the quantity of sugar which they produce in Jamaica. The difference is in fact more, but thus much is the admission of the West Indians themselves (see Question 872). To produce in the first class of colonies, therefore, 12 cwt. of sugar, will require one effective labourer in the year, and in the other class of colonies at least two such labourers. Suppose the sugar of both to be equal in quality, both will sell for the same price. Call that price 25s. per cwt.; then each parcel will sell for £15; which £15 are gained, in one case, at the yearly cost of one slave's labour, and in the other at the expense of the labour of two slaves. By the labour therefore of one man, 25s. per cwt. are obtained by the Demerara planter, while the Jamaica planter, for the labour of his one man, obtains only 12s. 6d., being a difference of 12s. 6d. per cwt. in favour of the former. The cost of production, therefore, is more than double in Jamaica what it is in Demerara, and Jamaica might as fairly claim protection against Demerara, or Trinidad, or Mauritius, as against foreign colonies. If the cost of production is to be the criterion, then the more productive colonies would have no title to consideration on this ground, while the worn out and unproductive colonies would have to be supported by large and excessive protection. The protection which might be perfectly superfluous for one colony would be inadequate to another. The real difference between the productiveness of Jamaica as compared with Demerara, taking the year 1829, is as four and a half to twelve, and with Trinidad, in that year, is as four and a half to seventeen.

This principle is fully admitted by Mr. Macqueen, one of the witnesses (856, &c.*) The slaves in Tortola, he says, now nearly maintain their numbers: but they produce, according to him, only 4 cwt. of sugar per slave. The slaves do not keep up their numbers in Demerara and Trinidad, though they produce from three to four times that quantity. Decrease of numbers, however, is no mark of comfort, but rather of discomfort. The slaves, therefore, must be worse treated in Trinidad and Demerara, where they decrease considerably, than in Tortola where they decrease little.

Again, the growth and import from Jamaica in 1830 was 1,386,000 cwt., the population being 330,000; making nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. for each slave. The growth and import from Demerara in the same year was about 850,000 cwt., the population being 69,000; being about 13 cwt. for each slave, thrice the quantity for each slave in Jamaica. Can Jamaica then stand the competition with Demerara any more than with Cuba or Brazil? Again, from Trinidad the import appears to have been 400,000 cwt., the slave population being 23,000; that is nearly 18 cwt. for each slave, reducing the cost of production, even as relates to Demerara, from 40 to 50 per cent.—as relates to Jamaica, to one-fourth of

* The figures used in this and the following paragraphs correspond with the number of the Question in the printed evidence, No. 381 of 1832.

what it there costs to raise sugar—and as relates to Barbadoes and Dominica to one-sixth. Can competition be maintained under such disadvantages?

But are the slaves of the prosperous colonies of Demerara and Trinidad better off, as indicated by their increase or decrease, than the slaves of the depressed colonies of Jamaica, Tortola, and Dominica? *Their* ruin, therefore, is far more owing to our own than to foreign colonies.

Mr. Macdonnell is further asked what is the increased expense of producing sugar in our colonies, as compared with Cuba and Brazil; and he answers 15s. 10d.; making in fact the cost of production in Brazil nothing; for he states above that the cost of production in our colonies is just the same, viz. 15s. 10d. (23—25). To say nothing of the absurdity of such a statement, what possible data can he have for making these calculations of the comparative cost of production in Brazil and Cuba, and in our islands? Of two most material ingredients in such an estimate he seems to have wholly lost sight, namely, the want of skill among new Africans, and their frightful mortality. And is there not at least as great a difference of cost, on data that are *certain*, between Jamaica and Trinidad, as is alleged by this witness, on data the most *vague* and *uncertain*, to exist between Jamaica and Cuba? In truth, the increased supply of sugar from our own colonies has been far more detrimental to the West Indians than the increased supply from foreign colonies, and this for obvious reasons.

The witness affirms it to be necessary to find a market on the continent for a surplus of 50,000 hogsheads of sugar (35, &c.); and yet how could a market possibly be found, under every alleged existing disadvantage, but for the very large bounty now actually given, though so studiously kept out of view? The West Indians are enabled to do it only by the bounty of £5 or £6 a ton, which also in fact lays an impost to that extent on our home consumption; which Mr. Macdonnell himself states to amount to 220,000 tons annually, making a sum of from one million to one million and a quarter. But for this bounty it would be utterly impossible for them, without a very large sacrifice, to send their sugar to the continent. And, if the bounty be now 5s. or 6s. at least, what must it be, on their present showing, in order to be effective? It must be more than double, perhaps treble, and all to uphold and even greatly to aggravate the evils of slavery; and, while some slave-holders would be enormously enriched by it, others would still continue to lose.

We do not, he admits (77—80), introduce one cask of sugar from the West Indies direct to the Hanse Towns, or to any other ports on the continent; and yet we export all our surplus produce to those towns, or to some other place on the continent, with a large addition of charge, which must be defrayed by the mystification of our refining system; for a large bounty alone on refined sugar can explain this.

All his reasoning on the subject, as it respects not only the United States, but Russia and other parts of the continent, applies only to Muscovado sugar, and not to clayed. Now clayed sugar can come from Jamaica to this country on equal duties with Muscovados; and

if it may be sent to Petersburg, as it may, on equal terms with the clayed sugar of Cuba, why may not persons in Jamaica, not themselves sugar growers, invest capital in buying and claying Muscovado sugar there, and shipping it thence direct to Russia? Claying is a simple process, requiring no expensive works, and no expensive materials, and no field labour. It is a work which any free black or coloured person might carry on, and which he would hire himself to carry on. It is labour not requiring the driving whip, which alone deters free persons from *agricultural* labour. British Muscovado sugar comes *only* to England, and goes from England only in a refined state, obviously because of the bounty. As for claying, it is just as well understood in our own as in foreign colonies. It requires little or no outlay of capital on the part even of the planter; little at least beyond a diversion of labour from the field to the claying house. If claying would enhance the price, so as to make it worth the planter's while—nothing need prevent his lessening his breadth of cane land and bestowing the labour abstracted from it on claying. The real obstacles are the bounty, and the mortgage and consignee system. Grenada and Barbadoes formerly clayed their sugar (see Mr. Macqueen's Evidence, question 861). They do not now clay it, because the bounty attaches, not to clayed sugar, but to Muscovado only when exported in a refined state.

Mr. Macdonnell (183) states the case of a Cuba slave ship, which sold her cargo of 484 slaves to the planters for 145,200 dollars; but if the planters, who paid the owner of the slave vessel 145,200 dollars for his 484 slaves, lost, in the seasoning, half or even a third or a fourth of them, they would require something in the way of profit, from the labour of the remainder, to pay the 50,000 or 70,000 dollars, thus irrecoverably sunk by the mortality; and this would go far to change their advantage into a positive disadvantage.

ANDREW COLVILLE, Esq.

Mr. Colville is a large sugar planter, who resides in London, and is also a merchant and consignee of West India produce.

Mr. Colville's own slaves amount in Jamaica to upwards of 800; besides slaves whom he has in Demerara. Mr. Wedderburn, a gentleman nearly related to him, possesses in Jamaica alone 1700 or 1800 slaves, of whose produce Mr. Colville is the consignee.

Now all these slaves, both his own and Mr. Wedderburn's, are decreasing in number, although the relative proportion of the sexes is favourable, and has been so for at least the last fifteen or twenty years; the females being about three or four per cent. more than the males.

In two years, from March 1824 to March 1826, the decrease of Mr. Wedderburn's slaves was upwards of 1½ per cent. (A. S. R. vol. iii. p. 146); and on two sugar estates of Mr. Colville's, Blackheath and Southfield, containing, in March 1817, 568 slaves, the number in March 1820 was only 519, and in March 1824 it was reduced to 484; being a progressive decrease in those seven years amounting, in the aggregate, to 84, being at the rate of twelve in each year, or nearly two and a half per cent. annually. The free Maroons, in the immediate neighbour-

hood of these two estates, have increased, during the very same period, at the rate of nearly two and a half per cent. annually; making the portentous difference, between these free Negroes and Mr. Colville's slave Negroes, of five per cent. per annum. Now if Mr. Colville's slaves had been as well off, and as well fed, and as lightly worked as the Maroons, which last have had no food and no supplies but what they have procured by their own industry, instead of the 484 slaves on those two estates in 1824 he would have had 652,—being 168 more than he actually possessed,—the value of whom, even at £50 a-piece, would have been £8,400. But is it not on account of this frightful consumption of human life, quite as much as from the rivalry of the foreign slave trade, that Mr. Colville feels that he needs a bounty? With 168 more added to his stock, instead of 84 killed off from it, he would evidently have been better able to bear the competition of Cuba and Brazil. Mr. Colville has said not one word of this waste of his human stock by death; and yet there are ample proofs to be found on the table of Parliament that he was aware of it.

In the year 1807, Mr. Colville, then Mr. Wedderburn, was largely examined by a committee of the House of Commons* on the subject of West India distress, of which he spoke then in the same strong and sweeping terms which he now uses. The case then, as now, was absolute ruin, without speedy, nay, instant relief. He testified that the numerous estates with which he was connected, for a long time, had made no interest at all on their capital (p. 20). There was no plea then of *foreign* slave trade; for none existed. That trade was and had been for a time all our own, and Mr. Colville and his associates had, in that very year, been exerting themselves most vigorously to preserve untouched that cruel and criminal traffic; and but for the very men who now direct His Majesty's counsels, and who were happily placed over them at that time, for a brief space, they might have retained it to this hour. Earl Grey was then the King's leading Minister in the House of Commons, and had the glory of putting an extinguisher on that guilty commerce, then so fondly cherished by the very men who now choose to view it, in the hands of others, as the source of their ruin.—But while they enjoyed it, and enjoyed too a monopoly of it, did it benefit them? On the contrary, their extreme depression at that time may be traced to it.—But, not to pursue this point at present,—this important document has been now cited for the purpose of adverting to the very full and instructive details, which Mr. Colville then laid before the committee, on that very subject of mortality, of which he has had long and melancholy experience. He then produced the case of various plantations, and among others of one of his estates in the parish of Westmoreland, which in 1801 had had 345 Negroes, but which unhappily in 1806 was reduced to 301, being, as he himself admits, a decrease of two and a half per cent. per ann. (p. 21.) And he adds, that this estate had been “extremely well managed,” and had been

* The proceedings of this committee form a valuable document. It bears the date of 24th July, 1807, and is numbered 65.

well supplied with clothing, provisions, and provision grounds.* And he seems almost to make a merit of not charging this heavy loss of 44 human cattle as an item in his expenditure which Parliament was bound to meet by a remunerating price. Let us only suppose again, that if, during the last 30 years, these 345 slaves, instead of being renewed by purchase, had grown like the Maroons at the rate of two and a half per cent., they would in 1831 have amounted to 800, whereas, if they went on decreasing at the rate of 1801 to 1806, and at the rate at which two of his estates, as has been shown, are now decreasing, they would have been reduced to little more than an eighth part of that number. He does not give the name of this estate, or the case might be more exactly ascertained.

Mr. Colville affirms (261) that cane lands, if broken up, can be applied profitably to no other use. But surely, if his own two sugar estates of Blackheath and Southfield are not exhausted, so as to require high manuring,—what crop is it which they might not bear? He has now on those estates 250 head of cattle. These are now fed in some way. Would it be impossible to feed 250 or 500 more? And would not the effect of that be that he could both supply his agents and slaves with wholesome food—with fresh beef on the spot, without importing salt beef, or pork, or butter for the former, or herrings for the latter, and also have leather to supply all his slaves with the shoes which, by the late Order in Council, are to be given them, and which otherwise must be imported? And would not the increased means of manuring thus obtained preserve his lands from being exhausted, and make even his cane fields more productive?

Mr. Colville, though an old and experienced planter, affirms that coffee could not grow on low lands (265). He ought to have known that, in tropical climates, all lands, whether high or low, if good, are adapted to coffee. Witness the mountain land of Jamaica, and the flat, moist land of Demerara. Even in Jamaica, the low lands, if fertile, produce coffee just as well as the high, if not better. And even the dry weather of the low lands is quite as adverse to the productiveness of sugar as of coffee.

Our surplus importation of sugar Mr. Colville states to be one-fourth (267—272). Now by a limitation of sugar culture, and a conversion of slave labour to other objects, as coffee, provisions, cattle,

* These expressions led to an examination of the supplies furnished to these 345 slaves by Mr. Colville, as stated by him at page 24 of his evidence. They are as follows:—viz. clothing of all kinds for the slaves, and medicines, which cost in England £238. The only food supplied to them thence consisted of herrings, which cost £314. The remaining supplies from Europe consisted either of articles for the use of the white agents, as flour, Irish beef and pork, or for the use of the plantation, as wood hoops, coals, bricks, tools, &c., amounting to £700 or £800. The Island supplies averaged annually about £2600, consisting of salaries to agents, and other contingent expenses, including medical attendance, probably about £70 or £80, and very little or no provisions for the slaves. The great mass of their food, therefore, must have been the production of their own labour in their grounds.

&c., on the part of the planters universally, would not this depressing surplus be at once got rid of? Cuba and Brazil cannot enter into competition with him or his fellow-planters in the home market. If the planters were to resolve on lessening their sugar by one-fourth, the object they are now pursuing would be effected at once, without the interference of Parliament, and without any evil either to the planter or the slave, except diminished commissions to consignees be regarded as an evil.

Mr. Colville says (274), he thinks that Cuba and Brazil produce sugar cheaper than Jamaica, because the slave trade supplies them with labourers at less cost. But if Mr. Colville's two estates had possessed, in the course of the last seven years, from 84 to 168 more labourers than they now have, and had these been but treated and fed as well as the free negroes, the Maroons, in their vicinity, would he have had the same cause to complain?

Mr. Colville speaks of the large annual amount of what he gives in allowances to the young and to the old on his estates (275). We have seen what these amount to;—a few herrings and a little cheap clothing in the year, with a little medicine and medical attendance. He does not feed his slaves. They feed themselves and families from their own grounds solely, and by their own labour on Sundays, and twenty-six days besides. See his own answer (421).

Mr. Colville proposes to cure West India distress by a larger bounty (294). But would not a reduction of the quantity of sugar grown, at once, and more effectually, produce the same result? The bounty is already 5*s.* or 6*s.* But this, he thinks, is not enough. He demands 10*s.* or 12*s.* more. But even this large increase would not place Jamaica on an equality with Demerara and Trinidad, any more than if they retain only the present rate of bounty.

The effect of this proposal would be to raise the bounty from 5*s.* or 6*s.*, which it is at present, to 14*s.* or 15*s.*; and as this would raise to that extent the price of the exported surplus, and there cannot be two prices of one and the same article in the same market, the effect would be a rise, to precisely the same extent, on all sugar consumed at home. The tax on the public, the British consumer, therefore, for this bounty, and independently of it, would be, on 4,400,000 cwt. nearly £3,000,000 annually, which is probably three to four times as much as the whole actual income of all the sugar planters of the West Indies; and this to be paid annually, by a reluctant and impoverished people, for upholding and infinitely aggravating the evils and the crime of that slavery they detest. Will they submit to this? The thing seems impossible. Nay, when their eyes are fully open, will they even submit to the million and upwards they now pay? And is this Mr. Colville's only remedy? He and his West Indian friends may at least first try to cut off a fifth or fourth of the present supply of this deathful article, and thus both benefit themselves and spare the lives of their poor slaves. Even their charging commission only on the *short* price would at once either leave three per cent. in the pocket of the planter, or cause a reduction of 9*d.* in the price of every cwt. of sugar.

Would not Mr. Colville admit that the residence of a proprietor on his own estate might save him a large sum in attorneys and managers, and would also relieve him of the cost of his establishment in Europe? And might he not attend better in this case to his own affairs, and to the health and comfort of his slaves? The small estates, he says, are worse off than the large; but are these items of expense of no moment, be the estate large or small? (323, 324).

There is sufficient pasture land, he admits (329—341), in Jamaica, yet still beef, pork, and butter are brought from England. In fact, pasture is little thought of there to raise food, but chiefly to supply cattle for drawing canes to the mill, or sugar to the wharf. Pasture lands, he says, are cheap. On this cheap land, why not raise that beef, pork, and butter, which is imported at such cost from England and the United States?

THOMAS PHILLPOTTS, ESQ.

Mr. Phillpotts appears to have been resident in Jamaica for 30 years, chiefly as an overseer or manager; at least it does not appear that at so recent a date as 1826 he was himself the proprietor of any plantations, being then possessed of only 18 slaves.

A sugar estate, says this witness (485), can be converted to no other object of profitable cultivation. But suppose the soil of a sugar estate is fertile, yielding from one to two hogsheads an acre from plant canes, and that *without* manure, will Mr. Phillpotts venture to affirm that it would be capable of yielding nothing else, neither coffee, nor cotton, nor corn, nor yams, nor grass, nor provisions? Exhausted lands, whether exhausted by canes or by any other produce, will of course yield little or nothing of any article. But will not good land yield almost every other species of produce with *less* of exhaustion than it will yield sugar? Sugar, it is admitted by this very witness, is one of the most exhausting of all crops; but will no length of fallow restore it?

If pasture land is to be bought so cheap as Mr. Phillpotts affirms (486, &c.), namely, as low as 14 or 15 shillings an acre, would not the cattle, and the beef, and the butter, and the hides reared upon it be proportionably cheap? Would not fair cane land, capable of yielding one to two hogsheads an acre, bear very good guinea grass, or cotton, or even coffee? Many West Indian estates of fertile soil have been converted into sugar estates, after having for many years borne coffee. Is it meant to be affirmed that one, or two, or three, or four sugar crops, would make it impossible for that same soil to revert to coffee again? Does not Mr. Phillpotts know that many of the numerous coffee estates planted in Jamaica since 1793 had formerly grown sugar, or indigo, or cotton, and had been actually thrown out of the culture of these articles during the preceding twenty or thirty years? And will he venture to say that there is any one parish of Jamaica, whether "moist" or "dry," "hot" or "cold," in which both sugar and coffee may not be, and even are not, grown? Is not the whole of Demerara uniformly both hot and moist? And does not sugar grow there on many scores of estates, without manure; which, as coffee estates,

had till recently been most productive? Besides, has he never seen corn growing in cane fields, and Guinea grass in the intervals of them?

JOHN INNES, ESQ.

This gentleman is a planter of Demerara, and also of Berbice.

If his statement as to the cost of rearing slaves in these colonies be correct (585), and it is that a Creole slave, by the time he attains the age of 14 years, costs the proprietor £226. 14s. 10d. sterling, then the whole system from first to last is nothing more than sheer and egregious folly. Slavery must have ceased long ago, were all that this witness says true. If a slave at 14 costs £226. 14s. 10d. sterling, what part of that money can ever be replaced? But the very fact of the expense of rearing such a slave would at once explain the non-increase of population in the two Colonies with which he is connected, as well as the appalling consumption of human life which, contrary to the course of human nature, takes place in them. All such statements and calculations are at once convicted of exaggeration. No man would rear slaves on such terms.

WILLIAM ROBERT KEITH DOUGLAS, ESQ., M. P.

Mr. Douglas is proprietor of about 700 or 800 slaves in Tobago: he has never himself visited the West Indies.

It seems most surprising that Mr. Douglas, with all his means of information, should not have been able to give more precise information with respect to the population of Tobago (628). The first year of any correct return from that island was for December, 1819. It then was found by the Registry that the relative proportion of the sexes was such as gave the best hope of the favourable progress of population. The numbers were, at the close of that year, according to the Parliamentary document, No. 424 of 1824, 7633 males and 7837 females; in all, 15,470.

From that time, at least, the slave population, if properly fed and treated, might have been expected to increase rapidly. But what has been the fact?

By the Registry for 1829 (No. 674 of 1830), the latest we have, the numbers were as follows:—5872 males and 6684 females: in all, 12,556; showing not only no increase, but a large decrease of 2914 slaves, to which must be added 134 slaves imported during that time, over and above those exported (No. 353 of 1826); thus making the whole decrease 3048. From this amount, however, there are to be deducted the manumissions effected in the above ten years. The only official returns of these are to the end of 1825, and they make the number 232 (No. 89 of 1823, and No. 353 of 1826). In 1829 there are said to have been 16 manumissions; and if the same number took place in each of the three intermediate years, 1826, 1827, and 1828, the whole number manumitted in the ten years will amount to 296. These, being deducted from 3048, leave a real actual decrease, by death, in ten years, of 2752; being within fifty of one-fifth part of the whole

average population of those ten years, namely, about 14,000. It might be proved, by official documents, that during the very same period the free Negroes of Trinidad, the free Maroon Negroes of Jamaica, and the free population of the Mauritius, had *increased* at the rate of two and a half per cent. per annum; and that in the colonies of Grenada, Demerara, and Berbice, the free black and coloured class had *increased* at the rate of three per cent. per annum; while the slaves of Tobago had been *decreasing* at the rate of two per cent. per annum. Here then it appears that although this item of heavy loss, incurred by the planters of Tobago, is wholly left out of view by Mr. Douglas, in his estimate of the sources of their distress, it is most clearly one which, though not even remotely glanced at by him, yet, on the very principle on which he contends for the distressing effect of the Foreign slave-trade, must have had a preponderating influence on the whole question which he affects to discuss, namely, the causes of the present distress of the West India planters.

The mere subtraction of 2752 labourers from the small population of Tobago, being a fifth of the whole, whether we regard it simply as a diminution of capital to that amount, or as enhancing the average cost of the sugar, or as lessening the effective means of production; must far outweigh in importance, in forming any just estimate of the causes of that distress, all the others he has specified, and must, unquestionably, at least outweigh all that can be attributed to the Foreign slave trade.

This, however, is only a small part of the case. It is plain that had the 15,470 slaves existing in Tobago on the 31st Dec., 1819, increased at the same rate with the free in Trinidad, Jamaica, and Mauritius,—to say nothing of those of Grenada, Demerara, and Berbice—(and, the climates being alike in all, they must have done so had they been equally well fed and equally well off in other respects), their number on the 31st Dec., 1829, instead of being *reduced* to 12,556, would have *grown* to 19,338; making an actual addition of 7218 in that time to their labouring population: and this, independently of all the increased production which would have resulted from the progressively growing amount of effective labour, and which would have been at this time sixty per cent. more than it actually is.

Had Mr. Douglas looked at the Registry returns on the table of the House of Commons, he would have saved himself and the committee much unnecessary trouble, for he would have seen at once that in all the colonies in the West Indies, excepting three, the females exceeded the males in the usual and natural proportion,—that in one colony, namely, Trinidad, they are now nearly equal,—and that in two only, Demerara and Berbice, more particularly the former, is there any material excess of males over females.

As to many other points in the evidence of Mr. Douglas respecting freights, non-intercourse with continental markets, &c., it is obvious, and he himself is forced to admit it, that the evils arise from the West Indians alone, and from the restrictions which they and their consignees have mutually and voluntarily chosen to institute: and that by

themselves, and themselves alone, can they be obviated. These are regulated, as he himself also admits, not by law, but by what he chooses to call "the colonial system" (640); to which, when we add the effect of the bounty in preventing the direct transmission of their produce to continental Europe, or of its sale or barter in return for articles imported from the United States, a great part of their whole ground of complaint is at once obviated, or traced to their own free choice, and therefore can form no ground of claim for parliamentary interference or indemnity.

Equally out of place is the complaint of this gentleman, arising from the alleged insecurity of slavery, produced by the popular feeling in this country on the subject (656). To obviate that feeling is wholly impossible. It is beyond the competence even of Parliament. The determination of the public to extinguish slavery may be resisted for a time, but it cannot be overcome. Nothing, however, can be less true than that this circumstance has operated, or can operate, to depress the price of colonial produce. It may, without doubt, affect the price of estates, and of slaves, in the market; but it has no influence, and can have none, either on the quantity or the price of produce. The quantity it certainly has not lessened; on the contrary, it is now as great as ever. And it is quantity, the West Indians themselves admit, which does and must regulate price. The low price of sugar is by their own account the great grievance under which they labour. But that is an evil to which anti-slavery projects have in no respect contributed. It arises from an excess of that very sugar cultivation which the authors of those projects hold to be a great calamity as it respects the slaves, and which they would gladly see lessened. It is therefore wholly to mistake the question at issue, and completely to mistake the cause and the remedy of this distress, as arising from low prices, to refer to the prevalent feeling of hostility to slavery in this country as connected in any degree either with that depression or with its removal.

The enormous gains of consignees, as against the planters, are here (670) plainly admitted by Mr. K. Douglas; but he extenuates if he does not defend the arrangement, as being no more than a compensation for the risks they run. But what, after all, is this but evading the law forbidding usury? Without meaning to defend that law; still it is plainly proved, by the long-established and universal prevalence of such a system, what are the peculiar and well understood hazards of West India speculation. Every man embarking in it must have had his eyes open to its risks; and he, doubtless, must have fully intended to take ample security against them. But he has no more claim to be relieved from the effects of a failure of his unwarranted and too sanguine hopes than a purchaser of lottery tickets who has drawn only blanks, or a man who has lost his last stake at *Rouge et Noir*.

All that follows, on the part of Mr. K. Douglas, only goes to confirm what has been said above of the enormous gains of the consignee as founded on the long known, and well appreciated, hazards of West India speculation.

SIMON TAYLOR, ESQ.

This witness is a merchant of Jamaica, and an extensive attorney for plantations in that island, where he has resided twelve years, namely from 1819 to 1831. He directed thirty estates cultivated by 7000 or 8000 slaves; and is himself a proprietor.

The present distress is owing, he says (688), to low prices, arising from distrust about emancipation, caused by clamour at home. But how could that produce low prices, unless indeed its tendency were to increase quantity?

It would seem from Mr. Taylor's evidence (709) that cattle are not thought of in Jamaica, but for sugar cultivation. If beef were cheapened would it not be eaten? Would not the slaves thrive on it better than on their present meagre diet, plantains and herrings? Cattle abound in Cuba and Brazil, and the slaves are fed with them cheaply.

This gentleman superintending 30 estates and 7000 or 8000 slaves, residing for the last 12 years in Jamaica, testifies (731) that nothing which had passed in England, in regard to Emancipation, had materially altered, even down to 1831, the slave's habits, or lessened his labour. How then can it have affected either quantities or prices of produce? This is a flat contradiction to some of the other witnesses, by one just arrived from the spot after a long residence of 12 years.

There is an estate for example in this district, St. Thomas in the East, called Lyssons. In March 1820 there were upon it 516 slaves. In March 1824 there were only 476, being a decrease of 40 in four years, or ten in a year, just 2 per cent. per annum. What has caused this heavy loss, while the Maroons, the free Negroes near Lyssons, increase at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum? Had the increase been the same on this estate of Lyssons, instead of having only 476 slaves in March 1824, in the four intervening years from March 1820 the 576 slaves would have grown to 633; being 157 above the number of 476 existing in 1821.

Would not the natural increase of 157 slaves, above the present stock, have of itself counteracted the effect of the foreign slave trade, and many other drawbacks of which he complains? The value of this wasted capital at £50 a slave is £7850, besides all the intermediate profits that would have arisen from the labours of the growing gang.

The following table, taken from authentic records, of the increase and decrease of a number of estates in the parish with which Mr. Taylor is chiefly connected, St. Thomas in the East, and during the very years he was in Jamaica, and some of which Mr. Taylor may himself have managed, is submitted to the public. Can Mr. Taylor explain the causes of the difference of mortality *there* exhibited on sugar and coffee estates; or that between the mortality of the slaves on both, and the increase of the Maroons in the adjoining district, as it appears in this correct and authentic document? The general result is that in 12 years the *decrease* on the Sugar Estates is $12\frac{2}{3}$ per cent., while on the Coffee Estates there is, in the same period, an *increase* of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and among the Maroons of $30\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.?

200 *Parish of St. Thomas in the East—Plantain-Garden-River District—Sugar Estates.*

ESTATES.	OWNERS.	Registry Return in	Registry Return in	Added by purchase, &c. in 12 years.	Manumitted in 12 years.	Sold, removed, run away, or transported in 12 years.	Births in 12 years.	Deaths in 12 years.
		1817.	1829.					
Golden Grove . . .	A. Archdeckne . . .	761	659	10	7	8	206	303
Chiswick . . .	J. and T. Burton . . .	201	181	32		1	27	78
Winchester . . .	T. Cussans . . .	344	327				108	125
Amity Hall . . .	Heirs of T. Cussans . . .	299	228	4	4	5	65	131
Stoakeshall . . .	Heirs of A. Donaldson . . .	207	178	2	2		55	84
Rhine . . .	Sir E. H. East, Bart. . .	195	173	2	2	3	68	112
Duckenfield . . .	Priscilla Franks . . .	341	376	76	5	4	113	145
Dalvey . . .	Sir A. Grant, Bart. . .	173	166	8	4	1	64	74
Plantain Garden River . . .	Harvey and Co. . .	226	227	22	3	1	75	92
Friendship . . .	Lambie and Co. . .	184	173				58	69
Hordley . . .	Heirs of M. G. Lewis . . .	282	247			1	70	104
Arcadia . . .	R. Logan . . .	133	103	30			29	89
Whelersfield . . .	T. W. Milner . . .	286	297				112	101
Potosi . . .	J. M'Queen . . .	258	197				69	130
Philipsfield . . .	N. Phillips . . .	204	164	3	2		49	90
Pleasant Hall . . .	Ditto . . .	270	228		2	2	68	106
Holland . . .	G. W. Taylor . . .	598	634			1	256	199
Total		4972	4558	213	31	27	1472	2032

Coffee Estates in the same District.

ESTATES.	OWNERS.	Registry Return in	Registry Return in	Added by purchase, &c. in 12 years.	Manumitted in 12 years.	Sold, removed, run away, or transported in 12 years.	Births in 12 years.	Deaths in 12 years.
		1817.	1829.					
Bachelor's Hall . . .	A. Archdeckne . . .	140	135		1	7	43	47
Green-Castle . . .	J. Kelly . . .	267	245			2	88	108
House Hill . . .	Heirs of J. Kelly . . .	142	136				47	53
Barracks . . .	S. Francis . . .	55	73	35			17	32
Newington . . .		160	174	1		2	70	57
Island Head . . .	Elmslie . . .	61	127	69	3	3	46	43
Greenfield . . .	E. M'Indoe . . .	80	80	1	1	2	25	23
Moffatt, &c. . .	K. M'Pherson . . .	109	240	115		4	71	51
Wakefield, &c. . .	P. M'Farlane . . .	41	62	44		4	22	41
Ben Lomond . . .	T. Ross . . .	111	130				50	30
New Monkland . . .	J. Telfair . . .	188	222			3	100	69
Old Monkland . . .		100	93				26	33
Newfield . . .	Thompson . . .	100	104	2			35	33
Total		1554	1821	267	5	27	640	629

Return of Maroons.

STATIONS.	Number in 1817.	Number in 1820.	Number in 1823.	Number in 1826.	Number in 1829.	Average population taken at three periods, 1817, 1823, and 1829.	Actual increase by birth over the decrease by death, renunciation of privileges, &c. in the 12 years.	That is to say at the average rate of one per annum in
Moore Town . . .	402	410	426	540	550			
Scot's Hall . . .	77	67	68	67	86			
Accompong . . .	236	298	303	306	313			

These tables, first published in the Christian Record of Jamaica, No. 8, may be verified by a reference to the registered returns, in the Colonial Registry Office, in this country.

An equally striking document has recently appeared in the same work, No. 2. (New series.) It gives a similar and equally correct statement, taken from the official registry, of the progress of population on seventy-six sugar estates in the parish of Hanover in Jamaica, during the twelve years from 1817 to 1829. On these estates, the slaves were remarkably well proportioned, the males in 1817 being 9056, and the females 9204: together 18,260. In these twelve years, the births were 5345, the deaths 6739, being a decrease by deaths over births of 1394.

The births per annum were rather less than one in forty of the population, and the deaths one in 32. The rate of births among the free in America and Europe is usually one birth in from seventeen to twenty of the population, and the deaths one in about forty.

The decrease by deaths over births on these estates was, in the twelve years, $7\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.; and it is remarkable that, in the last six years of that period, the rate of decrease is greater than in the first six years. The rate of decrease from 1817 to 1823 was $3\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.; but from 1823 to 1829 a little more than $4\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., making $7\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. in the whole. Hanover was one of the recently disturbed parishes.

These 18,260 slaves were living at the time in the vicinity of the Maroons, who *increased* during the same twelve years at the rate of 30 per cent. Had their increase kept pace with that of the Maroons, not only would the diminution of life to the extent of 1394 have been saved, but 5478 human beings would have been added to the number, so as to make the population of these estates, in 1829, 23,738. The actual population of them in that year was 17,572; but, deducting those added in the twelve years by purchase, it was only 16,866, making a difference in that one parish, on these seventy-six estates, as compared with the Maroons, of 6872, or about 37 per cent.

There is no census in Jamaica of the freed population; but there cannot exist a doubt that it would furnish, if accurately taken, a criterion no less decisive of the comparative destructiveness of slavery, than the case of the Maroons.

But there is another view which has been taken of this subject by a correspondent, and which we shall here insert in corroboration of our own. We can afford room only for the substance of his communication, which is as follows:—

In the late attempt to prove that the continuance of the slave-trade by foreigners has been the cause of the present distress of the British planters, the witnesses state that the price of newly imported slaves is from 220 to 250 dollars, that is £48 to £55 sterling, and for Mandingo slaves 300 dollars or £65—a price very much higher than is now given for slaves in the West Indies, with the exception of Guiana and Trinidad: hence it is evident that with this exception a British planter wishing to extend his cultivation might be supplied with slaves on cheaper terms than those on which Brazil and Cuba are now supplied, and the alleged greater efficiency of the slaves they bring from the ships would be far more than counterbalanced by their want of skill, and their inaptitude to

labour, and still more by the great and admitted mortality which takes place on their first importation.

These facts of the comparative prices of slaves would of themselves be conclusive; but happily we have farther proof. This is not the first time that the British Colonial system has been unable to contend with better systems. Indigo has been entirely, and cotton very nearly, driven out of cultivation in the West India Colonies, but not in any case by the slave trade of other countries, but either by free labour, or by the increase of natural population.

The increased cultivation of cotton in the United States throws a remarkable light on this subject; for that increase has arisen not from importation, but from the natural growth of population. The slaves in the United States in 1810 were 1,191,364, and, as they appear to have been then increasing at the rate of 30,000 per annum, their numbers in 1808 (the time when the African slave-trade was abolished both in that country and in Great Britain) may be taken at about 1,130,000. In 1830, however, they amounted, by actual census, to 2,010,436.

That this vast difference arose from natural increase is undoubted; for we hear nothing said of an African slave-trade, and the slave-breeders of Virginia would watch the foreign importation of slaves into the southern states with as much care as the corn growers of Norfolk would watch an importation of foreign corn into Lancashire. Besides, the writers in the United States who so deeply lament the increase of the slave population, never mention slave trading as one of the causes of that increase.

The result of this great increase in the slave population has been a still greater increase in the growth, and reduction in the price, of cotton. I have not seen any estimate of the whole growth of cotton in the United States, about the time of the Peace, when the foreign slave-trade was renewed; but the comparative imports into Great Britain will form a pretty fair criterion, being in the latter period considerably more than threefold what they were in the former. The price has undergone a corresponding change; for we find it has fallen from an average of 1s. 6½*d.* in the years 1815 to 1819, to 6½*d.* per lb. in 1827 to 1831.

The imports of cotton from America into Great Britain, in the above first five years, averaged 165,046 bales annually, and in the last five years 556,307 bales.

In the Brazils, where slave-trading has been extensively carried on, they have only increased their growth of cotton about 25 per cent., the whole increase not being one-twentieth part of that of the United States. The average imports, thence, of the first five years into Great Britain was 128,472 bales, and in the last five only 161,471.

I have seen no authentic account of the slave population in the West Indies, after the abolition of the slave trade, earlier than 1818, when it was 746,651. If the decrease of the ten preceding years had been at the same rate as the succeeding six years, the numbers in 1808 would have been about 793,271; but, from the greater loss of slave life nearer the time of importation, it may very safely be assumed that they exceeded 800,000; we will take this to have been the amount in 1808.

Now, if 1,130,000 slaves in the United States have increased between 1808 and 1830 to 2,010,436; at the same rate these 800,000 would have increased to 1,423,317. Instead of which, by the latest accounts, the slave population of the West Indies *now* is only 678,527, being less than it ought to have been, had it increased as in America, by 744,793.

Notwithstanding the great and gradual decrease which has taken place in our slave population, our import of sugar from the West India Colonies remains very nearly what it was in 1814. In that year it was 190,000 tons, and in 1830 185,000 tons.

The Brazilians had to contend with the Americans in the growth of cotton, and in this article they increased only 25 per cent.; whilst in sugar, where they

had to contend with the British, their growth has increased from 30,000 tons in 1814 to 70,000 tons in 1830, or 130 per cent., according to Trueman and Cook's Tables. Now if their advantages over the British arose from slave-trading, they had just the same advantage over the Americans in the growth of cotton; and yet the Americans, without slave-trading, have very greatly checked the slave-trade of the Brazils for the growth of cotton; and, had our slaves increased equally, we should have done the same with respect to sugar.

We should have had the same advantage over the slave-traders of Brazil as the Americans have had. Instead of a small decrease on our imports of sugar, there might have been an increase of more than twice the quantity grown in our West Indies, and more than three times the increased growth of the slave-trading colonies since 1814, which, according to Trueman and Cook, amounts in all only to 110,000 tons. The Americans have more than trebled their growth of cotton, whilst all the slave-trading sugar growers have only added 110,000 tons, or between 60 and 70 per cent. to their growth of sugar, which in 1814 was 175,000 tons.

We have heard of the enormous extent of the slave trade since the peace in 1814; it has often been estimated in those 18 years at 100,000 per annum. And the sugar is the principal article of cultivation which these immense numbers of slaves have produced, and which it appears is only equal to 115,000 tons. What must have become of these slaves? A reference has already been made to what Mr. Jeremie says in his Essays on Slavery, "that swarms of Negro slaves, equal, at the lowest calculation, to the whole of their original number (70,000), have been introduced into Martinique; but that at the end of 15 short years all their importations had been swept away, and the slave population stands now much as it did." Mr. M'Donnel, in his evidence before the Committee, also speaks of the great mortality of the new slaves in the Brazils and Cuba.

Enough, then, has been said to prove the absurdity of supposing that the Brazils and Cuba have had any advantage, from their importation, over countries not importing; and, to prove this, let us suppose that the same system had been going on in America, where *now* their natural increase is at the rate of 50,000 per annum. If these, instead of having been reared, had been added by importation, on the estimate of only one half the number imported surviving, it would of course require 100,000 per annum to be imported, which, at £50 each, would have made £5,000,000; whilst the value of their average exports of cotton to Great Britain cannot have been more than £3,600,000 per annum. Such a sum would have exceeded the value of the whole exports of their great staple article. But, if this is absurd, how much more ridiculous is the calculation of one of the witnesses (Mr. Innes, see *supra* p. 196) that it costs £226. 14s. 10d. sterling to raise a child to fourteen years! If this were true, then it must have cost the Americans more than £11,000,000 per annum to raise the present annual addition to their slave population.

If, then, it has now been made clear that the advantage of the Brazilian and Cuba sugar growers is not in slave trading, it will be easy to show in what it does consist: namely, in the residence of the foreign and the non-residence of the British planters; in the enormous interest paid in various ways to mortgagees in this country, almost all estates being mortgaged; and in the decrease of our own slave population, when it ought to have increased. If they were rid of these disadvantages, and Negro population were to increase, as they would, if free, at the rate of 2½ per cent. per annum, besides saving the loss of life which is now going on, there can be no doubt of their competing with Brazil and Cuba as successfully in the growth of sugar, as the Americans, by means of the natural increase of their Negro population, are doing in the growth of cotton.

But it may be said that, if slaves increased so fast, they would fall in price; if they did fall in price, land must, in consequence of an increased population, rise in value; hence this would be a transfer of value from the slaves to the land—from the worst and most uncertain tenure to the very best.

Again: it may be said that, in some of the islands, there will not be land enough for them to cultivate; of course, when that is the case, slavery must, at length, cease of itself, and the people must emigrate, in search of employment. But men are so attached to their native places that they would sooner give a high rent for land than leave the place of their birth: thence the planters, being the owners of the soil, would be great gainers even by such an increase of population as would induce them to give their slaves their freedom.

In short, the planters should adopt those means of relief which are evidently within their own power, such as residing on their own properties; managing their own concerns; and increasing their labouring population; and, having thus done what they could for themselves, they might then seek such help from government as would be adapted to their wants. Instead of which, they are desiring, by means of an increased drawback on sugar exported, to raise the price of sugar so as to add one or two millions more to the 1,000,000 or 1,200,000 which are now paid to them in that shape, and which would increase and not lessen the oppression of the slave.

Surely no such enormous sums will be suffered to be wasted on an attempt to bolster up a system which, independently of its deep guilt, cannot stand.

There are three causes for the present distress:—

1. Debts contracted, paying, in some shape, a very high rate of interest.
2. The expense of agency in consequence of the non-residence of the planters.
3. The dreadful waste of Negro life.

No remedy can of course be effectual without having a direct reference to these causes of distress.

The amount of capital borrowed, or the rate which on an average it costs the planters, could not be easily ascertained; but if we assume the amount at £15,000,000, and that the planters are paying on that sum 10 per cent. more than the rate at which the government could borrow it, and of course afford to lend it to them,—if this were lent by government, and equitably divided amongst the planters, this one item would be a saving of a million and a half per annum. The residence of the planters would save about a million more. And if the planters would, at the same time, co-operate with the government in those measures which, by freeing the slaves, would put an end to the waste of human life, and add rapidly to the Negro population, as freedom adds to it in all parts of the world, the gain to them would be immense in a variety of ways.

This change in the condition of the slaves would probably bring the production of the West Indies for a time within the consumption of the mother country, and thus render the bounty on exportation nugatory. But this bounty should at any rate cease, and also all extra duty on East India sugar, which, with the increasing number of slaves, would keep in check any great advance on the price of sugar: and, whilst such advanced price did continue, it would be cheerfully borne by the country, from a conviction that it would be but temporary, and would ultimately produce a supply at such a price as would more effectually destroy the slave trade for the growth of sugar than has been done by the Americans for the growth of cotton. And all these advantages to the planters would be obtained without any cost whatever to the country.

In any case, and whether this reasoning be just or otherwise, slavery must inevitably cease. Its abominations can no longer be endured by this country.

We conclude, with recommending these considerations to our Colonists generally, and with calling the attention of Parliament and the public to the appalling fact of the comparatively enormous waste of human life produced from year to year, by British slavery, which so clearly appears in the preceding pages; a subject to which we intend soon again to recur.

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 98.]

JULY, 1832.

[VOL. v. No. 8.]

COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE COLONIAL SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE COLONIES; viz., 1. *Constitution of Trinidad*; 2. *Liberation of Forfeited Africans and Crown Slaves*; 3. *Persecution of Samuel Swiney, a Jamaica Slave*; 4. *Female Flogging in Jamaica*; 5. *Female Flogging, &c., in Bahamas*; 6. *Slave Insurrection*; 7. *Report of the Bishop of Jamaica*; 8. *Free Black and Coloured classes, changes in their Civil Condition*; 9. *The Protection given to Slaves in Jamaica by Law Illustrated.*

1. *Constitution of Trinidad.*

IN a parliamentary paper of the present year, 1832, No. 212, some important communications between the Secretary of State and the local Government of Trinidad have recently appeared. A great part of them refer to the finances and expenditure of the Colony, and therefore will not require any detailed analysis from us. In the course of the correspondence however there occur various incidental observations, which merit particular notice, as marking the general character of the policy of his Majesty's Government in regard to the Slave Colonies; and to these we shall take occasion briefly to advert.

One regulation laid down by Lord Goderich in his despatch of the 27th of May, 1831, is in this view highly important. It is this: "Henceforth every person entering into the public service in Trinidad must be previously divested of property in plantations within the Colony, or in agricultural slaves, wherever situated; and every judicial and legal officer of the Crown, except the judicial assessors in the criminal court, must, though not for the first time taking office in the Colony, divest themselves of such property within two years from the date of the receipt of this despatch." We could have wished that they had been equally debarred from holding domestic slaves. The sound policy of such a restriction in this case also is equally unquestionable.

A discussion of considerable moment is incidentally raised, in the course of the same despatch, respecting the political constitution which ought to be given to Trinidad. The colonists had petitioned "for such a constitution as would afford the colonists an effectual control over the taxation and expenditure to which they are called to contribute;" and they refer to the case of Canada as justifying their application. Lord Goderich says in reply, "I avow, without reserve, my opinion that justice and sound policy dictate the extension of such a form of government to every Colony fitted for its reception." There is between Canada and Trinidad, however, one all-important distinction, to which the petitioners do not allude.

"Their silence cannot have arisen from any ignorance of the importance which has been and is attached to that distinction in this country, and is, I presume, rather to be attributed to their conscious inability to repel the objection

by sound argument. In Trinidad a large majority of the whole population are slaves. In Canada slavery is not only unknown in practice, but prohibited by law.

“ The petitioners ascribe all the evils of which they complain to a system of government ‘ under which laws are made by those who are to govern, and not by those who are to obey them,’ and to the absence of ‘ any control (by means of election) vested in that body for whose benefit laws are made.’ I acknowledge and respect the justice of the principle assumed and inculcated in these expressions. I have not any disposition to deny that it is highly conducive, if not essential, to the enactment of good laws, that the lawgiver should have a general identity of interest with those for whom he legislates, and an habitual sympathy with their feelings. I dissent from the petitioners merely in the application which they make of these general truths. Theirs is a society in which the great mass of the people to be governed are slaves, and their proposal is, that the laws should be made by a body composed of and elected by slave proprietors. Bringing this plan to the test of those general principles which I have already quoted in their own words, it is to be enquired how such a scheme would provide for that identity of interest which they rightly think ought to subsist between the legislature and the subject.

“ The condition of slavery is, that the remuneration of the labourer is measured not by the value of his services, but by the amount of his indispensable wants; his interest, therefore, is to do the smallest possible amount of work, and to consume at his owner’s expense the greatest possible amount of food, clothing, and other necessaries. The interest of the owner, on the other hand, is precisely the reverse; it is, that the greatest possible amount of labour should be obtained at the least expenditure which is compatible with the preservation of the labourer. The interest of the slave consists in the acquisition of his freedom at the earliest possible period, and at the lowest possible price. It is the interest of the owner to protract the servitude of his slaves, and to enhance to the utmost degree the price of freedom. The slave has a strong and constant motive for desiring the abolition of those laws or customs by which his own class in society are degraded; the owner has an equally powerful motive for maintaining the exclusive privileges of the favoured class to which he belongs. I add (not without reluctance) that the general diffusion of religious knowledge and education is the highest interest of the slave, because it would prepare him for the equal participation of all civil rights, and enable him to assert that claim with effect. For the same reason, the owner has an interest in obstructing the advance of knowledge amongst this part of the population.

“ It will of course be replied that the oppositions of interest to which I have adverted are apparent only, and have no real existence; and that all men of large and liberal minds will perceive that in promoting the comforts, the manumission, and the moral improvement of their slaves, they are really advancing their own welfare. It is unnecessary to my present argument that I should deny this assertion; on the contrary I am most ready to admit that a course of conduct dictated by such generous and enlightened views would best coincide with the permanent interests of those by whom it should be observed. I confine myself to the assertion that there exists between the slaves and their proprietors that palpable, apparent, and immediate contrariety of interests, by which, as all experience shows, men are habitually guided in their use of power. The proprietary body in Trinidad cannot reasonably regard as any reflection upon them a distrust which is founded upon the general testimony of history in all countries, and in every state of society.

“ I proceed to apply to the scheme suggested by the petitioners the second of those tests of a good legislative constitution on which they rely; namely, a general sympathy of feeling between the lawgiver and the subjects of his laws. They propose that the legislature shall be chosen exclusively by and from amongst that class who, as freemen, already possess a proud and all-important distinc-

tion; while their laws would be made for a people labouring under the degradation of personal slavery. The one body are Europeans by birth and descent, deeply conscious of their superiority over the less civilized inhabitants of the globe: the other are of African birth or origin, with all the peculiarities, moral and physical, which distinguish that unfortunate race. In short, society in Trinidad is divided into castes as strongly marked as those of Hindostan; nor can any man, who has but an ordinary knowledge of the history and general character of mankind, doubt what must be the effect of such distinctions, when, in addition to their other privileges, the superior race are entrusted with a legislative authority over the inferior.

“ Even had these general principles never been brought to the test of actual experiment, I should have been disposed to place great reliance upon them. But the records of this office demonstrate, in the clearest manner, the danger of confiding to the same persons the domestic and the legislative authority over a slave population. I am unwilling to characterise, by any language of my own, the slave codes which have grown up in the thirteen West India Colonies possessing legislative assemblies. Their apologists rest their vindication on the plea that they have fallen into desuetude, and were originally intended rather to excite a wholesome terror, than to be strictly executed. It were easy to cite colonial authorities of the greatest eminence for opinions in reprobation both of the written and the unwritten law of slavery, expressed in terms much more emphatic than I am willing, without an evident necessity, to adopt. I gladly admit that, since the attention of the people of this country has been called to the subject, many valuable improvements have been made by the legislative assemblies in this code: yet, at this day, there remain, on the statute books of many of the islands, enactments to which nothing but the feelings of caste could ever have given birth, and which, in the absence of such feelings, would at once be repealed.

“ But experience has proved, not merely what a colonial assembly will enact on the subject of slavery, but also what they will refuse to do for the mitigation and gradual extinction of that state. Without engaging in the invidious task of contrasting the slave code established in those colonies over which the legislative powers of the King in Council extends, with the enactments in force in the islands possessing legislative assemblies, I may assert, without the risk of contradiction, that the difference is extreme; and that the slave law of British origin is throughout distinguished from the other by its closer adherence to the principles of justice and humanity. Solicitations the most urgent for the adoption of the provisions of the Orders in Council have been addressed, for eight successive years, to the Houses of General Assembly in the West Indies by his Majesty, by Parliament, and by the people of Great Britain. But, on this subject, both entreaty and admonition have been hitherto ineffectual. It would involve a total sacrifice of consistency, if his Majesty were advised to establish a system of government in Trinidad, against the consequences of which, throughout the Antilles, it has been my duty, within the last three months, to remonstrate in terms even yet more explicit than those which my predecessors in office employed on the same subject.”

“ You would entirely misapprehend the motives which dictate the present despatch, should you suppose it intended to convey a reproach against any class of society in Trinidad. I advert to the unhappy distinction which alienates the proprietors from the cultivators of the soil, not as matter of censure, but as the subject of deep concern. It deprives the Colony of the blessing of free institutions, and imposes on his Majesty's Government a duty most foreign to their general inclination and policy in refusing them. I know not how to reconcile the full enjoyment of civil freedom with the maintenance of domestic slavery. In a society of which the law or custom recognizes the relation of master and slave, it is necessary that the most effective security should be taken against the abuse, not only of the domestic authority of the owner, but of all those powers with which he may be entrusted, either as a magistrate or a legislator. But ex-

perience has demonstrated that a colonial assembly are in reality exempt from all responsibility, and free from all restraint, so long as they fall in with the opinions of the narrow circle to which the choice of members is confined. It is, therefore, not in the spirit of reproach or of suspicion, but in deference to the plain rules of justice, that his Majesty's Government decline to place this irresponsible power into hands where it would be continually liable to be abused at the expense of the great body of the people.

“The general conclusion, therefore, to which I arrive on this part of the case is, that it is the duty of his Majesty's Government to prefer the substance of freedom to its forms; and that, however imposing may be the sounds of a British Constitution and of a Legislative Assembly, they ought not, under the shelter of those venerable names, to concur in establishing a form of government deficient in that which forms the elementary principle and the peculiar excellence of our own—the equal protection of every class of men living beneath its rule.

“There are not wanting other topics upon which the compatibility of a Legislative Assembly in Trinidad with the prosperity of the island, and even with the general enjoyment of civil liberty itself, might be denied: I refer to the paucity of the inhabitants to whom the elective franchise could upon any scheme be given—to the extraordinary influence which a very few individuals would exercise over the whole elective body—to the inaptitude of the law, customs, and privileges of Parliament to the condition of a small colonial society, in which the few white inhabitants are all connected with or dissociated from each other by domestic, commercial, or party relations or antipathies—to the absence of any public opinion, in the sense in which that term is understood in Great Britain, to control and prevent the abuse of the unlimited power of an assembly—and to the want of that balance of various interests, amongst the constituent and representative bodies, which can alone prevent the adoption of partial and oppressive measures. I might readily illustrate, by reference to the recent history of the smaller colonies, the force and practical importance of the objections which I have thus noticed to this form of government, when established amongst a very limited population. So severely has the inconvenience been felt that it has become necessary to attempt the consolidation of some of the representative assemblies into one united body, in order to secure to the members greater freedom of action, and to their constituents a relief from vexations for which the enjoyment of the elective franchise and an independent legislature has not been found an equivalent. These, however, are invidious topics, which I gladly pass over in very general terms, not because they are in themselves unimportant, nor because they are irrelevant to the present discussion, but because the practical decisions which I have announced may be sufficiently vindicated without resorting more directly to the aid of arguments which might give pain to some, towards whom it is at once my inclination and my duty to manifest the utmost possible tenderness and respect.”

It is impossible to laud too highly the just and philosophical views which have dictated these observations.

2. *Liberation of forfeited Africans and Crown Slaves.*

A parliamentary paper of the 4th October, 1831, No. 304, contains copies of reports respecting the state, treatment, employment, or complete enfranchisement of Africans, condemned under the acts abolishing the slave trade, since 16th Oct. 1828.

The process of their enfranchisement was cautiously commenced by Sir George Murray, who, in a circular despatch, addressed to the governors of the different slave colonies, on the 16th Oct. 1828, instructed them to apprise all Africans so condemned that they should “be permitted to live in the colonies precisely on the same

conditions as any other free persons of African birth and descent," "so long as their own continued good conduct may render it unnecessary to resort to any measures of coercion." And certificates of liberty were ordered to be given to all "who should either have served out their apprenticeship, or who, not being apprenticed, should be reported capable of earning their own subsistence; and that none should hereafter be apprenticed who were not incapable of maintaining themselves by their own labour."

In compliance with these instructions, a considerable number of these Africans have been liberated in many of the colonies; and the accounts hitherto received of their conduct, in the enjoyment of their liberty, have been of the most satisfactory kind. We regret, however, that more distinct reports have not been received from all the colonies, and especially from the *Mauritius* and the *Cape of Good Hope*, where, no less than in the West Indies, the number of such persons was very considerable.* The silence, however, of the local authorities on the subject may be considered, in conjunction with the testimony of Viscount Goderich, noticed hereafter, as indicating the same favourable result which has accompanied the measure in the various colonies from which reports have been received.

In *Antigua*, the number set free in the month of December, 1829, was upwards of 300. The latest account given of their conduct is contained in a despatch of Sir Patrick Ross, dated 25th May, 1829; in which he says that it affords him much satisfaction to have the honour of reporting that during a period of five months, which has expired since they were set at large, I have not received a single complaint against them; nor has one of them been committed by a magistrate for the most trifling offence. There has not, to my knowledge, been any application from them on the score of poverty, and they appear to be in general industriously occupied in providing for their own livelihood."

That their conduct continued to be equally praiseworthy, to a much later period, may be assumed from the fact that, on the 17th August, 1831, Viscount Howick stated in the House of Commons his entire satisfaction with the result of this experiment, and the encouragement he had thence derived to proceed to the emancipation of all slaves belonging to the crown in every colony where such were to be found. (Reporter, vol. iv. No. 89, p. 453.)

We need not pursue farther the subject of the apprenticed Africans, who appear to have been completely enfranchised in all the West Indian colonies, as well as in Antigua, to the number of at least 1000 or 1500 more, and that without any inconvenience either to the Africans themselves, or to the communities of which they form a part. Indeed, the complete success of the experiment is stated by Lord Goderich in a circular despatch to the governors of slave colonies, dated 12th March, 1831, to have been his inducement for proceeding to emancipate all the slaves belonging to the crown in all the colonies.

* The uniform good conduct of the many thousand persons of this description liberated, from the first moment of their importation, at Sierra Leone is already matter of history. See Reporter, vol. iii. No. 59.

This despatch is contained in a parliamentary paper, printed by order of the House of Commons, on the 6th October, 1831, numbered 305, and is as follows :—

“His Majesty’s Government have had under their serious consideration the circumstance that, in several of his Majesty’s possessions abroad, there are Negroes held in slavery as the property of the crown. The King’s Government have felt it their duty humbly to represent to his Majesty that this is a species of property which many considerations concur to recommend that the crown should forthwith relinquish; and his Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct that measures should be taken accordingly for releasing these Negroes.

“From all the enquiries which I have been enabled to make, I am not led to apprehend that any practical inconvenience will arise, either to these persons themselves or to the colonial communities of which they are a part, from their immediate enfranchisement. In the year 1828, a Circular Instruction, of which I enclose you a copy, was issued to the governors of those colonies in which there were Negroes forfeited to the crown under the Abolition Laws, the purport of which was, to direct that those Negroes should be placed upon the footing of other free persons of African birth or descent, and left to seek their own subsistence. In some of those colonies, the number of forfeited Negroes amounted to several hundreds. The reports which have since been received, from the respective governors, fully justify the expectations which were entertained, that the people in question would be able and willing to support themselves by honest means, without being a charge upon the funds either of the Government or of the colonies, and without detriment to the colonial societies. The experience thus obtained affords a satisfactory assurance that the Negroes, now the property of the crown, will, when manumitted, support themselves by their own exertions, in a manner equally innocuous. I am aware, however, that in the case of these Negroes, as of others, some instances will probably occur in which the aid of Government may be required by persons who are incapacitated through age or infirmity. Cases such as these must be provided for in the manner which you will perceive to have been pointed out by the enclosed despatch, in regard to similar cases occurring amongst the forfeited Negroes after their manumission. The charge which such a provision has been found to impose upon Government is of very trifling amount.

“I understand that many of the slaves belonging to the crown in the colonies are either given gratuitously, or let out, to public functionaries. It may thus be necessary to give time to their employers either to make agreements with the Negroes, for retaining their voluntary services in return for wages after their manumission, or to supply themselves in some other way with the services which they require. You will therefore allow one month, and no more, to elapse, before you carry into full effect his Majesty’s commands, by completing the enfranchisement of all Negroes the property of the crown.”

In the case of the Mauritius, the instructions given by Lord Goderich (bearing date 29 July, 1831) were modified in some measure by the peculiar circumstances of that island.

“Considerations of a general nature and of great importance,” he says, “have induced his Majesty’s government to regard the enfranchisement of the slaves belonging to the crown, in Mauritius and elsewhere, as one which is absolutely indispensable, and which must be carried into effect without any farther delay than may be necessary for ensuring, as far as possible, the future welfare and good conduct of the Negroes in question.”

The following are the principles he lays down for effecting this object :—

“1st. The enfranchisement of all Government slaves whatsoever is to be effected within twelve months from the date of your receipt of this despatch.

“2dly. Wages at the market rate of the colony are to be offered to those who may, at the time of their enfranchisement, be employed as labourers, couriers, messengers, boatmen, or mechanics in the several departments of the public service; and the same wages are to be secured to them for one year from that time, provided they be willing to work, and do actually perform a fair portion of work in return for such wages. After the expiration of the year, they will continue to be hired, or not, according to the demands of the public service for their labour, as well as according to their willingness to be employed.

“3rdly. Those who are employed as domestic servants by the governor or other public officers will, of course, be at liberty to enter into contracts for continuing their services to their employers, if desired, in return for wages, the amount of which must be adjusted by the parties as in other cases of hiring free servants, but the wages must be paid by the officers and not from the colonial revenue.

“4thly. The issue of rations, clothes, or other allowances must cease from the date of their liberation, in respect of all the Negroes, except in cases hereinafter specified; and except the aged, the infirm, and the orphans, who must continue to be maintained at the public charge.

“5thly. For those to whom the public service does not afford a prospect of employment on wages, and also for those domestics whom their present employers are unwilling to retain on wages, it will be necessary that some provision should be made, if there be no such demand for their labour in the colony as will enable them to subsist themselves. In this case, grants of land sufficient for their subsistence must be assigned to them, together with a supply of such implements as may be necessary for the cultivation thereof, and rations for one year, as recommended by the Commissioners of Eastern Enquiry. Whether an issue of rations for a further period be required (as conjectured by the Commissioners of Colonial Enquiry) will be seen at the expiration of the former; and, unless it be absolutely indispensable for the subsistence of the Negroes, it must not be permitted.

“6thly. Those who are hired out by the Government to private individuals will be at liberty to continue in the service of those individuals on the same terms, with the difference of receiving for themselves as wages the amount of their hire, and relinquishing their claim upon the Government for clothing and maintenance. If they are unwilling to continue in those situations they will be free to quit them; but they must fully understand that if they do so voluntarily, not being discharged by their employers, they will not receive any assistance from the Government in seeking the means of subsistence. If any be discharged by their present employers, and are unable to meet with others, they may be located on grants of land, under the same rules of location as I have already prescribed.

“7thly. Those who have been apprenticed must serve out the terms of their apprenticeships, but must be subject to no other discipline or control than is lawfully in use in respect of apprentices of free condition.

“8thly. In carrying into effect the liberation of the Government slaves, you will not fail to attach to the grants of freedom a proviso that the persons so enfranchised shall not be capable of holding any property in slaves. There are many considerations, to which it is not necessary that I should here advert, which render it highly important that such a condition should in every instance be strictly enforced.”

He objects to certain proposals that had been made of giving to these slaves only a modified kind of freedom, as he thought it better to effect “an exchange at once of all the obligations of slavery for

those of freedom," so as to withdraw from them "all means of subsistence not derived from voluntary and independent labour." In the case of the Crown slaves in the West Indies, he had seen no reasons for delaying their immediate enfranchisement, and they were set free, without any delay, to the amount of many hundreds. As doubts had been raised, however, respecting the character of the Crown slaves in Mauritius, he would permit the local government to modify the means he had proposed for carrying into effect the *indispensable* measure of emancipating them: but it must be clearly understood that whatever those modifications might be, and "whatever plan may be proposed, *must* contemplate the adoption of the necessary measures (namely, for effecting their emancipation) within twelve months from the receipt of this despatch, and *must* be directed towards the placing the Negroes in a condition comprising all the essentials of freedom," p. 6.

The result of these enlightened and decisive instructions, respecting the slaves in Mauritius, upwards of 1200 in number, will not be known for some months to come.

The only colony in the West Indies in which the benevolent purposes of the government on this subject appear to have met with obstruction has been *Trinidad*. The council of that island admit that the Crown has a right to enfranchise all slaves either escheated or forfeited; but they plead for either retaining as labourers, or selling as slaves, what they call the colonial gang—a body of about a hundred Negroes, whom they claim as the property of the inhabitants of Trinidad, being held, they say, by them, "under a title as valid as that by which any slaves are owned by individuals," having been bought with the "colonial money." Lord Goderich ably and unanswerably repels this claim, as wholly unsupported by any law. If these Negroes are indeed property, he argues, they can be only the property of the king; that which is loosely termed *public* property, being really vested in him alone, in trust for the benefit of his subjects in Trinidad, and not in the colonists, who have no corporate rights. In the performance of this trust, it belongs to him (the king), and to him alone, acting by his ministers, who are responsible to parliament for their advice, to decide how the individuals in question can be employed most advantageously for the public service. We will not enter upon his *legal* argument, which appears to us incontrovertible, but proceed to the conclusion to which the course of that argument brings his Lordship, and which he thus states:—

"The practical question which presents itself, therefore, is, whether the general interests of the colony, the only legitimate object of consideration, would be more advanced by the manumission of these slaves, or by their continued detention in slavery. Were I to regard that interest as confined to the single question of profit and loss, I should still entertain a strong belief that it would be best promoted by the enfranchisement of the slaves. The council, in their minute, have taken the question entirely for granted, and assume as incontrovertible that the labour exacted of these persons could not be performed with equal economy, if free labourers were employed at wages fairly representing the value of their services. To the accuracy of this assumption I cannot, however, thus promptly subscribe. It is well worthy of a very close enquiry whether in this particular instance it is

really frugal to save the payment of wages by undertaking all the onerous obligations of a slave owner. Let it on the one side be ascertained what the average annual rate of wages would be, and then contrast with that charge all that must be expended for the food, lodging, clothing, and medical care of the slaves, if estimated on such terms as their necessities justly require. Add to this a fair allowance for the risk of life and health, and the necessity of replacing the dead or infirm by new purchases; with the probable charge of maintaining young children born of the female slave, and such of the members of the gang as may survive their powers of labour. To all this let a further addition be made for the expenses of superintendence, and especially for the loss sustained by the torpid and inefficient exertions of men working without any other motive than the fear of punishment. A calculation from which any of these elements is excluded must lead to fallacious results. A calculation which should fairly embrace them all would, I believe, show that the employment of slaves, in any labour which does not impose the most extreme fatigue, is, even to private individuals, and when viewed only in the narrowest commercial light, much less advantageous than is usually supposed; and that the momentary saving in wages is, in the course of a very few years, more than compensated by losses and liabilities, which the council in framing their minute forgot to estimate. The labour of slaves, when not under the superintendence of persons stimulated to vigilance by personal interest, is still less likely to be really economical; and experience has shown that public works are more cheaply executed by contract than even by free labourers under the control of public officers. In our penal colonies, notwithstanding the apparent cheapness of convict labour, the scarcity of free labourers, and the difficulty of finding proper persons to undertake the execution of public works, these are upon the whole, in the opinion of the most competent judges, more economically performed by contract than by convicts in the immediate service of the Government. I have no doubt that the same principle would apply in Trinidad; and that, without reference to any higher considerations than those of mere economy, the retention of the colonial gang would be injudicious.

“For these reasons, I consider it expedient to relieve his Majesty’s Trinidad revenues from the burthen of supporting these slaves; but, in so doing, I cannot on the part of his Majesty consent to their being sold.

“The gang appears to have been purchased nearly fourteen years ago; and his Majesty could not be advised to refuse to these slaves, if their servile condition were to continue, that asylum which after so long a service they would justly claim from any owner of common humanity, or to hazard their passing into the hands of proprietors whose characters and mode of treatment might possibly render the change a serious evil to them; they *must*, therefore, be manumitted, according to my instructions of the 12th of March last; and for that purpose you will execute, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, the necessary act of enfranchisement.”

The principles thus laid down by his Lordship have obviously a bearing far beyond the immediate occasion which called them forth. They are principles of general application, affecting the whole question of slavery, no less than that of the disposal of the colonial gang of Trinidad. We say nothing of those higher considerations of morality and religion, of humanity and justice, which it is now universally agreed demand that slavery should be abolished. Its profitability is now the only plea urged even by its advocates for continuing to uphold it. The argument of Lord Goderich completely demolishes this plea, and proves its impolicy, even on mere worldly and commercial grounds. In short, he shows slavery to be as foolish as it is admitted to be wicked; and demonstrates that every day which prolongs the evil only adds to the loss which cannot fail to

result from it. The pecuniary profit which a few individuals may derive from it must be viewed by the statesman as standing on a similar footing with the gains derived from offences committed against the well-being of society, and which, while they demoralize the individuals who commit them, are a source of loss, as well as of insecurity, to the public at large. The duty of a government which recognizes the identity of the two cases seems plain and palpable. It is as incumbent on them to rid society of the evil and danger of slavery as it is to protect the public peace, and the public interests, from the effect of any of the crimes which the laws denounce and punish. Only let the principles so ably stated by Lord Goderich be brought into their full and legitimate operation, and they would as certainly terminate the slavery of every British subject as they have already restored freedom to the colonial gang of Trinidad, and to all the other slaves of the crown, whether held by forfeiture, escheat, or purchase. We cordially congratulate the friends of the slave on the uncompromising assertion of such principles, and we only desire that their application may have the unlimited extension to which they are most justly entitled.

3. Persecution of Samuel Swiney, a Jamaica Slave.

In our third volume, No. 64, p. 301, we gave some account of the illegal and cruel punishment of a slave of the name of Samuel Swiney, at Savanna la Mar, in Jamaica, whose only offence was the having offered up a brief prayer to God. For this offence he was sentenced to be flogged, and to work at hard labour in chains for a fortnight.

A complaint having been made to the Secretary of State of this iniquitous transaction, the matter was referred to Lord Belmore for investigation. The papers have been laid before Parliament, and are contained in No. 450 of the 24th May, 1832. It there appears that Lord Goderich, having received Lord Belmore's report dated 1st Dec. 1830, addressed his Lordship in reply on the 25th April, 1831. The facts of the case are thus detailed by Lord Goderich in that despatch:—

“ On the evening of Easter Sunday, 1830, a part of Mr. Knibb's congregation assembled at his house, for the purpose of holding what is called by persons of their persuasion a ‘ prayer-meeting.’ Mr. Knibb was absent on account of severe indisposition, and a person of colour presided at the meeting. According to the mode of worship adopted on such occasions, extempore prayers were delivered by members of the congregation.

“ The slave Sam Swiney was amongst those who were engaged in this religious exercise. Two persons, named Pessoa and Mitchener, having introduced themselves into the room where the meeting was held and witnessed the proceedings, gave information, upon which a warrant was issued for the apprehension of six free persons and six slaves. Of the persons who were apprehended Sam Swiney alone was tried, and he was tried before Messrs. Finlayson and Harden, magistrates, for a violation of the fiftieth clause of the Slave Act of 1816, which clause I find to be in the following words: ‘ And whereas it has been found that the practice of ignorant, superstitious, or designing slaves, of attempting to instruct others, has been attended with the most pernicious consequences, and even with the loss of life; Be it Enacted, That any slave or slaves found guilty of preaching and teaching, as Anabaptists or otherwise, without a permis-

sion from their owners and the quarter sessions for the parish in which such preaching and teaching takes place, shall be punished in such manner as any two magistrates may deem proper, by flagellation or imprisonment in the workhouse to hard labour.'

Sam Swiney was convicted, and Mr. Finlayson states, as the ground of the conviction, that 'an affidavit was made by Richard Pessoa that on the nights of Tuesday and Thursday, the 6th and 8th, and Sunday the 11th of this instant month (April), deponent was present and saw nightly meetings and collections of sundry persons, slaves and of free condition, engaged in preaching, teaching, and singing psalms and hymns in a house in Great George-street, in the town of Savanna la Mar, at present occupied by William Knibb, Baptist Missionary, but in his absence, and on many other days and times besides the before-mentioned, when and where they made a great noise, to the annoyance and disturbance of all the neighbours, keeping it up until nine or ten o'clock each night; that Mary Vanhorne took the most active part in the ceremony, officiating as minister and giving out the hymn, after which followed the prayer alternately by the others, named Sam Swiney and Diana Swiney.'

"Mr. Finlayson further states that testimony on oath was given by Thomas A. Mitchener, Mr. Simeon, and Alexander Gibson, jun., besides Pessoa, but he does not mention either the particulars or the substance of their testimony. He adds that Sam Swiney was sentenced, as had been stated by Mr. Knibb, to a fortnight's labour in the workhouse, and to receive twenty lashes. Mr. Knibb's account of the evidence on the trial is contained in the following extract from his published statement: 'Their examination took place on the succeeding Thursday, when I was present, but before I detail the proceedings I will mention the particulars of the deposition made on oath by Pessoa, one of the informers. It contained the four following charges, the whole of which I am prepared to prove were false, as also that the majority of them were proved so on oath by three respectable gentlemen; 1st, that the persons were assembled for the purpose of preaching and teaching; 2d, that the meeting was continued until between the hours of nine and ten o'clock at night; 3d, that such a noise was made as disturbed the whole of the neighbourhood; and, 4th, that a slave, named John Wright, was there, who it could have been proved at that time was four miles off.

"'To answer the second and third of these charges, the head constable who lives opposite to my house, Mr. Gibson who resides next door, and Mr. Qualo who was with the first-named gentleman on the night mentioned, appeared without being solicited, and on oath deposed that, so far from these charges being true, they could not hear the least noise, and that they were certain that the meeting was over before eight o'clock in the evening.

"'The owner of the slave who subsequently suffered, Mr. Aaron De Leon, attended the investigation, and informed the presiding magistrates, the Hon. D. Finlayson and T. W. Harden, Esq., that he had given the Negro Sam free permission to attend the meeting: when the custos asked if the permission was given in writing, and, on the owner answering that he was not aware that it was necessary, he was informed that the omission rendered his leave of no avail.'

"Mr. Knibb proceeds to say that he attempted to convince Mr. Finlayson that there was a manifest difference between praying and preaching, or teaching, but that his attempt was unsuccessful; that the slave was convicted, and that he himself attended the infliction of the sentence, and saw the slave receive twenty lashes of a cart-whip, immediately after which he was chained to a convict, and sent to work on the road.

"As your Lordship cannot but have perceived that the statements which I have thus recapitulated furnish a very imperfect account of the transaction which you were requested to investigate, and as Mr. Knibb, in his letter of the 12th of October, writes that when his health should be re-established he would be happy to give any further information which your Lordship might require, I have hoped

to receive from your Lordship a further communication, and in that expectation I have hitherto deferred to acknowledge your despatch of 1st December; but, as I have not heard from you again upon the subject, I am induced to suppose that Mr. Knibb continues incapacitated by ill health, and that your Lordship has not resorted to any other source from which the necessary information might be obtained. It is obvious, however, that the case cannot be allowed to rest here. When proceedings thus offensive to the principles of toleration and the feelings of humanity are brought to the knowledge of his Majesty's Government, and are justified on the part of those directing them by no allegation of reasonable grounds, but simply by an appeal to the clause of the Act under which they took place, it is at least necessary that their strict legality should be made apparent. But your Lordship will not have failed to observe that the statements which you have transmitted leave the legality of the proceedings open to very serious doubts.

“The evidence for the prosecution is stated to have been clearly contradicted, in more than one particular, by persons residing in the immediate neighbourhood of the house where the meeting was held, one of whom was the head constable. Pessoa, although he stated that the persons present at the meeting were engaged in preaching and teaching, appears, when he came to describe what took place, to have deposed to nothing on the part of the slave who was convicted, or indeed of any others in particular, except singing hymns and uttering prayers.

“It is difficult to conceive how either of these acts of devotion could be properly designated as preaching or teaching. Moreover, the clause of the Slave Act to which Mr. Finlayson refers, although it authorizes punishment ‘by flagellation or imprisonment in the workhouse to hard labour,’ does not authorize the infliction of both these modes of punishment. The slave had the full permission of his owner to attend the meeting. Although I nowhere find that such permission must be in writing, as Mr. Finlayson is stated to have averred, in order to be available, yet I perceive, in law, that it would not be of any avail under the fiftieth clause of the Slave Act, unless accompanied by a permission from the quarter sessions of the parish. I do not mention this therefore as an additional objection to the sentence in point of law; but it is nevertheless a strong presumption of the harmless nature of the proceedings on account of which the sentence was pronounced. According to Mr. Finlayson, the deposition of Pessoa referred to sundry meetings which he has witnessed. Mr. Knibb speaks only of a meeting on Easter Sunday, from which I presume that the evidence, as regarded Sam Swiney, only applied to the single occasion.

“It is obviously necessary, however, that this point should be distinctly set forth, in order to communicate a complete and satisfactory understanding of the questions at issue.

“I repeat, therefore, that it is necessary to have much fuller information respecting this case, and that at least the lawfulness of the course adopted by Messrs. Finlayson and Harden must be shown before his Majesty's Government can lay aside the enquiry.”

The additional information required by Viscount Goderich having been obtained and transmitted to England, his Lordship, on the 15th Nov. 1831, further addressed the Earl of Belmore to the following effect:—

“I have received your Lordship's despatch of the 23d August last, enclosing to me the further documents which, in compliance with my instructions, your Lordship had obtained in elucidation of the case of the slave Samuel Swiney, a member of a congregation of Baptists whom Mr. Knibb, the Baptist missionary, had stated to have been sentenced by two magistrates, Messrs. Finlayson and

Harden, to be flogged and confined to hard labour, in chains, for uttering a prayer at a meeting of the congregation.

“ I have already, in my despatch of the 25th of April, recapitulated the circumstances of this case as I collected them from the documents which your Lordship had transmitted in your despatch of the 1st of December, 1830, and as the account so collected is borne out in every material particular by the evidence on the trial of the slave, which I have now received, I need do little more than refer your Lordship to the view which I took in my former despatch of the proceedings of Messrs. Finlayson and Harden to explain the grounds of the instruction which it is the purpose of my present communication to convey.

“ Laying wholly aside the unsworn statement of Mr. Knibb, upon which my former views were partly founded, your Lordship will perceive that the facts sworn to are essentially the same as I assumed them to be on the faith of that statement, when it was uncontradicted by the parties whom it incupated.

“ Richard Pessoa swore an affidavit on the 17th of April; and though he was examined *viva voce* at the trial, five days afterwards, that affidavit appears to have been received as evidence. Passing over this irregularity, observe what his affidavit was.

“ He states himself to have been present, and to have seen nightly meetings of slaves and free people, engaged ‘ in preaching, teaching, and singing psalms and hymns,’ on the nights of the 6th and 8th of April, at the house of Knibb; but in his ‘ absence, and on many other days and times besides the before-mentioned, when and where they made a great noise, to the annoyance and disturbance of all the neighbours, keeping it up until nine or ten o’clock each night; and deponent saith that the names of the persons of free condition are, &c. (mentioning six names), and those of slaves Sam Swiney,’ &c. (mentioning five others). He adds that ‘ Mary Vanhorne took the most active part in the ceremony, officiating as minister, and giving out the hymns; after which followed a prayer alternately by the slaves Sam Swiney and Diana Swiney, contrary to the Act of this island.’

“ The same person, being examined on Swiney’s trial, said that incoherent expressions, such as the following, were made use of by Sam Swiney, ‘ O Lord! Lord God! Jesus, my Saviour! O God!’ &c. &c., without any connection, which examinant thought was a mocking of religion. The meetings were scarcely over before nine o’clock, the bell having generally done ringing before they were up.’

“ The magistrates have stated in their report that Mr. Thomas Mitchener was sworn. The account of his evidence is given in these words: ‘ Corresponds with the above, being in company with Pessoa.’ Of Mr. William Simeon and Mr. Alexander Gibson, two other witnesses, it is merely said, ‘ Sworn to the same effect.’

“ Such was the evidence for the prosecution. Strangely as it is quoted, this much is evident: first, no specific day was mentioned on which Swiney was present. Secondly, Pessoa on the 17th of April declared that on each night the annoyance had been kept up until nine or ten o’clock; five days afterwards he swore that the meetings were scarcely over before nine. Thirdly, in his first affidavit he did not attribute to Swiney any expressions, nor even any direct participation in the alleged preaching or teaching; in his deposition he merely ascribed to him certain unconnected ejaculations. Fourthly, though he states himself to have been present, he does not say, nor is it probable, that he was within the house.

“ The evidence for the defence was as follows: ‘ The head constable, who lived opposite the house, did not hear any riot or noise on the nights alluded to; they were over before the bell rung at night.’ Qualo, a shopkeeper, is said to have deposed to the same effect. Gibson, a blacksmith, ‘ lives next door to Mr. Knibb; heard no noise, and believes the meetings were generally over before eight o’clock, or before the bell rung.’

“ No impartial man, reading this evidence, could avoid the conclusion that there was no proof that in the terms of the Jamaica Statute Swiney had been ‘ preaching and teaching without a permission from his owner and the quarter sessions.’ The want of permission, which is of the essence of the crime, is not noticed in the evidence. Of preaching or teaching there is absolutely no proof, unless certain ejaculations can be regarded as falling within the meaning of those words.

“ Had the crime been proved, Swiney might have been whipped, or he might have been imprisoned with hard labour; the magistrates condemned him to both.

“ The Attorney-general of Jamaica is clear in the opinion that the conviction was illegal, and the punishments unauthorized.

“ Such being the circumstances presented for my consideration, I have felt that no choice was left me as to the course which I should pursue. It is impossible that any man can be more sensible than I am to the irksome and painful nature of the duty, which has been more than once imposed upon me, of visiting with censure and disgrace persons whom it would be my first wish to maintain in the enjoyment of that respect, and in the exercise of that authority, to which their station in society would naturally entitle them. But the principles of justice and toleration, and the interests of humanity, must not be compromised, and there is no method of correcting such gross abuses of power as those which the present case discloses, except by the removal of the magistrates who have been guilty of them. I am therefore to convey to your Lordship the King’s commands to erase the names of Messrs. Finlayson and Harden from the commission of the peace.

“ I have further to instruct your Lordship to call upon the Attorney-general to report, whether in his opinion there are grounds to sustain a prosecution against Richard Pessoa for perjury, and, if so, you will direct him forthwith to institute one.”

Our readers will perceive that the case of this poor slave, as originally stated by us, is thus fully substantiated by the authority of Lord Goderich, after a long and patient investigation of the whole of the evidence transmitted from Jamaica on both sides of the question; and it will remain a farther memorial of the persecuting spirit which has actuated too many of the magistracy of Jamaica, and which has produced such deplorable effects in this and in a variety of other instances. We need not dilate upon it; independently of the able and gratifying comment of the Secretary of State, it speaks for itself; and we, therefore, shall content ourselves, in addition to our former observations, with placing the facts on record for future use.

4. *Female flogging in Jamaica.*

The same parliamentary paper, No. 480, of 1832, contains the following official extract from the minutes of the House of Assembly of Jamaica, dated 22d of November, 1831:—

“ A motion being made that a Committee be appointed to enquire and report on the expediency of abolishing the flogging of female slaves; and another motion being made, and the question being put, whether the matter proposed shall be debated:

“ The house divided: the noes went forth.

“ Ayes 3.—Mr. Salmon, Mr. Beaumont, and Mr. Watkins.

“ Noes 25.—Mr. Mitchel, Mr. Barclay, Mr. Frater, Mr. Townshend, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Leslie, Mr. Quarrell, Mr. Jones, Mr. Brown, Mr. Walker, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Lowndes, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Hodgson, Mr. Marshall, Mr. King, Mr. Brydon, Mr. Bernard, Mr. Berry, Mr. Yates, Mr. Turner, Mr. Guy, Mr. Stamp, Mr. Bayley, and Mr. Finlayson.

“ It passed in the negative.”

5. *Female flogging, &c., in Bahamas.*

In a communication from Sir James Carmichael Smyth, Bart., the governor of the Bahamas, contained in the parliamentary papers of 16th March, 1832, No. 285, that officer assures the Secretary of State that, "though the slaves are looking forward very anxiously to a considerable amelioration of their condition, he is not apprehensive of the slightest tumult or insurrection." The slaves, he says, "appear to me, as also the coloured population, to have the fullest confidence in his Majesty's Government. The low ignorant white people are in a much greater state of ferment, and much more likely to be troublesome, if they had sufficient means or numbers." He complains, however, of the conduct of the magistracy, and intimates that if they should persist in not duly investigating the cases of ill treatment that come before them, though he has not the slightest idea of any insurrection or premeditated resistance on the part of the slaves to their owners, "yet it is impossible to say what the feelings of the slaves might induce them to attempt, if it were not for the confidence they have in his Majesty's Government, and their hope of the power of the master being subjected to some legal control, and that at no distant period." p. 52.

A monitory letter of the governor, addressed to Mr. Duncome, the police magistrate of New Providence, accompanies the despatch, and throws some light on these remarks, and on the general state of society in this Slave Colony.

"In a country like this," he says, "where the cat-o'-nine tails is at the command of men and women indiscriminately, and even of minors of either sex, and can be employed on male and female slaves indiscriminately, without any other ceremony than the will of the owner or person acting for the owner; and where there is no slave protector; the utmost vigilance, activity, and intelligence, are required on the part of the police magistrate, to prevent, as much as he can, the abuse of this dreadful power." p. 53.

He expresses his indignation most strongly at one instance of this abuse, which had just occurred, in the case of a slave named Ben Moss. This man had actually purchased his freedom, but the deed of manumission for effecting it was not yet legally completed. But, though nothing "could prevent Ben from being a free man the next day, the attorney of the owner availed himself of almost literally the last hour of his expiring authority, to inflict thirty-nine lashes on this poor, worn-out old man;" and, though efforts were made to save him "from the pain and ignominy of this cruel flogging," yet those efforts were used in vain.

Another case is stated by the governor, of an unfortunate female slave, of the name of Phœbe, who underwent two severe floggings, by order of her master, Mr. Wildgoos, in the common jail, and the second of which the police magistrate, "though apprized of, yet took no steps to interfere with, or to prevent, although she had not been out of confinement since the infliction of her first flogging, and consequently could not have done any thing to have deserved a second punishment of so severe and terrible a nature."

Several other cases of the same description are adverted to by the governor, and he adds, that there are *very many* similar to these which ought to have been, but were not, investigated by the police magistrate of his own accord; and that there is nothing the governor has more at heart than the abolishing of the flogging of female slaves *in toto*, and the diminishing of punishment generally; and that, in doing so, he has a right to co-operation and assistance from all magistrates.

6. *Slave Insurrection.*

The communications of the governors of Barbadoes, Dominica, Grenada, St. Christopher's, St. Vincent, Tobago, Trinidad, and St. Lucia, concur in giving the most favourable views of the orderly and quiet demeanour of the slave population. See Parliamentary Papers, No. 225, of 1832.

In the case of Demerara, their state, according to the opinion of Sir B. D'Urban, would have been equally tranquil, but for "the discussions which, unhappily for the colony, have been lately carried on, by a certain portion of the inhabitants, with so little reserve or apparent care for their probable consequences; and which cannot be regarded without just cause of alarm as to the effects they directly tend to produce in the minds of the Negro population; as those discussions bear, on the very face of them, a determination to impede and weaken the provisions of protection to the slave, which his Majesty in council has thought fit to enact." *Ibid.*

7. *Report of the Bishop of Jamaica.*

A report from the Bishop of Jamaica, dated Aug. 1831 (No. 481), on the progress of religion in his diocese, has been printed by an order of the House of Commons of 24th May, 1830.

For his former reports we refer the reader to our preceding volumes; vol. 1, No. 13; vol. 2, No. 41; vol. 3, No. 56; and vol. 4, No. 90. A few remarks will also be found in vol. 4, p. 122 and 485, which may serve to throw some light on the real progress which religion has made under his superintendance. The present report, like those which have preceded it, is of too vague a description to add much to our former information. The Bishop admits that "from *the almost total* absence of proprietors, and *many* other circumstances, he has met with *many* obstacles to the establishment of schools in the interior parts of the island;" and that, "from their vast extent and scattered population, the parishes are *at present very inadequately* supplied with the means of instruction." He nevertheless bears his testimony, and his clergy concur in it, "to the intense and earnest desire, on the part of the slaves, for religious instruction."

To what then are we to attribute the difficulties of which the Bishop of Jamaica complains, but to the *indisposition* of the legislature, and of the proprietors or their agents, to afford to their slaves the time and the means required for the purpose of Christian instruction? The Sunday is still desecrated to secular objects, to marketing and the cultivation of their grounds. But on this paramount obstacle, this infallible proof of the prevalent indisposition to instruct their

slaves, namely, the want of a Sabbath, the Bishop still maintains a guarded silence. Though called upon to give a full and detailed account of the progress of religious improvement, he utters not one word respecting this main hindrance to all his efforts and those of his clergy; nor does he once suggest the expediency of its removal by any legislative provision. Why this reserve on so very vital a subject? We trust that Lord Goderich will require from him, and from his clergy, a more distinct exposition of this and the other obstacles which interfere with their success, and frustrate "the intense and earnest desire of the slaves for Christian instruction."

In the report transmitted by the Bishop soon after his arrival (Reporter, vol. 2, p. 322), it appeared that there was then, for a population of about 370,000 souls, church and chapel room to accommodate about 15,000 persons. Since that time fifteen additional chapels have been erected, which may be computed to contain 6000. The supply, therefore, it will be seen, is still extremely inadequate; and were it not for the dissenting chapels (most of which, however, have been recently destroyed by the white mob) the opportunities of religious worship could be accessible to only a fragment of the slave population, even had they a Sunday on which to attend it.

The details which accompany the Bishop's despatch are as vague and defective as ever, except in the case of Mr. Wildman's estates, where reading is taught by catechists of the Church Missionary Society, and to whose success the Bishop bears his testimony. The number of slaves taught to read under the Bishop elsewhere appears to be extremely small, and these chiefly in towns. In general the instruction given seems to be still merely oral. The good effects of a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction are warmly eulogized by the Bishop in the case of Mr. Wildman. "I had the highest satisfaction," he says, "in visiting Mr. Wildman's estate of Salt Savannah, in April last. The system adopted here is highly creditable both to the proprietor and the teachers, Mr. and Mrs. Sterne. The progress of the slaves in reading, and every useful branch of sound religious education, is no less striking than their quiet and civilized manners, evidently the result of a kind, humane, and enlightened method of instruction. The system of infant schools has been introduced with so much success that I am anxious to adopt it in all the towns without delay. Every facility is afforded to the slaves in the acquisition of useful knowledge, and they are exempt from night labour, and all severe exertions of any kind." What a tacit reproach is this example of Mr. Wildman to the proprietary at large!

The Bishop has appointed a minister and a catechist to the Grand Cuymanas, an island 300 miles west of Jamaica, the population of which is 1500, including slaves, among whom no minister of any denomination has ever resided. They have shown their anxiety for instruction by building two places of worship, and a house for the minister, and agreeing to contribute to his support.

Schools have been formed in the Bahamas and at Honduras, where great eagerness for instruction has been manifested. The Bishop speaks highly of a free black, of the name of Joseph Watkins. He

had mentioned him in a former report (vol. 2, p. 134) as a very irregular person, not in holy orders, and yet ministering publicly and with great effect in Bahama, being, in fact, the only person who seemed to have kept alive any sense of religion in that island. The present report states that he is master of an excellent school for slaves, and that he ministers to very crowded congregations twice in the week. "I attended," he says, "on one of these occasions, and have much satisfaction in bearing testimony to the character of Joseph Watkins, and to the good he effects." We congratulate the Bishop on having surmounted his prejudices, so far as to attend the ministrations of this irregular prop of the church in Bahamas. Why does he not ordain this black, and give him *authority* to labour?

8. Free Black and Coloured Classes.

These classes, it is well known, have been relieved from all their former degrading disabilities, both civil and political, in the different Crown Colonies of Trinidad, Guiana, St. Lucia, Mauritius, and the Cape of Good Hope; and they now stand precisely on the same footing as to rights with the white inhabitants.

A return has recently been made to the House of Commons, and printed by its order, No. 363, dated 6th April, 1832, of the laws passed by colonial legislatures on this subject.

A return of the same kind had previously been made from *Jamaica*, which we are happy to say has distinguished itself by being the first to carry into full operation the example of liberality which had been given by the Government in the Crown Colonies. Its Act for that purpose, passed on the 21st of December, 1830, is a model of effective legislation, which all the Colonies would do well to imitate. The following are its comprehensive terms:—

Whereas former Acts "do not sufficiently remove the disabilities to which the free brown and black population of this island are subjected: and whereas it is expedient to grant additional privileges to such persons:" it is hereby enacted, "that the before-mentioned Acts, and each of them, and every matter, clause, or thing in them and each of them contained, are hereby repealed and made null and void, to all intents and purposes, any thing in the said Acts or either of them to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that, from and after the passing of this Act, all the free brown and black population of this island shall be entitled to have and enjoy all the rights, privileges, immunities, and advantages whatsoever, to which they would have been entitled if born of, and descended from, white ancestors."

Barbadoes, *Dominica*, and *Tobago*, have pursued the same satisfactory course with *Jamaica*, and have made the free black and coloured admissible even to their legislative assemblies. We fear, however, that in *Barbadoes* and *Tobago* a higher pecuniary qualification is required of the newly enfranchised than of the whites. But this point is not clear. These Acts are all dated in 1831.

The legislature of *Antigua*, which includes *Montserrat* and *Barbuda*, limits the title to enjoy all the privileges of whites to those

who have been in a state of undisputed freedom for seven years; and the right of sitting on juries to those who, besides this, shall possess a freehold of 80*l.* per annum; or are merchants, occupying a house of the value of 60*l.* per annum; or who own or rent an estate with thirty slaves or more, or manage a sugar plantation. No free black or coloured inhabitants, however, shall be entitled to parochial relief; and the provisions of the Acts for encouraging the importation of white servants, and which exclude black and coloured persons from managing the plantations of whites, are to remain in force. These are harsh and invidious distinctions, p. 3.

The legislature of the *Bahamas* is still less liberal than that of Antigua. In the Act of January 1830, free black and coloured persons possessing 200*l.* above what will satisfy their debts, or having 50 acres of land free from incumbrances, and in active cultivation, are admitted to vote for members of the assembly; but not for vestrymen, p. 11.

In *Grenada*, by an Act of November, 1828, “all free-born” (not free, but free-born), “coloured” (not black), “British subjects within this island, being freeholders, merchants, traders, managers, or chief overseers, or lessees of estates, may serve as petty jurors.” Such a miserable extension of privilege to so highly respectable a body as the free classes of Grenada is an insult rather than a boon, p. 16.

In *St. Christopher's*, by an Act of December, 1830, “all free coloured and black *native* inhabitants of this island, *being the issue of free subjects*, are admitted to the enjoyment of all civil rights, as fully as other inhabitants, *with the exception of seats in the House of Assembly as members thereof.*” It is further provided that individuals of the free coloured and black classes may have all civil rights conferred on them by private bills, if qualified by their circumstances and attainments; fourteen such persons are named in this Act, to whom, by name, such rights are at once extended, p. 20.

In the *Virgin Islands*, by an Act of August 1831, all free British coloured or black persons, *natives of the island, and domiciled therein for five years*, or who may hereafter be manumitted, shall, after seven years from the date of such manumission, be entitled to all the rights of the white inhabitants. None, however, who cannot read, write, and cast accounts, shall have the privilege of sitting on juries, or in either house of legislature; nor shall this Act extend to any runaway slave who may be made free, nor to any free coloured or black person who shall make these islands a domicile for evading the laws of any other country whatsoever, p. 21.

In *St. Vincent*, an Act of December, 1830, removes all disabilities whatsoever from free persons of colour (not blacks) who are natives of this island and its dependencies, but is not to extend to any Charaibs, or their descendants, remaining in this island, p. 23.

All these uncalled-for restrictions of the legislatures of Antigua, Bahamas, St. Christopher, the Virgin Islands, and St. Vincent, are very discreditable to them, and show that they fall far behind, in liberality and sound policy, the law-givers of Jamaica, Barbadoes, Dominica, and Tobago. Nothing is said of Nevis and Bermuda.

9. *The protection given to Slaves in Jamaica by Law, Magistrates, Grand Juries, and Councils of Protection, illustrated.*

The following letter from Viscount Goderich to Lord Belmore, dated Nov. 1, 1831, has not yet been laid before Parliament. We, nevertheless, venture to give it publicity, as it has already appeared in many newspapers both in Jamaica and in this country, and as it will serve seasonably to illustrate the imperative necessity of adopting early and effectual means to put a final period to the guilt and misery of such a system. We trust that all the details of this atrocious case, and which seem to Lord Goderich too horrid to bear recital, will yet be given to the public. It is only by such details that the laws and manners of slave colonies can be adequately understood.

“MY LORD,—I have received your Lordship’s despatch, dated the 31st of August last, No. 84, transmitting various documents connected with the case of Mr. Jackson, the custos of Port-Royal, in Jamaica.

“I am happily relieved from the necessity of entering into all the disgusting details of the cases brought under my notice in your Lordship’s despatch. In Dr. Palmer’s letter of June 13 that task is very fully performed: I will advert only to some of the more remarkable circumstances.

“It appears, then, that a complaint was preferred to Dr. Palmer, as a magistrate, of extraordinary cruelties committed by Mr. Jackson, the custos, or senior magistrate, of the parish of Port-Royal, and by his wife, on the persons of two female slaves. Dr. Palmer immediately endeavoured to effect the arrest of the two females, with a view to their protection, pending the necessary enquiry; and wrote to Mr. Jackson to apprize him of the measures which it was intended to take. On receiving that letter, Mr. Jackson seems to have applied to his brother, Mr. Campbell Jackson, who was also in the commission of the peace, to undertake the investigation of the complaint. Mr. C. Jackson accordingly summoned the two slaves before him. He has assigned as a reason for this proceeding that Dr. Palmer had omitted to take down in writing the examination of the witnesses. One of the complainants is stated to have refused to state her case to Mr. C. Jackson, because he was the brother of the accused; and it is added that Mr. C. Jackson compelled her to enter into such a statement only by threats of punishment. Upon hearing her narrative, he determined that a council of protection should be immediately summoned, and with that view addressed to the clerk of the peace a letter, directing him to summon such a council, which, it was observed, ought to meet ‘on any day that may be most agreeable to Mr. Jackson.’ ‘I have further,’ observes Mr. C. Jackson, ‘to remark that the charges preferred by the above-named slaves are vexatious and frivolous.’

“This letter was written on the 6th of June. On the following day the council of protection was accordingly summoned by a third justice, Mr. Hyslop, and Dr. Palmer was required to attend it on the 11th of the same month. Dr. Palmer, having brought the case under your Lordship’s notice, answered this summons by a letter, dated the 8th of June, in which he requested that the meeting might be delayed until

the governor's opinion should be known. He at the same time pointed out the extraordinary conduct of the Messrs. Jackson in thus transferring the case from the cognizance of himself to that of a junior magistrate, who was the brother of the accused party; and he noticed as a reason for awaiting your Lordship's intentions that every member of the council for protection virtually owed his appointment to the magistracy to the recommendation of the custos, whose conduct they were required to investigate. The council, however, met on the 11th of June, when Dr. Palmer moved that the proceedings should be adjourned until your Lordship's answer had been received. This motion was overruled by the unanimous voice of the whole body, who then proceeded to investigate the complaints which Mr. C. Jackson had already declared 'frivolous and vexatious.' Declining, for the reasons already assigned, to enter at large into the details of this evidence, it is unfortunately necessary that I should recapitulate some of the facts which were substantiated.

"It appears, then, that the elder of these slaves was the mother of the younger, and that they had both passed their lives in domestic service, and without having been employed in field labour. A dialogue seems to have taken place between Mrs. Jackson and one of her children and these women, in which it may be inferred that the slaves exhibited some violence of demeanour, attended with language unbecoming the relation in which they stood to Mrs. Jackson. It is not without a painful sense of the degrading light in which the narrative exhibits a lady in Mrs. Jackson's rank of life that I proceed with it. She with her own hands took a 'supplejack' and flogged the younger slave with it till the instrument broke. The flogging was then renewed with a whip. On this the mother broke out in violent remonstrances, when Mrs. Jackson (in terms which I will not venture to transcribe or to characterize) threatened to punish her. In her renewed remonstrance the mother stated that her mistress 'had flogged her before Christmas, had laid her down and flogged her by the driver.' The daughter is said to have then been placed in the corner of the room to stand up the whole day. The mother was placed in the stocks, and kept there 'two or three weeks, night and day.' At the end of that time she was carried to the other stocks, in a place called the hot-house, where she was kept 'for about two or three weeks,' the daughter being placed in those stocks from which her mother had been removed. For no less than four months these unfortunate women, though bred as domestics, were employed in the field, and, when not in the field, were confined in the stocks; and both the labour and the confinement were so arranged that, during the whole period of the punishment, they should have no opportunity of speaking to each other. This protracted confinement in the stocks appears to have been peculiarly strict, and even the Sundays were passed in this dreadful situation. Incredible as it might appear, the mother, even while labouring under fever and ague, was still kept in the stocks. She had lived for twenty-two years in the service of the family by whom she was thus treated.

"The younger female, in her evidence, describes herself as having

been beaten with a strap by the hands of Mr. Jackson himself; as having then been flogged by Mr. Jackson's orders with a new cat; as having been confined in stocks so narrow as to wound her feet; as having been kept there at night for more than six weeks or two months. During her labours in the field, she states her arms, neck, and back, were blistered; that, on complaint being made of this to Mr. Jackson, he answered merely by a brutal oath, and that he proceeded to send for scissars, with a view to cut off her hair, to compel her to remove from her head, and place round her neck, a handkerchief, which was the only defence from the sun.

"It was admitted that the release of these women from the stocks did not take place until the very day on which Dr. Palmer's letter was received by Mr. Jackson. This is stated to have been on the 4th of June, and Mr. Jackson is represented in the minutes of council to have admitted that the confinement commenced in the middle of January. It must, therefore, have lasted very nearly six complete months!

"Respecting the alleged tightness of the stocks, the witnesses for the defence contradicted the statements of the younger slave. Much was stated of the insolence of these women, and of the gross impropriety of their language, and much respecting the habitual humanity of the accused parties; but to the specific imputations of cruelty no defence was made or attempted.

"The council of protection decided that there were not sufficient grounds for a prosecution; that neither the letter nor the spirit of the law had been infringed; that in cases of confinement the duration of the punishment was not limited by law, the owner being bound only to show that proper support had been given. They however felt bound to declare that, 'notwithstanding the aggravated insults so repeatedly offered by the complainants, *it would have been desirable* that a less protracted punishment had been resorted to by the parties accused, or that they, on finding that confinement had not the effect intended, had brought the slaves to trial before a competent tribunal.'

"The preceding recital scarcely admits of any commentary in that measured tone which it is on every account so desirable to observe in an official communication of this nature. A series of the most revolting outrages on humanity were admitted without reserve, or tacitly acknowledged. A perseverance for several months together in cruelties of the most scandalous character, on the persons of a young woman, and of her mother, were unhesitatingly avowed. One of the offenders was the chief magistrate of the district: the other was that magistrate's wife. A case more urgently demanding the most rigorous enforcement of the law, or appealing more strongly to the compassion and indignation of all who heard it, could scarcely be imagined. Yet what was the result? One magistrate, the brother of the criminal, declared the complaint 'frivolous and vexatious.' Four other magistrates, members of the council of protection, dismissed it with a sentence full of harsh expressions respecting the conduct of the injured party, and with language towards the offenders conveying nothing more than the most gentle and even respectful dissent from the soundness of the judgment exercised by them on the occasion.

“The crimination of these unfortunate women, for the use of insolent and indecorous language, scarcely merits serious notice. Here was a mother compelled to witness the scourging of her daughter with instruments of punishment at once painful and degrading. The mother was then herself subjected to a chastisement attended with every circumstance of suffering and indecency, and was addressed by a lady in Mrs. Jackson’s rank of life in terms too gross for repetition. Culpable as the words extorted by such shameful conduct may have been, the apology was such as should have silenced the reproaches of the owners. With such a domestic example, what decorum could be expected from an ignorant negress? With such a provocation, what self-government could reasonably be anticipated from a mother? No condition of life ought to have repressed those emotions with which a parent must witness the infliction, on her offspring, of such great and unmerited suffering.

“When your Lordship, after the decision of the council of protection, ordered the attorney-general to prefer a bill of indictment, the result was, that the grand jury ignored the bill! The ground of their proceedings can, of course, be known only to themselves; and the attorney-general suggests that the inadmissibility of the evidence of the slaves was fatal to the bill; for he observes that the only witnesses before the grand jury were Dr. Palmer, and the inmates of Mr. Jackson’s family, who, the attorney-general presumes, would depose only in favour of Mr. Jackson, unless interrogated as to particular facts, of which the grand jury, not having before them the minutes of the council of protection, were ignorant.

“I fear that this apology can scarcely be accepted as satisfactory. Dr. Palmer was present at the council of protection, and was also examined before the grand jury. He must have heard the admissions which, from the minutes of that council, appear to have been made by Mr. Jackson himself. Dr. Palmer, therefore, was able, as assuredly he was willing, to prove the confinement, for several months together, of the mother and daughter in the stocks. It is incredible that he, the accuser, should have left the grand jury ignorant of the main ground on which his own charges rested; and, if they were not in that state of ignorance, the attorney-general’s excuse for their rejection of the bill of indictment fails altogether. I must also express my entire disbelief of the fact that a grand jury could have been brought together, from the contracted society of Jamaica, who were really unaware of so very remarkable an occurrence as that of the proceedings in their own vicinity against the *custos* of the parish of Port Royal, for cruelty to two female slaves. The story must have been notorious throughout every part of the island; and every gentleman in the grand jury room must have known that a protracted confinement in the stocks was the real fact to which the examination of the witnesses should have been addressed.

“The gentlemen of the grand jury delivered their verdict under the sacred obligation of an oath. I am bound, therefore, to presume that it was an honest verdict. I do not venture to assert or to suggest to the contrary. I can only state that the grounds of their decision are to me at least quite incomprehensible.

“ This occurrence is no less unfortunately timed than it is melancholy. At the very moment when the West India body are complaining, not perhaps without some justice, of the indiscriminate and violent reproaches with which they have been assailed, is brought to light this extraordinary circumstance, *that one magistrate perpetrated, and five others concurred to screen from punishment, offences against two helpless females of the most revolting and unmanly character.* With the utmost anxiety to protect the Colony and its inhabitants from all calumnious imputations, what power of performing that duty with effect is left to myself and others, when the magistracy and official guardians of slaves betray so flagrant a disregard of their domestic and public duties? *With what reason, or plausibility, can it be alleged that the slaves at Jamaica have no need of additional protection, when, in a case so outrageous as the present, the council of protection would neither prosecute nor even censure the criminal, and the Grand Jury would not entertain the indictment?* ”

“ Your Lordship’s suspension of Mr. Jackson, the custos, is perfectly right, or rather was a measure which it would have been culpable to omit. His Majesty is pleased to confirm your decision, and to direct that Mr. Jackson be never again entrusted with the authority of a magistrate.

“ As the removal of Mr. Jackson from his office of Judge of Assize cannot be effected, except by the advice of the Council, your Lordship will convey to that body the opinion of his Majesty’s Government that it is a measure inevitably necessary.

“ I am under the painful necessity of further directing the removal from the commission of the peace of Mr. Campbell Jackson. That gentleman’s interference was, under all the circumstances of the case, most indecorous. His decision that a complaint of several months’ imprisonment of two women in the stocks was ‘frivolous and vexatious,’ though the fact neither was nor could be disputed, is an evidence of such extraordinary apathy that I cannot be satisfied to entrust their interests any longer to his care.

“ The failure of the bill of indictment against Mr. Jackson ought not to be conclusive of the case. I am aware of no technical reason which should prevent the attorney-general from proceeding, in such a case as the present, by a criminal information; and unless there is some local enactment, which has escaped my enquiry, which would prohibit such a measure, your Lordship will immediately instruct the attorney-general to adopt it.

“ Your Lordship will communicate to the Council of Protection of the parish of Port Royal, or to the individuals who constituted that body in Mr. Jackson’s case, a copy of this despatch, admonishing them of the urgent and indispensable necessity of their acting on any future occasion in a manner more consonant with the sacred trust imposed upon them, of doing equal justice between all ranks and classes of the King’s subjects.”

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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I.—RECENT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE WEST INDIES.—1. *Resolutions of Black Freeholders of Kingston, Jamaica*;—2. *Address of Free Black and Coloured Inhabitants of Trinidad*;—3. *Address of Free Black and Coloured Inhabitants of the Bahamas*;—4. *Report of the House of Assembly of Jamaica on the late Rebellion; with the Protests of the Baptist and Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries*;—5. *Speech of Mr. Watkis in the Jamaica Assembly*;—6. *Farther Persecutions in Jamaica*;—7. *Appointment of Delegates to Great Britain by Jamaica Assembly*;—8. *Trial of the Editor of the Jamaica Watchman for a capital felony.*

II.—REBELLION IN JAMAICA.

I.—RECENT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE WEST INDIES.

1. *Resolutions of the Black Freeholders of Kingston.*

“*Kingston, April 16, 1832.*”

“At a meeting of the black freeholders and other inhabitants of the city of Kingston, held at the house of Miss Woolery, in Church Street, it was unanimously resolved, that Mr. D. R. Lee be called to the chair.

“Resolved 1st.—*That we, the black inhabitants of the city, are loyally attached to our gracious and beloved Sovereign William the Fourth.*”

“Resolved 2d.—*That we are desirous, by legal means, to secure to all classes of his Majesty's subjects in this island the blessings of the Free Constitution of Great Britain.*”

“Resolved 3d.—*That we are not, as has been insinuated, inimical to the amelioration and ultimate emancipation of our brethren in slavery.*”

“Resolved 4th.—*That we are not, as has been stated, at variance on material questions with our coloured brethren. On the contrary, we are ready to co-operate with them, and all liberal and just men, in every effort which may be legally and constitutionally made for the welfare of all classes in the island.*”

“Resolved 5th.—*That we respect the rights of private property not less than we desire the welfare of our brethren in slavery, and, whilst looking forward to the ultimate emancipation of the slaves, pursuant to the resolution of Parliament and of his Majesty's Government, we do not forget that the best redress for evil is always to be found in the melioration of law, supported by the liberal feeling of all classes of the community.*”

“ Resolved 6th.—*That not having exercised the right of the elective franchise, by means of a general dissolution of the House of Assembly, which would have enabled us to give an opinion on the choice of the popular branch of our legislature, we cannot be considered as represented by the legislators by whose laws we are governed.*

“ Resolved 7th.—*That in pursuance of the foregoing sentiments, we will cordially join our liberal-minded brethren, of every complexion, in any Petition or Memorial to his Majesty, or his Government, for the final settlement of the question of slavery, so that the peace and security of the island may at once be established on a permanent basis.*

“ Resolved 8th.—*That the above Resolutions be published in the Times, Atlas, and Examiner, London Newspapers, and Kingston Daily Papers, and Watchman twice.*

“ DAVID ROBERT LEE, *Chairman.*

2. The following Document is no less important. It embodies the sentiments of the respectable and wealthy *free black and coloured inhabitants of Trinidad*, on the measures of reform, of his Majesty's Government, with a view to the extinction of slavery. It appeared in the Royal Gazette of Trinidad, of April 14, 1832, with this preface :—

TRINIDAD.

“ The public will peruse, with much satisfaction, the address from his Majesty's free subjects of African descent to his Excellency the Governor, which we now publish for general information. The sentiments which have been expressed by so numerous and respectable a portion of the community are highly creditable to their good sense and integrity, and will be duly appreciated by all who are well-wishers to the true interests of this valuable colony.

“ *To His Excellency Sir Lewis Grant, C. H. Governor, &c. &c. &c.*

“ SIR,—We are charged by the persons whose signatures are affixed to the enclosed expression of their sentiments upon a late public event, to transmit the same to your Excellency, and we have now the honour of performing that duty,

“ Remaining, with all due consideration and respect, Your Excellency's very obedient and humble Servants,

(Signed) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{J. W. HOBSON,} \\ \text{A. RADIX,} \\ \text{LEWIS LEBRE, Jun.} \\ \text{J. EDWARDS.} \end{array} \right.$

“ *March 29, 1832.*

“ *To His Excellency Sir Lewis Grant, Governor and Commander-in-chief, &c. &c. &c.*

“ SIR,

“ *May it please Your Excellency,*

“ We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do feel it a duty incumbent upon us to con-

vey to your Excellency, for ourselves, and on behalf of *all our fellow subjects of African descent, our unanimous opinion upon certain circumstances arising out of the promulgation of the Order in Council of the 2nd of November last.*

“ We should have limited ourselves to the strict observance of that line of conduct which we have hitherto pursued, as dutiful and obedient subjects of the King, and have consequently abstained from any interference whatever with the opinions and proceedings of a public meeting, held on the 6th January last, at which we declined assisting, but for *one* of its resolutions on the subject of *allegiance* to the crown of Great Britain.

“ Considering that this resolution has been ushered into publicity in a form at once solemn and imposing,—that it will be rapidly transmitted, through the medium of the daily papers, to every quarter of the world, and officially conveyed to the Throne, the Peers, and Commons’ House of Parliament of Great Britain, in the name of the whole inhabitants of Trinidad,—it becomes our duty, as a part of these inhabitants, to express our unequivocal dissent from its declared objects.

“ With reference to a protest against the late Order in Council of the 2nd of November last, tendered to your Excellency by the illustrious Board of Cabildo, purporting to be on behalf of ‘all the inhabitants of this colony,’ and published in the Port of Spain Gazette, we beg leave respectfully to state to your Excellency that no individual of *African descent* has been admitted into that body, and consequently we do not recognise it as the genuine organ of the *political opinions* of our numerous class.

“ Under these circumstances, we now declare to your Excellency that the attachment which we feel to the Throne and Government of Great Britain (originating in some of us from natural affection, in others from adoption, and in all confirmed and fostered by a grateful remembrance of its liberality,) is unalterable; and that, in the ardour of these sentiments, we deprecate a dissolution of the ties which bind us to the mother country, as the greatest calamity that could possibly befall ourselves and our posterity.

“ Faithful to the engagements which we have contracted by nature and from compact, we glory in the title of *British subjects*. *We hold it to be an enviable distinction among the nations of the earth, and are always prepared cheerfully to fulfil every duty which that character imposes upon us, either in obedience to the ORDINANCES of our King, or in defence of his crown and dignity.*

“ Humbly praying your Excellency to transmit to our gracious Sovereign these loyal sentiments of his faithful subjects,

“ We have the honour to subscribe ourselves, with the most perfect consideration and respect,

“ Your Excellency’s most dutiful and obedient humble servants.

“ *Port of Spain, March 26, 1832.*”

“ *Government-House, Trinidad, April 8, 1832.*

“ GENTLEMEN,—I had the honour to receive the Address which

accompanied your letter of the 26th ultimo, and which was signed by upwards of 400 persons.

“It was my duty, as well as a gratifying task to me, to do early justice to the spirit of good feeling and loyalty which pervaded that address. I accordingly availed myself of the opportunity which immediately offered after its receipt, to transmit it to the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, with the request that it might be laid before his Majesty.

“I did not fail, in my Despatch which enclosed your address, to point out the circumstances which, on this particular occasion, elicited from you, and those whom you represent, your declaration of attachment to his Majesty’s Person and Government; and I have no doubt that your proceedings, and the laudable motives which gave rise to them, will be duly appreciated by his Majesty’s Government.

“I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your most obedient Servant,
(Signed) “LEWIS GRANT.

To JOHN WELCH HOBSON, }
ANTOINE RADIX, } ESQUIRES.”
LEWIS LEBRE, JUN. }
JOHN EDWARDS. }

3. A similar address has been presented by the *free black and coloured inhabitants of New Providence, in the Bahamas*, to Sir James Carmichael Smyth, the Governor, declaring that, “if all classes of the free inhabitants are to be admitted into the calculation, the extraordinary contumacy of the late House of Assembly, with respect to the several recommendations of his Majesty’s Government, are far from being in unison with the general feeling of the population;” and though that House did profess an intention, under another Governor, of “entering on a consideration of the rights still withheld from the people of colour, and the further amelioration of the condition of the slaves, yet the pledge is far too vague and inexplicit to be entitled to any confidence, when emanating from persons whose conduct and conversation, particularly with respect to the slave question, continue even to this hour in open and avowed variance with all such professions.”

They therefore highly approve of the dissolution of this contumacious Assembly, and they tender their thanks to the Governor “for continuing to the colony the central schools, which afford the pleasing prospect that the rising generation, among the poorer classes, though abandoned by their guardians, to ignorance, and idleness, and vice, have happily found a cherishing source of protection in your Excellency’s parental solicitude and care.”

The reply of the Governor to this address is not a little remarkable.

“The little difficulties, he says, and the opposition I have met with, were, almost as a matter of course, to be expected. I arrived amongst you at a moment when the attention of the mother country (which had so long been solely engrossed by the events of the late stupendous war) was beginning to be steadily directed towards the details of

our colonial system and policy. It was not in human nature that gentlemen who have passed their lives in the West Indies should at once get rid of those notions, respecting difference of colour, which we, in Europe, look upon as prejudice; nor that, accustomed from their infancy to see slaves governed principally by coercion, they should immediately be aware of the propriety of restraining the power of the master, and the policy and necessity of a more liberal and humane slave code. You, gentlemen, who have risen above the narrow notions and prejudices by which you are surrounded, I honour and respect. I do not, however, blame other gentlemen for not seeing things exactly in the same point of view that we do. I shall receive every convert with pleasure; and, as the more these subjects are discussed, the more readily and rapidly truth and justice must prevail, I anticipate with much satisfaction, that, as the foolish agitation and excitement of the present moment gradually subside, so will the opposition to the views and to the recommendations of the truly paternal government of his Majesty cease equally.

“With respect to myself, I can safely assert that no man can be more truly anxious than I am for the peace, happiness, and prosperity of these islands. My best and unceasing efforts will always be directed to advance your interests. Most sincerely do I hope that when we come to have another House of Assembly, gentlemen will be chosen as members, who will see the justice and the policy of at once removing all degrading and harassing distinctions from the free coloured inhabitants; and of adopting the enactments of his Majesty’s Order in Council of the 2nd November, as the slave law of the colony. The future tranquillity of these islands will then be established upon a durable and substantial foundation. Nothing short of these arrangements can lead to any satisfactory result.”

4. The following is the *Report of the House of Assembly of Jamaica, on the subject of the late Rebellion*:—

House of Assembly, 26th April, 1832.

ORDERED,

That the Report of the Committee on the Rebellion be published once in the several papers of this island.

By the House,

JOHN G. VIDAL, *Clerk of the Assembly.*

MR. SPEAKER,

Your Committee appointed to enquire into the cause of, and injury sustained by, the recent rebellion among the slaves in this island,

REPORT,

“That they have taken the examinations, on oath, of various persons, which examinations, with the original documents sent down to the house by his Excellency the Governor, on the 15th March last (and referred to the committee), as well as sundry other documents respecting the late rebellion, accompany this report.

“Your Committee express it as their opinion, and do report the

same to the House, that the causes which have led to the late rebellion among the slaves in this island are as follow:—

“ *The primary and most powerful cause arose from an evil excitement, created in the minds of our slaves generally, by the unceasing and unconstitutional interference of his Majesty’s Ministers with our local legislature, in regard to the passing of laws for their government, with the intemperate expression of the sentiments of the present Ministers, as well as other individuals in the Commons’ House of Parliament, in Great Britain, on the subject of slavery: such discussion, coupled with the false and wicked reports of the Anti-Slavery Society, having been industriously circulated by the aid of the press throughout this island, as well as the British empire.*

“ *Secondly, from a delusive expectation, produced among the whole of the slave population, by the machinations of crafty and evil-disposed persons, who, taking advantage of the prevailing excitement, imposed upon their disturbed imagination a belief that they were to be free after Christmas, and, in the event of freedom being then withheld from them, they ‘ must be prepared to fight for it.’*

“ *Thirdly, from a mischievous abuse existing in the system adopted by different religious sects in this island, termed Baptists, Wesleyan Methodists, and Moravians, by their recognising gradations of rank among such of our slaves as had become converts to their doctrines, whereby the less ambitious, and more peaceable, among them, were made the dupes of the artful and intelligent, who had been selected by the preachers of those particular sects to fill the higher offices in their chapels, under the denomination of rulers, elders, leaders, and helpers; and, lastly, the public discussions of the free inhabitants here, consequent upon the continued suggestions made by the King’s Ministers, regarding further measures of amelioration, to be introduced into the slave code of this island, and the preaching and teaching of the religious sects called Baptists, Wesleyan Methodists, and Moravians (but more particularly the sect called Baptists), which had the effect of producing, in the minds of the slaves, a belief that they could not serve both a spiritual and a temporal master, thereby occasioning them to resist the lawful authority of their temporal, under the delusion of rendering themselves more acceptable to a spiritual master.*

“ Your Committee further report that the injury sustained by the late rebellion, by the slaves wilfully setting fire to buildings, grass, and cane-fields destroyed, robbery and plunder of every description, damage done to the present and succeeding crops, loss of the labour of slaves, besides those killed in suppressing such rebellion, and executed after trial, as incendiaries, rebels, and murderers, has been ascertained by means of Commissioners appointed under an order of the House, and by the detailed returns made to the Committee, in conformity with such order, to amount to the following sums of money, viz.—

In the parish of St. James, the sum of	£606,250	0	0
In the parish of Hanover, the sum of	425,810	15	0

In the parish of Westmoreland, the sum of	47,092	0	0
In the parish of St. Elizabeth, the sum of	22,146	9	7
In the parish of Trelawny, the sum of	4,960	7	6
Amount of injury sustained in the county of Cornwall	1,106,259	12	1
In the parish of Manchester, the sum of	46,270	0	0
Amount of injury sustained in the county of Middlesex	46,270	0	0
In the parish of Portland, the sum of	772	10	0
In the Parish of St. Thomas in the East	1,280	0	0
Amount of injury sustained in the county of Surrey	2,053	10	0
	<hr/>		
	£1,154,583	2	1

“To which is to be added the sum of £161,596. 19s. 9d., being the expense incurred in suppressing the late rebellion, and a further expense, not yet ascertained, which has accrued since martial law ceased, being the pay and rations of a portion of the Maroons, as well as detachments of the island militia employed in the pursuit of such of the rebellious slaves who have not surrendered themselves, but remain out, and are sheltered amongst the almost inaccessible forests and fastnesses in the interior districts of the island.

“Your Committee recommend that the examinations taken before them, the confessions numbered from one to eleven, and the detailed returns of the Commissioners appointed under the order of the House, to ascertain the injury sustained by the late rebellion, be inserted in the minutes of the House, and printed therewith; and that the remaining documents be lodged in the office of the Clerk of the House.”

“The evidence on which this extraordinary report is founded we trust will be forthwith published. In the mean time, the following spirited protests against it have appeared in the public papers of Jamaica :—

PROTEST OF THE BAPTIST MISSIONARIES.

“*The Baptist missionaries have viewed with indignation and abhorrence the unjust attempt made by the Committee of the Hon. House of Assembly, appointed to examine into the causes of the late rebellion, to injure their characters in the estimation of the British public, by preferring charges against them which cannot be substantiated—charges as repugnant to the feelings of the missionaries, as dishonourable to the men who framed them.*

“It is not for the Baptist missionaries to say what was the primary or secondary cause of the late disastrous events; it is sufficient for them at present to state that neither their ‘preaching, teaching,’ nor conduct was that cause, *and they dare the ‘Rebellion Committee’ to prove that it was so.*

“The Baptist missionaries, conscious of their innocence of the charges publicly preferred against them in the report of the ‘Rebellion Committee,’ feel it to be a duty they owe to themselves—to their friends in this country—to the Baptist Missionary Society in England to which they are attached, and to the religious world at large, thus publicly to state that *the charges brought against them, by that committee, are unfounded and unjust; that they have wantonly and grossly libelled men, whose characters have never yet been sullied; who have ever submitted in all civil matters unto the powers that be; who have ever inculcated on servants and slaves the duty of obedience to their masters, and the tenor of whose ministrations has been agreeable with, and in conformity to, the doctrines and precepts of that gospel which is both pure and peaceable.*

“*One of the Baptist missionaries has already been tried on these charges, by the highest legal authorities in the island, and ACQUITTED, and all of them have shown their willingness to submit to any legal investigation into their conduct.*

“*Deep-rooted and unbending prejudice has been manifested towards them by men from whom they ought to have received protection.—Bribery, perjury, and every species of iniquity has been resorted to, for the purpose of criminating the ‘Baptist missionaries in particular,’ but in vain; and yet the ‘Rebellion Committee’ have condemned them unheard—have found them guilty on evidence which the missionaries have never been made acquainted with; consequently, neither themselves nor their friends have had an opportunity of disproving it, and have condemned, in toto, preaching which they have never heard.*

“These facts, to the enlightened and unprejudiced public of Great Britain, will afford sufficient proof that the “*Rebellion Committee*” have merely chosen this apparently favourable opportunity, for the purpose of expressing their determined and long-cherished hatred to religion and its propagators, and they will, at the same time, tend to establish, more firmly than ever, the unimpeachable characters of

“THE BAPTIST MISSIONARIES.”

“*Kingston, May 8th, 1832.*”

PROTEST OF THE WESLEYAN METHODISTS.

“*Kingston, May 11th, 1832.*

“At a meeting of the Wesleyan Missionaries, and of the Leaders of their respective Societies, in this island, convened by the Chairman of the District, and held in the Parade Chapel, this 10th day of May, 1832, for the purpose of protesting against the Report of the Committee appointed by the Honourable House of Assembly to ascertain the causes of the late rebellion,—It was unanimously

“Resolved 1st,—That we have read the Report of the Committee appointed by the Honourable House of Assembly, to enquire into the causes of the late Rebellion in this island; and perceive, with great surprise and indignation, the unworthy attempt which is made to implicate us, and our people, as the promoters of the same.

Resolved 2d,—That as neither the Wesleyan missionaries, nor the leaders in their Societies, were directly or indirectly concerned in instigating, or in any way aiding in the late Rebellion, we consider the aforesaid report, as far as it relates to the “Wesleyan Methodists,” utterly false and unfounded; nearly all the “leaders” being respectable free persons, most of whom are owners of slaves.

“Resolved 3d,—That as the report aforesaid is calculated to bring our system into disrepute, by asserting that it affords facilities for exciting rebellion among the slaves, we feel ourselves called upon to maintain that our system is scriptural, and peculiarly calculated to promote peace and good order among all classes of his Majesty’s subjects, whether free or slaves; and that nothing contrary to this can be proved against it. That, therefore, the aforesaid report is a gross calumny, not only upon ourselves and people in this island, but also upon the body to which we belong.

“Resolved 4th,—That being conscious of our own innocence, and of the praiseworthy conduct of the members of our Societies in this island during the late disturbances, we consider it our imperative duty to protest, in the most public and solemn manner, both here and in Great Britain, against the charges preferred against us in the report aforesaid; and also against the conduct of individuals who could make such a wanton attack upon our characters, without allowing us an opportunity of self-vindication.

“Resolved 5th,—That the assertion, contained in the aforesaid report, that the ‘preaching’ and ‘teaching’ of the ‘Wesleyan Methodists’ is calculated to mislead the minds of the slaves, on the subject of ‘lawful authority,’ is unworthy our serious consideration; their ability to expound and enforce the Holy Scriptures having been decided by a competent tribunal, and the falsehood of the charge can be refuted by an appeal to the thousands of their hearers throughout the island.

“Resolved 6th,—That we feel ourselves called upon expressly to state that there are no ‘gradations of rank’ recognized in our Societies, in connexion with the slaves in this colony, but members and ‘leaders,’ of whom we entertain the highest opinion, and whose conduct is unimpeachable.

“Resolved 7th,—That these resolutions be signed by all present on behalf of our Societies in this island, and that a copy of them, signed by the Chairman and Secretary of this meeting, in behalf of the seventeen missionaries, and four hundred and forty-six leaders, be forwarded immediately to his Excellency the Governor, the Earl of Belmore.

“Resolved 8th,—That these resolutions be published in three of the Island Newspapers, that a copy be transmitted, with the least possible delay, to our Committee in London, and by them presented to our most Gracious Sovereign, in any way which to them may appear the most acceptable.

“THOMAS PENNOCK, *Chairman.*

“THOMAS MURRAY, *Secretary.*”

5. *Speech of Mr. Watkis in the House of Assembly of Jamaica, on the 11th of April, 1832.*

Mr. Watkis, pursuant to notice, moved for the appointment of a Committee to enquire into and adjust the differences between us and the parent government. "My object," said the honourable member, "in submitting this motion to the consideration of the House, is to obtain the aid of a Committee in order to ascertain whether there is not some common ground of mutual advantage on which the House might be recommended to co-operate with the parent country in settling, on a final and beneficial basis, the great questions that have given birth to the unhappy differences which now sever us. That such a settlement might be effected, or at all events very much facilitated, I am firmly convinced, provided the two parties could once be brought into amicable contact. The ultimate aim of my present motion is to place them, if possible, in this conciliating relation towards each other. Much is in our power, and much will be required at our hands. To us are confided the very issues of the social destiny—the most solemn trust man could hold for man. And, on the wise and temperate manner in which we discharge this high trust, depend the present safety and future hopes of this community. When, Sir, we regard the advancing state of political philosophy, as well in our own community as in all the civilized nations of the globe, it appears to me to be the wildest of hopes to expect, by any efforts in our power, to secure the perpetuation of slavery; and when again we meditate for a moment on the almost mortal agony through which this country has just and scarcely struggled, it is surely even worse than wild to wish to perpetuate a system which, be it remembered, not in our day and country only, but throughout all times and in all lands where it has existed, has engendered the same monstrous brood of evils—has led to the same results of insurrection, woe, and crime. Again, Sir, if we judge by the known principles of human nature, or appeal to the experience of all history, we cannot avoid arriving at the conviction that all governments, founded on the exclusion of the mass from a participation in political rights, are by the very law of their constitution liable to change; they contain within themselves the elements of their own decay and ultimate destruction. And why? because they are based on the principles of force and fear—not on those of happiness and love. It is manifest that such governments can be maintained only by the moral influence of superior intelligence or by the coercion of superior physical power. As the Negro exchanges (which he is rapidly doing) his ignorance for enlightenment, the spell wherewith superior intelligence may for a while have bound the slumbering energies of his soul, must dissolve, and, when that enlightenment shall have attained a certain point, it is clear as the sun at noon that no physical force we can raise will be sufficient to control him. It is impossible, too, to disguise from ourselves the fact that our Negroes have now nearly attained that measure of enlightenment at which they must cease to be slaves; and, without pretending to the mantle of prophecy, it is not difficult to predict that if some steps are not speedily taken, we shall again,

and that perhaps soon, have to mourn our ruined fortunes and murdered kindred. Situated therefore as we are, with such darkening prospects around us, it assuredly behoves us, in timely resignation, to descend from our pride of place, instead of brooding over schemes of bootless opposition to a tide of change which we can neither stem nor turn, and in which gathering flood all opposition must eventually be whelmed. If we offer, in a spirit of wise and liberal concession, to co-operate with the British Government, we shall be met with a like spirit of wisdom and concession, from which good must flow to all parties and evil to none. I have been persecuted with calumny on account of the very humble part that I have taken in promoting what, in my conscience, I believe to be the real interests of this island. But no persecution, no hate, no calumny, shall ever for one instant deter me from expressing and enforcing my opinions through the constitutional organ of this House. Those opinions are the unchangeable convictions of my reason, and, so long as life and opportunity are left me, I will unceasingly labour to advance that noblest work—the political and moral regeneration of mankind.”

Mr. Beaumont seconded the motion.

Mr. Lynch said, that agreeably to the resolution entered into at an early period of the sessions, which resolution he read, no measure, having for its object the further amelioration of slavery, could be entertained by the House.

The Speaker being appealed to said that the rule did apply. The motion was therefore lost.

6. *Fresh Persecutions in Jamaica.*

“ Between seven and nine o'clock on Saturday evening, the 7th (April, 1832), as the Rev. Mr. Bleby, a Wesleyan minister, and his lady, were sitting to tea at their hired residence in Falmouth, a band of white and one or two coloured ruffians rushed into the house and seized him, using extremely violent and abusive language, calling him a d—d preaching villain, &c. &c.; they then forced Mr. B. to the opposite side of the room, four or five holding him whilst one struck him violently on the head—they were all armed with bludgeons. One of the ruffians brought a keg of tar into the room, and, whilst some held him, others spread the tar with their hands over his head, face, breast, and clothes. Whilst this brutal assault was going on, the fellow named Dobson, who struck Mr. Bleby, attempted to set Mr. B.'s pantaloons on fire, but was prevented by one of the gang. He immediately after applied the candle to the tar on Mr. B.'s breast, but Mrs. Bleby seeing it dashed the candle from his hand, and it went out. In attempting to interpose between the ruffians and Mr. B., Mrs. Bleby was seized by one of them and dashed violently on the floor, the effect of which, our informant affirms, she still severely feels. Two of the gang attempted to lock her in the pantry, but she managed to elude their intention. By this time, the alarm having been given, some people came to Mr. and Mrs. Bleby's assistance, and commenced an attack on the villains who were below stairs; this

so alarmed those that were employed above that they left Mr. Bleby and hastened to the assistance of their fellows, and eventually made their escape, but not until two or three had received the drubbing which they richly deserved—one so much so as to endanger his life. About this time Mrs. Bleby with her child escaped through the crowd, without her bonnet and with one shoe, the villains having first be-daubed her and her child (about five months old) with tar!! Mr. B., who was guarded by a party of coloured and black young men, took shelter in a neighbouring house. Mr. Miller, with a party of the 22d regiment, soon after arrived on the spot, to whom Mr. B. stated what had occurred, and claimed protection at their hands. Mr. B. was taken to the barracks for the night, and Mrs. Bleby was kindly sheltered by Mrs. Jackson, the lady of the Clerk of the Peace, who offered her all requisite assistance. On Sunday the attack was to have been renewed, but it did not take place. As a specimen of Falmouth justice, the young men who went to Mr. Bleby's assistance were disarmed, *by authority*, and are to-day to be tried by a court-martial for the *crime* of protecting a Missionary, his wife, and harmless infant!!! —*Watchman*, 14th April.

To the Editor of the Watchman.

SIR,

21st April, 1832.

I have received from the Rev. Edward Baylis the inclosed account of the atrocious and blood-thirsty attack made upon him and his family by *armed banditti* who are now infesting this country, and who, with their associates, have already destroyed *property to the amount of twenty thousand pounds, without any measures being adopted to bring them to justice.* Its insertion in your paper will oblige, Sir, your obedient servant,

WM. KNIBB.

“ On Friday evening, the 6th of April, as we were retiring to rest, a mob of white men, chiefly overseers and book-keepers, armed with swords, muskets, bayonets, and pistols, rode up to our peaceful habitation at Mount Charles, howling as they approached the house like a company of savages. After they had entered the gate of the premises they met with the watchman, a poor faithful old free negro, who was about to give an alarm. Though he had nothing wherewith to defend himself, they fell upon him and cut him very severely with their swords on his head and body, and stabbed him with a bayonet in his side. He now lies in a dangerous state, and fears are entertained of his death.

“ When these champions of the Colonial Church Union reached the dwelling-house, they commenced their operations by breaking open the door and firing their muskets into the house. They then proceeded to destroy the bed-room windows, forcing in the glass-framed shutters with such violence that the bed on which Mrs. Baylis and our little infant were reposing were literally covered with the fragments. They then discharged their muskets and pistols in each of the bed-room windows (but in much mercy our heavenly Father prevented their murderous designs from being accomplished), while one

of them put his arm through one of the windows, took a lighted candle from off the table, and endeavoured with it to set fire to the bed-room. Mrs. Baylis prevented this by putting out the light ere any of the furniture in the room had ignited.

“After this these murderous members of this church-destroying society demolished the windows in the house, swearing that the house should be destroyed that night, while some of them broke open the stores, calling aloud for fire to burn them, but in this they were defeated.

“I went unarmed to the door and remonstrated with them, when some appeared ashamed of their conduct, but others grew more violent. By this time an alarm was sounded in the neighbourhood, when the wretches made a precipitate retreat. Though we are in a part of the country not thickly inhabited, soon more than three hundred persons, coloured and black, ran to our assistance, and, had not these midnight marauders made off on their horses, the death they had intended for us would have doubtless been their lot.

“The *coloured and black* population around us are now on the alert, and under their protection we feel ourselves comparatively safe, and are highly thankful to that Divine Being who so mercifully preserved us when exposed to imminent danger.”

7. *Delegates appointed by the Assembly of Jamaica.*

It appears from the Royal Gazette of Jamaica, of the 28th April, 1832, that the House of Assembly had adopted resolutions to the following effect:—

“1.—That the very alarming and ruinous state of the island calls upon the representatives of the unjustly calumniated and deeply oppressed inhabitants thereof, to adopt some measure that is likely to obtain substantial justice and permanent relief against the undeserved calamities they now endure, and are further threatened with.

“2.—That the appointment of a Committee from among the representatives of the people, to proceed to Great Britain for the purpose of laying their grievances at the foot of the Throne for redress, is a measure likely to be beneficial to the best interests of the colony.

“3.—That the Hon. Richard Barrett, Speaker, and Hon. Abraham Hodgson, members of this House, be, and are appointed, a Committee from this island, and that they do embark for Great Britain at their earliest convenience, so as to be in time to meet the next Session of the Imperial Parliament.

“4.—That this House will defray the expenses of the members composing the Committee appointed to proceed to Great Britain, and that the Receiver-General be directed to pay to each of the members thereof the sum of £1000 sterling, free of premium, previous to embarking for Great Britain, on account of such expenses.

“5.—That it be recommended to the House to appoint a Committee to bring in a bill to authorize the Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor, for the time being, to grant leave of absence to the Hon.

Richard Barrett, as Assistant Judge of the Supreme Court, to proceed to England without prejudice to his seniority.

“6.—That this House grant leave of absence to their Speaker, the Hon. Richard Barrett, and to the Hon. Abraham Hodgson, to visit England, to lay their grievances at the foot of the Throne.

“7.—That this House will elect a Speaker *pro tempore* (if necessary) during the absence of the Hon. Richard Barrett, their Speaker.

8. *Trial of the Editor of the Jamaica Watchman for a Capital Felony.*

There is an act of the legislature of Jamaica which declares that, “if any person shall maliciously and advisedly endeavour to excite, or stir up, any free person or slave to commit any act of insurrection or rebellion, he shall be deemed and adjudged to be guilty of felony, and shall suffer death, without benefit of clergy.”

Under this act Mr. Jordon, the Editor of the Watchman, was on the 17th of April last tried capitally, for having, in his paper of the 7th of the same month, used the following language:—“Now that the member of Westmoreland (Mr. Beaumont) is on our side, we shall be happy, with him and the other friends of humanity, to give a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether, until we bring down the system by the run, knock off the fetters, and let the oppressed go free.”

He seems to have been saved from the martyrdom intended for him, as the enemy of slavery and the friend of missions and missionaries, only by a failure in the proof of editorship on the day laid in the indictment.

II.—REBELLION IN JAMAICA.

IN OUR No. 94 we took a review of the exciting causes of the late commotion in Jamaica, and we traced its origin, as we conceive, not to the rebellious spirit of the slaves, but to the rashness, and imprudence, and impetuosity of the white community, who seem actually to have driven the slaves into insubordination and resistance. This conclusion seems to us to be confirmed by papers since laid before Parliament. Among these, in a document printed by order of the House of Commons on the 16th March, 1832, numbered 285, is a Despatch of the 1st of March, 1832, which Lord Goderich addressed to the Earl of Belmore in reply to the details of the insurrection contained in his despatch of the 6th of January preceding; the following are extracts from it:—

“The proximate cause of the commotions in the parishes of St. James and Trelawny, in the months of December and January last, is considered by your Lordship to have been the prevalency, amongst the slaves in those parishes, of the opinion that some law had been enacted in this kingdom for their general and immediate emancipation, which their owners had studiously concealed and unanimously disobeyed; and to the general adoption by the slaves of the further opinion that, in asserting their liberty by force, they were secure against the hostility of his Majesty’s naval and military forces, if indeed they could not reasonably calculate on their assistance and co-operation. These misconceptions

your Lordship traces to the various public discussions on the subject of slavery by which the Colony had been agitated. In considering the view which you have thus taken of the subject I have been led to cast a retrospect over the events of the last nine years, so eventful in the history of the British West-Indies."

His Lordship having then adverted to the various assurances given by Lord Belmore in his despatches, during the course of 1831, of the tranquillity prevailing among the slaves, and of the unusual excitement existing among the planters, of which we have already given some account (No. 94, p. 94—98, and p. 108), thus proceeds:—

"However little the slaves may in general be capable of reading, or have the opportunity to read the public newspapers, yet it would be irrational to doubt that rumours must circulate amongst them of the progress of a debate in which they are so deeply interested, and that they must form many strange and exaggerated conceptions of facts which are at once so often impressed and so discoloured by the prejudices and passions of those who undertake to relate them. From the various documents which accompany your Lordship's despatch it may, with sufficient distinctness, be collected that, towards the end of the last year, there prevailed generally amongst the slaves in St. James's and Trelawny the opinion to which I have already referred, that a law had passed for their emancipation which their owners had suppressed and disobeyed; and that, in asserting their freedom, the slaves might calculate upon the neutrality, if not upon the assistance, of the king's naval and military forces. I further find that the existence of these misconceptions, known as they were to the resident magistracy and proprietors, was not communicated to your Lordship, although your instructions to the Custodes, of the month of July, had anxiously enjoined those officers to convey to you any such intelligence; and, lastly, it is but too evident that no effort was made by them to dispel the delusions under which the slaves were thus known to be labouring.

"In confirmation of these statements I especially refer to Sir Willoughby Cotton's despatch of the 5th of January, in which he observes 'that the overseers, or attorneys, or magistrates, should not have acquainted the Executive Government with the extent to which the determination of the Negroes had gone, all round their district, not to work after New-Year's Day without being made free, is most astonishing, as it would appear to have been known on almost all the estates that these were the sentiments of the Negroes.' Mr. M'Donald, the Custos of Trelawny, in his despatch of the 4th of January, says, 'If other gentlemen had acted with the same kindness, and taken the same pains to explain the real nature of things as I have done, I do not think that this unfortunate insurrection would have been so general.'

"Again, in his despatch of the 3rd January, Sir W. Cotton informed your Lordship that the whole of the men shot yesterday stated that they had been told by white people, for a long time past, that they were to be free at Christmas, and that the freedom order had actually come out from England, but was withheld.

"Similar statements abound in the documents before me. Yet it now appears that, until the 22nd December, your Lordship had been left in such entire ignorance of those facts, that, at that late period, you, for the first time, thought it necessary to publish his Majesty's proclamation, and in the very letter transmitting it to the Custodes you referred to insubordination as existing only on a single estate, and to 'the uninterrupted tranquillity which had hitherto prevailed throughout the island.'

"I have entered thus at length into these details because they appear to me most important in affording a solution of the causes to which, in part at least, must be attributed the calamitous events which followed. After exhortations,

repeated by his Majesty's Government for more than eight successive years, without effect; after such public meetings as I have mentioned in every part of the island; after the circulation of the resolutions and public journals already noticed; after the convention of a body of delegates at the capital; and after secret debates in the House of Assembly, followed by the rejection of the measures proposed there for the benefit of the slaves, it must have become to every reflecting man sufficiently evident that the peace of the island was placed in extreme jeopardy, and that the slaves could scarcely escape the infection of those opinions which they appear to have adopted. How fraught with danger to the public safety was the prevalence of such opinions among a people so ignorant and so easily excited it were superfluous to remark. Induced, as they had been, to suppose that the royal authority was opposed in their favour to that of their owners, and that designs were entertained by the king's government which the colonial magistracy and proprietors intended to counteract by force, the sense of supposed injustice, combining with a plausible expectation of impunity in resisting it, could scarcely fail to urge them to acts of open rebellion. That under such circumstances the proprietors should, in your Lordship's forcible terms, have been heedless 'of the brink of danger on which they stood;' that, as the Custos of Trelawny remarks, 'they should not have taken pains to explain the real nature of things' to the slaves, and that, regardless of your Lordship's repeated admonitions, they should have left you in ignorance of the prevalent state of opinion amongst that class of society, is, as Sir Willoughby Cotton justly observes, 'most astonishing.' It were wholly irrational to suppose that any single person in Jamaica, much more that any body of men, could be guilty of the incredible folly and wickedness of deliberately concealing the truth, either from the slaves under their charge or from the local government, with any settled design of bringing reproach on the measures of improvement so long in agitation. And I can ascribe the apathy which seems to have prevailed to nothing but the ordinary influence of those feelings which render men insensible to any risk, however formidable, with which habit has rendered them familiar."

It is impossible to deny the justice of these observations. They are in exact accordance with those which the notoriety of many of the facts on which they are founded must have led any man of common sense to make, on what had occurred in Jamaica. In one respect, however, we somewhat differ from his Lordship. We see no satisfactory proofs exhibited that, previous to Christmas, the slaves had entertained the idea of ceasing to labour on the plantations, however they might have been aware that the benevolent purposes of the Government towards them were met by determined resistance on the part of their masters; or that the planters knew, or were impressed with the belief, that the slaves had adopted any such idea. On the contrary, we can discover, neither in Lord Belmore's despatch, nor in any evidence we have yet seen, any proof which seems decisive, that up to that period such a notion of ceasing to labour had prevailed among the slaves generally, or that any such apprehensions were entertained by the planters. Not even a surmise to that effect appears to have transpired until the disturbance had commenced and was at its height. *Then*, indeed, we are told that such had been the previous intentions of the slaves; and that the existence of such intentions had been for some time universally known to the planters. But is this quite credible? Was it possible that in a community so constituted as that of Jamaica, at that time too in a state of peculiar excitability, a dead and unbroken silence on this supremely inter-

esting point, as if by common consent, should have prevailed among all its free population—that not one journal, even in the disturbed districts, should have alluded to the circumstance, or sounded the note of alarm? The total absence of all prudent reserve, in their ordinary communications, on which Lord Goderich so justly remarks, forbids our giving implicit credit to the unsupported statements of the planters, on which alone Sir Willoughby Cotton and Lord Belmore found their representations, and the whole of whose statements may have been, for any proof adduced to the contrary, a mere afterthought, intended to hide from public view the really proximate and inciting cause of the disturbance. The force of the previously-known and unquestionable facts of the case ought not to be invalidated merely by Sir W. Cotton's echo of the interested assertions of the planters of St. James's and Trelawny, or his report of unauthenticated confessions from some wretched slaves, when on the point of being hanged or shot without record, and without trial.

This conviction is scarcely weakened by the evidence attached to the Report of the Assembly inserted above, p. 235, and which has been printed by Order of the House of Commons (28 June, 1832, No. 561), but which did not reach our hands until the foregoing sheet had already been printed. Nothing can be conceived more utterly vague and unsatisfactory than that evidence. It actually proves nothing but the eager desire of the Committee of the Assembly to shift the blame of the insurrection from their own shoulders to the Government, the Missionaries, and the Saints. We should require nothing more than the perusal of that mass of absurdity, and mere hearsay gossip, to set that question at rest. And yet it is made the foundation, the only foundation, in the Report of the Committee adopted by the Assembly, for the very gravest charges, not only against his Majesty's Government and Parliament, but against the Anti-Slavery Society, the Baptists, the Wesleyan Methodists, and the Moravians. What may we not suppose to have been the kind of evidence which satisfied those Drum-head Courts Martial which have so unsparingly shed the blood of the Negroes on this occasion? If they proceeded on such or such like evidence, every execution must have been a MURDER.

But, it may be asked, was it not natural that the slaves should have been led to entertain such sentiments and intentions? We do not deny it. But still we think the evidence that they did entertain them, and above all that they were known by the planters to entertain them, is most unsatisfactorily established. That they were in a state of great excitement, produced by the causes specified by Lord Goderich, is highly probable; but we can find no sufficient proof that any plan had been formed by them of ceasing to labour on a particular day, or of resorting to acts of insubordination in order to assert their freedom. Of such a plan, or even of such an intention, no proof that is tangible appears to us to have hitherto been produced. On the contrary, nothing has appeared to show that if they had been left to the enjoyment of their usual Christmas holidays in the parish of St. James and Trelawny, and in those immediately adjoining, as there is reason to believe they were in the other parts of the Island, they

would not have quietly resumed their labours as they had always been accustomed to do when those holidays had expired.

This interference with the usual holidays indicated so much of utter insanity on the part of the planters that Lord Goderich refuses to credit the possibility of such a circumstance, and, in the absence of any direct reference to it by Lord Belmore, he calls for further proof. And yet the evidence stated by us in our former number (No. 94, pp. 99—103) seems, in the absence of better information, to be almost irrefragable. Lord Goderich indeed states that he had been able to discover only two overt acts of violence indicating a rebellious spirit before the Christmas holidays. But he goes on to observe:—

“Your Lordship will find, on reference to my despatch of 16th June last, a remark upon the Slave Act of the preceding February, which I shall here transcribe:—‘The former statute declares that, for the future, all slaves in the island shall be allowed the usual seasons of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. It is now enacted that they shall be allowed the usual holidays of Christmas and Easter. Thus the three annual holidays are reduced to two, and the slave is deprived of the security formerly given to him that he should enjoy the usual number of such days.’

“When writing this passage, I was strongly impressed with the importance and danger of such an innovation, knowing that the value of a holiday could not be correctly estimated, except by endeavouring to enter into the feelings of those who were to enjoy or to lose it, and believing that the slaves would attach to this very ancient privilege an importance which, to persons in a very different condition of life, might easily appear exaggerated.

“In the year 1831 the 25th of December was a Sunday, and, that being a day privileged on other grounds, the slaves, as appears from Mr. Annand’s statement, conceived themselves entitled to the three following days—a pretension very reasonable in itself, and to which it appears Mr. Annand consented, on condition that the gang should first turn out. He says that, before the demand was made, he had ordered them to turn out to work. On referring to the despatch of the Custos Trelawny of the 28th of December (the Wednesday already mentioned) I find the following passage:—‘I believe nine-tenths of the whole slave population have this morning refused to turn out to work.’ The refusal, of course, presupposes the demand; and it must be inferred, from the expressions employed by the Custos, that the demand was addressed to at least nine-tenths of the population. That the words of the new law might be urged in defence of this innovation I do not deny; but the impolicy of innovating upon such a subject is but the more strongly impressed on my mind by that circumstance. What effect this attempted abridgment of the usual relaxation of Christmas may have had, or whether it contributed at all to the subsequent revolt, are conclusions which, in my present state of information, I do not feel myself warranted to draw. It is, however, most important that your Lordship’s attention should be directed to the subject, in order that a ground of discontent so easily removed may no longer be permitted to exasperate the slaves. The season of Whitsuntide is not very remote, and I greatly dread the effect which may be produced on the minds of the Negroes when they shall, for the first time, experience the loss of that holiday.”

Now it is perfectly plain that the “refusal” of the slaves to turn out on this holiday, as we have proved (No. 94, p. 101), was regarded by the planters as “actual rebellion:” and, in order to quell it, unsparing military execution was at once resorted to. The head and front of their offending in the first instance, therefore, appears to be that, having been ordered to turn out into the field on the Wednesday

morning, they did not do so, conceiving the order to be unwarranted; and had the matter been passed over, as it ought to have been, there, in all probability, the disobedience would have terminated: they would have had the day they reasonably claimed, and, on the succeeding day, to which they made no claim, they would probably have been found quietly at their work, as at other times, and in other parishes. But, in the mean time, the attack and the massacre had commenced. The slaves, terrified, fled to the woods. And what else could they do? Flight seemed their only means of safety from indiscriminate slaughter; but this very flight was made an aggravation of their crime. They were first causelessly treated as rebels, for refusing to comply with what they deemed an illegal demand; and then the attempt to escape summary execution as rebels, by quitting the plantation, was regarded as proving them rebels. They were first assumed to be so, and the flight which followed the attack on them as such is adduced as proof of the assumption.

It is difficult for men unacquainted with the peculiar structure of society in a slave colony to conceive what the effect would be of letting loose a body of armed planters on an unarmed black population which has dared to indicate, by common consent, any hesitation to obey the master's will, or to assume an attitude of resistance to it, however passive. Their rage and resentment would know no bounds; and it is impossible to estimate the atrocities which these might tend to produce. Nor will any one who knows what human nature is be surprised that the terror, and dismay, and suffering of the slaves, caused by such atrocities, should excite, in the minds at least of many of them, feelings of exasperation and revenge, sharpened by all they already knew of the wishes of the Government towards them, and of the contumacious and rebellious resistance of the planters to those wishes. Hence, without arms, or other means of annoyance or defence, they would naturally and almost necessarily resort, as their sole weapon of retaliation, to nocturnal conflagration (for from blood they seem to have shrunk), every act of which would serve to inflame still more the fury and vengeance of the dominant party. What could be expected under such circumstances, but the scenes of slaughter and of desolation which have marked this unhappy movement? Fear is the most cruel of all passions; and blind terror, on the part of both planter and slave, was here in full and destructive operation.

Let it be remembered, too, that our only details of these transactions are from the planters. But every part even of these details manifests that contempt of Negro rights and feelings, and that indifference to Negro life, which Negro Slavery always does and always must generate in the breasts of those who administer it. Its corrupting influence is there awfully and characteristically exhibited, and extends not only to the slaves themselves, but to all who dare to indicate any sympathy in their sufferings.

We could exemplify this position by innumerable extracts from the journals of Jamaica during the first three months of the present year, but we forbear. In the mean time we greatly desiderate lists of the killed and wounded on both sides.

Some of the concluding paragraphs in the despatch are particu-

larly deserving of the attention of the public. We quote them with much satisfaction.

“ I am aware that to persevere in the measures announced in my despatch of the 10th December, at the present moment, may possibly be described as pregnant with imminent danger. I still, however, think that his Majesty’s Government could not desist from urging the proposed measures of relief, and that the Colonial Legislature could not reject that proposal without incurring another danger, at least as imminent. Throughout this protracted controversy the voice of dispassionate reason has, unhappily, been seldom heard or heeded amidst the violent invectives with which the contending parties have mutually assailed each other. It is at once my duty and my earnest desire to inculcate on all parties a spirit of moderation and mutual forbearance, and to warn them of the inevitable calamities which must follow if interests so momentous shall continue to be made the sport of angry passions. In considering the situation of the gentlemen with whom the legislative authority in Jamaica resides, I cannot forget the difficulties with which they have to contend, nor employ any other language than that of conciliation and respect; yet I would wish, with the utmost earnestness, to impress upon them that they cannot safely overlook the state of society and of public opinion throughout the civilised world, and especially in this kingdom. Were they resident here they would need no assurance of mine to convince them that the views of his Majesty’s Government on the subject of Negro Slavery are in harmony with those of Parliament and the nation at large, and that, during a discussion of nine years’ continuance, men of all ranks have been progressively acquiring a more uniform and firm conviction of the soundness of those views. It were a fatal mistake to suppose that the voice of the country at large on this subject is nothing more than the transient clamour of a small but importunate party; yet it is an error into which, at such a distance, the local Legislature may not improbably fall.

“ To claims unjust and unreasonable in themselves it is doubtless the duty of Government to oppose a steadfast resistance. Even the most moderate and reasonable demands, when enforced by open violence and insurrection, must be resisted, until the dominion of the law has been vindicated and established; but, that indispensable duty being performed, it remains that what is reasonably demanded should be conceded with frankness. The present calamity might prove to be but the precursor of disasters still more lamentable, should it fail to convince the local Legislature that the time for concession has fully come, and that the opportunity of conceding with dignity and safety may, ere long, be irretrievably lost. Under the influence of erroneous opinions, and of a passing excitement, the slaves may have indeed advanced claims which it is impossible to admit; but neither the extravagance with which some hopes may have been indulged, nor the violence with which some designs may have been expressed, can afford any just answer to the more sober and moderate claims which are made on their behalf, and to which, with the aid of better information, they will probably reduce their demands.

“ His Majesty, therefore, cannot revoke the instructions which your Lordship will have already received on the subject of Negro Slavery. If, however, the events which have formed the subject of this despatch should have compelled you to suspend the execution of the orders you have received, you have his permission to continue that suspension until the restoration of general tranquillity; but you will take the earliest occasion, after internal peace shall have been re-established, for again directing the attention of the Council and the Assembly to the subject.”

We need hardly say that the despatch of Lord Goderich throws utter discredit on the unfounded suspicions of a participation, on the part of the missionaries, in any measure for aiding or fomenting this disturbance.

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 100.]

SEPTEMBER 1, 1832.

[Vol. v. No. 11.]

A DETAILED VIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF POPULATION AMONG THE SLAVES IN THE SEVERAL SLAVE COLONIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, SINCE THE FIRST INSTITUTION OF THE SYSTEM OF REGISTRATION; WITH OBSERVATIONS THEREON.

THE following view of the progress of population among the Slaves in the Colonies of Great Britain was drawn up by Mr. Buxton, from official documents laid before the House of Commons. These consist either of Parliamentary Papers moved for by the House and printed by its order, and of which the year, and the numbers as they stand on the documents of that year, are given;---or of Papers presented to both houses of Parliament by the Command of His Majesty, and which have no numbers attached to them. The former are distinguished by the letters P. P.; the latter by the letters P. C.

Notwithstanding the pains which have been taken to attain perfect accuracy, by closely following the official statements throughout, yet it is possible that some errors may have crept in, as the statements themselves are occasionally defective, and in some instances discrepant. In those cases, however, the conclusion the least unfavourable to the Colonists has been invariably adopted, and the utmost care has thus been taken to avoid all exaggeration in exhibiting the evils of the Slave system.

ANTIGUA.

<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 80%;">1817. Dec. 31. Population (a) . . .</td> <td style="text-align: right; width: 20%;">32,269</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Imports in 11 years (b) . . .</td> <td style="text-align: right;">112</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="border-top: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 1px solid black;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">32,381</td> </tr> </table>	1817. Dec. 31. Population (a) . . .	32,269	Imports in 11 years (b) . . .	112				32,381	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 80%;">1828. Dec. 31. Population (c) . . .</td> <td style="text-align: right; width: 20%;">29,839</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Manumissions in 11 years (d) . . .</td> <td style="text-align: right;">1,561</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Exports in 11 years (e) . . .</td> <td style="text-align: right;">113</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="border-top: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 1px solid black;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 40px;">Decrease in 11 years . . .</td> <td style="text-align: right;">868</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="border-top: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 1px solid black;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">32,381</td> </tr> </table>	1828. Dec. 31. Population (c) . . .	29,839	Manumissions in 11 years (d) . . .	1,561	Exports in 11 years (e) . . .	113			Decrease in 11 years . . .	868				32,381
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BERBICE.

1817. Dec. 31. Population (a) . . .	24,549	1827. Dec. 31. Population (c) . . .	21,319
Imports in 10 years (b) . . .	529	Manumissions in 10 years (d) . . .	292
		Exports in 10 years (e) . . .	1,845
			23,445
		Decrease in 10 years . . .	1,633
	<u>25,078</u>		<u>25,078</u>
<hr/>			
a. See P. P., No. 424 of 1824 . . .		Brought up	138
b. Ditto, No. 89 of 1823; for 1819, 1820	173	P. C., 1828, p. 191; 1 Nov. 1826 to	
Ditto, No. 353 of 1826; for 1821 to		31 March, 1827	56
1825	314	Ditto, p. 237; 1 April to 3 Aug. 1827	75
Ditto, P. C., of July, 1831, for 1826		P. P., No. 335, of 1829; 1 Sept. to	
and 1827	42	31 Dec. 1827	23
Imports in 10 years	<u>529</u>	Manumissions in 10 years	<u>292</u>
c. P. P., No. 237 of 1829		e. P. P., No. 89, of 1823, for 1818,	
d. Ditto, No. 89, of 1823. Manumissions		1819, and 1820	1004
for 1818, 1819, and 1820	71	Ditto, No. 353, of 1826, for 1821,	
Ditto, No. 353, of 1826; from 1 Jan.		1822, 1823, 1824, and 1825	810
1821 to 1 Nov. 1826	67	Ditto, P. C. of July 1831; for 1826, 1827	20
Carried up	<u>138</u>	Exports in 10 years	<u>1834</u>

DEMERARA.

1817. May 31. Population (a) . . .	77,867	1829. May 31. Population (c) . . .	69,467
Imports in 12 years (b) . . .	5,508	Manumissions in 12 yrs. (d) . . .	1,640
		Exports in 12 years (e) . . .	231
			71,338
		Decrease in 12 years . . .	12,037
	<u>83,375</u>		<u>83,375</u>
<hr/>			
a. See P. P., No. 424, of 1824.		Brought up	916
b. Ditto, No. 89, of 1823, p. 73. Imports,		1 May, 1827, to 30 April, 1828. No	
1 Jan. 1817, to 30 Sept. 1821 . . .	4,252	returns, but assumed to be at the	
Ditto, No. 353, of 1826, p. 163. 1 Oct.,		rate of the preceding six months . . .	354
1821, to 31 Dec., 1824	1,256	P. P., No. 335, of 1829, p. 11. from 1	
Subsequently, Nil		May, to 31 Oct. 1828	185
Imports in 11 years	<u>5,508</u>	1 Nov. 1828, to 31 May, 1829. No	
c. See P. P., No. 674, of 1830		returns, but assumed to be at the	
d. Ditto, No. 89, of 1823. Manumissions		rate of the preceding six months . . .	185
from 31 May 1817 to 31 Dec. 1820	107	Manumissions in 12 years	<u>1,640</u>
Ditto, No. 353, of 1826, p. 166, and No.		e. See P. P., No. 89, of 1823. Exports	
128, of 1827, p. 27, from 1 Jan. 1821		for 1817 to 1821	138
to 31 May, 1826	385	Ditto, No. 53, of 1826, for 1822 to 1824	93
P. C., of 1827, p. 144, and 145, from		Exports in 11 years	231
1 June, 1826, to 31 Oct. 1826 . . .	247	N. B. Neither imports nor exports are given	
Ditto, p. 145; from 1 Nov. 1826, to		after Dec. 1824. It might be thought to swell	
1 May, 1827	177	the amount unfairly to take the average of pre-	
Carried up	<u>916</u>	ceding years, for 1825; it is therefore omitted.	

GRENADA.

1817. Dec. 31. Population (a) . . .	28,029	1829. Dec. 31. Population (c) . . .	24,145
Imports in 12 years (b) . . .	225	Manumissions in 12 years (d) . . .	896
		Exports in ditto (e) . . .	698
			25,739
		Decrease in 12 years . . .	2,515
	<u>28,254</u>		<u>28,254</u>
<hr/>			
a. See P. P., No. 424, of 1824 . . .		Brought up	294
b. Ditto, No. 89, of 1823. Imports from 1 Jan. 1818 to 31 Dec. 1820 . . .	142	Ditto, No. 353, of 1826, p. 356. 1 Jan. 1821 to Dec. 31, 1825 . . .	321
Ditto, 353, of 1826 : 1 Jan. 1821 to Aug. 1824 . . .	83	Ditto, of July, 1831. from 1 Jan. 1826 to Dec. 31, 1829 . . .	281
Subsequently, Nil		Manumissions in 12 years	896
Imports in 12 years . . .	<u>225</u>		
c. See P. P., No. 305, of 1831 . . .		e. Ditto, No. 89, of 1823. Exports for 1818 to 1820 . . .	204
d. Ditto, No. 89, of 1823. Manumis- sions from 1 Jan. 1818 to Dec. 31, 1820 . . .	294	Ditto, No. 353, of 1826 ; for 1821 to 1824 . . .	494
		Subsequently, Nil	
Carried up	<u>294</u>	Exports in 12 years	698

JAMAICA.

1817. Dec. 31. Population (a) . . .	346,150	1829. Dec. 31. Population (c) . . .	322,421
Imports in 12 years (b) . . .	1,080	Manumissions in 12 years (d) . . .	6,030
		Exports in 12 years (e) . . .	705
			329,156
		Decrease in 12 years . . .	18,074
	<u>347,230</u>		<u>347,230</u>
<hr/>			
a. See P. P., No. 424, of 1824 . . .		Brought up	3745
b. Ditto, No. 347, of 1823, and No. 353, of 1826. Imports from 1 Jan. 1818 to Dec. 31, 1825 . . .	1167	Ditto, No. 365 of 1832 ; for from 1825 to 1829 . . .	2285
Ditto, of July 1831 ; from 1 Jan. 1826 to 31 Dec. 1829 . . .	13	Manumissions in 12 years	6030
Imports in 12 years	<u>1080</u>		
c. See P. P., No. 305 of 1831 . . .		e. P. P., No. 347, of 1823. Exports for 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, and 1822	497
d. Ditto, No. 302, of 1832 ; Manumis- sions from 1 Jan. 1818 to June, 1824 . . .	3522	P. P., of July 1831 ; for 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1829 . . .	10
P. P., No. 302, of 1831 ; from June to Dec. 1824 . . .	223	There are no returns for 1823 and 1824, but, assuming the average of the five preceding years that are given, it will make . . .	198
Carried up	<u>3745</u>	Exports in 12 years	705

MONTserrat.

1817. Dec. 31. Population (a) . . .	6,610	1828. Dec. 31. Population (c) . . .	6,262
Imports in 11 years (b)	12	Manumissions in 11 years (d)	135
		Exports in 11 years (e)	94
			6,491
		Decrease in 11 years . . .	131
	<u>6,622</u>		<u>6,662</u>
<hr/>			
a. See P. P., No. 424, of 1824 . . .		Brought up	105
b. Ditto, No. 89, of 1823. Imports from Dec. 1817 to Dec. 1821	4	There being no returns from June, 1826, to Dec. 1828, the average of the five preceding years is assumed	30
Ditto, No. 204, of 1828; for 1823 and 1824	8		
Imports in 11 years	<u>12</u>	Manumissions in 11 years	<u>135</u>
c. See P. P., No. 674, of 1830		e. See P. P., No. 89, of 1823. Exports from June 1818 to Dec. 1820	69
d. Ditto, No. 89, of 1823. Manumissions for 1818, 1819, and 1820	43	Ditto, No. 204, of 1828; from Jan. 1821 to Dec. 1824	25
Ditto, No. 128, of 1827; from June 1821 to June 1826	62		
Carried up	<u>105</u>	Exports in 11 years	<u>94</u>

NEVIS.

1817. Dec. 31. Population (a) . . .	9,562	1828. Dec. 31. Population (c) . . .	9,259
Imports in 11 year (b)	79	Manumissions in 11 yrs. (d)	146
		Exports in ditto (e)	84
			9,489
		Decrease in 11 years . . .	192
	<u>9,631</u>		<u>9,681</u>
<hr/>			
a. See P. P., No. 424, of 1824		Brought up	99
b. Ditto of July 1831. Imports from Jan. 1825, to Dec. 1828	79	P. P., of July 1831; for ditto, from Nov. 30, 1825, to 31 Dec. 1828 . . .	47
c. See P. P., No. 674, of 1830		Manumissions in 11 years	<u>146</u>
Imports in 11 years	<u>79</u>	e See P. P., No. 353, of 1826. Exports from 1 Jan. 1821, to 31 Dec. 1825	64
d. Assumed average of Manumissions from Jan. 1818 to Dec. 1820	42	Papers of July, 1831, from 1 Jan. 1826 to 31 Dec. 1828	20
P. P., No. 353, of 1826; for ditto, from 1 Jan. 1821 to Nov. 30, 1825	57	Exports in 11 years	<u>84</u>
Carried up	<u>99</u>		

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.

1817. Dec. 31. Population (a) . . . 20,168 Imports in 10 years (b) . . . 74 <hr/> 20,242 <hr/>	1827. Dec. 31. Population (c) . . . 19,310* Manumissions in 10 yrs. (d) . . . 629 Exports in ditto (e) . . . 203 <hr/> 20,142 Decrease in 10 years . . . 100 <hr/> 20,242 <hr/>
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a. See P. P., No. 424, of 1824. b. Ditto, No. 89, of 1823, and No. 353, of 1826. Imports from 31 Dec. 1817 to 1 October 1825 58 Ditto, of July, 1831; for from 1 Oct. 1825 to 31 Dec. 1828 16 <hr/> Imports in 10 years 74 <hr/> c. See P. P., No. 674, of 1830. d. Ditto, No. 89, of 1823. Manumissions for 1818, 1819, and 1820 190 Ditto, No. 128, of 1827, for 1822, 1823, 1824, and 1825 264 <hr/> Carried up 454 <hr/>	Brought up 454 Per. Mr. Amyott's Letter, of Dec. 31, 1831—for 1826 and 1827 . . . 175 <hr/> Manumissions in 10 yrs. 629 <hr/> e. See P. P., No. 89, of 1823. Exports for 1818 to 1821 25 Ditto, No. 353, of 1826; for 1823, 1824 . . . 160 Ditto, of July 1831; for 1825, 1826, and 1827 18 <hr/> Exports in 10 years 203 <hr/> * In P. P., No. 582, of 1830, the Registrar reports the Population of 1827 at 18,119, being 1,191 less.
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ST. LUCIA.

1815. Dec. 31. Population (a) . . . 16,285 Imports in 13 years (b). . . 188 <hr/> 16,473 <hr/>	1828. Dec. 31. Population (c) . . . 13,661 Manumissions in 13 yrs. (d) . . . 844 Exports ditto (e) 26 <hr/> 14,531 Decrease in 13 years . . . 1,942 <hr/> 16,473 <hr/>
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a. See P. P., No. 424, of 1824. b. The Imports for the years 1816 to 1821 are taken at the average of the four succeeding years 105 P. P., No. 204, of 1828. Imports from Jan. 1, 1821, to Jan. 18 1825 . . . 83 <hr/> Imports in 13 years 188 <hr/> c. See P. P., No. 674, of 1830. d. Ditto, No. 204, of 1828. Manumissions from Jan. 1, 1816, to May 31, 1828 762 <hr/> Carried up 762 <hr/>	Brought up 762 Ditto, No. 262, of 1831. from June 1, to Dec. 31, 1828 60 Ditto, No. 335, of 1829, p. 37. free baptisms in preceding years . . . 22 <hr/> Manumissions in 13 years 844 <hr/> e. P. P., No. 204 of 1828; Exports Dec. 31, 1815, to Dec. 31, 1828. 26 Subsequently, Nil. <hr/> Exports in 13 years 26 <hr/>
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ST. VINCENT'S.

1817. Dec. 31. Population (a)	25,218	1827. Dec. 31. Population (c)	23,589
Imports (b)	918	Manumissions in 10 yrs. (d)	540
		Exports in 10 years (e)	779
			24,908
		Decrease in 10 years	1,228
	<u>26,136</u>		<u>26,136</u>
<hr/>			
a. See P. P., No. 424, of 1824.		Brought up	68
b. P. P., No. 353, of 1826; from 1 Jan. 1821 to 31 Dec. 1824	525	Ditto, No. 353, of 1826, from 1 Jan. 1821 to 31 Dec. 1825	380
Average of the above four years; for Imports for 1818 to 1821	393	Ditto, of July 1831, from 1 Jan. 1826 to 31 Dec. 1827	92
Subsequently, Nil		Manumissions in 10 years	540
Imports in 10 years	<u>918</u>	e. There is no return of the Exports for 1818, 1819, and 1820, but the average of the following years is taken P. P., No. 353, of 1826; from 1 Jan. 1821 to 1 Jan. 1825	446
c. See P. P., No. 674, of 1830.		Subsequently, Nil	
d. Ditto, No. 89, of 1823. Manumissions for 1818, 1819, and 1820	68	Exports in 10 years	<u>779</u>
Carried up	<u>68</u>		

TOBAGO.

1819. Dec. 31. Population (a)	15,470	1829. Dec. 31. Population (c)	12,556
Imports in 10 years (b)	230	Manumissions in 10 yrs. (d)	268
		Exports in ditto (e)	73
			12,897
		Decrease in 10 years	2,803
	<u>15,700</u>		<u>15,700</u>
<hr/>			
a. See P. P., No. 424, of 1824.		Brought up	4
b. There being no return of Imports for 1820 the average of the five subsequent years is assumed	31	Ditto, No. 353, of 1826; for 1821 to 1825	228
P. P., No. 353, of 1826; Imports from Jan. 1821 to Nov. 10, 1825	156	Ditto, of July 1831; for 1826 to 1829	36
P. P., of 1831; from Nov. 1825 to Dec. 1829	43	Manumissions in 10 years	268
Imports in 10 years	<u>230</u>	e. There being no return of Exports for 1820 the average of the five subsequent years is taken	5
c. See P. P., No. 674, of 1830.		See P. P., No. 353, of 1826. Exports from Jan. 1821 to Nov. 1825	22
d. Ditto, No. 89, of 1823. Manumissions for 1820	4	P. P., of July 1831; from Nov. 1825 to Dec. 1829	46
Carried up	<u>4</u>	Exports in 10 years	<u>73</u>

TORTOLA.

1818. Dec. 31. Population (a) 6,899	1828. Dec. 31. Population (c) 5,399
Imports in 10 years, Nil (b)	Manumissions in 10 yrs. (d) 216
	Exports in ditto (e) 1,141
	6,756
	Decrease in 10 years 143
<u>6,899</u>	<u>6,899</u>

a. See P. P., No. 424, of 1824.	e. See P. P., No. 89, of 1823; for ex-ports of 1819 3
b. Ditto, presented July 15, 1831.	Ditto, No. 353, of 1826; for 1820 to 1824 1,128
c. Ditto, No. 305, of 1831.	Ditto, Papers of July 1831; for 1825 to 1828 10
d. Ditto, No. 89, of 1823. Manumissions for 1819, 1820, 1821, and 1822 71	
Ditto, No. 128, of 1827; for 1823, 1824, and 1825 68	
Ditto, papers of July 15, 1831; for 1826, 1827, and 1828 77	
Manumissions in 10 years <u>216</u>	Exports in 10 years <u>1,141</u>

TRINIDAD.

1815. 31. Jan. Population (a) 25,544	1828. Jan. 31. Population (c) 24,006
Imports in 13 years (b) 6,466	Manumissions in 13 yrs. (d) 1,716
	Exports in ditto (e) 120
	25,842
	Decrease in 13 years 6,168
<u>32,010</u>	<u>32,010</u>

a. See P. P., No. 424, of 1824	Brought up 1,382
b. Ditto, No. 89, of 1823. Imports from 31 Jan. 1815, to 31 Dec. 1821 3,470	See P. P., of July 1831; for 1826 and 1827 334
Ditto, No. 353, of 1826; for from 1 Jan. 1822, to 31 Dec. 1825 2,503	Manumissions in 13 years <u>1,716</u>
Ditto of July 1831; for from 1 Jan. 1826, to 31 Jan. 1828 493	
Imports in 13 years <u>6,466</u>	e. See P. P., No. 89, of 1823. Exports from 1815 to 1822 112
c. See P. P., No. 305, of 1831.	Ditto, No. 353, of 1826; for 1823, 1824, and 1825, Nil
d. Ditto, No. 89, of 1823. Manumissions for from 1815 to 1820 751	Ditto, of July 1831; for 1826, 1827, and 1828 8
Do., No. 128, of 1827; for 1821 to 1825 631	Exports in 13 years <u>120</u>
Carried up <u>1,382</u>	

MAURITIUS.

1815. Dec. 31. Population (a) . . .	87,352	1826. Oct. 16. Population (c) . . .	76,774*
Imports (b) . . .	1,890	Manumissions (d) . . .	977
		Exports (e) . . .	724
			78,475
		Decrease in 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ years	10,767
	<u>89,242</u>		<u>89,242</u>

a. See P. P., No. 89, of 1823, p. 129.
 b. Ditto, No. 89, of 1823, page 123.
 Imports for 1818, 1819, and 1820 . . . 243
 Ditto, No. 204, of 1823; for from 1st
 Jan. 1821, to 10th April 1826 . . . 1,647
 Imports in 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ years . . . 1,890

c. See P. P., No. 237, of 1829 . . .
 d. See P. C., 1828, page 367. Manu-
 missions from 1 Jan. 1816, to 31
 Dec. 1826, being for 11 years . . . 977

e. See P. P., No. 89, of 1823, page 124
 Exports for 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821,
 and 1822 . . . 418
 Ditto, No. 204, of 1823; for 1823,
 1824, 1825, and 1826 . . . 306
 Exports in 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ years . . . 724

* On examining the P. P., No. 333, of 30
 March, 1832, it appears that there must be
 some mistake in the above return of Oct. 16,
 1826, the final number registered for the Mau-
 ritius being 69,472 (see p. 79), and for its
 dependencies 6,522 (p. 33), making together
 only 75,994, instead of 76,774, being a farther
 diminution of 780, or of 11,547 in all. By a
 further return, dated 2nd Jan. 1830, the popu-
 lation appears to have much diminished dur-
 ing the three years preceding, the numbers
 in the Mauritius by that return being stated
 to be 66,183, instead of 69,472 in Oct. 1826,
 showing a decrease in that time of 3,289 (in-
 cluding about 1150 manumissions); and this
 independently of the large illicit importations
 said to have taken place since 1815.

DOMINICA.

1817. Dec. 31. Population (a) . . .	17,959	1826. Dec. 31. Population (c) . . .	15,392
Imports in 9 years (b) . . .	4	Manumissions in 9 years (d) . . .	400
		Exports in 9 years (e) . . .	2,182
	17,963		
Increase in 9 years . . .	11		
	<u>17,974</u>		<u>17,974</u>

a. See P. P., No. 424, 1824 . . .
 b. Ditto, No. 89, of 1823. Imports for
 1818 to 1821 . . . 4
 Subsequently, Nil
 Imports for 9 years . . . 4
 c. See P. P., No. 674, of 1830.
 d. Ditto, No. 89, of 1823. and No. 853,
 of 1826. Manumissions from 1
 Jan. 1818, to 31 Dec. 1825 . . . 341
 Ditto, of July 1831; from 1 Jan. to
 31 Dec. 1826 . . . 59
 Manumissions in 9 years . . . 400

e. See P. P., No. 89, of 1823. Exports
 from 1 Jan. 1818, to 31 Dec. 1820 . . . 1,656
 Ditto, No. 353, of 1826. from 1 Jan.
 1821, to April 1823 . . . 296
 There is no return from April 1823,
 to Dec. 1824; but the average of
 the preceding 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ years is taken . . . 230
 Subsequently, Nil
 Exports in 9 years . . . 2,182

BARBADOES.

1817. Dec. 31. Population (a) . . .	77,493	1829. Dec. 31. Population (c) . . .	81,902
Imports in 12 years (b) . . .	91	Manumissions in 12 years (d) . . .	1,400
	<u>77,584</u>	Exports in 12 years (e) . . .	248
Increase in 12 years . . .	5,966		
	<u>83,550</u>		<u>83,550</u>

a. See P. P., No. 424, of 1824 . . .	
b. Ditto, No. 89, of 1823. Imports for 1818 to 1820	53
Ditto, No. 353, of 1826; for 1821 to 1825	25
Ditto, of July 1831; from Jan. 1826 to Dec. 1829	13
Imports for 12 years . . .	<u>91</u>
c. See P. P., No. 674, of 1830 . . .	
d. Ditto, No. 89, of 1823. Manumissions for 1818 to 1820	412
Ditto, No. 128, of 1827; for 1821 to 1825	421
Carried up	833

	Brought up	833
See P. P., of July 1831; for 1826 to 1829		<u>567</u>
Manumissions in 12 years		<u>1,400</u>
e. See P. P., No. 353, of 1826. Exports for 1821 to 1824		164
Ditto, of July 1831; for 1825 to 1829		84
Exports in 12 years		<u>248</u>

RECAPITULATION.

Antigua	Decrease in 11 years	868
Berbice	ditto 10 ditto	1,633
Demerara	ditto 12 ditto	12,037
Grenada	ditto 12 ditto	2,515
Jamaica	ditto 12 ditto	18,074
Montserrat	ditto 11 ditto	131
Nevis	ditto 11 ditto	192
St. Christopher's	ditto 10 ditto	100
St. Lucia	ditto 13 ditto	1,942
St. Vincent's	ditto 10 ditto	1,228
Tobago	ditto 10 ditto	2,803
Tortola	ditto 10 ditto	143
Trinidad	ditto 13 ditto	6,168
Decrease in the above 13 Colonies, the average being 11 $\frac{1}{3}$ years		<u>47,834</u>
Mauritius	Decrease in 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ years	<u>10,767</u>
		58,601
DEDUCT. Increase in the two following Colonies, viz.—		
Dominica	in 9 years	11
Barbadoes	in 12 years	5,966
		<u>5,977</u>
Total decrease in the Slave Population in the Sugar Colonies, on an average of eleven years		<u>52,624</u>

We have already informed our readers at the beginning of this article that, in drawing up the preceding statements, where there has been a difference in the official returns, those have been taken which show the smallest decrease in the Slave Population. For example:—There is a difference between the return from the Registrar's Office abroad, and the return from the Office in England, of the Population of Demerara. The Colonial return states the Population, in 1817, to have been 79,197 (see P. P., No. 89 of 1823, p. 101): the return from the Office at home states it, at the same date, to be 77,867 (see P. P., No. 424 of 1824). The latter return has been taken: the former would have shown a further decrease, in addition to the 12,037, of 1,380, and made the whole decrease in twelve years 13,417.

So of St. Christopher's: the Slave Population of that island, according to the returns from the Colony, was, on the 31st Dec. 1827, 18,119 (see P. P., No. 582 of 1830); whilst the return from the Office at home states it to have been 19,310 (see P. P., No. 674 of 1830). Here the latter number has been taken. Had the former been taken, an addition would have been made to the decrease, as shown in the above tables, of 1,191.

The Manumissions in Jamaica, according to the P. P., No. 302 of 1831, were, from June 1826, to Dec. 1829, 515. In the P. P., No. 365 of 1832, they are stated to have been 2,285, which is the number assumed in the above statement (p. 251). Had the former number been adopted, the large decrease already shown to have taken place in this island of 18,074, would have had an addition of 1,770, making in all 19,844.

In respect to the returns from the Mauritius, see a note above, p. 256.

Return of the Slave Population, showing the respective numbers of the Males and Females, in the following Colonies, in the years as stated below, viz.

	Years.	Men.	Women.	Totals,
Antigua (See P. P., No. 424 of 1124)	1817	15,053	17,216	32,269
Barbadoes	1817	35,354	32,139	77,493
Berbice	1817	13,802	13,747	24,549
Demerara	1817	44,137	43,730	77,867
Dominica	1817	8,624	9,335	17,959
Grenada	1817	13,737	14,222	28,029
Jamaica	1817	173,319	172,831	346,150
Montserrat	1817	3,047	3,563	6,610
Nevis	1817	4,685	4,917	9,602
St. Christopher's	1817	9,685	10,483	20,168
St. Lucia	1815	7,394	8,891	16,285
St. Vincent's	1817	12,743	12,475	25,218
Tobago	1819	7,633	7,837	15,470
Trinidad	1815	14,133	11,411	25,544
Tortola	1818	3,231	3,668	6,899
Totals. West India Sugar Colonies		366,577	363,535	730,112
Mauritius (See P. P., No. 89 of 1823)	1815	56,684	33,668	87,352
Total slaves in the Sugar Colonies, in or about 1817		423,261	394,203	817,464
The remaining Slaves in the British Colonies, about the same period, were the following, viz:—				
Bahamas (P. P. No. 424 of 1824)	1822	5,529	5,279	10,808
Bermuda (ditto ditto)	1820	2,505	2,671	5,176
Cape of Good Hope (ditto No 512 of 1829)	1829	20,098	13,743	33,841
Honduras* (ditto No. 439 of 1824)	1826	1,400	1,200	2,606
Total Slaves in the British Colonies, in or about 1817		452,793	416,096	868,889

*The number of males and females has not been given officially. We assume the above proportions.

The following are the Latest Returns from all the Colonies.

Colonies.	See Parliamentary Papers.	Years.	Men.	Women.	Totals.	
Antigua	No. 674, of	1830.	1828	14,066	15,773	29,839
Barbadoes	Do. of do.		1829	37,691	44,211	81,902
Berbice	Do. of do.		1828	11,284	10,035	21,319
Demerara	Do. of do.		1829	37,141	32,326	69,467
Dominica	Do. of do.		1826	7,362	8,030	15,392
Grenada	No. 305, of	1831.	1829	11,711	12,434	24,145
Jamaica	Do. of do.		1829	158,254	164,167	322,421
Montserrat	No. 674, of	1830.	1828	2,867	3,395	6,262
Nevis	Do. of do.		1826	4,574	4,685	9,259
St. Christopher's	Do. of do.		1827	9,198	10,112	19,310
St. Lucia	Do. of do.		1828	6,280	7,381	13,661
St. Vincents	Do. of do.		1827	11,583	12,006	23,589
Tobago	No. 305, of	1831.	1830	5,872	6,684	12,556
Trinidad	Do. of do.		1828	13,141	10,865	24,006
Tortola	Do. of do.		1828	2,510	2,889	5,399
Total in W. India Sugar Colonies				333,534	344,993	678,527
Mauritius	No. 674, of	1830.	1826	47,657	29,117	76,774
Total in all the Sugar Colonies				381,191	374,110	755,301
Bahamas	No. 305, of	1831.	1828	5,549	5,292	10,841*
Bermuda	No. 674, of	1830.	1828	2,208	2,400	4,608
Cape of Good Hope	No. 400, of	1826.	1826	21,210	14,299	35,509
Honduras	No. 582, of	1830.	1829	1,300	1,155	2,455
Total Slaves in British Colonies by the latest returns				411,458	397,256	808,714

* The exports from this Colony, and also from Bermuda, have been larger than those given in the official returns, but how much is not known.

THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON.

May 1st, 1832.

OBSERVATIONS.

The West Indians have attempted to explain the above large decrease of the slave population in the British Sugar Colonies on principles which they think may save their system from a share of its opprobrium. To these explanations the following reply may be made :—

1st.—It is alleged that that decrease depends on the number of imported Africans still existing in those Colonies. They argue that the Africans are not prolific ;—that they constantly decrease, while the Creoles increase ;—and that we may anticipate that when all the Africans shall have died off, and the whole of the slaves shall be Creoles, we shall have an increasing, and not a decreasing population.

This argument was produced first by the Registrar of Demerara, in a detailed account which he published of the five triennial registrations which had taken place in that colony. It appears also in the evidence of the recent Committee on West India distress, p. 96. It was countenanced by Colonel Young, the Protector of slaves in the same

colony, in his report, dated 19th of May, 1829. And, lastly, it has been urged at length by Mr. Barclay in Jamaica, and supported by some statistical accounts, which have been laid by him on the table of the Jamaica House of Assembly.

The Registrar of Demerara rested his proof on the following comparative statement of the numbers of Africans and Creoles, by which he makes it to appear that the former had been decreasing and the latter increasing:—

There were by the registry of

31st May, 1817	Africans	42,224	Creoles	34,939
31st May, 1820	—	39,129	—	38,247
31st May, 1823	—	34,772	—	40,205
31st May, 1826	—	30,490	—	40,892
31st May, 1829	—	26,691	—	42,677

Now this argument seems to be addressed to those who do not know the meaning of the terms employed. Those are called *Africans* who were imported from Africa before the year 1808. *Creoles* are those born in the West Indies. It follows that all new-born children, whether they are the progeny of Africans or of Creoles, are called Creoles. Thus half of those that die are Africans; but all those that are born are Creoles.

Of course, the Africans *must* decrease; for they must lose some by death, and cannot be, in any degree, replenished by births. It is equally certain that the Creoles *must* increase, since the loss by death is supplied not only by their own offspring, but by that of the Africans also. If we examine further the real proportions of deaths among Africans and Creoles in Demerara, we shall find that by the registry of 1820 there were 39,129 *Africans*. In the registry of 1829 they were reduced to 26,691; consequently there had died in the interim 12,438, excepting that some few of these may have been manumitted.

Of Creoles there were in 1820	. . . . .	38,247
Add the births between 1820 and 1829, reported at	. . . . .	13,685
And slaves imported from the Bahamas, Dominica, and Berbice, probably almost all Creoles	. . . . .	2,219
		<hr/>
And there would have been in 1829 <i>if none had died</i>	. . . . .	54,151
But as there were only	. . . . .	42,677
		<hr/>

There must have died between 1820 and 1829 11,474
This however may include a few manumissions.

Thus we see that the Africans have lost by death scarcely more in proportion than the Creoles.

The proportion of births from the two classes cannot be known from these accounts, as they are not distinguished.

Mr. Barclay has sought to supply this deficiency; he has laid on the table of the Jamaica House of Assembly a return of the births and deaths of slaves on certain properties in St. Thomas in the East, distinguishing the progeny of Africans from that of Creoles (see Christian Record for February, 1832, p. 49). This account extends over

the period of from 1817 to 1829. It appears by it that there were on the estates in question, at the commencement of the above period, 954 Africans and 2,349 Creoles; that the births from African mothers were 138, or 10 in every 69 Africans, and the deaths of Africans 395, or 10 in every 24—while the births from Creole mothers were 932, or 10 in every 25 Creoles, and the deaths of Creoles 825, or 10 in 28½.

Mr. Barclay has been charged with not having selected the estates fairly; but, be that as it may, it is evident that such an account proves nothing, inasmuch as neither sexes nor ages are distinguished. For instance, it is said that only 138 children were born of African mothers in these 12 years; but, as the number of African *women* is not given, we have no means of ascertaining whether, as a class, they are or are not fruitful. We know generally that, in slaves imported from Africa, the males greatly predominated; but whether in these particular estates the females form one-third, or one-fourth, or one-fifth of the whole of the Africans, we have no means of ascertaining. Again, by this account, the deaths among the Africans proportionably exceed those among the Creoles; but, as the ages are not given, we cannot tell whether this excess is more than can be fully accounted for by the more advanced ages of the Africans. We have much reason to suspect this, as we find by another table, drawn up at the same time by Mr. Barclay, that, of those that died, the average age, at the time of death, was 53⅓ years for the Africans, and only 26⅔ years for the Creoles. On the whole there is no evidence that the remaining Africans will account for the loss of life, or that the population will be under more favourable circumstances when the whole of it is Creole.

2ndly,—It is alleged that the mortality is occasioned by the large population of *old* slaves. This assertion has chiefly been applied to Demerara, and the fact has been attributed to the large importations which have taken place at different times. It has been supposed that the consequence would be that an undue proportion would be of advanced age, and therefore unfit for procreation; and that consequently the births could not bear a due proportion to the numerical amount of the population. It is imagined that this presumed disparity will be corrected by natural causes, and that, as soon as the different ages bear their due proportion, the numbers will cease to diminish. Now let this hypothesis be tried by the fact—let the period of child-bearing in Demerara be taken at from 10 to 40, and let the whole population be divided according to the ages. The numbers will be found to stand thus:—*

	1817.	1820.	1823.	1826.	1829.
Under 10	17,226	16,340	14,950	12,788	12,837
From 10 to 40	49,122	44,769	39,527	37,993	33,315
Above 40	10,815	16,267	20,500	20,601	23,206
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	77,163	77,376	74,977	71,382	69,368

* These numbers are given in the summary which has been alluded to, and signed "James Robertson, Registrar." The totals accord with the regular Parliamentary returns in the intermediate years, but not in 1817 and 1829. In the former year the number, by the paper No. 424 of 1824, is 77,867; in the latter year, by No. 674 of 1830,—69,467.

The proportion, however, of the different ages, will be more clearly seen if the numbers in the above table are reduced to the proportion which they severally bear to 1000. Of every 1000 slaves there are then :—

By the Registry of	1817.	1820.	1823.	1826.	1829.
Under 10 . . .	223	211	200	179	185
From 10 to 40 . . .	637	579	527	532	480
Above 40 . . .	140	210	273	289	335
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000

Now, from this table, in the first place, it is evident that, if old lives have been really in excess, the operation of natural causes, so far from correcting the disparity, seems only to increase it. In 1817 the lives above 40 were in the proportion of 140 in the 1000, or about $\frac{1}{7}$. In 1829, they had increased to 335, or about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole. So that, if the loss of life depends on this cause, we must anticipate that it will be progressively augmenting. But, in truth, there is no such disparity, as may be seen by a comparison with England.

By the Chester tables, there are in England, out of every 1000 souls,

Under 10 . . .	211
From 10 to 40 . . .	464
Above 40 . . .	325
	<hr/>
	1000

It will be seen that in four out of the five enumerations, the proportion of old people in Demerara has been greatly below the proportion in England, and that, in the last enumeration, it has scarcely surpassed it; and this has been not at the expense of the marriageable ages, but of the children. On the other hand, it will be seen that the number of marriageable ages, which at first greatly exceeded, has been gradually decreasing, but that it has not yet fallen to the level of this country. Such a proportion cannot therefore be inconsistent with an increasing population.

But it may be said, that the age of child-bearing extends to a later period in England than in Demerara, so that the existence of 325 individuals above the age of 40 in every 1000 may consist with an increasing population in the former country, but not in the latter. This is true. In England this age both commences and terminates later. Let it be taken at from 15 to 45, and let us enquire what proportion of the population of England is between these ages.

By the Chester tables, this number is found to be 436 in every 1000—but it is a number still more below the proportion of marriageable individuals, which in every census has been found to exist in Demerara.

The deficiency in Demerara, therefore, is not in the middle ages of life, but in the children.

Before we conclude this article we think it may be of use to extract a combined view of the Slave population in the Sugar Colonies of Great Britain as it stood in or about the year 1829; showing also the previous rates of decrease or increase according to the preceding tables; together with the quantity of Sugar imported, in the same year, from each of those colonies, into Great Britain and Ireland, and the proportion which that quantity bears to the number of Slaves then existing in each.

Name of the Colony.	Amount of the Slave population in or about the year 1829.	Decrease as shown by the tables above.	Increase as shown by those tables.	Rate per cent. per annum of decrease or increase.	Hundred weights of sugar from each Colony imported into Great Britain and Ireland in 1829.	Proportion in cwt. of sugar to each slave of the population.	REMARKS.
Antigua . . .	29,839	868		0.266	173,820	6.01	
Barbadoes . . .	81,902		5,996	0.610	299,190	3.65	
Berbice . . .	21,319	1,633		0.755	86,814	4.02	In 1831, the importations from Berbice were 128,088 cwt. or 6 cwt. per slave.
Demerara . . .	69,467	12,037		1.500	835,940	12.30	
Dominica . . .	15,392		11	0.071	56,319	3.66	
Grenada . . .	24,145	2,515		0.870	218,470	9.05	
Jamaica . . .	322,421	18,024		0.465	1,423,437	4.41	
Montserrat . . .	6,262	131		0.200	27,238	4.33	
Nevis . . .	9,259	192		0.180	51,848	5.60	
St. Christopher . . .	19,310	100		0.066	127,094	6.50	In 1831 the importations hence were 101,968 cwt., or five cwt. and a quarter per slave.
St. Lucia . . .	13,661	1,942		1.090	86,807	6.36	
St. Vincent . . .	23,589	1,228		0.525	258,285	10.65	In 1831 the importations hence were 221,662 cwt., or nine cwt. & three-fifths per slave.
Tobago . . .	12,556	2,803		1.650	90,623	7.22	In 1831 the importations hence were 121,249 cwt., or nine cwt. and two-thirds per slave.
Tortola . . .	5,399	143		0.265	22,211	4.15	
Trinidad . . .	24,006	6,168		1.977	394,448	16.50	The decrease in Trinidad is probably less than the reality in consequence of illicit importations.
West Indies . . .	678,537	47,834	6,007				
Mauritius . . .	76,774						The returns from the Mauritius beyond the Registry of population are not to be depended on.
Total Slaves in sugar Colonies	755,301						

A careful inspection of the above table will serve to show the very disastrous influence which the cultivation of sugar, as that process is now conducted in the colonies of Great Britain, has on the health and life of the slave. Without pretending to measure, by any nice scale, the proportion between the waste of human life and the quantity of sugar exacted from the slave, it is nevertheless impossible to disregard the general results which this table exhibits. Can we compare, for example, the enormous sugar growth, per slave, of Demerara and Trinidad, accompanied as it is by the rapid consumption of Negro life, with the case of the Bahamas, where no sugar is grown, but where the slaves increase rapidly; or of Barbadoes and Dominica, where little sugar is grown and the slaves begin to increase; and not be compelled to admit the murderous tendency of the present system of sugar planting? We admit that this tendency may be and is modified by the peculiar circumstances of different colonies; but still that such is the tendency cannot be questioned. On this point, however, we will not now enlarge, as our room will barely suffice for a remark or two which we have made before, but which we wish again to introduce to the notice of the public in connexion with the subject before us.

The slave trade ceased in the United States of America, and in the British West Indies, in the very same year, namely, 1808. The relative proportion of imported Africans, on which the West Indians lay so much stress as accounting for the decrease of their slaves notwithstanding the boasted lenity of their treatment, must therefore have been nearly the same in the two cases. But have the results been the same?

In one of our late numbers (No. 97, p. 102) we have shown that, in 1808, the slave population of the United States must have amounted to about 1,130,000, and that of the British West Indies to about 800,000.

In 1830, after an interval of 22 years, the slaves of the United States amounted, by actual census, to 2,010,436; being an increase of 880,436, or about 80 per cent. in that time.

It appears, from the preceding tables, that, in or about the year 1829, the slaves in all the British West Indies did not exceed 696,441;* and in 1830, therefore, could not have exceeded 695,000, being a decrease of at least 105,000 slaves in the same period of 22 years.

Now, had the British slaves increased, during that time, at the same rate with the American slaves, their number, in 1830, instead of being only 695,000, would have been 1,423,317, making the enormous decrease, as compared with the progress of population in the United States, of 728,317, a waste of life exceeding by nearly 5 per cent. the number of the existing population.

A similar result would be produced by a comparison of the progress of population among the slaves, with that of the free black and coloured classes, inhabiting the same colonies. Had they even increased at the rate of the Maroons in Jamaica, the least favourably circumstanced of those classes, the 695,000 slaves of the West Indies would have grown, in 1830, to 1,240,000, or if at the rate of the free classes in Trinidad, to 1,500,000.

These facts constitute a charge against Colonial Slavery which no sophistry can elude. After every deduction which the most elaborate ingenuity can suggest, it will remain under the stigma of being one of the heaviest curses which afflicts humanity, and this independently of the unnumbered political, moral, and spiritual evils which directly flow from it. And yet here are we, with our Government, and one Parliament, in this land of Christian light and liberty, coolly deliberating whether this curse, inflicted by ourselves on our fellow-subjects, shall be at once removed, or shall be permitted for months or years longer to oppress and desolate one of the fairest portions of the creation of God! How long shall we continue to endure this depressing load of conscious guilt? Let the Electors of the United Kingdom see to it! **THEY** are now on their trial at the bar of the Most High!

* In the passage in No. 97, p. 202, referred to above, the number is by mistake stated to be 678,527, being in fact only the number in the *Sugar Colonies*. But to these ought to have been added the slaves of the Bahamas, Bermuda, and Honduras, together 17,904, making the whole, as in the text, 696,441.

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 101.]

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[VOL. v. No. 12.

I.—THE CHRISTIAN RECORD OF JAMAICA, No. 3, OF MARCH, 1832; 1. *Misstatements of Mr. Alex. Barclay*; 2. *Free Labour Sugar in Jamaica*; 3. *Instruction of Slaves*; 4. *Kirk of Scotland in Jamaica*; 5. *Parochial Schools in Jamaica*.

II.—RELIGIOUS PERSECUTIONS IN JAMAICA.

III.—CIRCULAR DESPATCHES OF VISCOUNT GODERICH TO THE GOVERNORS OF SLAVE COLONIES.

IV.—RESOLUTIONS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

I.—THE CHRISTIAN RECORD OF JAMAICA, No. 3, OF MARCH, 1832.

THE third number of the new series of the Christian Record of Jamaica has recently arrived in this country. It bears the date of March, 1832, and is perhaps one of the most important publications which have been issued under that title. It is distinguished by its fidelity and boldness. We feel that we cannot render a more essential service to the cause of humanity and truth than by largely analysing its contents. Let it be kept in mind that this work is published in Jamaica, is addressed to the community of that Island, and challenges contradiction on the spot.

1. *Misstatements of Mr. Alex. Barclay.*

We have often had occasion to animadvert on the remarkable disregard of truth evinced by this pro-slavery writer. We have already exposed many of his deliberate misstatements, and have dared him to their vindication. The Christian Record, however, has means far superior to ours of detecting those artfully-concocted frauds connected with local details, which form the substratum of most of that gentleman's hardy assertions, and by which he has obtained so high a reputation as the advocate of Colonial interests.

In a letter which he addressed two or three years ago to Sir George Murray, then Colonial Secretary, and which was extolled by his party, at the time of its appearance, as a triumphant vindication of the Slave system of Jamaica, Mr. Barclay, at p. 18, describes, with much dramatic effect, a transaction in which he himself bore a principal and personal part.

About a month before he left Jamaica to visit England, he states that an old Negro slave, named Joseph Marriott, belonging to Chiswick Estate, in St. Thomas in the East, the property of Messrs. John and Thomas Burton, called upon him one Sunday morning, to say that he was desirous of redeeming from slavery his wife *Sophy*, and her

four children, belonging to an estate called Barking Lodge, the property of a Mr. Ambrose Carter; and that he hoped Mr. Barclay would assist him in the negociation. This Mr. B. undertook to do, the slave putting into his hand £200 in gold, and assuring him that he had more money to produce, should more be wanted. Mr. Barclay's intervention succeeded, and he obtained from the Attorney of Barking Lodge, Mr. Forsyth, the manumission of Sophy and her four children, who were mulattoes, of from 5 to 14 years of age, for the sum of £300 currency, or about £200 sterling. "Here," says Mr. Barclay, "was a wealthy slave purchasing the manumission of a woman with a large family, not even of his own caste, for they were mulattoes, who had yet *no wish to change his own condition.*" That is to say, as Mr. Barclay would have it understood, he redeemed, with a large sum, drawn from his own resources,—from what he had himself earned, these five persons, while he was indifferent as to the obtaining of his own freedom. This, we admit, is not very intelligible, however creditable the circumstances might be, if it were true, to the lenity of the slave system.

But what were the real facts of the case which Mr. B. has so triumphantly brought forward, in the hope, doubtless, that its falsehood might escape detection? The facts were these:—Two sisters, Sarah and Sophy, were slaves belonging to Barking Lodge Estate. The elder sister, Sarah, became the concubine and housekeeper of Mr. M., the overseer, and lived with him in that capacity during his stay on the estate; and when he quitted it he was led, by his attachment to her, first to hire and afterwards to buy her, retaining her still in the same close relationship to himself. Through his liberality, and her own prudence, Sarah amassed some property, and, having no children of her own, she determined to employ it for the benefit of her sister Sophy and her children.

Sophy had been less prosperous than Sarah. She became, indeed, the concubine of Mr. G., the overseer who succeeded her sister's paramour, Mr. M. After some time, however, Mr. G. was dismissed from his office, and was forced to abandon Sophy, after she had borne him two or three children. He had not either the means or the inclination to purchase either them or their mother, and they all remained therefore as slaves on Barking Lodge. After a time, however, Sophy became the concubine of the Attorney of the estate, by whom she had another child; but she was at length abandoned by him also, and left with her children in a state of slavery and without a protector. In this state she remained till Joseph Marriott, the slave mentioned above, proposed marriage to her: she accepted his offer, and became his wife by Christian wedlock. The narrator expresses a hope that she consented to the proposal of this slave under a conviction of the sinfulness of her former course of illicit concubinage.

It was soon after this event that the elder sister, Sarah, taking pity on Sophy and her offspring, resolved, principally from her own resources, but with some aid from a third sister, and perhaps some small contribution from Joseph Marriott, though this is uncertain, to redeem the whole family; and it was with the money given to him by Sarah that he had waited on Mr. Barclay when the conversation took place which

that gentleman related in his letter to Sir G. Murray with so much point and effect. Joseph may have imposed on Mr. B. by alleging that the money was his own; though this is hardly possible, as Mr. Barclay, from his long residence in the vicinity of both the estates of Chiswick and Barking Lodge, must have been tolerably well acquainted with the parties and their circumstances. Mr. Barclay, therefore, there is every reason to fear, (and the suspicion is strengthened by the many instances of glaring untruth which are to be found in his writings,) must have been guilty, in this case, of at least suppressing many most material facts, in order to aid the effect of his story, and to justify the inference he wished to draw from it. "Be that as it may," observes the Editor of the Christian Record, "the bargain was concluded, and Sophy and *her* children were denized in the island of Jamaica, while Joseph Marriott, and his own, his loved, his only daughter" (by a former wife of course) "remained slaves on Chiswick estate."

But the sequel of Joseph Marriott's story remains to be told, and it shall be told in the words of the Editor of the Record:—

"With his wife and adopted family now assembled around him, *the old man*" (so Mr. Barclay styles him) "perhaps looked forward to the enjoyment of comfort in their society during the remaining years of his life; but his prospect of happiness was soon closed. A new overseer came to Chiswick estate, who, upon some cause of complaint against Joseph, sent him to the workhouse of St. Thomas in the East! There strict discipline, hard labour, and hard fare, wore down his body and his spirit. He returned to Chiswick, at the term of his confinement, an altered man; and a few months closed the career of this 'WEALTHY SLAVE' "* (the other name by which Mr. Barclay designates him).

"We do not mean," adds the editor, "to accuse the overseer of Chiswick of having acted with causeless severity towards Joseph Marriott; he *had been* an indulged slave, and perhaps forgot his station; nor would we lead our readers to understand that he was treated in the St. Thomas' in the East workhouse with a harshness beyond the discipline of a house of correction: he *had been* an indulged slave, and was *now* an 'old man,' and the consequence we have described might have been produced without unusual severity. We wish only to show the working of the present system of slavery; and to lead our readers to appreciate the words of Mr. Barclay, when he says—'here is a wealthy slave purchasing the manumission of a woman with a large family,'—'who had yet *no wish* to change *his own* condition.'

"Such is this anecdote, as it has been related to us,† and we beg our readers to compare these two accounts of the same transaction, and judge of the correctness of our author's representations.

"We will not, however, *insinuate by our silence* that no slave could produce 'two or three hundred pounds' of his own. We are ourselves acquainted with some who possibly might, and we believe, as Mr. Barclay states, that there are a few on Holland Estate, in St. Thomas in the East, who could do so—though

* A similar attempt at gross delusion recently occurred in the examination of a distinguished planter before the committee of the House of Lords; but we reserve our account of it until the evidence shall have been published.

† "Should it be in any part erroneous or *defective*, we offer our pages to Mr. Barclay, and urgently request him to set us right."

we allow with him 'this is the best case of the kind within our knowledge. But the consequence which he would have his readers to draw of their independence and happiness we deny; and shall briefly state, as illustrative of our denial, a fact relating to slaves on this estate:—

"James Walker has been one of the most respectable and one of the most wealthy slaves in the island of Jamaica. He has been blessed with prosperity and length of days; he has lived to see his children and his grand-children rise to maturity around him; and *he has lived to see every female among them drop one after another into the abyss of 'Colonial sin.'* With a heart imbued with the feelings of the Christian religion, he has looked around on the females of his family, and has beheld them all the prostitutes—*some the RELUCTANT prostitutes*—of the profligate white men in authority over and around them! What must be the feelings of this Christian parent? Such is the happiness of this opulent slave and possessor of slaves!!

"But possibly Mr. Barclay may not consider this *exaltation* of his family a source of unhappiness to James Walker. He might (if he had not omitted the mention of such things) have numbered it among his advantages and blessings.

"And now, if we be asked why we have related these particulars, we reply, by anticipation, that it is solely for the purpose of opening the eyes of all, concerned in carrying on the present demoralizing system, to the fallacy of the arguments by which it is supported. We seek to exhibit, in its true colours, the disgusting deformity of that system, not only to its abettors in the mother country, but to the white and coloured inhabitants of this land. These have long been surrounded by a thick veil of sin, which hides from their own vision the filthiness and soul-withering misery around them. In charity, in love, we are determined, with God's blessing on our efforts, to tear that veil in pieces."

Now let the whole of the facts thus disclosed be duly considered, and a new feature of this cruel and revolting institution will present itself to our view. We have had a variety of tales told us of the happiness, not only of individual slaves, but of whole gangs of slaves. We will suppose all these to be true. Masters and managers, we will admit, may have been kind and indulgent, and the slaves, for a time, may have experienced few of the evils of slavery. But a manager is dismissed, or an estate falls into the hands of a minor or a mortgagee, and the whole of the smiling scene may be instantly changed. Harshness may succeed to indulgence; severity to mildness; privation to plenty; brutal outrage to considerate kindness; excessive exaction to moderate labour; a contempt of the feelings, and a hard-hearted indifference to the best affections of the domestic relation, to a solicitude to cherish and protect these richest springs of worldly enjoyment; a bitter spirit of intolerance and persecuting rage, excited by any indication on the part of the slaves of religious earnestness, to a Christian zeal to impart to them the cheering consolations and the light and liberty of the Gospel; and all the horrors of unbridled lust, rioting in the despotism of unmeasured power, to a fatherly care over the moral purity and chastity of the young female slave. Need we follow out the contrast? Every reader who feels, not as a Christian only, but as a man, will appreciate a condition of life daily liable to such terrible vicissitudes. Nor are these evils imaginary. We could multiply instances to show their frequent occurrence in some of the various forms of aggravated wretchedness which we have feebly attempted to delineate. May the divine mercy interfere to put a period to them

for ever, for the sake not more of the immediate sufferers than of the guilty government and parliament and people of England, who can tolerate for an hour a system so replete with abominations.

And then what shall we say of Mr. Barclay? He has incurred, by this false and fabricated statement, not merely the guilt of a premeditated departure from truth to promote some selfish object, or some party purpose; but the deeper guilt of deliberately aiming a blow at the happiness of the whole Negro race. Let us estimate his claim to credit by this single circumstance, and consign him and his works henceforward to merited obloquy and contempt.

2. *Free labour Sugar in Jamaica.*

In some parts of Jamaica, as the parishes of Manchester, St. Ann's, &c., where the cultivation is extensively directed to coffee, pasture, &c., and which are remote from sugar plantations and from markets, a variety of expedients are resorted to by the slaves in order to procure sugar, or some substitute for that grateful article. A hand-mill invented by a planter, some years ago, for expressing the juice of the sugar cane is in frequent use, in the Negro villages, for this purpose. The juice expressed by the hand-mill was not usually made into granulated sugar, but boiled into a thick syrup, the iron pot ordinarily used in cooking being the utensil employed for concentrating the liquor, and being but ill adapted for the process. Latterly, however, an ingenious and industrious slave erected a cane-mill with vertical rollers, and with spokes to operate as a lever in turning it round, and of a capacity equal to about a one-horse power. The same slave who erected this mill succeeded also in improving his method of boiling. By the kindness of a neighbouring gentleman he procured small iron boilers, which he fixed up with mason work and fitted with proper flues. He had previously planted his cane patches, and, when his machinery was ready and his canes ripe, he and his wife (for he was a married man) with help hired from among his fellow slaves, began to cut and carry to the mill his canes, on the morning of the Saturday allowed for cultivating their grounds, or on the Friday night preceding; and, when a sufficient quantity of juice was expressed, he began the boiling of it, which was continued all night, and, it appears, till a late hour on Sunday. Though he was a professor of religion, it is impossible to censure very heavily this circumstance in a country where the laws and customs, and the necessities of the slave, compelled him, from infancy and through life, to violate the rest of the Sabbath. Scarcely any, even Christian slaves, in Jamaica are able to avoid this desecration.

But to return. The quantity of sugar thus obtained, and which was of a very fair quality, fully repaid the cost of the improved apparatus, and this slave supplied the wants not only of his fellow slaves, but of the whites on the estate (a coffee estate we presume) to which he was attached as a slave.

Before this slave had thus turned sugar-planter he had, by his skill and diligence, acquired some property, which he had carefully laid by, hoping to be able ere long to purchase his freedom, and thus to procure more time for his sugar speculation. He accordingly applied

to the attorney of the estate, when he judged he had accumulated enough for that purpose. The attorney's reply was that the proprietor had recently written to say that "he would manumit no more of his slaves of any colour." His plans for the future were thus in one moment completely blasted.

The reflections in the Christian Record on this transaction are marked with the usual good sense of that work, and are calculated to show the untractable nature of slavery in Jamaica. There was of course no appeal from this harsh decision; but would it not, it is asked, have been much better to have taken the fairly-appraised value of this man, and to have given him his freedom, allowing him still, as a tenant at a fair rent, to occupy his house and garden, and a certain portion of land? As to quitting his house, or removing his sugar mill, (the child of his intelligence and industry,) or abandoning his cane patches, interspersed among his provision grounds; such an intention was probably never entertained by him. And, besides the value of his efforts to himself, what an example to the slaves around him would have been given by his manumission and success! But, alas! this would have been regarded as sapping Jamaica plantership at the root. That system cannot endure that a slave should have one conception, or one desire, beyond the orders of his master or overseer.

The writer thus proceeds:—

"During our late troubles, I have felt some degree of interest in ascertaining whether the people on the property to which this cultivator of 'free labour sugar' belongs returned to their work as usual after Christmas; and, especially, whether the 'sugar planter' himself did so. As the name of the property has not, so far as I have observed, been numbered in the newspapers among the rebellious, it is to be hoped that he is still pursuing the even tenor of his way. But, should the contrary prove to have been the case, to what may we fairly attribute such a determination? To the preaching of seditious doctrines by Secularians?—to religion and the Bible?—or, to the sickening of the human heart at the endurance of disappointed hope?"

"Far be it from me to speak, or to think, lightly of those acts of lawless violence and atrocity, on the part of the slaves, by which the peace of the country has been recently disturbed. But just as far be it from me to speak, or think, lightly of the acts of unrelenting tyranny and oppression which, I fearlessly maintain, in setting the rules of humanity and equity at defiance, above all in close barring the door of hope upon them, have been the principal goad to the late madness of the people. Such an act have we in the instance now before us. Here is a man who, by dint of frugality and diligence, during a number of years, and by hard labour during every scrap of time which he could appropriate to his advantage (besides working five and a half days per week throughout the year for his master), and sometimes depriving himself of rest at night—here is a man, I say, who, by such industry persevered in, collects a sum of money which he thinks may be sufficient for the purchase of his freedom. He proposes the business to the Attorney, and then he is told that his master has signified his intention that no other of his slaves can be allowed *even to purchase* their manumission!! How long shall this be?"

We are sorry to be unable to record the name of this slave or of his master; but we trust to hear more of both ere long.

3. *Instruction of Slaves.*

The Christian Record contains a very interesting discussion on the influence which the late rebellion may have in hindering or promoting slave instruction. Some persons, it is said, apprehend that the door will now be barred against it. The Christian Record anticipates a different result. He admits, indeed, that ungodly planters are fully convinced that slavery and Christianity are incompatible, and they therefore assume as a necessary consequence that the teachers of Christianity have been the main instruments of producing the late insurrection. Hence "knots of these planters have met in different parishes, and entered into resolutions *to punish*, in every way in their power, those slaves who shall dare to attend the instructions of any dissenter," and, though less publicly declared, the same prohibition is understood to refer also to those clergymen of the established church who are distinguished for their activity and zeal in the same cause.

After adverting to the abortive trials of the maligned and persecuted missionaries, and the complete exposure of the suborned perjuries by which their lives were judicially aimed at, the writer goes on to affirm that "a full investigation of the causes of the insurrection will show that very few indeed, out of the immense multitude of Negroes who *struck for wages*, belonged to the churches under the care of the Missionaries, and that fewer still of them have been found engaged among the insurgents. On the contrary, *vast numbers defended their masters' property from the spoilers.*"

"Now," remarks this writer (and the remarks are strikingly illustrative of the abominations of the slave system),—

"Now will the exhibition of these facts make any impression upon the minds of those who are knotted together to prevent the poor creatures under their care attending upon their chosen religious instructors? Most likely not. They are too far gone for that. And therefore, supposing that their 'Resolves' should be equivalent to law, it is easy to conceive of the multiplied miseries, 'the lockings up,' 'the workings in and out,' the floggings with 'the long whip,' the polishings with ebony, the giving of allowance *only* on the Sunday mornings *after nine* o'clock, and only giving to those *actually present*; the examination of every man found in his best clothes on a Sunday, and then on Monday morning, or some time during the week, 'picking his mouth' (the Jamaica term for the art of finding out or making some cause for punishment) it is easy, I say, to conceive of all these multiplied miseries which will, in one way or another, be poured out upon the men who shall dare to form for themselves on this subject opinions at variance with those of their owners, their planting attorneys, and overseers. But will all this arrest the progress of instruction? I answer, No. Past experience answers, No. It is no new case. A man may as well attempt to compress air into nothing, as to restrain the expansion of the human mind. All that he can do is to direct its energies and cultivate its powers to the production of good instead of evil; and happily for the slaves—happily for this country—happily for the infatuated individuals themselves—there are others besides these resolvers against religion and religious teaching who have a voice in the matter. It may never cause one sleepless hour to the parties inflicting the torment, that, in addition to the daily and nightly exactions of labour, such a series of mental and spiritual sufferings is likely to render more brief the existence of those placed at their mercy. Yet it cannot be supposed that the absent proprietors would wish their slaves thus to be dealt with; and the parties in question may be assured that those proprietors will be well informed of all their plans and proceedings."

“ I would, therefore, put it plainly and directly to the proprietors of estates here who are resident in the mother country, whether the thus annoying, and treating as savage beasts, SOME OF THE BEST SLAVES ON THEIR PROPERTIES, can at all tend to promote the peace of the country, or advance *their pecuniary interests!* Assuredly not. And it is their business to put a decided negative upon any such practice of their attorneys or overseers. Unless they wish their properties to be reduced to ashes by barbarous incendiaries, as has recently been done to an alarming extent, so far from banishing religious instruction from their properties, they will adopt more decisive measures to establish it. All that has transpired of the causes of the late rebellion, and a *great deal more that is forthcoming*, has afforded the most irrefutable evidence that not to instruction, BUT TO THE WANT OF IT—to the absence of Christian feelings in the hearts of both governors and governed, has been owing all the misery and ruin that has fallen upon some of the fairest portions of the island. The error of the planters has been that, vainly hoping to keep their slaves in brutal ignorance, and content to toil under the lash as beasts of burthen—they have refused to permit any thing like effectual religious instruction to be given them. Keep them ignorant they could not, and, thanks to their masters and managers, they have acquired knowledge without Christian principle to control and direct it. This is now evident, and will every day become more so.—Instead therefore of considering the late insurrection injurious ultimately to the cause of effectual religious instruction, I confidently expect that it will further it, by teaching proprietors the necessity of having a peasantry upon their domains who shall have been taught, from the lively oracles of God, ‘to fear God and honour the king:’ it must teach them that *if they would preserve their lives and fortunes*, the avowed brutality of the present system of slave-government must yield to the same authority.”

The views entertained by the planters generally on the subject of the instruction of slaves is very graphically exhibited in the following communication of a correspondent to the Editor of the Christian Record :—

“ I happened to be present, the other day, at a conversation which took place at the house of an attorney in my neighbourhood, on the *question* whether or not a clergyman, who had been lately appointed to a district of the parish, should be *permitted* to instruct the slaves on the estates in that district! It was the unanimous opinion of the planters present that the said clergyman ought not, on any account, to be admitted on the estates. Why? ‘BECAUSE HE WAS A MEMBER OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY!’ ‘*There was nothing against the individual himself.*’ This was admitted in so many words; but his connection with that Society was deemed a sufficient reason for depriving the slaves of the means of instruction which he was appointed to afford them, and for keeping them bound down in the chains of spiritual darkness! What an awful responsibility lies on the souls of proprietors who thus deliver up the spiritual welfare of their slaves to the dictation of men abandoned to ‘wretchlessness of most unclean living!!’ In this manner, and for these causes, the slaves are deprived of the *domestic* instruction and consolations of the ministers of the established church. From the inadequate size of the chapels, and from the want of time allowed them, they can scarcely attend his public ministry; and they have been threatened by proprietors, attorneys, and overseers—aye, by *magistrates!* with the utmost severity of punishment, if they shall be detected in attendance at a ‘Sectarian’ place of worship. How then are the unfortunate creatures to obtain spiritual nourishment for their famishing souls? Whom will these planters permit to give them instruction? ‘*The Bishop’s Catechist.*’ He, and he alone, is to be admitted; and the cause of his admission, and the value of his instructions, may be gathered from the conversation which passed upon this occasion :—

“ An overseer who was present, addressing the attorney of the estate which he managed, said, ‘He (the clergyman) asked me to allow him to catechise the

slaves on the estate, Sir; but I referred him to you. Has he spoken to you, Sir? 'You did perfectly right. He has not spoken to me yet.' 'Then he is not to attend, Sir?' 'Certainly not. He has connected himself with the Church Missionary Society; and it is high time to put down fanaticism in the country.' 'But the catechist is still attending, Sir. Is he to go on?' 'Oh, the Bishop's catechist. What does he teach?—does he teach reading?' 'No, Sir: he teaches them to repeat the Church Catechism.' 'Nothing more?' 'No, Sir.' 'Then he may be allowed to continue. *That can do no harm; IT WILL DO NO GOOD; but it can do no harm. He may go on!!!*'

"When," asks the writer, "will the Bishop's eyes be open to his situation? The lamentable fact is that he is now merely an instrument in the hands of the planters, by which they are endeavouring to put a stop to the progress of religion in the island! It is enough to make one's heart sick—but it is too true that every zealous clergyman who is anxious to discharge his duty *finds himself checked at every point by a league between adulterous planters and temporising churchmen*: the former consistently opposing the truth—the latter seeking ease, and the 'friendship of the world.' When will his Lordship shake off the trammels of worldly policy, and stand forth in the name and *in the strength* of his Master? His voice raised against the proprietors' criminal neglect of their slaves would be heard and listened to, and some hope might then be entertained of rescuing the soul of the slave from spiritual thralldom; but, if his Lordship thus continue silent, how great is his responsibility!"

4. Kirk of Scotland in Jamaica.

All who value the Church of Scotland (and we are among those who value it highly, and who are interested in its credit and prosperity) ought to read with attention the heavy charges brought against its ministers officiating in Jamaica, in the number of the Record now before us. We will not now enter into particulars, but will content ourselves at present with thus briefly directing to that valuable work, the attention of those in the sister kingdom who have it in their power to apply a remedy to the opprobrious conduct to which we have with real pain alluded. We have the utmost confidence in the influential ministers of the church of Scotland that the hint now given will be sufficient to incite them to enquire diligently, and to correct what they may find amiss.

5. Parochial Schools of Jamaica.

"Is any one desirous," says the Editor of the Christian Record, "of learning the nature and effect of our system of parochial education in this island? Let him look round, and he will behold bookkeeper catechists! fornicating schoolmasters! adulterous school committees! and almost every person connected with the training up of the rising race stamped with the Colonial brand of *unblushing shame*. Let him look round, and he will behold vice stalking through the land in the light of each day's sun, unabashed, because unrebuked. He will behold the labouring class—the slaves—destitute of principle, untaught to distinguish between virtue and vice, and wallowing in the mire of promiscuous sexual intercourse; exhibiting certainly exceptions to this general censure, which indicate that the day-spring from on high has dawned on the hearts of some; but, as a whole, *ignorant* alike of the *spiritual requirements* as of the spiritual consolations of the Gospel. He will behold the next class—the people of colour—little distinguished from the slave in principle or in practice, regarding their disgrace as an honour, and glorying in their shame! And should he then look to the highest class in the hope of finding an example, or at least a promise, of better things, what will he behold? He will see the great mass outraging de-

gency by their shameless concubinage, and defying the God of heaven by the open profanation of his day, and by a determined hostility to his religion. He will observe the few who pretend to some degree of principle countenancing and cheering on the rest in their course of infamy—receiving the adulterer into their families as an honourable and honoured guest—a fit associate for their wives and daughters! He will find them sitting in committee with the fornicator and the blasphemer, as workers together with God in converting sinners from their sins!!

“What a revolting—what a *melancholy* scene! And to what extraordinary cause can we attribute such universal, shameless depravity? All communities are stained with vice; but in every Christian community vice is condemned and decried: how is it that in ours vice is countenanced and upheld? In every collection of fallen men we shall find *some* abandoned to crime, and openly callous to shame; but these are *exceptions* from the general conduct, noticed with disgust, and held up as warnings to others. How is it that in *our* society the *exceptions*—the few, shunned, despised exceptions, are THE RELIGIOUS AND THE MORAL? To what are we to attribute this, the distinguishing feature of our society? To many causes, doubtless; but to none from which such effects are more clearly deducible than the *shameful neglect, nay, the positive and wilful corrupting of the youthful mind*. What are our parochial schools* but seminaries of adultery? Read, in the lives of those who are brought up in them, our justification of this assertion. Do not the individuals of each sex, as they advance to maturity, fall into the course of colonial sin as readily, and with as little compunction, as would those who had been expressly brought up with that view? And what is the instruction given at these schools? And of what character are the teachers? We will answer these questions, not by general assertions, which may, as usual, be flatly contradicted, but by describing some of the schools with which we are acquainted; and, for this purpose, we select those of the ‘crack’ parish of the island, the highly lauded St. Thomas in the East.”

After a variety of disgusting details in illustration of this position, the Editor thus concludes his appeal:—

“We should ill fulfil our duty to our countrymen were we to refrain, through a false notion of charity, from exposing to themselves here, and to proprietors elsewhere, what appear to us to be the prevailing causes of the shameless depravity of our society. If, in effecting this object, we use harsh language, it is because our fellow-colonists have become, from long use, so callous to shame that nothing but a severe goad can reach their feelings.”

II.—RELIGIOUS PERSECUTIONS IN JAMAICA.

A large mass of information has been laid before the public on this subject, and has been circulated widely by means of the newspapers, which have given full details of the speeches delivered at various meetings, and particularly at a very numerous, indeed a greatly overflowing meeting of all denominations of Christians, held at Exeter Hall, in London, on the 15th of August last, at which upwards of 3000 persons listened with breathless interest, not to say horror, to the authentic testimony laid before them on the subject. These concurred in a unanimous vote expressive of their regret and indignation at the cruel and determined opposition of the colonists to the religious instruction of the slaves, and the disgraceful outrages committed by them on the persons and property of Missionaries, in

* These schools are exclusively for the children of the free.

violation of the laws both of God and man;—of their fullest conviction that the system of colonial slavery, while suffered to subsist, was utterly at variance with the spirit and precepts of the Gospel, and with any security for its promulgation;—and of their solemn and imperative obligation to urge, upon the legislature and the government of this country, the adoption of all suitable means for the complete and immediate extinction throughout the British dominions of that crying evil.

For copious and most interesting details in support of these conclusions we must refer, in addition to our own pages, to the following recent publications:—

1. Report of the Speeches of the Rev. Peter Duncan, a Wesleyan, and the Rev. W. Knibb, a Baptist Missionary, delivered at the above meeting, price *1d.*, with large allowances if taken in quantities for distribution. Printed for Bagster, 15, Paternoster Row.

2. Narrative of Events connected with the Disturbances and Persecutions in Jamaica, by the Rev. T. F. Abbott, Baptist Missionary. Printed by order of the Committee of the Baptist Society for Holdsworth, St. Paul's Church Yard. 8vo. pp. 40.

3. Facts and Statements connected with the late Slave Insurrection in Jamaica, and the violations of civil and religious liberty arising out of it. Prepared by the Rev. W. Knibb. 8vo. pp. 24.

We cannot attempt any regular abstract of these highly interesting but condensed documents. We must content ourselves with sharpening the appetite of our readers to peruse the works themselves, by a few detached references.

“I now come to the case of Henry Williams.* This man had remained up with some of his friends on the last day of the year, and engaged with them in prayer, and in renewing, as is customary with the Methodists at that season, their Christian covenant. For this he was tried and condemned, and was severely flogged. When it was asked for what that punishment was inflicted, it was answered that he was flogged for holding an illegal meeting, and for administering unlawful oaths. This poor Negro had been most carefully watching his master's property up to the period with respect to which he was accused, and yet this was his reward.

“Another Negro, when under the lash, was asked whether his minister had ever stated to him that if he had faith he should be free. His answer was, ‘No, massa; minister never say no such thing.’ You have heard of the Roman citizen who, while undergoing the torture of the lash, used only the expression, ‘I am a Roman citizen.’ You may admire the heroic firmness of that man, but should not your admiration be higher of the greater firmness of this poor untutored African, who during his torture refused to give false testimony, though it might have released him from the hands of the torturer?

“When the insurrection first broke out, I was concerned for the fate of one Negro whom I knew well, and against whom, on account of his great attachment to religious instruction, and his desire to communicate it to others, I knew that a strong prejudice prevailed. That Negro was James Malcolm. It turned out, however, that this man was acting as the pioneer to the troops under Sir Willoughby Cotton, and pointing out the haunts of those who took a part in the insurrection.

* See for some account of the previous cruel sufferings of this slave the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, Vol. iii. No. 65. p. 356.

“The return which the poor fellow got for his loyalty was an expression of regret from his overseer that he (Malcolm) was not engaged in the insurrection, as he should wish to get rid of him. In fact, this was the real ground of regret on the part of those who wished to crush all whom they suspected of a wish for the emancipation of the Negro. They saw with regret that the missionaries, and those who belonged to their congregations, had taken no part in the insurrection; for, had it been otherwise, it would have been a great point gained. It happened, however, that this ground of objection had not been given to them.”

“It is a fact that only one class-leader was charged by the Rebellion Committee: that is the man whose name I have already mentioned—James Malcolm, who is at the present moment under sentence of death. This man has distinguished himself by his excellent conduct, and by his zealous efforts to convert others. During the insurrection, he saved a considerable portion of his overseer’s property; but he was nevertheless sacrificed by the malice of the overseer, from whose licentiousness he had been the means of rescuing some young female slaves, on whom he had fixed his eyes.

“Another person mentioned by my correspondent is a slave named Spence. This man, who with some of his friends, had, after watching their master’s property, passed the remainder of the night in prayer—this man was taken by a band of insurgent Negroes, who, on his refusal to form one of their party, placed him on his knees, and directed two of their number to shoot him. Two muskets were directed at him at the same moment, but fortunately they both missed fire twice. He was then given into custody to some of the party, from whom he at length escaped.

“Nothing can be more evident than the fact that neither the Negroes nor the missionaries were the cause of the late insurrection, but that it was brought about by the conduct of the white population. That the colony will not be safe from similar danger in future any one must be convinced who has watched the course which the colonists are adopting. The late law by which ministers of religion are liable to capital punishment if they interpret the Scriptures in any way that may tend to sedition is one of a most iniquitous character. For who is to be the judge of the tendency of the interpretation? The makers of the law; men who have no sense of religion themselves, and very little morality, and who are averse from any religious instruction of their slaves! The only hope of the missionaries and of the slaves is in the justice of the British public.”

Speech of Rev. Peter Duncan, p. 7—9.

“A man named Samuel Swiney was flogged;—for what? For going to prayer. How, it may be asked, do I know this? I answer that I was an eye-witness to it. I stood by and saw the blood-drawing instrument of torture laid upon his back, and the chains put upon his neck; and all this for the offence of praying for the recovery of a missionary who then lay in a dangerous state of illness. This I avouch as an incontrovertible truth. Let my opponents stand forward and deny it if they can. I represented these facts to his Majesty’s Ministers, who dismissed the justices by whom that sentence was inflicted; and for myself my heart leaped for joy when the Secretary of the Baptist Society sent out the means of procuring the poor man’s freedom. On a subsequent occasion Swiney’s wife was to be sold, and, although I offered as much as £230 for her, I could not obtain her, because, in fact, a set had been made against me.

“A woman named Catherine James, who had been forty-five years a slave, belongs to my congregation. She had been confined for praying, and for trying to prevent her daughter from living in sin with the overseer. For this offence she was confined during 220 days in a dungeon—(be it understood that *each estate has its dungeon*). After this, she was taken up as a runaway, and sentenced to be worked in chains for life.” *Speech of Rev. W. Knibb, p. 14, 15.*

“I may here give you a few specimens of the base means resorted to by the *great men* of this island, in eliciting evidence from slaves and others for the purpose of criminating your Missionaries. We are not authorised to use the names

of those persons who have furnished us with the following statements, though, if *necessary*, we can get them substantiated *on oath*.—A free member of Mr. Burchell's church was charged with having received letters from Mr. Burchell. She was taken up and examined, when the following threats were made use of to induce her to implicate Mr. Burchell, by a *magistrate*. 'Now we have *good proof* that you *did* receive the letters; now tell us the *truth*; if you *don't*, there is a boat ready to ship you off.' She replied, 'I cannot tell a *lie* upon myself or Mr. Burchell. I never did receive any letters.' Magistrate.—'Now, my good woman, I won't send for a constable to take you to the Court House, but I will carry you myself, so you *had better tell the truth*.' He then took her to the Court House, and put on her *handcuffs*, among a hundred or more Negroes, where she remained from two P. M. until the next day, when a lieutenant-colonel (militia) came and said, 'Have you not letters from Mr. B.?' Woman.—'No.' Colonel.—'Are you not a *Baptist*?' Woman.—'Yes.' Colonel.—'You see the *gallows* out there (pointing to it); if they were to hang up Mr. B. and yourself, how you would *holloa*!' Much more followed of the same nature, when Mr. M. examined her, and, finding nothing against her, she was discharged. Again, Mr. — was present when one of the militia officers held his *sword over a Negro's head*, and, pointing to the gallows, said, 'If you do not tell me something about the Baptist parsons, you shall *be hung up there*.'—Other cases occurred at Lucea. A free coloured man was present when Dr. — took a Negro man prisoner, and interrogated him in this manner: Dr.—'Did not Mr. Burchell *tell you to rebel*?' 'No, Sir.' Dr.—'Tell me the truth, tell me that Mr. B. *did tell* you to do so, or I'll *BLOW YOUR BRAINS OUT*' (at the same time presenting a *pistol at his head*). The Negro at last, doubtless fearing that Dr. — would put his diabolical threat into execution, said 'Ah, for true, massa, me forget, the night before Mr. Burchell go away, him tell me somting tan so;' that is, 'something of the kind.' This of course was sufficient to inculcate Mr. Burchell.—A person was present when the supervisor of the workhouse at Lucea was superintending the flogging of a rebel Negro. The driver gave three lashes, when the supervisor cried out, 'What, *no blood yet*? tell me, you rascal, did not Mr. Burchell tell you to rebel?' Negro.—'No, massa, *I don't know* Mr. Burchell, *I never see him*.' Supervisor.—'Tell me, did not that bloody villain Burchell tell you to do it?' These, and similar questions, were put to the poor unfortunate creature while he was being flogged; but he persisted to the last that he did not know Mr. Burchell, and *never* saw him. This is the kind of evidence by which we are judged, and by this we are condemned; though it frequently happens, as in the last case, that all their vile attempts are ineffectual, and do not even by *such* means procure a shadow of evidence against us."—*Narrative in a Letter of Rev. T. F. Abbott.*

Attached to an able memorial, presented to Lord Belmore by the Baptist Missionaries in April, 1832, claiming protection from his Lordship, and challenging the strictest investigation into their conduct and into all their allegations, they state the amount of their property destroyed by the militia, during the prevalence of martial law, to be as follows:—

Eleven chapels burnt or pulled down, taken at the lowest estimate of the cost of their re-erection; including pulpits, benches, pews, lamps, &c., in these, and in four licensed houses rented by the Missionaries	£22,150
Losses in horses, furniture, clothes, books, &c., and travelling and voyage expenses, exclusive of charges for the trial of the Missionaries, not yet known	. £1,100

Jamaica currency equal to £16,600 sterling.

£23,250

Two chapels, three houses, and other property in St. James's were destroyed by a party of militia under a Magistrate and Captain,—Capt. George Gordon and a Mr. F. B. Gibbs, owner of Millennium estate. The chapel at Montego Bay was pulled down at mid-day by a large mob, among whom were the following magistrates and officers of militia, said to be actively engaged in the outrage, viz. Lieut.-Col. W. C. Morris, Major J. Coates, Captains G. Gordon, W. M. Kerr, J. Cleghorn, J. Bowen, B. H. Tharpe, J. Tharpe, and J. Gordon, and the following magistrates, not in the militia, Alexander Campbell, C. O'Conner, and W. Heath; moreover E. Evans, the coroner, and W. B. Popkin, the head constable, with a whole host of lieutenants and ensigns besides.* The custos (who we are sorry to say was Richard Barrett, speaker of the Assembly, and delegate to this country), and Dr. G. M. Lawson, who is also colonel of the St. James' militia, and a magistrate, it is distinctly asserted by the Missionaries, had been informed two hours before it happened that the outrage would take place; but no interruption was attempted by them.

In Trelawney similar outrages occurred. The St. Ann's regiment of militia was quartered in the Baptist chapel at Falmouth. On being about to quit it, J. W. Gayner, a magistrate, and Samuel Tucker, the adjutant, ordered the men to break it down, and it was completely demolished. Thomas Tennison, of the Trelawney regiment, being on guard, was applied to to interfere. He replied that he concluded they would not only pull it down but set fire to it too. Mr. Knibb's lodgings were also assailed with stones; and his horses were taken and retained for some time by Major-General Hilton.

At Lucea, in Hanover, Lieutenant-Colonel J. E. Payne, and Major R. Chambers, magistrates, and the Rev. B. H. Heath, the rector, went to the residence of Mr. Abbott, the Baptist Missionary, and Mr. Chambers with his own hand opened Mrs. Abbott's desk, and searched her letters, and committed various outrages, using much abusive language to a lady residing there. The Rev. Benjamin H. Heath took away Mr. Abbott's books, and had not returned them at the end of more than three months. Among those who aided in destroying the Baptist chapel at Lucea were the rev. rector, who invited a gentleman to "assist in destroying the damned Baptist chapel," Dr. Binns, and the constable, C. Younger. Mr. Alexander Campbell, a magistrate, was present, but did not actively interfere. On the evening of the same day Dr. Binns and others entered Mr. Abbott's house, armed with hatchets, and destroyed or carried off furniture, clothes, and several dozens of wine; and Dr. Binns struck, with a horsewhip, a lady who tried to prevent the pillage, and threatened to push her down the steps.

At St. Ann's Bay the missionary and his family were violently driven from their dwelling, and the chapel and premises destroyed;

* The names given are (and not one of them ought to be deprived of his due portion of infamy) W. N. Balme, Joseph Fray, W. Plummer, T. Watson, C. W. Ogle, J. H. Morris, G. M'Farquhar Lawson, jun., H. Hunter, W. Fowle Holt, James Coates, W. Gordon, Joseph G. Jump.

Drs. G. R. Stennett and H. Cox, Jun., magistrates, and Capt. S. Drake, head-constable, aiding. The other magistrates though applied to afforded no protection, but sent for the boxes of the missionaries to the Court-house, and took from them papers and other things.

In Vere the Baptist chapel was destroyed by fire, Hector Maclean Wood, a magistrate, who had beforehand broken some of the windows and taken away the key, being present.

Similar outrages were committed in other places. Nine dozens of Madeira wine, belonging to Mr. Burchell, the missionary, were taken possession of by Lieut. John Henry Morris, and have not been returned; and afterwards the same gentleman, accompanied by Mr. James Gordon, a magistrate, locked up the wine remaining and took away the key, which he had then kept three months in his possession.

Facts and Statements, pp. 3—7.

To crown all, an association was formed by the planters, called "The Colonial Church Union," which, with strong professions of loyalty to the king, and love for the established churches of England and Scotland, has made it its predominant object to procure the expulsion of all the missionaries from the Island.—One of its constitutional rules is as follows:—

"It is expected from every member of the Union that he will lend his influence and support, on all occasions, to those patriots who, in behalf of the paramount laws of society, have hazarded their personal responsibility for our preservation from the murderous machinations of our enemies;"—that is to say, Every member who may have assaulted or may have tarred and feathered missionaries; or who may have been guilty of arson in burning their chapels and dwellings; or who may have bribed or suborned perjured witnesses against them; or who may have cruelly punished the slaves who attend their ministrations, shall be the special objects of our protection.

Now in this Colonial Church Union members of the Assembly, custodes, magistrates, assistant judges, and some clergymen of the Church of England are enrolled. One of them, a magistrate, edits a paper called the Cornwall Courier, in which he has repeatedly urged that the Wesleyan missionaries should be tarred and feathered. Nothing, however, displays more forcibly the spirit which animates the planters throughout the Island than the tone taken, by the leading newspapers, with respect both to the missionaries, and to the poor suffering and slaughtered slaves.

An officer of the St. Ann's Western regiment thus addresses the Editor of the Jamaica Courant in his paper of February 10, 1832:—

"Our primary ardour has been unabated. We have never allowed these deluded wretches time to rest; night and day have we been at them, and have made terrible slaughter among them. And now, at the end of a six weeks' campaign, we are neglected—not thought of, because the Governor must have a little fun with Tom Hill and his yacht. The few wretches who are now out are hiding in the cane-pieces, and we occasionally get a bullet or two at them. On Sunday morning, five were shot, who were fallen in with and attempted to escape. I shall not consider that we are safe, although all this havoc has been made among the rebels; although they may have now found the inutility of opposing the strong

force which can be opposed to them; until we can fall upon some plan of getting rid of the infernal race of Baptists, which we have so long fostered in our bosoms, and of demolishing their bloody pandemoniums."

Other letters to the same effect are published in the same paper of that day:—

"I cannot allow the post to start, without saying that I have remained long enough at Falmouth to see the Baptist and Methodist Chapels pulled down. This good work was accomplished this day by the troops, after their return—conquerors from the seat of war. Lots of groans, as you may imagine, from the Saints and their followers!"

"Let Bruce (the Editor) know that the great and glorious work has commenced. It is now 10 o'clock, and all hands at work, demolishing the Baptist and Wesleyan Chapels. The Methodist Chapel is down, and the men are hard at work at the Baptists.' The roof of the latter is not yet off, but so much injured as to make it as well off as on. It is standing, true, but supported by a few posts only. The men have gone for fire-hooks to complete the work they have undertaken. There is the devil to pay here to-day (as you may suppose) among the Saints and their followers—weeping and wailing, and gnashing of teeth—wringing of hands, and groans, interrupted, at times, with curses and imprecations on the soldiers."

"I write in the hopes of this reaching you through the way-bag, as the Post Office has long since been shut. Some true-hearted Jamaicans have truly ennobled themselves this night, by razing to the earth that pestilential hole, Knibb's Preaching Shop. Verily, friend, they have not spared Box's also. He no more will be able to beat the roll-call to prayers, nor the tattoo upon the consciences of our poor deluded slaves. In plain English, not one stone has been left standing—nay, not even the corner one; and I hope that this goodly example will be followed from Negril to Morant."

Again in the Cornwall Courier of February 15, 1832, we find as follows:—

"Since our last we have received accounts of the destruction of every one of those pandemoniums of insurrection and rebellion, the Baptist preaching shops, from Savanna-la-Mar to Brown's Town in St. Ann's. They have been destroyed partly by the militia, and partly by some of their own followers, who have had their eyes opened by recent events, which have taught them that the Baptist Parsons were not the Sovereigns of Jamaica. Several of the Wesleyan Chapels have also been either totally or partially destroyed; a fit but trifling retribution for the loss these men have caused to the proprietors of those estates that have been burnt by the incendiaries, who were instigated to commit the crimes, for which so many of them have suffered, by these preachers.—We can only say, in the words of the Reformer, John Knox—"To get rid of the rooks effectually, you must destroy their nests."—As to the rooks—the preachers—we would recommend the advice of our staunch friend, James M'Queen, to be observed towards them:—"Tar and feather them wherever you meet them,' and drive them off the island, excepting always those who may merit a greater elevation—a more exalted distinction."

"Some there are who aver that it might have been better to await such an application to the House of Assembly; we beg leave to answer—that with this conviction before us, no benefit whatever could have followed.—We say that no redress awaits our deeply seated injuries from Law, Legislation, or Government. Retribution has been inflicted in the most speedy manner, and it has been inflicted by those who had a full right to do so. Society has its rights as well as Legislature. The prerogative of society is undeniable; it is at all times greater than that of legislature, which is dependent on it.—Here is one of those instances where the representatives were powerless, and the people have taken it in their own hands. When we say the people, we do not mean a mob—a gang of

thieves and pickpockets, such as the happy politics of England now acknowledge as their liege Lords—but we mean the Magistrates, Vestrymen, and Freeholders of the island, who have been in arms to preserve their property, and who have, *in open day, done this thing in self-defence!*

“The COLONIAL CHURCH UNION, established in St. Ann’s (Bridges, Rector) works well, and gives an assurance that the leading men of the country are zealously performing their duty; and, as an advanced guard, are diligently protecting our interests—counteracting and exposing the machinations of our enemies. We trust that every man in the island will enrol his name in this Society.

“The very defence of our lives and properties will be construed by the Anti-Colonists into a crime of the deepest dye. They will rave for the unexpected failure of their insurrectionary plans, and a crusade will be preached up against us, and permitted by Government. The *revolutionary Parliament of England will emulate the revolutionary Parliament of Robespierre*; and we call on every man throughout the island to say whether he would not rather die with arms in his hand than submit to such an unjust, unprincipled, act of tyranny.”

Again in the Jamaica Courant of February 29 and March 1:—

“On an attentive re-perusal of the Governor’s opening speech to the Legislature, we are sorry to remark that his Excellency persists in his allusions to ‘the machinations which have been employed to seduce the slaves into rebellion,’ talking of their *allegiance!* and the *duty* they owe to their masters.’ The Earl of Belmore has been long enough in Jamaica to know that the slaves owe no *allegiance*, and that the contract between their owners and the Government of the mother country provides only for their *obedience* to their masters; and we deprecate the idea of inculcating upon the Negro mind the bare supposition that the King has any control whatever over him.”

The foul means taken to suborn evidence against the missionaries may be judged of by the following facts:—

Samuel Stennett, a man of colour, swore that he had heard Mr. Burchell tell the leaders of his congregation that “freedom was theirs: they must fight and pray for it, and they would get it.” On this deposition, that missionary was committed to gaol and put upon trial for his life. Before, however, the day of trial came, Stennett, driven by the agonies of an accusing conscience, made the following voluntary affidavit:—

“Personally appeared before me Samuel Stennett, of the parish of St. James, county of Cornwall, and island aforesaid, being duly sworn, maketh oath and saith, That the affidavit made by him against the Baptist missionaries, T. Burchell and F. Gardner, which led to their confinement in gaol, was false and unjust; that he never heard from them such facts as he, the deponent, hath sworn against them. That he was instigated to do so by Messrs. George Delisser, George M’Farquhar Lawson, Jun., Joseph Bowen, and W. C. Morris, the former of whom assured him that he would be well looked upon by the gentlemen of this place, that the country would give him £10 per annum, and that he, George Delisser, would make it £50. This deponent further saith that he is induced to make this declaration to relieve his conscience, as he knew nothing against the said missionaries, and that he never joined the Baptist Society as a member until after Mr. Burchell had left the country. So help me God.”

Richard Brown, of Falmouth, who by his industry had purchased his own freedom and that of his wife, stated that he was present, as sentinel, when a slave, named Robert Hall, and also when another slave named Bell, were led out to be shot, Mr. Russell and Mr. Jobson being also present.

“Heard Mr. Russell ask him what parson told him he was going to be free. Heard Robert Hall say he never heard parson say so. Heard Mr. Russell say, What, no parson? Answered *No*. Heard Mr. Russell say,—Say Parson Knibb, you Sir. Heard prisoner say, Master, I cannot go tell a lie, I never hear it.”

A similar conversation took place between these gentlemen and the slave Bell.

How little the missionaries deserved such treatment may be inferred from a letter addressed by Samuel M. Barrett, Esq., a proprietor of about 500 slaves in St. James's, and attorney for many more, to Mr. Knibb, congratulating him on his release from restraint :—

“I deeply regret,” he says, “that the feelings of the country should have so strongly marked yourself and the other Baptist missionaries as objects of persecution. My opinion, an opinion resulting from my own frequent and confidential intercourse, not only with my own Negroes, but with the Negroes of various other estates, is, that religion had nothing to do with the late disturbances; but, on the contrary, its absence was a chief cause of them. No people could have conducted themselves better than all the Negroes upon Cambridge and Oxford Estates, and, in like manner, the people upon Retreat Pen. Even at the period when the prejudice ran strongest against you, and when it was scarcely politic for a Negro to say any thing in your favour, I have, upon every occasion, when I have enquired from any of the members of your congregation upon any of my properties, whether you had ever *taught them to expect freedom*; the answer has invariably been such as to convince me the charges against you were ill-founded. In the absence of all proof to criminate any one in particular, or any class of persons, professional or otherwise, I would not in charity suspect any one, or venture to assign any cause for so great an evil as it has pleased Providence to afflict us with. I should have deeply deplored, for the sake of religion, had any of its Ministers so far perverted the truths of the Gospel as to create this shedding of blood. I do, therefore, most sincerely rejoice that you stand innocent of all guilt as connected with the late disturbances, so far as any proof has, as yet, been adduced.”

Mr. Knibb produces this further strong testimony in favour of himself and his brethren :—

“In the midst of our troubles and persecutions I acknowledge with gratitude that it pleased the Lord to raise us up some friends. John Manderson, Esq., a man of colour—one of those persons who are tauntingly described as forming the link between the man and the brute—that humane and compassionate individual visited me on a bed of sickness, and told me that he had lost upwards of £40,000 by the insurrection of the slaves, but so convinced was he that the missionaries had no hand or part in it that he was ready to share with them even to his last dollar. That individual was a member of the Assembly. It has been said that it was intended to tar and feather him. I should like to see them try to accomplish this: if a rough hand were to be unnecessarily put upon a man of colour, that moment the island would be gone.”—*Report of Speeches*, p. 12.

“Out of 16,000 Baptist slaves not one could be found,” says Mr. Knibb, “that would say a word against his minister. On the contrary many of them were most exemplary in their conduct during the whole course of the insurrection, apprehending insurgents, protecting their owners' property from attack and conflagration, and performing the plantation labour as usual.” Among many instances he specifies the following :—

“ Charles Campbell, belonging to Weston Favel Estate, a deacon at Falmouth, saved the property, and has received his freedom in consequence.

“ Edward Barrett, belonging to Oxford, guarded, with the people, the property for a month. We have eighty-six members on this property. He, Barrett, is a deacon of the church at Falmouth.

“ George Prince of Wales, a member of the church at Falmouth, had the whole charge of the property, the keys of the store, &c. &c., put into his hands, for a month. We have thirty-six members on this estate.

“ The members of the church at Carlton Estate saved the property, as the following note, from Mrs. Waddell, the wife of a Presbyterian missionary, will testify :—‘ I am happy to say that some of your people, in this quarter, have adorned the gospel by their becoming conduct, particularly Reeves, Hall, and Gordon. Mr. Cron (the attorney) says ‘ they have saved *Carlton*, and have completely exonerated Mr. Knibb from having EVER said any thing to excite the rebellion.’

“ On several estates in Trelawney, to the number of forty or more, the members of my church mounted guard, and saved the property. Only three of the members were tried by Court Martial, and they, *I verily believe, were innocent.*

“ Not a single estate or pen was burnt where we had a member connected with Falmouth church, though the whole number was eighty-six.

“ On almost every estate that was saved from the rebels there were Baptists, and they were the cause of its being spared.

“ Several of the members have been rewarded by the House of Assembly for their good conduct.

“ Mr. Cantlow’s church was in the heart of the rebellion ; fifteen out of eighteen of his leaders were faithful to their owners. Of the other *three* we have no sufficient proof of guilt. A gentleman from America, who saw one of them tried and hung, said to me, I hope to meet him in heaven : he died for being a Baptist.

“ Many were actively engaged in saving property. Escrow Freeze, on Leyden Estate, has received his freedom for his good behaviour. His wife was shot, in her own house, by the troops. He was ordered to kill a Negro, without trial, and refused, when the white man immediately chopped the Negro to death.

“ William Ricketer, one of Mr. Burchell’s deacons, saved the property from the rebels, when the troops ran away. I believe he has obtained his freedom.

“ After every exertion for the purpose, I could not find that *one* of Mr. Burchell’s leaders or deacons was convicted of rebellion.

“ Not a single estate on which Mr. Abbott had members stopped work at all.”

III.—CIRCULAR DESPATCHES OF VISCOUNT GODERICH TO THE GOVERNORS OF THE SLAVE COLONIES.

In a paper printed by order of the House of Commons of 27 July, 1832, No. 649, are contained the recent communications of His Majesty’s Secretary of State with the Governors of Slave Colonies on the subject of Colonial Reform.

The first, dated the 12th May, 1832, is addressed to the Governors of the West Indian Legislative Colonies, and expresses his Lordship’s regret at the rejection by the Colonial Assemblies of the Order of Nov. 2, 1831, as Government felt it to be their imperative duty, in any practical measures they might adopt, to combine the interests of the masters with those of the slaves, and “ to adhere inflexibly to the determination” of conferring benefits on the former “ only when satisfied that adequate means had been adopted for improving the condition of the latter.” And this course they regarded as the best cal-

culated "to avert the evils which every year's experience had demonstrated were likely to follow from the prolonged agitation of the vehement controversy on all questions connected with slavery." He now, however, had resolved not to press for the present the adoption, as a law, of the Order of the 2nd Nov. And the reason for suspending that Order his Lordship states to be the appointment of a Committee of the House of Lords for enquiring into the state of society in the Colonies, and into the laws regulating the relations of master and slave. He retained, indeed, he says, the opinion he had already so strongly expressed in his despatch of the 5th Nov. 1831 (see *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. v. No. 92, p. 37), that no such enquiry was necessary; but he had yielded to it from a hope that the recommendations of this Committee, composed of many who were large West Indian proprietors, might influence the local legislatures voluntarily to reform their system. In what appeared to him to be but a choice of evils, he thought it better, on the whole, to incur the certain inconvenience of postponing the relief which is so urgently required both by the planter and by the slave, and to encounter the risk which must necessarily attend the prolonged agitation of this subject, than to proceed at once to bring before Parliament any measures of a more decisive nature." The enquiry at least, he trusts, will "either make manifest to all that the Government is under the necessity of taking further and more effectual measures, or it may induce the Colonial Legislatures to adopt the reforms to which Government have looked as the means of satisfying both the claims of humanity and the dictates of prudence." "Such a course," he adds, "had become the more necessary, as the delay which had taken place in executing the resolutions of 1823 had driven many who would have been originally contented with their enforcement to press for the immediate and unqualified abolition of slavery." "It is to be hoped, therefore," he further adds, "that the Committee of the House of Lords may be the means of prevailing upon the Colonial Legislatures to take a just view of their situation, and of the increasing difficulties with which it is surrounded."

On the 9th of June, 1832, Lord Goderich again addressed the Governors of the Legislative Colonies, to announce the formation also of a Committee of the House of Commons, in consequence of the numerous petitions for the abolition of slavery, to consider and report what measures it may be expedient to adopt "for the extinction of slavery throughout the British Dominions, at the earliest period compatible with the safety of all classes in the Colony, *and in conformity with the resolutions of May 15, 1823.**"

"Some alarm has been expressed," observes his Lordship, "lest this vote should tend to an erroneous impression on the minds of the slaves of being declared free, and they should be led by disappoint-

* The words in italics were moved as an amendment on Mr. Buxton's motion, by Lord Althorp, on the suggestion of the West Indian party; but were resisted by Mr. Buxton and his friends. On a division, they were carried by a majority of 73; 163 voting for them, and 90 against them.

ment to acts of insubordination." In this alarm, however, his Lordship says he does not participate; on the contrary he entertains a sanguine hope that nothing would so much tend to allay any feelings of discontent which may have arisen from the late discussions, and the resistance to the measures proposed for their relief, and to lead the slaves patiently to await the promised improvement of their condition, "as the certainty that Parliament is now engaged in an enquiry into the best and speediest mode of effecting that object." If indeed "the owners of slaves should suffer themselves to give way to unfounded and exaggerated apprehensions; if they should indulge in violent and intemperate language, there would be too great a probability that the slaves, forming their notions of what they have to expect from the alarm expressed by their masters, might be led to indulge in extravagant hopes." "I trust that the fatal proof which recent experience has afforded of the reality of this danger will serve as a warning to the Colonists, and prevent such conduct on their parts as may lead to such misconception." "To the planters, you will explain that the vote of the House of Commons implies no departure from the principles sanctioned by the resolutions of 1823; that no violent change in the existing form of society is contemplated; but that, on the contrary, the object to which the labours of the Committee will be directed will be that which Parliament has always recognized as the end to be aimed at, in all that has been done on this subject, namely, the substitution, as soon as it can be effected without any shock or convulsion, of a system of *free* for one of *forced* labour. To the slaves, on the other hand, you will give the assurance of his Majesty's most earnest solicitude for their welfare; but you will explain to them that any attempt on their part to wrest by force, from their masters, advantages to which they have no legal claim, can have no other effect than to draw down upon them the severest punishment, and to postpone the accomplishment of that which is intended for their benefit."

The Circular Despatch addressed about the same time (May 13, 1832) to the Governors of the West Indian Crown Colonies, announces the intention of his Majesty's Government to move Parliament to grant to the West Indian Crown Colonies, when satisfied that the Order in Council of Nov. 2, 1831, is in full operation, a moiety of the annual public revenue of each; leaving it to the Governor and Council to select, with the approbation of the Government, the particular Colonial taxes to be remitted in consequence.* This relief, however, is to be regarded as merely provisional, and to be exchanged hereafter for advantages of a more permanent character.

His Lordship trusts that the Order is now in operation. If not, the Governor will of course use the powers with which he is invested to enforce the law, and, while he secures to the slaves the full enjoyment of the advantages conferred upon them by it, he will repress every attempt to abuse them, and cause the master's authority to be respected, and his lawful commands obeyed.

* The annual revenue of these Colonies is as follows:—St. Lucia, £12,531; Trinidad, £37,761; and Guiana £65,332. The amount of the annual remission, therefore, will be respectively £6,266; £18,881; and £32,666;—in all £57,713.

His Lordship postpones any modifications of the Order in Council at present, though he professes his disposition to consider maturely any that may be proposed, and he feels less difficulty in this postponement as the objections appear to him to have proceeded from misconceptions of the real nature and effect of this Order. What follows will be given nearly entire and in his own words.

“ It has been urged that the restrictions on manufacturing labour will be attended with the absolute ruin of the plantations; and it appears to be taken for granted that the law has forbidden slave-labour beyond the prescribed hours, even with the consent of the slave himself. There is nothing, however, in the Order to justify this construction, but much which seems to me directly opposed to it; for the words of the 90th clause are that ‘ No slave shall be *compelled* or *bound*’ to perform any labour beyond the prescribed hours; and the penalty is denounced in the 96th clause against owners who shall ‘ *compel* or *require*’ any slave to perform any such extra labour. All, therefore, that is prohibited is *compulsory* labour beyond the prescribed hours.

“ But it is further assumed that the slaves will not voluntarily engage in extra labour for hire. This assertion has been often made, and, wherever the experiment has been fairly tried, so far as my information extends, has been as often refuted. Thus the works of the engineer department were executed at Berbice, and the lieutenant-governor’s residence there was built by the voluntary labour of hired slaves; and the Crown Negroes in British Guiana, who have recently been made free, have, since their liberation, employed themselves in working for wages under the commanding officer of engineers. From the Bahamas also several cases are reported by the governor of the exertion of the utmost industry by persons of the same class, when stimulated by the hope of wages; and, in the last collection of papers on the subject of slavery, which were presented to Parliament on the 15th March last, will be found at page 76 a report from Surtees, the protector of slaves in St. Lucia, which proves from the custom-house returns that, from the 5th January 1831 to 5th January 1832, upwards of 1092 tons of logwood were exported from the port of Castries on account of slaves, being the produce of their voluntary labour during the days and hours secured to them by law.

“ A more plausible objection might perhaps be founded upon the danger that in making such a contract with the owner the slave would be a free agent in name only. That, however, is a risk against which security might be found in the vigilance of the protectors, and in the clear apprehension of their own rights which the slaves may be expected to acquire. The advantages of introducing such a system would, on the other hand, be of the highest moment; it might pave the way for a more general substitution of hired service for forced labour; and a slave who during part of the year had been accustomed to work two or three hours daily for wages would be rapidly preparing for the transition into the condition of a free labourer.

“ These views are not founded on mere theory. I learn from most respectable authority that, since the promulgation of the Order in Trinidad, the practice has already commenced in that island of hiring slaves to work in crop time at extra hours, for an increased allowance of food; and the extension of the same practice to British Guiana and St. Lucia may not improbably remove the obstacle which the Order is said to have raised to the completion of the manufacturing process, with great and permanent advantage to all parties concerned.

“ Great objections have been raised to the regulations of the Order respecting provisions. At a meeting of planters and others, held at St. Lucia on the 4th of January last, it was unanimously resolved, ‘ That the Order compels the owner to furnish his labourers daily with double the quantity of provisions supplied to the King’s troops, and to give them clothing such as their masters are; in many instances, themselves destitute of.’ On the other hand, the letter trans-

mitted by the Governor of Trinidad, written by the chairman of the committee of that island, on the 31st December last, contains the following passage:—‘No planter who values the health or the comfort of his Negroes would substitute the less plentiful, less nutritive, less wholesome, and far more economical food provided by law, for the expensive allowance which they now receive.’ Thus the very same regulation which is condemned as profuse and extravagant in St. Lucia is not less loudly condemned as penurious in Trinidad. Nor can it be asserted that this contradiction arises from any local distinctions, which would render the same food dear and nutritious in the one island and cheap and ill-adapted for nutriment in the other; for in both the Governor has the power of making such substitutions for the prescribed allowances as the exigencies of the colony may require, provided that the support of the slave be not thereby diminished. To this regulation, and to the rule which enables the owner himself, with the written authority of the protector, to make a similar substitution in respect to clothing, I should apprehend that adequate attention has not hitherto been given. These provisions, however, would seem to afford a sufficient answer to the more prominent of the objections which have been usually urged against the Order in Council; and I am to desire that you would immediately apply your mind to the consideration of the question what substitutions of food and clothing can be authorised to the common advantage of the proprietor and the slave.

“You will avail yourself of the advice of the members of the legislative body of the colony under your government, in forming your decision upon this subject; although that decision must at last be adopted on your own responsibility, and must, under the Order in Council, be promulgated as originating with yourself alone. If any owner should wish to provide for the maintenance of his slaves partly by an allowance of food, and partly by granting time, it would be in his power, as I have already shown, to make any contract of that nature with the slaves, paying them in an increased amount of food for the voluntary surrender of any part of their leisure hours. In short, I am persuaded that, whenever this Order in Council shall be studied with that calm and impartial attention which in the first heat of the moment it may not have received, it will be found that many of the difficulties on which its opponents have most insisted had been obviated by anticipations in the structure of the law itself.”

We have judged it best not to interrupt our abstract of these important despatches by any observations of our own. Having, however, laid the substance of them before our readers it seems incumbent upon us to add a few remarks. The despatches addressed to the governors of the legislative colonies we have perused with considerable pain and regret. The experience of nine long years has taught us the fruitlessness of referring to the Colonial Assemblies the task of reforming the condition of their slave population. From first to last, during the whole of that period, we have continued to protest against such a reference, as a virtual forfeiture of the pledges, given by Government and by Parliament, to employ effectual measures for raising the condition of the slave to that of other classes of his Majesty’s subjects. And in this view of the case we thought we had been supported by the declarations of Viscount Althorp and Lord Howick on the 15th of April, 1831 (see our No. 94, p. 83—90), and by the principles contained in the very able despatches of Viscount Goderich since he has held the seals of the Colonial Department (see more especially vol. iv. No. 77, p. 152—155; vol. v. No. 92, p. 40—47; and No. 98, p. 205—208, 218, and 228). But,

if the case was even then of a nature to draw from these noble lords opinions so adverse to the hope of a favourable result from any such reference, what shall be said to the renewed expression of such a hope after the experience of another year has so remarkably strengthened every previous ground of distrust in the purposes (nay, may we not say in the capacity?) of the Colonial Assemblies, to legislate beneficially for their bondsmen? Consolatory as were the sentiments which were expressed by those noble lords, and cordially as we rejoiced in their enunciation, we thought it our duty to raise our voice even then against the practical course which, hoping against hope, they had resolved to pursue. Our No. 80 is a proof of this, in which we gave it as our clear opinion that such a course was not likely to produce any beneficial result, but was likely to issue "not merely in delay, but in disappointment, and perhaps in disaster." To the execution of the Order in Council of the 2d November, 1831, in the Crown Colonies, we apprehended indeed no resistance nor any disturbance. There, nothing was left to the choice and deliberation of the planters. In the chartered Colonies the measure would have proved equally safe and efficacious had it been enforced by the sanction of an Act of Parliament. "The planters might and would have grumbled at the laws which restrained their power within due bounds; but we should have had no resistance which the firm and temperate execution of the Act itself would not have repressed. Submission on the part of the planters must have followed as a matter of course; and the gratitude of the slave for the blessings conferred upon him would have secured his peaceful demeanour, and he would have shrunk from the slightest movement which would have interfered with its beneficent operation" (No. 94, p. 95). How widely different have been the results of the course which has actually been pursued! The contumacious resistance of the planters has only been aggravated by the forbearance of the Government. The condition of the slave was becoming in the mean time more intolerable. Increased severity of exaction; new encroachments on the slaves' scanty rights; torturing inflictions; and cruel persecutions are stated to have become more frequent.—At length Negro blood was made to flow in torrents. Yet the very men are now invited to legislate for the comfort, and freedom, and moral improvement of their bondsmen, who have been wantonly drenching the land with that blood; and who have been recently acting the part of incendiaries as well as manslayers—razing to the ground the houses of worship and instruction, and doing all in their power to expel or exterminate those servants of God who had been "turning the wretched slave from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God." And, while all this has been transacting before our eyes,—while each day as it has passed seemed to give fresh energy to the resistance of the Colonists, till their contumacy grew into actual rebellion, and they bade a daring defiance to law, and to the authority of their sovereign, openly glorying in felonies by which his peace was outraged, and the life and property of his faithful subjects put to hazard or destroyed;—to these men, still reeking with carnage and covered with crime, or to men

chosen by them, and sympathizing with them, is to be delegated the task of framing, in *his* name, a code which shall in future afford adequate protection to the objects of their bitter hostility and their fierce and merciless proscriptions. Taking into view the whole of this case, it does grieve us that such a reference should now again be made to the colonial legislatures. And if we look back to the preceding pages of our present number, with all their afflicting details, and then, reverting to No. 100, look at the results of our population abstract, the case becomes one of a still more painful description, fully justifying the expression of our deepest regrets.

Lord Goderich, it is true, flatters himself that great effects, in the way of conciliating the Colonists to the adoption of his plan of amelioration, may be expected from the Reports of the Parliamentary Committees which have lately been engaged in enquiring into this subject. That these Committees were wholly uncalled for, except for purposes of delay, we have the clear judgment, supported by the irrefragable arguments, of Lord Goderich himself. (No. 92, p. 37, &c.) But, whatever these reports may be, they cannot, as his Lordship admits, invalidate the testimony which has already decided the Government and the Parliament, in union with the universal feeling of the nation at large, to decree that Slavery shall cease. But this we will venture to predict (and we do so on principles which we hold in common with him, and which are inherent in the very nature of man),—these Reports will not, and cannot, have any effect in rendering the Assembly of Jamaica a fit medium for communicating, to the Negro population of that island, the blessings of light and liberty, or of moral and spiritual improvement. It were fatuity to hope for it. Need we go farther than the preceding pages of the very number we are now inditing for proof of this proposition? Let any man calmly read the tale there told; and if, after having done so, he can place confidence in a legislature drawn from such a society, and employed to frame laws on such a subject, he possesses a faith far exceeding that of the wildest enthusiast even of the present day.

If, on men thus polluted with crime and daring in rebellion, it shall be thought right to lavish the nation's bounty,—and if murderers and incendiaries must be indemnified for the blood they have caused to flow and the conflagrations their own hands have kindled,—at least let not the victims of their infuriate rage be still left to their “tender mercies;” and let them not have this boon added to the half million of money granted to them that they shall have their season of cruel and uncontrolled dominion prolonged till their vengeance shall be satiated, and till they shall feel remorse enough for their past inflictions of wrong to become the willing instruments of securing the sufferers from such inflictions in future.

But we have done for the present with this part of our subject. It is with real pain that we have been compelled thus to speak. Deeply as we may be impressed with a sense of what has been done by those from whom we are constrained in this instance to differ, we do not dare to refrain from expressing our free and undisguised feelings on

the subject. We cannot doubt the earnestness with which the Government must desire to have their hands strengthened for the achievement of that work of mercy with which they are charged; and we trust that the difficulties, which may have hitherto interfered with their progress in it, will speedily vanish before the united and energetic demonstrations of an enfranchised people and a reformed Parliament; and that the hour is now fast approaching when the decree shall go forth, the irreversible and irrevocable decree, that within the limits of the British dominions Slavery shall totally and universally cease.

Before closing our remarks, we must advert briefly to the despatches addressed to the Governors of the Crown Colonies, the tenor of which is certainly of a much more satisfactory nature. We rejoice that Lord Goderich has not been induced, by the unreasonable and groundless clamours of the planters, to modify the provisions of the Order in Council of November last, so as to meet their selfish and contradictory objections. The futility of these objections he has exposed with a master's hand. If, however, instead of coming at once to the only real and effective remedy for the multiplied evils and aggravated guilt of our Colonial system—namely, the emancipation of the slaves—we are doomed still to discuss only the means of alleviating their hard lot by progressive regulations, we trust that in lending an ear, as he promises to do, to any representations of the planters which may be founded in justice, he will also reconsider the observations which we have ventured to lay before him in a former Reporter, No. 92, on the various provisions of the Order of November, 1831, and the correctness of all of which, with a single exception, we are ready most unhesitatingly to maintain. The single exception to which we refer is the regulation with respect to food. We then expressed, with some reserve indeed, our opinion of the sufficiency of the allowance of vegetable or farinaceous food which was assigned to the slave. Our slight doubt has however been rather strengthened by the communications from the colonies to which the Despatch of Lord Goderich adverts. Heavy complaints have, indeed, been made, by most of them, of the ruinous excess of that allowance,—a decisive proof of the extreme scantiness of supply which previously prevailed. But the Colonists of Trinidad, who are unquestionably competent witnesses, affirm that the prescribed allowance is inadequate, in their estimation, to the wants of the slave, and falls below what they themselves would deem just and necessary, and with which in their ordinary practice they supply him. Besides this, we have the assurance also of some Guiana residents that, with respect to the number of full-grown plantains required to be given weekly by the Order, viz. fifty-six, it is less than the Guiana planter, who sets a due value on the slave's health and capacity of exertion, regularly apportions to him; namely, two bunches of full-grown plantains a week, each bunch containing generally from thirty to forty; and this notwithstanding the miserable pittance which the former law of Demerara authorises as the *legal* allowance for an adult slave. (Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 82, p. 294.)

We feel a strong objection, however, to the mode of paying for the extra labour of the slave adopted by the planters of Trinidad, and apparently sanctioned by Lord Goderich. The Trinidad allowance of food, we are told, is already greater than that of the new Order. Why then is *food* fixed upon as the medium of payment for the slave's extra labour? There can be no good reason for this. Under the former Orders in Council the rate of wages for extra labour was directed to be fixed in money, and so ought it to be now. The contract of the master with the slave for his labour ought to specify the *money* price either of his hours, or of the quantity of labour done. The slave may then receive, at his option, an equivalent in other articles. But any other course must lead to abuse and dissatisfaction, and is particularly ill-adapted to the purpose of enabling the slave to accumulate the price of his manumission.

But, with whatever doubt we may pronounce on the question of *food*, there are others on which we can feel no hesitation in expressing a most decided opinion (in a sense very opposite to that of the West Indians) that great modifications are called for. We chiefly allude to the totally inadequate time allowed to the slave exclusive of Sunday for the culture of his grounds; and the totally uncalled for and injurious restrictions imposed on the slave's enjoyment of his Sabbath, and the narrow limits both as to time and distance which are to bound his attendance on the means of instruction and religious worship. For the arguments by which we supported our views on these two most essential points, we refer, with entire confidence in their truth and justice, to the first number of our present volume (No. 92, p. 20—26, and p. 31 and 32). And we are fully persuaded that if, in these particulars, the Order should not undergo revision, it will greatly disappoint, in its efficiency, the expectations of its framers. With the discussion on these two points, is closely connected the imperfect regulation relating to Sunday markets. Without the substitution of a whole week-day in lieu of the Sunday, for marketing and labour, and without giving the slave a clear right to employ that week-day for these purposes, he will still be compelled to violate the sanctity of the Sabbath in order to save himself and family from want, and will still be deprived of his fair opportunities of religious improvement. (See No. 92, p. 5, and vol. iv. No. 81, p. 285, and No. 82, p. 291.)

But we would refer the reader anew to the whole of our comments on that Order as they stand in our No. 92; and particularly to what is there said on the subject of the power of arbitrary punishment now possessed by the master, or by his delegate of the lowest grade, without any effective control from law or magistrate, or any effective responsibility for its harshest and most revolting exercise. What hope of seeing the oppressive use of such a power restrained can be entertained with respect to a community so lost to the guidance of principle as openly to avow their predetermination to violate, in their capacity of grand and petty jurors, the solemn obligation of their oaths, and to perjure themselves in the face of the world, and before the eye of heaven, in order to defeat the ends of justice?

IV.—RESOLUTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

At a meeting of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, held on the 27th of September, 1832, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

1. That in the judgment of this Committee the present state of the slave question makes it a duty of paramount importance to meet the new Parliament, on its first assembling, with the voice of the nation praying for the immediate extinction of Slavery in the British Colonies, under such arrangements as may be found necessary for the safety of all parties.

2. That the religious persecution in the island of Jamaica, which in contumacious defiance of British authority has been carried to an extent unprecedented in modern times,—the insurrection of the slaves, necessarily occasioned by the system adopted towards them,—and the irritating conduct of their masters, lead this Committee earnestly to deprecate one moment's unnecessary delay in the settlement of this important question. Unless immediate measures are taken for the entire removal of this great national crime, this Committee are of opinion that the mutual hostility now existing, between the slave and the slave-holder, will lead to such a termination of the system as will involve the oppressor and the oppressed in one common calamity.

3. That the Committee, anticipating the probability of emancipation being accomplished by violence, if the right of the slave to his freedom be not speedily established, call the attention of the public to the calamitous consequences which may attend further delay—consequences which all men of Christian principles would most deeply deplore ;—the blood which must be so profusely shed,—the inevitable destruction of property in the Colonies,—and the consequent injury to the commercial interests of Great Britain.

4. The Electors must be aware of the extreme importance of Parliamentary support in the new Parliament ; the Committee, therefore, most earnestly entreat their friends not to promise their suffrages to any candidate until they have satisfactorily ascertained that such candidate will support the total abolition of Slavery at the earliest moment it can take place consistently with the safety of all parties.

POSTSCRIPT.

Further accounts have just arrived from Jamaica, and also from the Mauritius, which add irresistible force to all our preceding observations.—But we have neither time nor room for details.

ERRATA.

In Reporter, No. 100, p. 263, top line, for “*extract*” read “*insert*.”
p. 254, 7th line from the bottom, for “*one parliament*” read “*our parliament*.”

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 102.]

NOVEMBER 1, 1832.

[VOL. v. No. 11.]

I.—CONDUCT OF EMANCIPATED AFRICANS IN ANTIGUA.

II.—AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

I.—CONDUCT OF EMANCIPATED AFRICAN APPRENTICES IN ANTIGUA.

A CURIOUS document has lately been laid on the table of the House of Commons on this subject. It is numbered 743, and bears the date of Aug. 16, 1832.

Our readers may recollect that, about a year before that date, Lord Howick, in the House of Commons, spoke favourably of the conduct of 371 African apprentices who had been seized in slave ships, and who, in 1828, had been put in possession of their liberty by an Order of the Secretary of State, referring in confirmation to the authority of Sir Patrick Ross, the Governor. This statement appears to have excited no small consternation among the Colonial Agents at home, and many of their constituents abroad. Accordingly, the Agent of Antigua, on the 10th of Sept. 1831, addresses a long letter to his constituents in that island to stir them up to disprove the statements of Lord Howick and Sir Patrick Ross; and he tells them that, if they should judge the subject as important as it appeared to him, they would see the necessity of giving him full information under the authority of the two houses of the legislature. This letter immediately roused the zeal and activity of the two houses—the Council and the Assembly. Meetings were convened, speeches made, resolutions passed, committees appointed, witnesses examined, and a joint report produced, in order to convict both his Majesty's Government and their own Governor of misrepresentation. It would almost seem as if the very fate of slavery depended on their establishing the worthlessness, idleness, and profligacy of the 371 Negroes whom Lord Howick, on the authority of the Governor, Sir Patrick Ross, had described as industriously labouring for their own support since they had been thrown upon their own resources. No man, we apprehend, can read the report of these legislative bodies on this occasion, or the evidence adduced in support of it, without perceiving the foregone conclusion at which all the actors in this investigation had previously arrived. Even Sir Patrick Ross is struck with the extreme unfairness of the whole proceeding, not only as it respects the liberated Africans, but as it respects his own measured and official representations to the Secretary of State of the facts of the case,—facts which he affirms, in the teeth of this enquiry, cannot be controverted. "The resolutions of the House of Assembly," he says, "have been passed without a single document before them on which to ground their unfair and unmerited imputation against me;" and "I have only been prevented from expressing myself to that body in terms of strong indignation, upon a proceeding

so hostile and unfounded, from the desire of avoiding a collision prejudicial to the public tranquillity, or embarrassing to his Majesty's Government." (p. 3.)

Such language, proceeding from an officer of the mild and cautious temper of Sir Patrick Ross, marks with sufficient force, presumptively at least, the tortuous aim of this transaction; and this estimate of its character, harsh as it undoubtedly is, seems borne out by the following observations of Viscount Goderich in his despatches to Sir Patrick Ross of the 3rd and 4th of January, 1832:—

"I have received your despatch of 15th November last, in which are enclosed certain Resolutions of the House of Assembly, with documents appended, relating to an enquiry into which the Assembly appears to have been misled by an erroneous representation transmitted to them, by the colonial agent, of the part taken by Lord Howick in a discussion in the House of Commons, on the 17th August last, respecting the liberation of certain Negroes.

"If the reports of Parliamentary proceedings (which are published in the *Mirror of Parliament* more fully than elsewhere) should have reached you, you will perceive, from the account given in that publication, however inaccurate in other respects, the real purport of that part of Lord Howick's statement which has been, no doubt unintentionally, misrepresented by the colonial agent."

We omit the particulars of what passed in the House: they will be found at p. 453, No. 89, vol. iv.—His Lordship proceeds:—

"The enquiry instituted by the Assembly having thus originated in a total misconception of what took place in the House of Commons, it is not necessary that I should take into consideration the papers which you have transmitted, otherwise than as documents containing information accidentally elicited upon a subject of some interest and importance.

"In this view, I cannot but wish that there had been a greater appearance of impartiality in the manner of instituting and conducting the investigation which was made into the conduct and character of the Negroes in question. It is stated by Mr. Bindon, on his examination before a Committee of the Legislature, that, whenever the captured Africans have been brought before the magistrates, they have not been able to obtain sureties on account of the general bad character which they bear, and they are invariably sent to the common gaol. He adds that he verily believes that the major part of the robberies committed in town are committed by them; that he considers the African Hospital a nuisance to the town, and a receptacle of idlers and thieves. You have yourself brought the correctness of the opinions thus delivered to a test to which the Assembly did not think proper to expose them. The returns which you called for from the provost-marshal established the fact, that out of the 371 Africans who were liberated in January, 1829, only fourteen had been committed to gaol up to 13th November, 1831, being in the proportion of less than two out of 100 in each year. It is not stated for what offences any of the fourteen were committed to gaol; but when I bear in mind that none of them have been removed from the colony, and that you were authorized, by the instructions from my predecessor for their liberation, to take measures for the removal of any who, within a period of seven years, should be convicted of theft, or any other offence against the peace of society, or should be found seeking subsistence as a common beggar or vagrant, or should become chargeable upon any parochial or public rates, except in cases of sickness or other inevitable accident,—I am led to infer that the offences for which the Africans in question have been committed to gaol are not of a serious complexion, and that they have not tended to bring upon the colony any considerable burden.

"The Assembly have observed that the Africans were, whilst in apprenticeship, by the terms of their indentures, exempted from agricultural labour, and

that thus they have not been habituated to such labour, and have not, since their liberation, in any instance engaged in it. Had it been permitted to indent captured Africans to planters, for the purpose of being employed in the labour of the plantations, there was every reason to apprehend that no distinction would have been made between their condition and that of plantation slaves. Unless such a distinction could have been enforced, it would have been obviously inconsistent, on the part of his Majesty's Government, at one and the same time to maintain that the labour allowed by law to be exacted from plantation slaves was excessive, and their rights ill-secured, and nevertheless to devote to that unprotected and possibly severe condition of servitude persons who were committed to the care of the Crown, for the purpose of being preserved from slavery, and prepared for the exercise of industry in freedom. If the plan of training them as apprentices to other crafts and occupations than those connected with agriculture has not been generally successful, and if the Negroes do not now pursue those occupations with diligence, this result is greatly to be regretted, but is not difficult to be explained. The number of the captured Africans who happened to be brought into the island of Antigua appears to have been disproportionate to the wants of the colonial society for mechanical or skilled labour; and by reason of this disproportion a large number of the Africans appear to have remained unapprenticed on the hands of the collector of the customs. If it be true, as the Assembly have stated, that the captured Africans, whilst under the care of the collector, did not receive any moral or religious instruction, this is a circumstance which ought undoubtedly to have attracted the attention of the Government, and to have been brought under the notice of the Secretary of State. I fear, however, that in this respect the captured Africans only shared the fate of a large proportion of the Negroes in the colony. It would be a subject of sincere satisfaction to learn that the Assembly of Antigua have provided more adequate means of imparting religious instruction to the slaves generally; and it is particularly desired that the liberated Africans should be especially attended to by that portion of the church establishment in Antigua which is provided for by a Parliamentary grant.

"I observe it to be stated, in the evidence taken by the House of Assembly, respecting the character and conduct of the liberated Africans, that the women of that class of persons are particularly complained of. I have already reminded you that under the instructions of my predecessor, which led to the liberation of these people, you were authorized to remove any of them from Antigua who should be convicted before any magistrate of theft, or of any offence against the peace of society, or should be found seeking their living as common beggars or vagrants, or who should have become burthensome to any parochial rates, except in cases of sickness or other inevitable accident. I have now to call your attention to the expediency of exercising the authority with which you are thus invested in the case of every female African who may render herself liable to be removed; and I have to request that you will cause every such female African to be removed to Trinidad, there to be placed on one of the settlements, either of disbanded soldiers or of American refugees." p. 18—20.

The sequel of this correspondence is remarkable, and seems decisive of the question mooted by the Antigua Agent and his constituents. On the 25th April, 1832, Sir Patrick Ross, in reply to Lord Goderich's instructions, "on the subject of removing to Trinidad such of the liberated Africans as may have forfeited the privileges derived from the liberty that had been awarded to them," observes—

"It is a cause of satisfaction to me to be enabled to state that the conduct of these people continues so much at variance with the character given of them in part of the evidence which was laid before the Houses of Legislature, by their joint committee, in November last, that there has not come to my knowledge a single case which could justify me in putting in force the penalty of removing them from a country in which they have been for so many years domiciled.

“I beg to enclose some documents, from which your Lordship will observe that the liberated Africans are progressively advancing in moral and religious improvement.

“Many of the liberated Africans are members of the Samaritan Society, of the church of the United Brethren, and of a Friendly Society.” p. 21.

The Governor’s communication is accompanied by gratifying testimonies, in favour of these poor people, from the Rector of St. John’s, Antigua, Mr. Holberton, and the Moravian missionaries.

This despatch is in conclusion thus briefly but significantly acknowledged by Viscount Goderich. “I am much gratified to find that no cases of the kind have occurred, and that you are able to give so favourable an account of the conduct of these people.” p. 24.

Thus we hope will terminate every effort to pervert truth to the injury of freedom, humanity, and justice.

II.—AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

WE continue to look with some solicitude for the appearance of the mass of evidence which was laid before both Houses of Parliament, in the last session, on the subject of Colonial slavery, but its publication is still delayed. While expecting it, we take the opportunity of turning our eyes, for a brief space, to the United States of America, in order to mark the progress of the question which occupies our thoughts in that mighty portion of the family of man. The apparent apathy with which it was too long regarded in that country, as in this, seems to be giving place to an intense agitation of the public mind, obviously big with important results; and, while the wicked and antichristian prejudices of colour are acquiring, in one direction, a deeper and sterner malignity; in another, a more uncompromising and determined hostility to slavery and all its fearful adjuncts is taking root, and spreading itself widely throughout the Christian part, especially, of the American population. This feeling seems of late to have been strengthened by the fuller development of the principles and plans of the Colonization Society, which, though for a time almost unnoticed in its course, has of late come forward with a startling boldness in the avowal of its deliberate purposes, and of the cruel and unjust expedients by which, it is alleged, those purposes are to be effected; and the real tendency of which, it is strenuously maintained, is not to lessen, but to aggravate and perpetuate, the worst evils of Negro slavery.

Various publications have recently appeared in America which profess to expose to public reprobation the flimsy pretences which serve to disguise, from superficial observers, the innate and essential deformities of the system of this society, and to delude many benevolent individuals into yielding it their countenance and support. These works are not generally accessible to the British reader. One of them, however, is now before us, which undertakes effectually to expose the iniquity of this Colonization scheme. It bears the following title: “Thoughts on African Colonization; or an impartial exhibition of the doctrines, principles, and purposes of the American Colonization Society, together with the resolutions, addresses, and remonstrances of the free people of colour,” by William Lloyd Garrison, of Boston in New England.

This exposure is conducted by Mr. Garrison with great ability and effect, and his proofs are drawn from sources which appear unexceptionable, namely, the reports of the Colonization Society itself, the published proceedings of its public meetings, and the discussions contained in a periodical work called the "African Repository," which is the avowed and acknowledged organ of the sentiments and plans of the Society. From these documents he has drawn so largely as to obviate the suspicion of his having misrepresented those sentiments and plans. The following are extracts :—

"The superstructure of the Colonization Society," he affirms and seems to prove, "rests upon the following pillars :—

"1st. *Persecution.* It declares that the whole coloured population must be removed to Africa; but, as the free portion are almost *unanimously* opposed to a removal, it seems to be the determination of the Society to make their situations so uncomfortable and degraded here as to compel them to migrate: consequently it discourages their education and improvement in this their native home.* This is persecution.

"2d. *Falsehood.* It stigmatises our coloured citizens as being natives of Africa, and talks of sending them to their native land; when they are no more related to Africa than we are to Great Britain.

"3. *Cowardice.* It avows, as a prominent reason why coloured citizens ought to be removed, that their continuance among us will be dangerous to us as a people! This is a libel upon their character. Instead of demanding justice for this oppressed class, the Society calls for their removal!

"4th. *Infidelity.* It boldly denies that there is power enough in the gospel to melt down the prejudices of men, and insists that, so long as the people of colour remain among us, *we must be their enemies!* Every honest man should abhor the doctrine." p. 11.

"I am prepared to show that those who have entered into this CONSPIRACY AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS are unanimous in abusing their victims; unanimous in their mode of attack; unanimous in proclaiming the absurdity that our free blacks are natives of Africa; unanimous in propagating the libel that they cannot be elevated and improved in this country; unanimous in opposing their instruction; unanimous in exciting the prejudices of the people against them; unanimous in apologising for the crime of slavery; unanimous in conceding the right of the planters to hold their slaves in a limited bondage; unanimous in their hollow pretence for colonizing, namely, to evangelize Africa; unanimous in their *true motive* for the measure—a *terror* lest the blacks should rise to avenge their accumulated wrongs. It is a conspiracy to send the free people of colour to Africa under a benevolent pretence, but *really* that the slaves may be held more securely in bondage. It is a conspiracy based upon fear, oppression, and falsehood, which draws its aliment from the prejudices of the people, which is sustained by duplicity, which really upholds the slave system, which fascinates while it destroys, which endangers the safety and happiness of the country, which no precept of the Bible can justify, which is implacable in its spirit, which should be annihilated." p. 16.

"In short, it is the most compendious and best adapted scheme to uphold the slave system that human ingenuity can invent. Moreover, it is utterly and irreconcilably opposed to the wishes and sentiments of the great body of the free people of colour, repeatedly expressed in the most public manner, but cruelly disregarded by it.

Again, "Our coloured population are not aliens (as the colonizationists assert); they were born on our soil; they are bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh;

* It is highly penal in the slave States to teach slaves to read.

their fathers fought bravely to achieve our independence during the revolutionary war, without immediate or subsequent compensation; they spilt their blood freely during the last war; they are entitled, in fact, to every inch of our southern, and much of our western territory, having worn themselves out in its cultivation, and received nothing but wounds and bruises in return. Are these the men to stigmatize as foreigners?

“Colonizationists generally agree in asserting that the people of colour cannot be elevated in this country, nor be admitted to equal privileges with the whites. Is not this a libel upon humanity and justice—a libel upon republicanism—a libel upon the Declaration of Independence—a libel upon Christianity? ‘All men are born equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.’ What is the meaning of that declaration? That *all* men possess these rights—whether they are six feet five inches high, or three feet two and a half—whether they weigh three hundred or one hundred pounds—whether they parade in broad-cloth or flutter in rags—whether their skins are jet black or lily white—whether their hair is straight or woolly, auburn or red, black or grey.

“Now, what a spectacle is presented to the world!—the American people, boasting of their free and equal rights—of their abhorrence of aristocratical distinctions—of their republican equality; proclaiming on every wind, ‘that all men are born *equal*, and endowed with certain inalienable *rights*,’ and that this land is an asylum for the persecuted of all nations; and yet as loudly proclaiming that they are determined to deprive millions of their own countrymen of every political and social right, and to send them to a barbarous continent, because the Creator has given them a sable complexion. Where exists a more rigorous despotism? What conspiracy was ever more cruel?

“The Colonization Society, therefore, instead of being a philanthropic and religious institution, is anti-republican and anti-christian in its tendency.”

But we turn for a moment to a well-meant and powerful effort, by a gentleman residing in this country, to dissipate the mist which envelopes the Colonization scheme, and to exhibit it in its length and breadth of evil. We allude to a pamphlet by Mr. Charles Stuart, printed at Liverpool by Egerton and Co., entitled “Prejudice vincible; or the practicability of conquering prejudice by better means than by slavery and exile in relation to the Colonization Society.” This pamphlet is prefaced by a letter from Mr. James Cropper of Liverpool, in which he fortifies, by his respectable authority, the strong, and as they appear to us, conclusive statements of Mr. Stuart.

It would be impossible for us to follow this pamphlet, any more than the work of Mr. Garrison, into all its details. We may, however, hereafter resume the subject. In the mean time we would merely observe that those details are fearfully portentous. Suffice it to say, that the broad facts of the case, as stated by Mr. Stuart, and borne out by the evidence adduced by Mr. Garrison, are these:—

Out of the whole population of the United States—about thirteen millions—upwards of two millions are held in a most degrading and brutal state of slavery, under laws even worse than those of the slave colonies of Great Britain. About half a million more are free persons of colour; free, however, only partially, being subject to malignant exclusions and persecutions, merely because they differ in complexion from ten or eleven millions of their fellow-subjects. These two oppressed and persecuted classes are rapidly increasing. Their increase terrifies the slave party. “To remove the free class,” say they, “is

mercy to ourselves, as they form a perpetual source of discontent and excitement to the slave." Their first object therefore is to expatriate, if possible, the whole of the free class, that the slaves may be more easily kept under. The scheme, indeed, is wholly impracticable and visionary, even if the free were willing to go into exile at the call of the Colonization Society. But they are not willing. They protest loudly, and almost universally, against this cruel project of expatriation. Their almost universal feeling may be traced in the resolutions the coloured classes have adopted and promulgated in all parts of the United States. Of these the following is a fair specimen:—

"Resolved,—That 'we hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

"That it is the decided opinion of this meeting, that African colonization is a scheme to drain the better informed part of the coloured people out of these United States, so that the chain of slavery may be rivetted more tightly; but we are determined not to be cheated out of our rights by the colonizationists, or any other set of men.

"That we view the country in which we live as our only true and proper home. We are just as much natives here as the members of the Colonization Society. Here we were born—here bred—here our earliest and most pleasant associations—here is all that binds man to earth, and makes life valuable.

"That we are freemen, that we 'are brethren, that we are countrymen and fellow-citizens, and as fully entitled to the free exercise of the elective franchise as any men who breathe; and that we demand an equal share of protection from our federal government with any class of citizens in the community.

"That as citizens of these United States, and for the support of these resolutions, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we do mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.—Here we were born—here will we live, by the help of the Almighty—and here we will die, and let our bones lie with our fathers." p. 35.

This stubborn resistance of the coloured classes to the plan of banishment from their native country has led the Colonizationists to contemplate still more decisive measures, with a view to compel their expatriation. In the Virginia House of Delegates the language employed was to this effect:—

"'It is idle to talk about not resorting to force,' said Mr. Broadnax, a member: 'every body must look to the introduction of force of some kind or other—and it is in truth a question of expediency, of moral justice, of political good faith—whether we shall fairly delineate our whole system on the face of the bill, or leave the acquisition of extorted consent to other processes. The real question, the only question of magnitude to be settled, is the great preliminary question—Do you intend to send the free persons of colour out of Virginia, or not?'

"'If the free Negroes are willing to go, they will go—if not willing they must be compelled to go. Some gentlemen think it politic not now to insert this feature in the bill, though they proclaim their readiness to resort to it when it becomes necessary; they think that for a year or two a sufficient number will consent to go, and then the rest can be compelled. For my part, I deem it better to approach the question and settle it at once, and avow it openly.

"'I have already expressed it as my opinion that few, very few, will *voluntarily* consent to emigrate, if no *COMPULSORY MEASURE* be adopted.

"'I will not express, in its full extent, the idea I entertain of what has been done, or what enormities will be perpetrated to induce this class of persons to leave the State. Who does not know that when a free Negro, by crime or

otherwise, has rendered himself obnoxious to a neighbourhood, how easy it is for a party to visit him one night, take him from his bed and family, and apply to him the gentle admonition of a severe flagellation, to induce him to *consent* to go away? In a few nights the dose can be repeated, perhaps increased, until, in the language of the physicians, *quantum suff.* has been administered to produce the desired operation; and the fellow then becomes *perfectly willing* to move away.

“Indeed, Sir, ALL OF US LOOK TO FORCE of some kind or other, direct or indirect, moral or physical, legal or illegal. Many who are opposed, they say, to any compulsory feature in the bill, desire to introduce such severe regulations into our police laws—such restrictions of their existing privileges—such inability to hold property, obtain employment, rent residences, &c., as to make it impossible for them to remain amongst us. *Is not this force?*”

“Mr. Fisher said:—‘If we wait until the free Negroes consent to leave the State, we shall wait until time is no more. *They never will give their consent*; and, he believed, if the House amended the bill as proposed, and the compulsory principle were stricken out, this class of people would be forced to leave by the harsh treatment of the whites.’

“What a revelation, what a confession is here! The free blacks taken from their beds, and severely flagellated, to make them willing to emigrate! And legislative compulsion openly advocated to accomplish this nefarious project! Yes, the gentlemen say truly, ‘few, very few will *voluntarily* consent to emigrate’—‘they never will give their consent’—and therefore they must be expelled by force! It is true, the bill proposed by Broadnax was rejected by a small majority; but it serves to illustrate the spirit of the colonization leaders.” p. 74.

This is really too bad; it makes the very blood to curdle in one’s veins!

The only ray of consolation which we discover breaking out from this lurid cloud is in the institution of Anti-Slavery Societies in the United States, formed for the very purpose of denouncing and opposing such abominations, and of extinguishing slavery altogether. We have before us the account of one recently established in New England, the objects of which are declared to be “to endeavour, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity, and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States, to improve the character and condition of the free people of colour, to inform and correct public opinion in regard to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political privileges with the whites.” In their address they denounce the principles and plans of the Colonization Society in the very strongest terms of reprehension. We trust that no friends of the Anti-Slavery cause in this country will be found to lend an ear to any of the insidious and delusive representations of the advocates of that Society, and still less to aid them with funds.

ERRATA.

Reporter, No. 97, heading, *for* vol. v. No. 7, *read* vol. v. No. 6.
 No. 98, — *for* — No. 8, *read* — No. 7.
 No. 99, — *for* — No. 9, *read* — No. 8.
 No. 100, — *for* — No. 11, *read* — No. 9.
 No. 101, — *for* — No. 12, *read* — No. 10.

THE

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CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN SIR C. B. CODRINGTON AND
T. F. BUXTON, ESQ., ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY.

1. *Address of Sir C. B. Codrington to the Electors of Gloucestershire:*

GENTLEMEN,—Unwilling at all times to intrude myself unnecessarily on your attention, I feel that I should be doing my duty neither to myself nor to that man with intentional malignity termed my *slave*, if I did not in such times as these endeavour to open the eyes of the misled anti-slavery Buxtonites. Gentlemen, *if I were merely, like Mr. Buxton, to make assertions which I am convinced he will not venture to say he himself believes, I should deserve no credit for such assertions.* I will therefore state that only which, from a residence on the spot, I have been an eye-witness to; or which, extracted from letters in my possession, I will vouch for the truth of. I have lived among my Negroes, and seen their comforts, and I will assert (defying all contradiction), that a more happy and contented class of beings never existed, until cursed with the blessings of the Anti-Slavery Society. Still, gentlemen, I will say that no man can be more desirous of their emancipation than myself, because no man would be more benefited by it, if it answered its desired object.

Gentlemen, my family have, for a century and a half, held under the Crown an island in the West Indies, eleven leagues N. of Antigua. The Negroes, in 1825, having within the preceding twenty years doubled their numbers, amounted to about 430: their number, at present, exceeds 500. I have an agent on the island called a governor, who, with two overseers, form the whole of the male white population upon an island eleven leagues from the nearest land, among a Negro (or slave) population exceeding 500.

Mr. James, in 1825, states the Negroes to be happy and contented, although under the greatest subordination; and, in proof, he mentions his having frequently slept in the woods (pirates frequently landing); by the side of his horse, surrounded by 100 to 150 of them; and having often swam out to wrecks, followed by these *cruelly-treated slaves*, in seas where no boats could live;—that he was in the habit of leaving his wife and daughter on the island, when going on business to other islands (in fact, he has actually gone to England on one occasion), although there was not on any door a lock, or on any window a fastening. In fact, he writes, “the greater part of them would lay down their lives to serve me. Scarcely (he adds) does one of your vessels go to Antigua without a quantity of poultry and salt fish to sell, and in good seasons an immense quantity of potatoes. Many of them have ten or eleven acres of land in cultivation, the produce of which, of course, is their own property.” My agent, gentlemen, in the present year (1832) writes, that the father of one of my slaves will not allow his daughter to be emancipated, thinking their present state preferable to emancipation; he states fully and convincingly the benefits which would accrue to me from general emancipation, but adds his conviction that not a fourth of my Negroes would be alive at the end of two years.

Gentlemen, I could add much more; but I have already trespassed

too long upon your attention. I have bought my Negroes, and cultivated my land, on the pledged faith of England. Secure me from loss, or give me compensation, and you may offer manumission to the above Negroes to-morrow.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

Dodington, Aug. 9th, 1832.

C. BETHELL CODRINGTON.

2. *Letter of T. F. Buxton, Esq. to Sir C. B. Codrington.*

SIR,—In entering upon an answer to the unprovoked attack upon me contained in your address to the Electors of the County of Gloucester, the first question which occurs to me is, How does it happen that there is a dispute between us? It certainly did not originate with me—I had never offered you any personal insult—I had never, in private or in public, mentioned your name, or commented on your conduct. I ought, perhaps, to take shame for my ignorance—but the fact is, I was not conscious that there lived such a person as Sir C. B. Codrington.

As, however, you have chosen to step out of your way for the purpose of criminating me, I feel myself under the necessity of entering into some examination of your statements. I shall do this in entire good humour. I have been so much accustomed to West Indian reproaches that they carry with them, to my mind, neither surprise nor pain.

You begin by telling the Electors of Gloucestershire that you desire “to open the eyes of the Anti-Slavery Buxtonites.” Why, then, did you not point out some sentiment I had uttered—or some fact I had stated—and then prove the fallacy of the one or the misrepresentation of the other? Why did you resort to general accusation, and steer clear of any particular and tangible charge? I suspect that it was because you found it easier to asperse the advocate than to grapple with his argument. You can, however, easily remove this suspicion. All the statements I have made upon the subject of Slavery are within your reach—select any one, or more, which you deny—and if I do not verify my statements, whether it be of fact or of argument, by conclusive proof, the victory will be yours: if you decline this invitation, the Electors of Gloucestershire will not be at a loss to decide where and with whom the error lies.

Permit me to suggest that there is somewhat of inconsistency in your mode of reasoning. You are very angry with those who are friendly to the freedom of the Negro; but, when you have exhausted your terms of vituperation, out comes your declaration that “no man can be more desirous of their emancipation than yourself.” If the Negroes be so rich in comforts—if they surpass the rest of mankind in contentment, and the causes of contentment—why do you wish to rob them of THE JOYS OF SLAVERY? Why do you labour (touse your own strange phraseology) “to curse them with the blessings which the Anti-Slavery Society would confer?” Again, you and your agent agree in thinking that great “benefits would accrue to you by general emancipation”—where then is the necessity of the compensation for which you plead? Compensation for an injury sustained has some colour of reason; but compensation for an acknowledged benefit is a doctrine more likely to be novel than acceptable to the people of England. Again, you speak of the increase of your slaves, and you insinuate this as a proof of good treatment. It is so—we are agreed upon the fact that mankind only decrease under circumstances of peculiar cruelty, misery, and oppression. But do you not now perceive that, in your anxiety to confer a compliment on yourself, you have touched upon the very point which, of all others, condemns the slave system? You cannot be ignorant that the

population of the Slave Colonies has, according to official returns, decreased FIFTY-TWO THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-NINE, IN ELEVEN YEARS!

But no part of your address gratifies me so much as the anxiety with which you labour to show that your Negroes can be industrious when they work for themselves. You exult in the number of vessels carrying from your island to Antigua the goods which your Negroes have *acquired for themselves* by their own labour,—the poultry they have raised, the fish they have salted, the potatoes they have cultivated; and, as if this were not enough, you assure us “many of them have ten or eleven acres each in cultivation.” Indeed! then they cannot be the indolent beings which some planters represent them—then they can engage in agricultural labour for their own benefit. If they make such good use of the scantling of time you allow them, may we not fairly conclude that, when their whole time and labour shall belong to themselves, they will work with as much industry as the rest of mankind?

Thus, Sir, your address, though short, is full of instructive matter. You have hit upon the test of population, of all others the most fatal to the romance of Negro felicity—and next you have furnished me with one of the most striking and conclusive illustrations I have ever heard of the readiness of the Negro to labour, when that labour conduces to the gratification of his own wants.

Facts such as these cannot fail to open the eyes of the Anti-Slavery “Buxtonites,” as assuredly they have confirmed the views and shall stimulate the exertions of, Sir,

Your very obedient humble servant,

Cromer, Aug. 28th, 1832.

THOS. FOWELL BUXTON.

3. Letter of Sir C. B. Codrington to T. F. Buxton, Esq.

SIR,—Having read, in the *Cheltenham Chronicle* of the 6th instant, a letter you have done me the honour to address to me, I feel that I should be wanting in courtesy if I did not notice some of its contents; and I will follow your example in doing so in *entire good humour*. I am charged with having used the word “Buxtonites;” with having pointed out no sentiment you had uttered which might be proved fallacious; having avoided every tangible point; inconsistency, and other heinous offences. I am asked why, if I am really anxious for the manumission of my Negroes, I labour to *curse them with the blessings which the Anti-Slavery Society would confer*. You then proceed to discuss the propriety of compensation, the increase of slaves depending on good or bad treatment, and are quite in ecstasy to find that where slaves are allowed ten or twelve acres, they actually cultivate them for their own benefit. If, Sir, in noticing some of these points, the subject may, from its nature, draw from me some strong expressions, let me assure you that I mean nothing personal, giving you credit for good intentions, however, in my humble judgment, misapplied.

If the word Buxtonites has given offence, I am sorry to have used it; but I imagined I was placing you in the situation you most coveted, viz. the leader of the Anti-Slavery Society, a society not the less laudable from any (possibly erroneous) opinion I may hold respecting it; but which I do not hesitate to say (speaking of them as a body) I consider to have proved itself a curse, as well to the Negro as to the planter: and which will eventually prove a curse to the nation. On their heads, in my opinion, lie all the rebellions, massacres, and forfeitures of Negro life, of which we have seen so much, and are, I fear, doomed to see more. They have destroyed the property of the planter,

taken away the means of subsistence from the widow and the fatherless, have changed the character of the Negro from a happy and contented being (happier, because in a more comfortable state than the British labourer) to that of a rebel and a murderer. They have unfitted him for that state of liberty to which he was fast approaching, and which, I am still willing to believe, is the object of that society. I believe, Sir, your humanity to the slave has never led you to visit those colonies. The ignorance of the Anti-Slavery (may I say) Buxtonites is proclaimed from the resident bishop to the casual visitor; and I will repeat, from expressions imbibed from living among my Negroes, that *a happier or more contented class of beings never existed, until cursed with the blessings of the Anti-Slavery Society.*

But (you say) I have pointed out no sentiment you had uttered—I have avoided every tangible point. But have you never (speaking of the planter) used the words atrocious—barbarous—villanous? Have you not lately referred to an expression (some years back) of Lord Grenville, for the *express purpose* of proclaiming your concurrence in the opinion, that “a man who rises in the morning an owner of slaves, and does not liberate them before he retires to bed, is a *villain*?” I do not know whether these will come under the denomination of tangible points, and would rather have avoided noticing them; for I have no wish to be personal. I will proceed to answer the question, why, wishing the manumission of my Negroes, and admitting the benefit I should reap from their manumission, I still hold them in bondage. You would not, Sir, yourself urge manumission, if you did not think they had reached that point of moral advancement and instruction which (to use the words of the Archdeacon of Jamaica) would make manumission a boon (a blessing to them) instead of a curse; and this, Sir, is the point of difference between us. I forego what I believe would *eventually* be a benefit to myself, I defer what I believe would be a boon to the slave, because (with the Archdeacon) I believe he is as yet unfitted for it, and his present manumission would be to me a loss—to him a curse. And this leads me to the question of compensation—compensation (as you choose to put it) “for a benefit conferred:” but here again is the fallacy. I ask not compensation, but insurance from loss. My Negro, by the laws of England, is as much my property as any other species of property; if you benefit my property, I ask no compensation; if, by hastily depriving me of it, I suffer loss, I am in honour and good faith entitled to compensation; and I have a right in the first instance to claim insurance against loss. Let me not be told, *by you*, that *man cannot be the property of man*. I have heard (perhaps I am in error) that you have yourself received the benefit of this species of property. You have told me of the enormous decrease of slave population within the last eleven years: your labours, I believe, commenced about that period; from that date I reckon the fall of my West Indian property. You have not in your calculation distinguished how many have fallen by rebellion, massacre, or the halter. But may I ask, Sir (without meaning offence), were those slaves, from whose sale (the last instalment of which was made just eleven years ago) you profited, sold again into slavery, to swell that decrease which you now so pathetically describe? I vouch not for its truth; I should myself have received such profit. But the decrease is said to have arisen from the severity of the sugar-cultivating system, from cruelty, misery, and oppression, particularly during the crop-season; but no man has witnessed that crop season, without seeing the fallacy of this statement—without learning that every slave would wish its continuance the whole year.

Although I have overstepped the bounds of a letter, there is one remaining point which must not be omitted. “My Negroes can be in-

dustrious when they work for themselves. If they make such good use of the scantling of time I allow them, will they not work when their whole time and labour are their own?" Sir, I know not whether it is your intention, when you take my slaves, to divide my property among them; but it is a melancholy fact that those Negroes to whom you particularly allude, having *any quantity of land they will cultivate*, and occasionally loading my boats with produce for their own benefit, have, in a period of five years and a half, ending in 1831, kept themselves out of the provision market only 18 months. But, Sir, had you visited those colonies, you might have seen that in severe droughts (which too frequently occur) no labour will produce provisions. But I will conclude. I have many Negroes who would not accept manumission; two instances have lately occurred, one in Barbuda, of a father refusing the purchase-money for his daughter's liberty; the other, of a free Negro in Antigua declining the manumission of a wife and daughter, now my slaves. Sir, I am much more the Negro's friend than yourself. The eyes of the Anti-Slavery Society may remain closed; but the people of England are beginning to set a proper value on this hypocritical humbug, and the Negroes themselves to see the delusion of *Anti-Slavery Emancipation*. My writings, Sir, *may stimulate your exertions*; but I will warn you that those exertions, if leading to too hasty manumission, can tend only to further rebellion, massacre, and blood-shedding.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Dodington, Sept. 10, 1832.

C. BETHELL CODRINGTON.

4. Letter of T. F. Buxton, Esq., to Sir C. B. Codrington.

SIR,—Your letter, dated Sept. 10th, has but recently reached me. Its contents are very gratifying to me. So far from confuting, it does not even assail my statements; but then it is very successful in exposing the errors of your own. Thus stands the controversy:—You charged me with misrepresentation. I replied by challenging you to the proof. I gave you a wide field. I called your attention to all I had said or written on the subject of slavery, and I invited you to select and expose any error in my facts or any fallacy in my arguments. You have quoted neither my facts nor my arguments. *Am I not entitled to construe that silence into a most emphatic concession?* I want no other vindication. YOU HAVE MADE A CHARGE, AND YOU HAVE FAILED TO ESTABLISH IT.

I must apprise you that I shall never attempt to justify any harsh epithets which may have fallen from me in the warmth of discussion. If I have used the terms "atrocious," "barbarous," "villanous," as applied to the body of the planters, I regret it. You who accuse others of "making assertions which they do not themselves believe;"—you who charge upon their heads "the rebellions, massacres, and forfeitures of Negro life," which have recently stained the annals of Jamaica; you who describe your opponents as "calumniators," and their doctrine as "hypocritical humbug"—their acts as "a curse to the planter," "a curse to the Negro," "a curse to the nation;"—you who—(not in the excitement of debate, but in the retirement of your closet—not in a 10 years' controversy, but in three short letters) assume such a license of invective, must surely be no stern critic on the language of your opponent.

I close this part of the controversy with this single observation: You have, as you confess by your silence, found it impossible to damage my statements; but you seem to have thought it would do just as well to overturn one of your own; and this you have done very effectually. In your first letter there is this paragraph:—"Scarcely does one of my vessels go to Antigua without a quantity of poultry and salt fish to sell, and in good

seasons an immense quantity of potatoes." Here we have the picture of a thriving people, not merely living in abundance, but enriching themselves by the export of their superfluous commodities. In the last letter you thus speak:—"It is a melancholy fact that the Negroes, though occasionally loading my BOATS with produce for their own benefit, have, in a period of five years and a half, kept themselves out of the provision market only 18 months." *The vessels dwindle into boats; the constant export of fish and poultry into an occasional shipment of produce; and these happiest of men, who were farmers at home and merchants abroad, cannot keep themselves at all during three-fourths of their time. What a falling off is this! You may well call it a melancholy fact—melancholy both to the slaves and their master. It exposes their wretchedness, and it ruins your argument.*

One topic alone remains. You taunt me with the sale of my slaves, and with the profit which I derived from them. I have had my share of calumny. You remind me of one of that troop of libels with which I have been assailed. I have hitherto allowed it to remain unnoticed, because it rested on the authority of anonymous or hireling writers; but, when a person so respectable as Sir C. B. Codrington gives it in any sort the sanction of his name, I have no alternative but to reply to it; and I trust you will excuse me for taking this opportunity of doing so. Though I am far from ascribing the greater part of it to you, yet, being compelled by your letter to allude to it, I could not do so without repelling the whole accusation. The charge first appeared in 1824, and thus it ran:—

First—That in the year 1771 I prevailed on Mrs. Barnard to place £20,000 in a West India House. My reply is—*This is hardly possible, as I was not born till 15 years afterwards.*

Secondly—That in 1783 I sent a Mr. Gosling to the West Indies to sell my Negroes. *I reply again, that I was not born at the period.*

Thirdly—That Mrs. Barnard dying in 1792, I, who had married her niece, became her executor, and the manager of her West India property, her heir—and that I derived from her £170,000. *I deny that I married her niece, or became her executor, or managed her property; and some confirmation of my statement is derived from the fact that I was but six years old at the time—an early age for matrimony, executorship, or the management of affairs in America. I deny that I became her heir, or inherited from her £170,000. I did not derive a shilling from her. I was not mentioned in her will.*

Fourthly—That I sent out a respectable gentleman to extort the last shilling from my West India debtors, and to sell my Negroes. *I deny that I practised extortion on my West India debtors; for I NEVER HAD A WEST INDIA DEBTOR. I deny that I sent out a respectable gentleman, or any gentleman at all, to sell my Negroes; for I never had a Negro to sell.*

The fifth charge is, simply, that "I am Judas Iscariot," an enemy to slavery, though every shilling I possess was wrung from the bones and sinews of slaves. *I repeat I never was master of a slave—I never bought one, or sold one, or hired one. I never owned a hogshead of sugar or an acre of land in the West Indies.*

I may as well here state what foundation there is for this widely circulated report.

"Some truth there is—though brewed and dashed with lies."

There was a Mrs. Barnard. She was my grandfather's sister. She embarked a sum of money in a West India House, the greater part of which she lost. The remnant descended to some of my near relations. So far is true. But it is also true that in that property I never happened to be a partaker. I am not, and, to the best of my knowledge, NEVER HAVE BEEN, THE OWNER OF A SHILLING DERIVED FROM SLAVES.

Hoping that the Electors of Gloucestershire will forgive you for having extorted from me this tedious explanation,

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

Cromer, Sept. 21, 1832.

T. FOWELL BUXTON.

5. Letter of Sir C. B. Codrington to T. F. Buxton, Esq.

SIR,—So satisfied should I be to leave what you term “the controversy between us” in the hands of the Electors of Gloucestershire (*to whom your language is evidently addressed*) that I would pass unnoticed your letter of the 21st ult. did I not indulge a hope that I might tempt you by an offer which might go some way towards putting your philanthropy to the Negroes, as well as my own, to the test. But let me first request that, if you should honour me with any further notice, you will *explain why every statement coming from me must be untrue, every expression intended to mislead*. “What, in my first letter, I had called vessels, are in my second dwindled into boats; my Negroes, instead of making constant exports of provisions, now make only occasional shipments, a falling off which (you state) *exposes their wretchedness*.” I thank you, Sir, for this assertion, as it comprehends in itself the proof of every foul libel uttered against the West India planter. But, Sir, my vessels shall be of any denomination you choose to give them; they are built to convey a few oxen or sheep from Barbuda to the neighbouring Islands; they are manned (*mark me*) by my slaves *only*, who have thus an almost daily opportunity of putting themselves on board vessels bound to North America, France, or even that land of liberty, England. But “my Negroes send only occasional shipments; they cannot keep themselves at all during three-fourths of their time.” A curious argument this to prove their wretchedness; they are so well fed, they have so little occasion (to say nothing of inclination) to work for themselves, that, with ten or twelve acres allowed them, the land is left uncultivated three-fourths of the year.

To this assertion then of wretchedness, I dare you to the proof; you have not in your brewery a man less wretched than one of those wretched slaves, not one of whom would change situations with them. And this leads me to the offer by which this state of wretchedness may be determined. In my last I ventured a belief that your humanity to the slaves had never led you to visit those colonies. If I can tempt you (in the cause of the *wretched slave*) to trust yourself across the Atlantic, one of my vessels shall convey you from any neighbouring Isle to Barbuda; while there you shall have every accommodation free of expense; and I pledge myself to give you, at the end of one week, the power of manumitting a boat load (not exceeding 50) of those wretched slaves, on the following conditions, viz.:—Their manumission shall not be compulsory; you shall fully explain to them the difference between their present and future state; and, as their number have increased beyond any means I can find of employing them, they shall quit my property. Doubtless, Sir, you will favour the public with a full and candid statement of the condition in which you found them, as to food, clothing, comforts, and contentment. If you accept my offer I shall be glad again to hear from you; if you reject it, I must beg to decline further *controversy*.

And now, Sir, a few words as to manumission generally. You do not covet it more than I do, when it *can be bestowed beneficially to the slave himself*. It cannot benefit him, without my receiving my share of that benefit. He is a slave by no act of the planter, but by the laws of England; by *the same laws he is* my absolute property, of which I cannot justly be deprived without compensation. By the Colonial Laws he

cannot be *entirely* manumitted; nay, shudder not, Sir! by that humane and salutary law I have no power of freeing myself, even after his manumission, from feeding, clothing, and supporting him, if either he turns out a vagabond, or in his old age. If, then, you force improvident manumission, you convert that into a curse which might eventually be a blessing. I repeat, Sir, that no man will see with more satisfaction than myself the total extinction of slavery, when it can be accomplished with security to property, and benefit to the slave himself.

Sir, there is still a point of minor importance on which I may be expected to say a few words. You have borne, it seems, all sorts of calumny with exemplary patience, "until sanctioned by *so respectable* a person as Sir C. B. Codrington." I might, Sir, have been flattered by such an expression, had it not been preceded (scarce many days) by an observation, "that you were not even aware of the existence of such a person." You have honoured me, Sir, with an introduction to your grandfather's sister, but you have omitted to introduce me to your grandfather himself. Far be it from me to doubt what comes from so respectable a person as Mr. Fowell Buxton; still further be it to couple your name with a *set of vagabond lecturers who, fortunately for themselves, have escaped from the West Indies just before the halter was round their necks.* You have, however, pronounced my name as a slave-owner to be synonymous with villain. Now, Sir, there are obstinate people who still assert that your grandfather had considerable property in land and *slaves* in the island of Barbadoes: that some 35 or 36 years ago he sent out the late Mr. Holden (indeed the information came from Mr. Holden himself) to dispose of that property; that it was so disposed of for a large sum of money, a proportion of which was invested in property at Weymouth, which gave the right of voting, and in virtue of which property you possess your present influence in that borough. I vouch not for the truth of these assertions; but, if they are matters of fact, the electors of Weymouth doubtless will know how to appreciate your claims to represent them in a Reformed Parliament.

I have the honour to remain, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

C. BETHELL CODRINGTON.

York, Oct. 4, 1832.

6. *Letter of T. F. Buxton, Esq., to Sir C. B. Codrington.*

SIR,—You express a desire that the correspondence between us should cease. That correspondence was not begun by me; nor am I now in any haste to close it, being persuaded that the more the question of slavery is discussed the more truth will prevail.

You ask me to explain "why every statement coming from you must be untrue, every expression intended to mislead." I am sure I never meant—I trust no expression of mine could be construed to mean, that you have wilfully misled the public. I believe you to be incapable of any such purpose, and I make the acknowledgment the more frankly, because I disdain to follow the example of those who mingle in a public discussion the bitterness of private slander.

All I have done is to compare one with another the statements of your several letters. Some of them I have certainly found it difficult to reconcile; for instance, in your first letter you assure us that "many of your slaves have ten or eleven acres *in cultivation.*" In your last it is said that, "with ten or twelve acres allowed them, the land is left *uncultivated.*" Again, in your first letter the Negroes are described as so industrious as not only to support themselves, but to make considerable exports. In the second "the melancholy fact" is confessed that they are so idle that they cannot maintain themselves; and in the third, by way of mending the matter, you have given us a definition of their

state which is entirely new, and as entirely at variance with both the preceding, viz. that they have no occasion to work for themselves.

This is something distinct both from industry and idleness; it cannot claim the merit of the one, nor can it be charged with the reproach of the other. The slaves seem to me to have a new character in every letter. Now they are idle—now industrious—and now neither industrious nor idle. Their fields at your bidding are cultivated or uncultivated. The very craft which carry their potatoes and poultry are alternately expanded into vessels or contracted into boats, and you close these transformations by the liberal offer of making them “of any denomination I please.”

I feel so convinced that these statements have each in their turn been uttered in sincerity that I have laboured hard to resolve their apparent inconsistency. Will you allow me to suggest the best solution of the difficulty I can arrive at? a solution which I have found to unravel many a discordant statement coming from the West Indies, respecting the character and capabilities of the Negro. It is this:—that he is idle when he works for his master—industrious when he works for himself—diligent when supplied with a motive—inert when all motives are withdrawn. Does this argue peculiar sloth in the Negro race? Is it not the case with men of every shade of complexion, and the characteristic of every family of man? Take the most laborious of the whites: he toils, not because he loves labour for its own sake, but because he covets the reward of labour. Now, slavery is labour without reward. The exertion is required, but the motive is wanting. Here lies the incurable evil of the system: we deny to the Negro those motives to which nature has given an all-powerful influence, and we supply their place by the rigour of the whip, and by those other rugged expedients which extort involuntary and therefore feeble efforts; much to the misery of the slave, and as much, I apprehend, to the injury of his employer. This consideration brings me to the conclusion that all ameliorating measures are comparatively but idle dreams,—they assail not the root of the mischief. So long as the system continues to be LABOUR WITHOUT WAGES—so long must it be unprofitable to the master, and a fruitful source of wretchedness to the slave.

Of the wretchedness of the slaves in our West India Colonies, you “dare me to the proof.” I have already adverted to one proof of that wretchedness which I persuade myself carries conviction to every rational and unbiassed mind, viz. that IN ELEVEN YEARS OUR SLAVE POPULATION HAS DECREASED FIFTY-TWO THOUSAND. When you have discovered a satisfactory reply to this fact, I have other proofs in reserve almost as cogent.

I now come, Sir, to the principal point of your letter. You do me the honour to make me a very handsome proposal, the effect of which would be to get me out of the way during the impending discussions on slavery. I presume not to doubt your zeal for emancipation, of which we have heard so much; but, perhaps, I may assist in accomplishing the object you so earnestly “covet,” as directly by staying at home. I shall certainly labour hard to promote the liberation, not only of your proffered boat load, but of the remaining seven hundred and fifty thousand.

You call the slave your absolute property—here indeed is precisely the point on which we are at issue. I venture to call your property in him, however acquired, AN USURPATION. I deny that any human being, or body of men, can have had power to give him to you. My creed is, *that to every individual born into the world belongs the absolute right to his own limbs—his own labour—his own liberty—to his wife—to his children—to*

the enjoyment of entire freedom—AND TO THE UNRESTRICTED WORSHIP OF HIS GOD. I know, in short, no claim you can plead to extort from him his unrewarded labour, which an Algerine might not plead with equal force to hold in bondage his Christian captives—ABSOLUTE PROPERTY IN OUR FELLOW-MAN!!!

I now come to a point which you truly call of minor importance. You charged me with having sold my slaves. I distinctly denied that I ever possessed, sold bought, or hired a slave.

You then bring as a charge against me that my ancestors were possessed of West India property.—I have already told you that some of my near relations inherited the remnants of property derived from the West Indies: but that to the best of my knowledge and belief (and in the difficulty of ascertaining exactly the source from which property is derived, it is impossible to say more) no part of that property descended to me. I adhere to my original statement that “I never was master of a slave; and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, I am not and never have been owner of a shilling derived from slavery.” But, allow me to ask, what if I had? Should I owe less obligation to the Negro, if I had even remotely participated in the fruits of his oppression, or been enriched by his spoils? Prove, if you can, that I ever sold a man, knowing, as I must have done, that he could not by any possibility have belonged to me, and you indeed fix deep guilt upon me. Prove, if you can, that my ancestors were slave owners, and that the produce of that property descended to me. *I acknowledge no criminality*—for I was no party to their acts—but I admit you show me that I have one motive more to labour in the cause of the Negro.

I will not stop to point out how grossly you have been deceived as to my property and influence in the Borough of Weymouth. With respect to influence in that Borough, I pretend to none—save that for many years I have been the representative of the real independence of the town. A struggle is approaching—in which it will be determined whether the right of returning members arises from property or from the independent choice of the electors.

I will only add, to this already too long letter, that I have no wish to avail myself of your permission to separate my name from those “Vagabond Lecturers,” who (as you say) “have escaped from the West Indies, just before the halter was round their necks.” On the contrary, I desire no greater honour than to be justly classed with those brave and good men, who for a righteous cause have borne the horrors of persecution, and to whose heroism future generations in the West Indies will owe much of their civil and religious liberty.

One word more and I have done. Appearances which are hourly coming to light so deeply impress my mind, that I cannot help saying with all the emphasis of which I am capable:—Let us lay aside our differences, and commence instantly the necessary measures for a SAFE and immediate emancipation. The fact is, *our* time for emancipating at all is fast drawing to a close: let us avail ourselves of it while a peaceful extinction of slavery remains within our power. We are all equally fervent in the desire that it should not meet its end by violent convulsions.

With this solemn warning to you, and, through you, to every Englishman who may read this letter, I beg to subscribe myself,

Sir, your obedient humble Servant,

T. FOWELL BUXTON.

Crcmer, Oct. 24, 1832.

It was not our intention to subjoin a single remark on the preceding correspondence, but to leave it to speak for itself. A few matters, however, have occurred to us in the perusal, which may serve to eluci-

date the present controversy, as well as throw light on the general question, with which we shall occupy our vacant space.

The Island of Barbuda, to which Sir C. B. Codrington chiefly confines his observations, is all his property. It is situated about thirty miles distant from Antigua, and is thus described by Bryan Edwards in his *History of the West Indies*, vol. iv. p. 230 :—"The interior is level, and the soil fertile, so much so that the chief or only trade of the Colonists consists in the sale, in the neighbouring islands, of cattle, swine, horses, mules, corn, and other provisions." There appears, therefore, to be no sugar cultivated in Barbuda;—consequently neither the toil of digging cane-holes, nor the night-work of crop, nor the stimulus given by bounties to the exaction of excessive labour, affects the slaves of that island. Accordingly, we find that there the slaves, being employed chiefly in the rearing of cattle and of food for man and beast, increase rapidly, as in the Bahamas, where the employment of the slaves is similar. Of this increase (we assume the fact on his showing) Sir C. B. Codrington avails himself somewhat unfairly in order to prove the general lenity of the slave system. His slaves increase in Barbuda; therefore he would have it inferred that slavery is not a curse but a blessing. But if, as he affirms, their physical wants are amply supplied, and their labour is not excessive, they will of course, like all animals so circumstanced, increase in number.

But why has Sir C. B. Codrington confined his view to Barbuda? He possesses in the neighbouring island of Antigua about 1100 slaves who are differently circumstanced. These are employed chiefly in sugar culture, and enjoy all the delights of the night-labour of the crop-season, which he most incredibly represents them as wishing to be continued the whole year round. Now have they increased there as in Barbuda? Can he not furnish a similar test, in the case of these Antigua slaves, of the lenient effects of sugar cultivation? In Barbuda the slave population, according to him, doubled its numbers in the twenty years from 1805 to 1825. Let him favour the public with a statement, duly certified, of the progress of population, during the very same years, on his Antigua estates. He must have ready access to the means of doing so;—to the returns, that is to say, of the deaths and births, and additions by purchase, or deductions by manumission, in each year of the twenty. This would be meeting the question fairly. He must be aware that, as the case now stands, his statement only confirms the views of the abolitionists—that, in the absence of sugar culture, the tendency of the slave population is to increase; although sugar cultivation, as generally conducted in the slave colonies, is attended by a great waste of human life, and is therefore a source of great misery to the slaves.

Sir C. B. Codrington, in his second letter, professes to place great reliance on the authority of the Archdeacon of Jamaica in regard to manumission. Archdeacon Pope, of Jamaica, may be a very respectable man. He is not, however, exactly the person to be selected as an impartial umpire on such a question as this. He married a few years since a lady of Jamaica, possessing about 660 or 670 slaves, chiefly engaged in sugar culture. Of these slaves, at least of the survivors of them, the Archdeacon's lady is still the owner. We say the survivors of them; for between the years 1824 and 1830 they appear to have diminished in number about ten per cent.—we pretend not to say from what cause. Sir C. B. Codrington, therefore, cannot be surprised if the venerable Archdeacon's opinions should not be received as adding any great weight to his own. The testimony of his own manager, Mr. James, indeed, as given in his first letter, seems to establish the fitness

of his slaves for enfranchisement—as he shows that they require little either of control or coercion to provide for themselves, and to maintain the public peace; and that even had Mr. James never returned to them after some of his long absences, and had thus left them to their own devices, no very grievous calamity would have been likely to follow, either to themselves or to the peace of Barbuda. And yet Sir C. B. Codrington wishes us to believe that, if those slaves were unhappily manumitted, three-fourths of them would perish by the end of two years. This fertile island, containing probably upwards of 100,000 acres, produces, by the actual labour of his 500 slaves, and, as he asserts, with little or no coercion, “cattle, swine, horses, mules, corn and other provisions,” for their own abundant supply and for that of the neighbouring islands. And yet Sir C. B. Codrington would persuade us that, if these 500 slaves were freed, not a fourth of them would be in existence at the end of two years! Would the soil of Barbuda, then, lose its fertility, or the slaves their capacity of tilling it, by the mere act of manumission?

But Sir C. B. Codrington asserts that many of his slaves would not accept of manumission, and one man is specified who refuses to allow his daughter to be emancipated. The inference intended to be drawn from this fact, supposing it to be no mistake, is not that there is something peculiar in the case of the attachment of these slaves to Sir C. B. Codrington (a fact which he might be indulged in the vanity of believing); but that, generally speaking, slavery is a blessing—and freedom a curse.

Now, how strangely have slave-holders been hitherto mistaken as to the principles of human nature on this point! Whenever slaves have distinguished themselves by eminent services, or whenever it has been the policy of the master to tempt them to reveal plots or conspiracies against his own authority, the highest reward that he thought could be bestowed, or the most tempting boon that could be offered, was the gift of freedom. And yet Sir C. B. Codrington assures us that *his* slaves, contrary to all recognized principle, and to all past experience, repudiate freedom as an evil, and not a good. If, indeed, the consequence of freedom would be, as he would persuade us—the destruction, in two years, of three-fourths of the persons so made free, they might be excused for clinging to slavery as a blessing, and rejecting freedom as a curse. They might, however, very reasonably be led to question the probability of any such alarming result. For, if they did but cast their eyes across the channel dividing Barbuda from Antigua, they might be emboldened to encounter all the fearful risks with which their master threatens them, by considering the case of the 371 Africans mentioned in our last number as having been emancipated by the Crown four years ago. These Negroes were previously placed in most disadvantageous circumstances as compared with the slaves of Sir C. B. Codrington; and yet it has not been stated that any such calamity has befallen them, or that they have sustained any extraordinary mortality by the infliction upon them of the alleged curse of freedom. Why should the 500 Barbuda slaves of this gentleman be greater sufferers by emancipation than the 371 Antigua Negroes set free by the Crown?

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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ANALYSIS OF THE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY, WITH NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

ON the 24th of May, 1832, a select Committee of the House of Commons was "appointed to consider and report upon the measures which it might be expedient to adopt for the purpose of effecting the extinction of slavery throughout the British Dominions at the earliest period compatible with the safety of all classes in the colonies, *and in conformity with the resolutions of this House of the 15th of May, 1823;*" the words in italics being superadded to Mr. Buxton's resolution, on the motion of Viscount Althorp—162 voting for them, and 90 against them.

The following members were thereupon selected for this Committee, on the proposition of the noble Viscount:—Mr. Buxton, Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, Sir George Murray, Mr. Goulburn, Mr. Burge, Mr. Evans, Viscount Sandon, Viscount Howick, Marquis of Chandos, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Marryat, Mr. Vernon, Mr. Holmes, Dr. Lushington, Mr. Baring, Mr. Frankland Lewis, Viscount Ebrington, Mr. Littleton, Mr. Carter, Mr. Hodges, Mr. Ord, Mr. Fazakerley, and Mr. Alderman Thompson.

The Committee commenced its sittings on the 6th of June, and closed them on the 11th of August. The following is its report made to the House on that day:—

"Your Committee, in pursuance of the instructions by which they were appointed, having assembled to consider the 'measures most expedient to be adopted for the extinction of slavery throughout the British Dominions at the earliest period compatible with the safety of all classes in the colonies,' adverted in the first instance to the condition contained in the terms of reference, which provides that such extinction shall be 'in conformity with the resolutions of the House of the 15th of May, 1823,'—that this House at that time looked forward to such a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population as might prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his

Majesty's subjects. The House also then declared 'that it was anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose at the earliest period 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.'

"In the consideration of a question involving so many difficulties of a conflicting nature, and branching into subjects so various and complicated, it appeared necessary to your Committee, by agreement, to limit their direct enquiries to certain heads.

"It was therefore settled that two main points arising out of the terms of reference should be first investigated, and these were embraced in the two following propositions:—

"1st. That the slaves, if emancipated, would maintain themselves, would be industrious, and disposed to acquire property by labour.

"2nd. That the dangers of convulsion are greater from freedom withheld, than from freedom granted to the slaves.

"Evidence was first called to prove the affirmative of these propositions, and had been carried on, in this direction, to a considerable extent; and was not exhausted, when it was evident the session was drawing to a close; and that this most important and extensive enquiry could not be satisfactorily finished. At the same time your Committee was unwilling to take an *ex parte* view of the case. It was therefore decided to let in evidence of an opposite nature, intended to disprove the two propositions, and to rebut the testimony adduced in their support. Even this limited examination has not been fully accomplished, and your Committee is compelled to close its labours in an abrupt and unfinished state.

"With some few exceptions the enquiry has been confined to the island of Jamaica; and the important question of what is due to 'the fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property,' as connected with emancipation, has not been investigated by your Committee.

"Many incidental topics which your Committee could not leave have presented themselves in the course of this enquiry; and some opinions have been pronounced, and some expressions used by witnesses, which may seem to be injurious to the character of persons in high stations in the colonies.

"Unwilling to present the evidence in a garbled state, your Committee have resolved not to exclude from their minutes testimony thus implicating the conduct of public functionaries; but they are bound to impress on the House the consideration which it is just constantly to remember, that no opportunity of contradicting, or explaining, those statements have been afforded to the

parties accused ; and evidence of this description must be received with peculiar caution.

“Your Committee, however, are unwilling that the fruits of their enquiry should be altogether lost ; and they present the evidence taken before them to the House, which, although incomplete, embraces a wide range of important information, and discloses a state of affairs demanding the earliest and most serious attention of the legislature.”

The minutes of evidence extend to 655 closely printed folio pages, and are contained in a volume ordered to be printed on the 11th of August, 1832, and distinguished by the number 721. Of this immense mass it shall now be our endeavour to convey to the public, and to our readers, a clear and faithful analysis. It may be convenient, however, to preface that analysis by a brief account of the witnesses examined on this occasion, and of their opportunities of acquiring a competent knowledge of the subject on which they were called to give their testimony.

ON the AFFIRMATIVE side of the question, as to the EXPEDIENCY of an immediate or early extinction of slavery, the following witnesses were produced, viz.

1. WILLIAM TAYLOR, Esq. (p. 7—64), who went to Jamaica in 1816, and left it in 1823. He returned in 1824, left it again in 1825, returned to it in 1826, and quitted it finally in 1831. Of these 15 years he resided during 13 in Jamaica. For the chief part of that time he was engaged in commercial pursuits in Kingston, intermixed with occasional visits to plantations in various parts of the island, viz.—St. Thomas in the East, Trelawny, St. Elizabeth, Manchester, and St. George ; but, for the last two or three years of his stay, he was wholly occupied in the management of three sugar estates belonging to J. B. Wildman, Esq., cultivated by about six or seven hundred Negroes, lying in Vere, Clarendon, and St. Andrew's, on the last of which, Papine, he chiefly resided.

2. The Rev. JOHN BARRY (p. 64—106), a Wesleyan Missionary, who went to Jamaica early in 1825, and quitted it early in 1832, but whose actual residence there, having been absent about a year, did not exceed six years. These were passed chiefly in Kingston and Spanish Town, but partly also in the parishes of St. Thomas in the Vale, St. Dorothy, St. Mary, Trelawny, St. James, St. David, and St. Thomas in the East.

3. The Rev. PETER DUNCAN (p. 106—134, and p. 140—158), a Wesleyan Missionary, who arrived in Jamaica in January, 1821, and quitted it in March, 1832, after an uninterrupted residence of upwards of eleven years in the parishes of Kingston, St. Thomas in the East, St. Thomas in the Vale, and St. James.

4. The Rev. THOMAS COOPER (p. 134—140), a Unitarian Missionary, who, for three years and three months, between 1818 and 1821,

resided on a plantation in Hanover parish, Jamaica, belonging to R. Hibbert, Esq.

5. Mr. HENRY LOVING (p. 150—167), a coloured gentleman, a native of Antigua, in which island he resided from his birth, till he paid a visit a few months ago to this country. He was born a slave, but was emancipated when about nine years of age, and has been for some time, and now is, the proprietor and editor of a newspaper published in Antigua, called the Weekly Register.

6. The Rev. JOHN THORP (p. 167—178), a clergyman of the church of England, who resided in Jamaica two years and three months in 1827, 1828, and 1829, as curate to the Rev. Mr. Trew, of St. Thomas in the East.

7. The Rev. WILTSHIRE STANTON AUSTIN (p. 178—195), a clergyman of the church of England, and a native of the West Indies, who resided in Barbadoes, Demerara, Berbice, and Surinam, and occasionally visited some of the other colonies. He quitted the West Indies last in 1824, having resided there for about 14 years after he had attained his 18th year. His father is a proprietor of slaves, whom he is destined to inherit, and whom he was engaged in managing for some years before he entered into the church.

8. Vice-Admiral the Hon. CHARLES FLEMING (p. 195—223, and p. 238—243), who has known the West Indies for 35 years, and has visited them all, with the exception of St. Kitts and Tortola, his residence in the West Indies amounting on the whole to five or six years, more than half of that time, namely, three years, between 1827 and 1830, having been passed at Jamaica, in which station he was Admiral. He has also visited Cuba, the Caraccas, and Hayti.

9. ROBERT SUTHERLAND, Esq. (p. 223—229), a gentleman of colour, who had been in Hayti in 1815, and had also resided there during 1819, 1820, and 1821. He passed a few days there in 1823 and 1824, and was there for a few weeks in 1827; and he moreover resided for three years in the Caraccas as a British Consul.

10. The Rev. NATHANIEL PAUL (p. 229—233), also a gentleman of colour, a native of the United States, who resided as a Baptist Missionary in various slave states until 1830, when he visited England.

11. The Rev. THOMAS MORGAN (p. 233—242), a Wesleyan Missionary, who had resided in different West India colonies, namely St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua, St. Vincent, and Jamaica, from 1812 to 1831, 18 years in all, which, deducting an absence of two years in England, makes his residence there 16 years.

12. The Rev. WILLIAM KNIBB (p. 243—284, and 317—322), a Baptist Missionary, who resided upwards of seven years in Jamaica, namely from 1825 to April 1832, chiefly in the parishes of St. James, Trelawny, Hanover, and Westmoreland.

To prove the INEXPEDIENCY of an early or immediate emancipation of the slaves the following witnesses were produced chiefly by the Colonial party:—

1. Captain C. H. WILLIAMS, of the Royal Navy (p. 390—307), who passed a few months of the present year in St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, during which time he was on shore three days on the estate of Mr. Huggins,* of Nevis, and two days on an estate of Mr. Hibbert's, in Hanover, Jamaica.†

2. WILLIAM ALERS HANKEY, Esq., a banker of London (p. 307—317), and late treasurer of the London Missionary Society, who is a proprietor of 300 slaves in the island of Jamaica, but who has never visited the West Indies.

3. JAMES DE PEYSTER OGDEN, a native of New York, in the United States (p. 322—330), who now resides in Liverpool.

4. ROBERT SCOTT, Esq. (p. 330—358), who resided in Jamaica about five years between 1802 and 1809, and who, during that time, had either owned as proprietor, or managed as attorney, 4000 slaves in Hanover, Trelawny, St. James, and St. Ann, the latest period of his stay there being 23 years ago.

5. JAMES SIMPSON, Esq. (359—366, and 369—405), who resided in Jamaica nearly 24 years, quitting it finally in 1828. In that time he had been a merchant of Kingston, and the representative of some noblemen and gentlemen, absentee proprietors of plantations situated in Vere, Clarendon, St. Mary, St. George, St. Andrew, St. David, Port Royal, St. Thomas in the East, St. Elizabeth, and Hanover, in that island. It was of his house that Mr. William Taylor, whose evidence is analysed in the following pages, was for a time a partner.

6. WILLIAM MIER, Esq. (p. 366—369), a native of the United States, who was the proprietor in Georgia of 500 slaves, whom he has since sold.

7. The Rev. JOHN SHIPMAN (405—416), a Wesleyan Missionary, who resided in Jamaica for ten years, from 1813 to 1824, at Kingston, Spanish Town, Falmouth, and Montego Bay, and at Grateful Hill, in St. Thomas in the Vale.

8. The Rev. ROBERT YOUNG (p. 416—428), a Wesleyan Missionary, who resided in Jamaica for five years, from 1820 to 1826, chiefly in Kingston and Spanish Town, and at Stony Hill, in St. Andrew's.

9. WILLIAM SHAND, Esq. (p. 428—434; p. 459—484; and p. 542), who was a proprietor and attorney of estates in Jamaica from 1791 to 1826; having resided there 34 years. During that time he had under his charge 18 or 20,000 slaves, residing occasionally in almost every parish in the island. He was also a magistrate, and member of Assembly.

10. BRYAN ADAMS, Esq. (p. 443—452), who had resided in the Caraccas.

* Of this gentleman, an ample and horrific record will be found in the following parliamentary papers of 1812: viz. No. 204, and No. 225.

† Of this estate a very full account will be found in the pamphlet entitled "Negro Slavery, especially in Jamaica," published by Hatchard in 1824. 4th edition, p. 36—55.

11. Mr. JOHN FORD PYKE (p. 452), who had resided in Cuba.
12. WILLIAM WATSON, Esq. (p. 452—459), who had resided in the Caraccas for four years.
13. H. TOWNSEND BOWEN, Esq. (p. 457—459), who had resided 11 years in Trinidad, and returned thence last year.
14. R. G. AMYOT, Esq. (p. 484 and 519), chief clerk in the Registry of Colonial Slaves' Office, in London.
15. SAMUEL BAKER, Esq. (p. 485—498), who had visited Jamaica in 1816 and 1817, and afterwards in 1832.
16. ANDREW GRAHAM DIGNUM (p. 498—501), who is a practising solicitor in Jamaica, where he has neither land nor slaves, but where he has resided for 14 years, namely, from 1818 to 1832.
17. Vice-Admiral Sir CHARLES ROWLEY (p. 501—508), who is acquainted with the West Indies generally, and commanded as Admiral on the Jamaica station from 1820 to 1823.
18. JAMES BECKFORD WILDMAN, Esq. (p. 509—542); who is a West India proprietor possessing 640 slaves in Jamaica, on three estates, one in St. Andrew, another in Vere, and a third in Clarendon, of which Mr. Taylor (mentioned above) had for a time the charge. Mr. Wildman resided there from 1825 to 1828, being about four years.
19. Rev. J. TYERS BARRETT, D.D. (p. 544—549), who is secretary to the Society for the Conversion of Negro Slaves.
20. WILLIAM BURGE, Esq. (p. 549), the late Attorney-General of Jamaica, and now the Agent of that island.
21. JOHN M'GREGOR, Esq. (p. 549), a gentleman who has resided in British America.

The Appendix moreover contains the following evidence :—

- A. General Returns of Twelve Sugar Estates in Jamaica from 1817 to 1829 (p. 566—577).
- B. Extracts of Reports of the Society for the Conversion of Negro Slaves (p. 588, 589).
- C. Extracts from the examination of Annasamy, a native of Madras residing in the Mauritius (p. 590).
- D. Remarks of Captain Elliott, Protector of slaves in Demerara (p. 590).
- E. Answers of the same to Questions of Lord Goderich (p. 598).

It will appear from the report of the Committee that the main points of their enquiry were embraced by the two following propositions, including, in fact, all that Mr. Buxton, in moving for that Committee, had pledged himself, or even thought it necessary to attempt to prove, viz :—

1. THAT THE SLAVES, IF EMANCIPATED, WILL ADEQUATELY MAINTAIN THEMSELVES BY THEIR OWN LABOUR; and 2nd. THAT THE DANGER OF WITHHOLDING FREEDOM FROM THE SLAVES IS GREATER THAN THAT OF GRANTING IT.

These two propositions, we conceive, the evidence before us has most irrefragably and triumphantly established; and the controversy, there-

fore, as respects the expediency of an early emancipation, may be considered as decided.* The justice and humanity of such a measure has long ceased to be a question.

We will abstract the whole of the evidence on these two points in the order in which it is given, omitting however, for the present, all merely collateral questions until this first and most important part of our task shall have been completed. We have already introduced the witnesses, who are successively to appear before them, to the notice of our readers, accompanied by a brief view of their respective opportunities of information.

I. Mr. TAYLOR stated that the six or seven hundred slaves placed under his management by Mr. Wildman belonged to three sugar estates on the south side of the island: one of which was in the parish of St. Andrews, named Papine; another in the parish of Clarendon, named Low Ground; and the third in the parish of Vere, named Salt Savannah. On the two first-mentioned estates the slaves wholly maintained themselves by provisions raised on land allotted for their use, to which was added the usual allowance of pickled fish, being about one salt herring a day for each adult, and half that quantity for each child. The slaves on the estate in Vere were fed chiefly by an allowance of Guinea corn, issued from the granary of the estate. They had grounds besides which they cultivated; but the seasons being adverse

* At Manchester and at Liverpool, a Mr. Borthwick, in delivering lectures *in favour* of Slavery, took occasion to state that the evidence before the House of Commons was highly favourable to the planters. It was affirmed that it was some proof to the contrary that Mr. Burge, the Agent of Jamaica, had resisted, in the House of Commons, the motion of Sir James Graham, for printing that evidence. On this Mr. Borthwick produced, or pretended to produce, a strong denial of this fact under the hand of Mr. Burge himself, falsifying the statement which had appeared to that effect in the Times of the 7th of August, 1832. The Jamaica Courant however (the oracle of Mr. Burge, and of his constituents, the corresponding committee of the Jamaica Assembly) completely falsifies Mr. Borthwick's statement, and that of Mr. Burge too, if truly represented by Mr. Borthwick; for on the 26th of September, 1832, there appeared in that paper the following paragraph, probably communicated by Mr. Burge himself:—

“ *House of Commons, August 6, 1832.*

“ Sir J. Graham moved that the Report of the Committee on West India Slavery be laid on the table of the House.

“ Mr. Burge objected to the motion because the evidence of the planters had not yet been taken, and that of the other party might therefore prejudice the public mind.

“ Sir J. Graham replied that the motion was a matter of course, and that the hon. member had been overruled in every case before the Committee.

“ The motion was then agreed to.”—*Jamaica Courant, Sept. 26, 1832.*

Now even the reason here given for postponing the printing of the evidence is untrue, the *number* of witnesses on the part of the West Indian body being greater than that of the witnesses brought before the Committee by the Anti-Slavery party, and the space occupied by the evidence of the former being not inferior in extent to the space occupied by that of their opponents, being about 290 folio pages to each.

in Vere they were chiefly fed by corn grown by the master and issued to them from his stores.* The ground provisions, which the slaves raise for themselves in the other parishes, are chiefly yams, plantains, cocoes or eddoes, potatoes, &c. The slaves are not forbidden by law, as Mr. Taylor thinks, to cultivate the sugar cane, but they incur a penalty by having sugar in their possession.†

Besides the allowance of herrings given to the slaves, clothes are annually given to them; but the quantity of clothing Mr. Taylor cannot specify. The time allowed them by law, for raising the food by which they and their families are supported, is twenty-six days in the year, besides three holidays at Christmas. This arrangement, Mr. Taylor says, has existed since 1816; but he cannot tell what time, for this purpose, the law previously gave to the slaves.‡

* This parish, as we shall have occasion to show, is more favourably situated in respect to the circumstances of its slave population than any other parish in the island of Jamaica. And yet, will it be believed that there is even here no increase of the slave population, even if we do not take into account the number imported into it from neighbouring parishes, the population in 1821 being 7,887, and in 1831, after a lapse of ten years, being only 7,903?

† Throughout the whole of this examination there is a wonderful ignorance manifested, especially by the planters, of the state of the law by which they and the slaves are governed. If the reader will turn to the latest Jamaica Slave Code, that of the 19th of Feb. 1831,—and in this respect it is only a transcript of preceding codes,—he will find that by the 91st Section of that Act it is enacted, “That, to prevent and punish depredations on produce,” “if any slave shall have in his possession any quantity of sugar, coffee, or pimento, in quantity *not exceeding five pounds*, or of rum *not exceeding one gallon*, unknown to his owner, overseer, or manager, without giving a satisfactory account of how he became possessed of them, such slave, on conviction thereof before *any* magistrate, shall suffer punishment, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; and, if there shall be found in his possession a larger quantity than twenty pounds of sugar, coffee, or pimento, or five gallons of rum, then such slave, upon conviction thereof at a slave court, shall suffer such punishment as the court shall think proper to inflict or direct, not extending to life, transportation, or imprisonment for life.” Well, therefore, may West Indians gravely testify to the unwillingness of the slaves to grow sugar, and well may Mr. Taylor testify to the infrequency of the culture of sugar by slaves. He had never seen or heard of its being cultivated but in Manchester, where he has seen it voluntarily cultivated by slaves, and where also he has seen small sugar-mills in the Negroes’ gardens—“but that,” he adds, “is to be accounted for, because there they are at a distance from a sugar district.” Report p. 7, 8. See this matter further illustrated in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. v., No. 101, p. 269.

‡ Before 1816 the law was as follows (See Privy Council Report of 1789, Part iii.; Laws of Jamaica, Act of 1788, section 17):—“And whereas it hath been usual and customary with the planters in this island to allow their slaves one day in every fortnight to cultivate their own provision grounds (exclusive of Sundays), *except* during the time of crop, but the same *not* being compulsory, be it further enacted, that the slaves belonging to or employed in every plantation or settlement, shall, over and above the usual holidays, be allowed one day in every fortnight (exclusive of Sundays) *except* during the time of crop, under the penalty of £10.” This grant of time, crop lasting from four to six months, could not have been more than from thirteen to seventeen days. The dreadful mortality from hunger at that period, as shown by a memorial of the Jamaica

The younger Negroes on Mr. Wildman's estates had never received any instruction prior to his visiting Jamaica for the first time in 1826. This was done in consequence of the express injunctions of Mr. Wildman himself. The adults now receive no education whatever. As to the capacity of the slaves for receiving instruction, they were much like other human beings ; some were apt, and others very stupid, and some remarkably acute. He could not say they were equally apt with the Scottish peasantry ; but their circumstances were disadvantageous in a peculiar degree, and in spite of these he had seen, in a multitude of instances, a wonderful aptness for instruction. There appeared in them no natural incapacity whatever for instruction. He had been struck with the retentiveness and minuteness of their memories, and especially in the children.

With respect to the provident or improvident use of money, he thought them pretty much like the peasantry of other countries, but considerably less given to intoxication than the peasantry of Scotland, and infinitely less than the soldiery who go out to the colonies, the mortality among whom is attributed to their fondness for spirits. There were on the estates some Negroes who would not touch spirits, while others were incorrigible drunkards. Any money he paid the Negroes at any time for wages was generally expended in the purchase of food (page 9, 10).

Mr. Taylor had known many free blacks and people of colour : they form a numerous body. There are among them many, especially mulattoes and quadroons, the children of white book-keepers and overseers, who have been emancipated ; but the great mass of them have been born free, being the children of emancipated slaves. The great increase of their number arises from births in a state of freedom. In the neighbourhood of Papine, some of these free people who had been emancipated, unable to find adequate employment as mechanics in the town of Kingston, had fixed themselves at a place called Cavaliers, belonging to Mr. Wildman, which was parcelled out to them in small patches of one, two, or three acres, for which, with a house upon it, they undertook to pay thirty shillings an acre. The run of land called Cavaliers was let by Mr. Wildman to one tenant, and by him sub-let in smaller portions, Mr. Wildman finding it difficult and troublesome to collect the rents. The tenant-in-chief cultivated a part of the land by means of free Negroes, to whom he paid wages, and the rest he sub-let. The number thus located might be from 200 to 300, men, women, and children. The cultivation consisted generally of provisions, as corn and yams, with some coffee. He had never seen any

Assembly printed in the same Privy Council Report, sufficiently prove how necessary it was to make even this scanty allowance of time compulsory. Fifteen thousand slaves are stated by the Assembly to have perished from hunger, and the diseases consequent on hunger, in a very short time, simply because the little time allowed the slave obliged him to limit his growth of provisions to plantains, which the first hurricane was sure to sweep from the face of the earth.

sugar cultivation there, though there were sugar estates in the district, and sugar would grow any where. Of the settlers he knew nothing personally. Some he believed were orderly, and some disorderly; and it was the haunt of many bad characters and runaways. The settlement he believed was in a bad state, both morally and religiously, for they had no religious instruction, and no education. A school was latterly established among them by the Church Missionary Society, which was readily supported by some of the settlers; but others scoffed at it, and would have nothing to do with it. It might be the duty of the incumbent of the parish to afford them instruction, but he lived sixteen miles off. Mr. Taylor had further known free blacks employ themselves in working on wharfs, and at cranes, and as domestics. He had one servant himself as a slave for ten years, who continued with him after he had manumitted him. Others were employed as mechanics on estates, and others as sailors in coasting vessels, and as stewards of ships. He had met with a great number of them who were very industrious, and who gladly availed themselves of any opportunity of being employed in any way. On the other hand he had met with free blacks who would not work at all, just as in other communities. He had only known one case of an emancipated slave working on a sugar estate in making sugar. Mr. Wildman discovered that one of his slaves had been born in England; and, conceiving that he could have no right to hold him in slavery, he very honourably, in spite of the protestations of his colonial friends, when he first went out to Jamaica, determined on making him amends for the services unjustly exacted from him for thirty years. He gave him, though he was addicted to drinking, a right of residence on his estate, hired him as a carpenter, and appointed 2s. 6d. a day to be paid him, whether he worked or not. When Mr. Taylor entered on the management of the estate he thought it wrong, as it respected the man himself, to let him go on in this manner. He therefore let him understand that when he got drunk his pay should be stopped for that day. The consequence was he gradually left off drinking, and he worked and made up money. Sometimes he would have a drunken fit, and at other times, for weeks and months together, would remain steadily at labour. Under this system he worked very well as a carpenter, and even took his turn of duty in the boiling house.

He had never known an instance of a free black taking the hoe, and working in the field with the gang, or in the boiling house; but he had known slaves to work for wages in their extra time on sugarestates. Soon after he took charge of Papine, a long line of fence was to be made between that and the Duke of Buckingham's estate, formed by a trench of four feet deep, with a mound thrown up. It is usual to do such labour by task work, at so many feet a day. The labourers complained that they could not perform it in the usual hours of labour. The overseer on the other hand affirmed that they were imposing upon me, and it was solely owing to sloth that they did not easily get through their task. The overseer wished of course to get as much work as he could, and *they* had

naturally an indisposition to do more than they could help. They were told to resume their work the following morning, and, if they performed it within the time, they should be paid for every minute's or hour's additional work they might perform. They began the task at five in the morning, and had finished it by half-past one, and the very slaves who had before complained, received pay for four hours' extra labour. At present all the negroes in the field perform their labour under the fear or impulse of the lash. Physical coercion is employed on every estate in the island to obtain labour from slaves. By banishing the use of the whip, Mr. Taylor found that discipline was necessarily relaxed. This coercion is necessary with slaves in all kinds of labour. The carpenter or cooper knows that if he does not go to his shop and do his work he will be flogged. In short it was necessary, in order to induce the Negroes to work, either to pay them or to flog them. It was possible, however, to conduct the business of an estate without much flogging. Still it was the terror of the lash which produced the labour. On the estate next to Papine (Hope Estate, belonging to the Duke of Buckingham), the driver certainly carried the whip into the field, but for many months it has not been used, the negroes going on, nevertheless, most diligently with their work. But this disuse of the whip had been produced by the previous use of it. The overseer, when he first took charge of that estate, found the Negroes disposed to resist him, and the whip for a time was "most freely and strongly used," and this, Mr. Taylor thinks, not from any motive of cruelty, but from a belief that "it was the only way to establish his authority." He used the whip most freely, and this free use it was that produced the subsequent disuse* (pages 11 and 12).

With the exception of labouring in the workhouse chain, and cleaning the streets of towns, field labour is viewed by slaves as the most degrading occupation. It is considered, for example, a degrading punishment to send a household servant to the field. Many humane persons prefer doing so to flogging them. The labour of cultivating sugar is not more degrading than other field labour, but it is much more severe. "Cane-hole digging is fearfully severe," especially in certain soils. There are other field occupations that are light. Comparing the West Indian slave with the Scotch labourer, he thought cane-hole digging more exhausting than digging potatoes, or reaping corn, or following the plough. If the Scotchman had been digging, and the Negro had been cleaning young canes, the Scotchman would have done the hardest work; but if the Scotchman had been reaping or mowing, and the Negro had been digging cane-holes, then the Negro would have done the hardest work. Taking the labour of the whole year through, certainly the labour of the Jamaica slave was infinitely harder than that of the Scotch peasant, because the former has the night work in crop time, when for at least four months of the year he has only six hours' rest;

* The stimulus was still the brutal one of either the infliction or the fear of the lash.

whereas the Scotchman goes to bed every night throughout the year in good time. Besides this, the Negro works each day a greater length of time than the Scotchman, but the Scotchman puts more work out of hand. The proportion of time consumed in cane-hole digging varies very much in different parts of the island, according to the comparative fertility of the soil; on less fertile soils a third of the cane land requiring to be re-dug every year, and, on very fertile soils, not more than a tenth, or fifteenth, or twentieth part (p. 12, 13). The labour of the slaves is often so exhausting that the overseer is obliged to give them a week's rest to recruit their strength, by setting them to clear pastures, and other light work.

Mr. Taylor, being asked whether the stimulus of the whip, at present the only stimulus, being withdrawn, and the Negro made free, he thought he would be likely to work industriously for adequate wages, replied that, if the Negro is placed in a situation where he must starve or work, he would work. If in the present state of things he were to be told, Keep your provision ground, and keep your house, and come and work for a shilling or other sum a day, he would say, I will not do it; for I can make more by working my grounds. But if the grounds were taken away, and he must understand that he must starve or work, he would work. The consideration by which in the case of freemen the matter would be governed would be this, whether it were most profitable to receive wages, or to rent land and raise produce upon it. If put into a situation where the fear of want would bear upon him, and the inducement to work was plain, then he would work. He drew this opinion partly from his knowledge of emancipated slaves, but chiefly from his knowledge of the slaves under his own care, among whom the good preponderated far above the bad. He found them like the Scottish peasantry, fulfilling all the relations of life. He found them revering the ordinance of marriage. He found them, particularly on the Vere estate, an orderly and industrious people; and he was strongly impressed with the opinion that, if placed in the circumstances of the English or Scottish peasantry, they would act similarly. They were, generally speaking, very industrious in labouring on their provision grounds. It was a frequent practice to work for one another for hire, the hire being 20*d.* currency a day (14*d.* sterling), and a breakfast. Mr. Wildman indulged his Negroes with fifty-two Saturdays in the year, instead of twenty-six, the number allowed them by law, that they might be able to attend divine service, and have no excuse for continuing to work on Sunday. This gave them additional time; and as Mr. T. had a large garden, and was very unwilling to draw from the labour of the estate to keep it in order, he was frequently in the habit of hiring them to work there. Some would come and offer their services, for which he gave them their breakfast and 2*s.* 11*d.* a day currency, being 2*s.* 1*d.* sterling. He was decidedly of opinion that, when an offer was made to pay Negroes for their labour, they were always ready to work. He had known them, even when digging cane-holes, perform the task of 120 cane-holes, and, on being offered pay, dig 20 and 40 cane-holes, after

having finished their task. But, by the ordinary method, the same quantity would not have been dug except by tremendous whipping. Ninety cane-holes indeed on unploughed land was the general task; but 120 if the land had previously been loosened by the plough. The farther exertion, however, produced by the stimulus of wages was such that the driver said it was too much for them, and begged Mr. Taylor to interdict their doing so much. At the end of the week almost every slave had done so much extra work as to receive 3s. 4d., which he paid them, according to agreement. If they had worked in the usual way under the whip they might have finished 120 holes in the course of the day, barely completing it at the end of the day; but if told that, if they did the same work, they might as soon as it was done go away, they would, by abridging their intervals of rest, finish it before three o'clock in the afternoon, beginning at five in the morning" (p. 14, 15).

Much the same quantity of labour, Mr. Taylor further remarked, was usually required from all in the great gang. They all usually worked in one line, and where the land was uniform produced the same number of holes, and the women the same as the men. By giving them, however, task work, and wages for extra work, he got the greatest quantity of work their physical strength was equal to. He got much more work, and it was cheerfully done. In general he found them willing to work in their extra time, for hire; he spoke only of Mr. Wildman's slaves. Task work indeed was very generally resorted to, planters thinking that in that way the Negro did his work in a much shorter time. At the same time he was convinced that a mixed system of slavery with its unavoidable expences, and free labour with its wages, would not answer in the long run. He conscientiously believed that if slavery were put an end to, and the slaves emancipated, it would answer to the proprietor. So entirely was he convinced of this that he offered to embark his whole property in purchasing Mr. Wildman's estates, making the slaves free, and adopting the system of free labour, and undertaking the expense of maintaining the schools established by Mr. Wildman, provided he could prevail on a few others to join him. He was now, however, of opinion, from further reflection, that it would have been disadvantageous to have had freedom on one estate and slavery on the next,—to have had freedom on Mr. Wildman's estates, and slavery on the adjoining estates of Mr. Goulburn, in Vere, and the Duke of Buckingham's in St. Andrew, and Mr. Mitchell's in Clarendon. This chequered system would not answer; though he firmly believed that if the plan were supported by due authority, and the slaves were to receive adequate remuneration for their labour, the majority of them would work, and the plan would succeed. He admitted that if a herald were at once to proclaim freedom in Spanish Town, in unqualified terms, to all slaves, anarchy and confusion might be the result. But, by proceeding cautiously, and previously providing the means of restraint, and, above all, by making it known to the slave that it was the King's pleasure that he should still labour when he became free, and if the planters concurred in using this language, so as to remove all

idea that the King and his master were at variance, the freedom of the slaves might be safely, and easily, and even profitably accomplished. He wished to draw a broad line of distinction between freedom indefinitely conferred, and freedom accompanied by effective contemporaneous arrangements, even stronger laws than are now in force, but laws equally affecting all;—strong regulations of police, which should punish vagrancy, and secure to the slave an adequate return for his labour. The police of the agricultural districts in Jamaica now consists of the attorney and the overseer of the estate, the book-keepers under him, and lastly, the drivers, who are usually slaves: the attorney and the overseer corresponding to the justice of the peace in England, and the drivers to constables. On each estate there is now its prison-house: there are also bilboes and other instruments of correction, which are employed by the overseer, &c., for restraint and punishment. Now, in removing this system, a stipendiary magistracy and a constabulary force must be instituted. In this way, by dividing the island into small districts, with a stipendiary magistrate well instructed in the law, not an ignorant planter unacquainted with the law, and a constabulary force under his orders, tranquillity, it appeared to him, would be maintained. The *only* difficulty would be the expense. As to the facility of obtaining labour in these circumstances, the well disposed and industrious would be guided entirely by the profit to be derived from it in choosing their employment; it would be a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence. If the men are paid they will work. Evil doers indeed might not submit to the regular industry of a sugar plantation, especially if they could acquire land of their own. Throughout the island there are little colonies of free labourers. How they got their land he did not know, he supposed by purchase. At present many free persons, who would object on the present system to working on a sugar estate, work on wharfs, in towns, or on board ship, or as domestics, and sometimes by connecting themselves with female slaves on estates, are domiciled in the negro villages, and occupy themselves in tilling the land allowed to their wives by the owners of the estates. He admitted that in all cases much would depend on the character of individuals, and there might be many who would not be uniformly industrious, and there would also in many be a strong disposition to seize the lightest and easiest work, and in whom the love of ease might be stronger than the love of gain. They could not, however, obtain land but by grant from the crown, or by purchase from individuals; and from three to five acres, according to the quality, would be required to maintain himself, his wife, and a family of children of the ordinary size. Many of them, in this way also, besides providing comfortable food and clothing, would be induced to better their condition and to acquire what may be termed the luxuries of life. Mr. Taylor came to this conclusion, from the conviction he had that many of the present slaves, judging from the general style of their houses, and clothes, and furniture, had a keen relish for the comforts of life; many even of the field Negroes studying great neatness and cleanliness, and even making attempts at style in their

houses and furniture, using plates and other conveniences of that sort, and even wearing shoes on Sundays, being ashamed to go to church without them, but carrying them in their hands like the peasant women in Scotland, and putting them on when they drew near the church : but though they did not walk in their shoes, they did not walk barefoot ; they wore sandals. All these articles of use, or show, or luxury, were got entirely by their own labour. Mr. Taylor spoke of many of the slaves, especially on Mr. Wildman's estates, as thus acting. On these estates the respectable part of the slaves, the head men, had property of that description, consisting of mahogany furniture, glass decanters, wine, beds, bedsteads, and pictures, acquired not by the gift of their master, or of one another, but the fruit, as he must infer, of their own labour. In the parish of Vere particularly, the Negroes were well off, much better than in St. Andrew and Clarendon. Their dress was different : at the church service in Vere, he was struck with the expensiveness of their dress ; the women were dressed in muslins, and Leghorn bonnets ; and the men in trowsers, and broad-cloth coats. One day he remarked the difference to one of the head people on Papine, the St. Andrew estate, and received from him this explanation :—"Vere is a great corn country, and in consequence of the supply of corn furnished by the master, they rear large quantities of poultry, and on the market day hucksters come from Kingston by sea, and a considerable trade is carried on by this means, for the supply of Kingston and the shipping in its harbour with poultry ; and when a good season comes, as they are then enabled to raise food enough from their own grounds, they save up their allowance of corn from the master, and with that corn rear large quantities of poultry." In Clarendon and St. Andrew the slaves of Mr. Wildman were poor, as compared with those in Vere. This appeared to arise from the sugar district in Clarendon being remote from any market, being sixteen miles from the coast, and twenty miles from Spanish Town. The slaves, therefore, could not turn their provisions into money. The Negroes said they had enough to eat, but could not convert the food into money. In Clarendon, the principal productions are cocoas and other ground provisions ; of these they have abundance, but they cannot be applied to the same purposes as the corn of Vere, and, moreover, they have not the same command of a market. In St. Andrew it is better than in Clarendon, but not so good as in Vere, because the soil is not so fertile as in Vere ; but the locality as to a market is more favourable than that of Clarendon, Kingston being only six or seven miles distant. On most of the estates throughout the island, the prescribed quantity of clothing is given to the slaves, and their grounds supply abundance of provisions, even where there are no markets near, where they can realize money ; but slave-coopers may make money by working at their trade in their own time, viz. on Sundays and their twenty-six days besides, making pails and other articles ; and slave-carpenters and masons by executing jobs about other people's houses (pages 18, 19, 20). Still he admitted that in many cases there were great poverty and misery (page 19, question 142).

There are some estates, Mr. Taylor further stated, on which slaves are allowed to have cattle running on their owner's property, and which they sold occasionally, but that that is not a general case.—p. 20.

At one time, Mr. Taylor observed, there was a strong impression on the minds of the slaves of St. Andrew that they were about to be made free. This arose from the House of Assembly, in 1830, having given to the free black and coloured people of the Colony the civil rights and privileges enjoyed by the whites. There was consequently excited among them in that parish an intense desire of freedom; and being told that many of the slaves on Papine were overheard speaking of its approach, he sent for a respectable Negro, belonging to that estate, and spoke to him on the subject of their paying for their cottages and lands by a rent arising from wages, for which they should give a certain quantity of their labour in return. He said that he thought they would be well off in such a case. He said, "Sir, suddenly to take our lands would not do. It would be better for us to have our lands and our houses, taking that as part of our hire." And certainly, if they got a fair return for their labour, Mr. Taylor thinks that they could afford to pay rent.—He also sent for a Negro from Vere, and his statement was that they did not expect freedom, but only the privilege of additional days for themselves. He also sent for another from Clarendon; but in that remote parish, away from the busy part of the island, the rumour had not been heard, and the matter was not thought of. The desire of freedom was very prevalent among domestics as well as field-slaves. He had known persons, especially in sickness and old age, indifferent to freedom, and the head man on an estate may be indifferent to it, but that is not the case generally. He could point out a head-driver, living on an estate where his privileges and means of acquiring property were great, and who, considering freedom as the being turned out upon the open Savannah,* said he would rather forego his freedom. Most of the cases of manumission he had known were among domestic slaves, and among them also most of the applications for manumission occurred; but he does not know that this is owing to a more intense desire of, but simply to greater facilities of acquiring, freedom; they therefore aim at it; but generally throughout the island, the slaves of all classes are anxious to obtain their liberty. The exceptions are the aged invalid Negro, who has survived all his relations, and has a kind and wealthy master, or the driver, whose appointments and allowances are good, who is led to connect with the idea of freedom expulsion from the community in which he lives and from office. If his office could be made to consist with freedom, he would not refuse it; but if he thought he was to be forcibly dispossessed of his house, and driven from his family, and sent out a vagabond upon the face of the earth, much as he might value freedom, he would not like it on those conditions. Though there may thus be individual exceptions, yet decidedly, as a body, the slaves are desirous

* So doubtless it was represented to him by those who knew better.

of liberty. He knew of no body of slaves who would be unwilling to exchange slavery for freedom; he had never heard of freedom being tendered to a body of slaves and refused. He could not even call to mind one instance of a slave having had his freedom offered and refusing it, but he could call to mind almost hundreds of instances where pressing applications had been made for freedom by slaves, with applications to himself for money to enable them to buy it (p. 21, 22).

On Mr. Wildman's estates the slaves had privileges that were very peculiar. They had, for the most part, in addition to the twenty-six week-days allowed by law during the year, every Saturday as it came round out of crop, and *in* crop every second Saturday, and every alternate week in crop the half of Saturday, besides which no night work was permitted on his estates during crop. His object was to give them a full share of rest and sleep, and to preserve Sunday, at least as far as he could, perfectly inviolate. Their children too were educated, and the women were exempted from flogging. He would positively have discharged any overseer who he knew had done so; and even with the men he went on the principle of having no corporal punishment: but in spite of him, and of Mr. Taylor also, the whip was still used. The whip appeared to the overseers to be essential, in some way or other, to the maintenance of order. In one instance on Salt Savannah, it took place contrary to Mr. Taylor's own express orders. Mr. Taylor admits that it would be impossible to manage an estate on the present system without the whip at one time or another: it may not be necessary to be *always* using it; but it is essential to order and to labour, as a stimulus which must be brought to act, either immediately or remotely. He conceived that labour must have some stimulus, and this was the only one applied, because the only one permitted by the state of things in Jamaica. On his entering into the charge of Mr. Wildman's estates, there was an understanding that, on his part, the estate was to be managed on a moderate and humane system, or he would have nothing to do with them; and, on Mr. Wildman's, that Mr. Taylor would conform to his mode of management, or he would have nothing to do with Mr. Taylor. The principle, therefore, on which he went, and from which he never receded, was, that the pecuniary interest of the master was to be secondary to the better interests and well-being of the slave; but Mr. Taylor found that it was quite impossible to work the existing system on that principle. There was a want of a stimulus which he could use. That which alone he had, he could not, and would not use. He accordingly wrote Mr. Wildman a letter, to intimate to him that he was disappointed in all his expectations, and that he found that the system would not work on the principle of humanity, and that it required a harsh and coercive principle. His neighbours advanced before him, simply because they could and did use a power which he would not make use of. This letter was written in October, 1830; the following is an extract from it:—"I must now advert to the subject on which you have remarked in your last letter, namely, the civil condition of your Negroes. I cannot refrain from being explicit on the subject; my mind

has been unceasingly harassed by it. The retrospect, too, of the months which have passed since your departure, only confirms me in my opinions. I do not think that your estates can possibly be made to yield, under the combined system of religion, humanity, and slavery. There is in the latter, as it exists in Jamaica, a repugnance to unite with the two former. By *our* system we take away the motive which leads to labour on the neighbouring estates,—that is, the dread of the lash: and we cannot substitute that which makes the English labourer industrious, namely, the fear of want; for the law of Jamaica compels the slave proprietor to feed his slave, to clothe him, and to house him, whatever the conduct of that slave may be.* True it is he may flog him and imprison him,—but *there* our principles come in and prevent; for the first we turn away from, and the latter is a clumsy and dreadful means of compelling obedience; so that, between the two, the discipline is relaxed. Your people are certainly quiet, and generally well conducted; but I am at the same time obliged to say that less work, I think, is produced under our moderate and mild system than under the harsh methods used by the majority of planters. The want is that of a motive. After much anxious thought on the subject, I have come to the conclusion that THE ONLY EFFECTUAL remedy is emancipation. We are, I conceive, in a strait: we must either go on to the ultimate measure of freedom, or go back (which would appear to be impossible, as well as inhuman) to the use of brute coercion. In the middle state we are perplexed and retarded in our operations, simply because there is not a sufficient stimulus. A labourer says he will not work: in England instant dismissal is the consequence: in Jamaica, instant flogging follows.—Now, dismiss a labourer, I cannot;—flog him, I will not.”

In short, Mr. Taylor goes on to state, we must either have an extinction of slavery, or be content to go on with the harsh and barbarous system which now prevails. We must stimulate the slave to labour either by the fear of want, or by the lash. In Jamaica you feed and clothe him whether he works or not, but if he will not work you flog him. If it had not been for the law of Jamaica, Mr. Taylor thinks he could have worked upon him by other motives; but the law required him to swear every quarter that he had provided him with food and clothing; and therefore, unless he committed perjury, he had no hold upon him but the lash. He believed in the first instance that he should have succeeded in his plan mentioned before (see p. 325) of buying these estates, after the plan of a modified slavery had failed; but he was misled by his strong wish to try the experiment, and by the warm regard he felt for the slaves over whom he had been placed. He saw that there were immense difficulties in the way, in the then state of things, but he hoped they might be overcome; and at any rate he was so disgusted with what he was engaged in, and so anxious to make the experiment, that he proposed, had he got any others to join him, to purchase the three estates, to manumize

* Mr. Taylor must mean of course the conscientious slave proprietor, who feels bound not to violate the law.

the Negroes belonging to them, who were connected with each other by family ties, and to work them as free labourers, hoping to be supported in his plan by the local authorities. He could prevail on no one to join him. Still he made the proposal for one of the estates, but it was not accepted. Difficulties of various kinds might have arisen, but these would have been much fewer had the whole slave population been manumitted, and the government of this country been resolutely determined to preserve order. He had no fear whatever that the slaves would become unsettled, or turn vagrants, for he never saw any disposition in the negro mind to vagrancy. A Negro who has his house and grounds will never wander, or run away, but from very bad treatment. A man who has no ties on the estate, no family ties, will desert on receiving ill treatment; but a head Negro, or even a respectable field Negro who has his house and his land, his wife and his children, will bear a great deal of ill treatment before he will run away. Very few return into the woods as compared with the whole population. On one estate he recollects 25 men deserting at a very critical time of the year, in the season of planting; but it was because the overseer had treated them infamously. They watched their opportunity and withdrew into the woods when their services were most required. The proprietor of the estate happened to arrive on the island at the time, and they instantly returned. The overseer was dismissed, and another put in his room, and the Negroes never went away afterwards. It would be difficult to say that they have the *same* ties to home as the English labourer, their situations being so unlike; but still they have many strong ties to home. If a gang of Negroes is bought or sold, it is with the greatest difficulty they can be moved, and often the civil power must be called in to force them: some are sent to the workhouse, and the rest are terrified into submission. Mr. Taylor remembered an instance where a large estate was broken up and the Negroes sold in separate gangs, and one gang they had great difficulty in moving; it was at last moved about 25 miles. About eight months after, their new owner died, and, he not having paid for them, they had to be moved again, when the difficulty was as great as before (p. 24, 25).

Mr. Taylor, in reply to another series of questions, stated that the law allows twenty-six week-days in the year, exclusive of Sundays and the usual (three) holidays, for his provision grounds; and by this allowance of time, together with his Sundays, the Negro in Jamaica maintains himself and his family. Multitudes of them consume their Sundays in their grounds and in going to market. Besides this they have half an hour each day for breakfast, and two hours interval in the middle of the day. During that last interval many work on their own account in their grounds or gardens or in other matters; the half hour for breakfast is usually consumed in rest in the field, often in the shade of a tree. He cannot say how much labour in the year is sufficient to enable a slave to satisfy his wants and those of his family, nor how much land he requires for that purpose. But he knows that to a great extent they cultivate their grounds and go to market on Sunday; but he

cannot affirm that working all Sunday is universal. If, however, a Negro were to devote his Sundays to repose he certainly could not maintain himself and his family; and, in fact, by the great majority of them, Sunday is generally consumed in their grounds or in marketing. If they strictly observed the Sunday, having only their twenty-six week-days, it would not be sufficient; and even near the Missionary stations he remembered that the ministers complained that on certain Sundays the slaves never could attend service, and they had no congregation of them.—It was not the nature of the slaves' work, with the exception of cane-hole-digging, but the duration of it, of which they had to complain. As for cane-hole digging, it was so hard that he had heard overseers of plantations state as the chief objection to freedom that they never could get cane-holes dug by free men. And certainly they could not at the common rate of labour: it would require an immense inducement. The slaves will certainly do much more for themselves than when they work for their masters. Even when performing task-work, they are different beings. A Negro will lift a load for himself which it would require a severe flogging to make him lift for his master. He had seen them travelling to market, groaning under a load of hard wood timber which no overseer could make them carry. But the inducement was great: they were sure to get a high price for it, and they were labouring for themselves. He had often observed them, after working for their masters, and for their own maintenance, prolong their work to procure some little indulgences. Whenever they could contrive by task-work, or other arrangements, to obtain any extra time, their grounds were crowded with them, labouring for their own benefit. They cannot, therefore, be said to be an indolent race, or incapable of being actuated by the motives by which labour is generally prompted. His own experience assured him of the contrary. He admitted that the propensity of the Negro, as of all men in warm climates, was to indolence; but, whenever the hope of pecuniary advantage could be brought to bear on this indolence, it was powerfully counteracted. He was well acquainted with the inhabitants of Scotland, and he had never known an intelligent and well-instructed Scotchman who would work hard without an inducement; but, for the same motive of personal advantage, the Negro might most decidedly be induced to work to an immense extent. Having tried the experiment of voluntary labour for wages in his own garden, the man who most frequently applied for employment was the most idle and worthless man on the estate. The steady Negroes were far less willing to work in his garden, having large and well cultivated grounds of their own; while this fellow had neglected his ground and had therefore no temptation to go to it, and was glad therefore to be employed in the garden, or he would collect a little fruit, or procure some billets of wood, and carry them to Kingston market, converting them into cash. This man, more frequently than any other, came to work in the garden the whole day till four o'clock, and he then took his 2*s.* 11*d.* of hire and proceeded to Kingston to convert the money into comforts; while the other Negroes were unwilling to

do so, it being more profitable to go to their own grounds—thus decidedly showing their judgment in discriminating as to the kind of labour that would reward them best and selecting that. In fact the Negroes are far from being the rude uncultivated barbarians they are sometimes represented to be. The estimate in this country of their character is a great deal too low. He himself had no notion of it till he was called to manage those estates; and he had been ten years in the island and was still in great ignorance of the agricultural labourers of Jamaica; and he then found that far too low an opinion had been formed (and this he declared to many in Jamaica) of their state of civilization. The Negroes who worked in his garden worked diligently, because he discharged them if they did not. The idle man, who was the chief labourer, was well watched by the gardener, and if slothful was sent away. The fear of this operated to produce application as the fear of the whip did in the field. Working in his garden was however less hard than digging cane holes (p. 25, 26, 27).

Mr. Taylor was here asked a very important question: “How many hours a day, upon the average, is a slave engaged in the work of his master?” He was unable to answer this question with any precision, having never acted in the lower grades of plantership, either as book-keeper or overseer.* But though Mr. Taylor cannot specify the exact

* As Mr. Taylor could not trust to his recollection to answer this question, it may be expedient at once to refer to the infallible authority, not of an obsolete statute, but the latest slave law on this subject, namely, the Act of 19th February, 1831, clause 22:—“And be it further enacted that every field slave on any plantation or settlement shall, on work days, be allowed half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner; and that no slave shall be compelled to any manner of *field work* upon the plantation before the hour of *five in the morning*, or *after the hour of seven at night*, except during the time of crop, under the penalty not exceeding fifty pounds, to be recovered against the overseer or other person having the charge of such slaves.”

The overseer, therefore, is by this, the only existing law on the subject, empowered to compel the labour of the slaves in the field, whether they be men, women, or children, on all work days, from five in the morning till seven in the evening, being fourteen solid hours, with intervals of two hours and a half, leaving the actual field labour to which the slaves, male and female, are compellable to submit, at the immoderate amount of ELEVEN HOURS AND A HALF on each work day throughout the year. But then crop time, which lasts from four to six months in the year, is exempted even from this limitation; and there is no extent of exaction short of absolute cruelty, and not bounded by the physical powers of the human animal, which this apparently slight and parenthetic provision may not vindicate. This enactment, too, is not an act of inconsideration on the part of the Jamaica legislature. It stands thus in every successive version of it from 1788 downwards. It stood in their disallowed act of 1826 in precisely the same words, and was thus commented upon by Mr. Huskisson in his Despatch of the 22nd September, 1827:—“The provisions for the prevention of excessive labour contemplate the working of the slaves for eleven hours and a half daily out of crop, and place no limit on the continuance of the work during crop time. Considering the climate in which the labour is to be performed, and that after the work of the field there will yet remain many offices to be done not falling within the proper meaning of the term ‘labour’ (he should have said field labour), I should fear that the exertions of the slaves, if exacted up to

but varying duration of the slaves' labour for his master, upon one fact involved in it he speaks without any doubt or hesitation, and that is, that the *women* are employed the same number of hours with the men, except women pregnant, or having children at the breast. Their labour, also, is almost entirely of the same description as that of the men. They cannot undertake the management of cattle, or the duty of *watching* all night out of crop; but they dig cane-holes with the men, and in gangs with them; and they are exposed to the same degree of labour. The question aptly follows, "Does the population of Jamaica increase or decrease?" The reply is—IT DECREASES; and this decrease Mr. Taylor states is considered in Jamaica to arise from sugar cultivation, especially the night work of crop, and the cane-hole digging. The free blacks and people of colour, on the other hand, increase. The maroons, he knew from the returns in the Jamaica Almanac, increased largely, and they derive their whole subsistence from their own exertions. The habits of the free people as to labour he was not able to describe particularly; few of them, from the jealousy and ill-will of managers and overseers, have hitherto been allowed to settle on or near estates. A free village near an estate indeed is viewed as a great evil. Being asked to account for the increase of the free, while the slaves decrease, Mr.

the limits allowed by law, would be scarcely consistent with the health of the labourer." Mr. Huskisson might well say so, as the murderous tendency of the whole system of slave labour in Jamaica abundantly testifies, by the debility and death of its victims, by the arrest of the prolific powers of the female slaves, and by the frightful waste of the whole slave population.

Now, in the insolent reply of the Assembly to Mr. Huskisson's Despatch, drawn up by the very Mr. Barrett who is now a delegate from Jamaica to uphold this cruel code, as it is given in the papers printed by command in 1828, Mr. Barrett seems at some loss to parry or evade the above conclusive observations of the Secretary of State. His reply is a rare example of shuffling dexterity. It is as follows:—"Mr. Huskisson fears that the exertions of the slaves, if exacted up to the limits allowed by the disallowed law, would be scarcely consistent with a due regard to the health of the labourer. Negroes do not exert themselves at work like Europeans. They seldom fatigue themselves, and it is common for them to travel many miles or to dance the entire night after the longest day's labour. It is believed by the House of Assembly that labourers work much harder and longer in Great Britain, and are rewarded with a smaller share of the necessaries and comforts of existence."

The daring insolence, the unblushing falsehood, and the unfeeling levity of such a statement, on so grave a subject, and with a wasting population around them, is quite characteristic of the Jamaica Assembly. Yet Mr. Huskisson did not do justice to the cause he advocated. He was not aware of half the exactions to which, under the shelter of this artfully framed and most insidious enactment, the slave might be subjected. There is no limitation but to work in the field, none to grass collecting for the cattle after the work of the field is over, none to the onerous duties of the slaves, male and female, in their household menage; viz. all the cooking required, the firing and water wanted for household purposes and cleanliness for them and their families;—all are left to fall on the slaves after their work is over, and they have been broiling in a tropical sun for eleven hours and a half in the field, and under the lash. Can we wonder at the dreadful waste of human life in Jamaica?

Taylor said he accounted for it partly by cane-hole digging and night work, partly by abortions caused by flogging pregnant women, before the pregnancy is apparent. Many children are thus destroyed in the womb. Some of the medical men to whom he spoke admitted that this evil prevailed to a certain extent. He believed that there was a waste or rather prevention of life from this cause (it was admitted generally in conversation) as well as from the severity and duration of the labour imposed on the women in common with the men, such as cane-hole digging, and night work (pp. 27, 28).

Mr. Taylor being again questioned as to the slave's capacity, if manumitted, to maintain himself and his family in comfort, he replied that he would be neither incapable nor unwilling. Let him be moved by the fear of want, or excited by the hope of advantage, and he will exert himself as certainly and effectively as the labourers of Europe. It would at the same time be unfair, in his present enslaved state, to require that he should be placed in comparison with the free Scotchman; yet he believed that he would be always alive to the prospect of pecuniary advantage whenever it was palpably exhibited to him, and, with that before him, he would work if free. Emancipated slaves do not become vagrants, in any legitimate sense of the term. They are much employed as hucksters, an occupation for which the peculiar state of Jamaica offers great advantages. There are in that island scarcely any inland villages with shops, as in England; but the wants of the slaves in distant parishes are supplied by hucksters, which emancipated slaves are fond of becoming. A strict watch, however, is kept over such stragglers, whether they be coloured, or black, or white persons. The slaves, if emancipated, would only think of removing from their home to better their condition; but otherwise they would cling, if allowed to do so, to their respective villages, to their houses and grounds, their wives and children. With respect to the habits of the free people of colour, little comparatively is known by the whites. Indeed the distinctions between white, and black, and brown, and bond and free, raise barriers to communication which widely separate them from each other. This is an almost necessary, but most unhappy incident of a slave state.—Certainly the desire for freedom does not arise from the slave's connecting it with an exemption from labour; for they see under their own eyes many who had been slaves labouring hard for their support. Even an old Negro on an estate, when he ceases to labour for his master, does not cease to labour for himself. There was one on the estate of Salt Savannah, who, though allowed to "sit down and to be exempt from plantation labour, was most industrious and hard-working for himself" (p. 28, 29).

Mr. Taylor, being further questioned as to the danger of disturbance among the slaves in Jamaica, replied to this effect:—Jamaica is now in a state of disturbance; but he could not answer for the future, so ignorant may an individual in Jamaica be of the state and feelings of the society around him. Had he been asked in January last, or on the very day before the news of the insurrection arrived, he would have denied

all probability of riot or insurrection; and in no parish should he have less expected it, with the exception of Kingston and Spanish Town, than in St. James. The actual transactions would have falsified all his convictions, and convinced him that, though living in the very centre of the slaves, with hundreds of them at the very door, nothing was known of them, or of what they felt or designed. This is a peculiar feature of a slave community. Slavery separates the different classes from each other. The military executions and horrors may for the present have quelled the spirit of insubordination; but, when that terror has worn away, it can hardly be doubted, from the vast increase of lettered knowledge among the slaves, which there is no controlling, that, without an early emancipation, they will break out again, and you will not be able to put them down. They will be more methodical and successful. Men cannot be expected to be quiet who read newspapers on both sides of such a question. The great error in Jamaica is madly fancying that the slaves of 1830 are the slaves of 1810. Legislation is at least half a century behind the state of the people. Whether when made free they will be turbulent or peaceable will depend wholly on the mode of doing it. If put in a situation to feel the influence of the motives which make us all work, they will work, if you only establish a good government in that country.—But it is asked, if the slave in certain situations possesses the advantages you have stated, why should you think freedom preferable to slavery? It is preferable on these grounds, and in this view of the subject the slaves almost universally concur.—Whatever advantages a slave may have, the evils accompanying slavery are such as every man would get rid of if he could. Let the comfort even of a Negro in Vere, the most comfortable in the island, be doubled, yet he would not remain in that state, if he could get rid of it without absolutely being turned adrift. Better to be the poorest labourer in England than the richest slave in Jamaica. Suppose him in the best circumstances, and with the best master, he cannot call Sunday his own. He may see his wife indecently stripped and flogged at shell blow. He may see his adult daughter put in the same situation. There is no law to prevent this, and it is done over and over again. No degree of comforts, even their greatest abundance, could be accepted on such terms (p. 29, 30).

The remainder of Mr. Taylor's evidence, extending through nearly 34 folio pages, consists chiefly of a close and eagerly pursued cross-examination, conducted, as it would appear, by Mr. Burge, who alone of the committee could have been competent to the task. Close and able as it was, it did not shake any one material position occupied by Mr. Taylor; on the contrary it has greatly strengthened them. It would be a mere waste of time and labour to repeat, under this new form, the re-assertion of the principles we have already abstracted. We shall therefore only glean what we find new and striking in this truly searching examination.

Mr. Taylor, during the thirteen years he had resided in Jamaica, between 1816 and 1831, had had abundant opportunities of knowing

something of the state and character of the slave population. During the ten years he resided in Kingston as a merchant, he visited Hermitage estate, in St. George, belonging to his partner Mr. Simpson, three or four times a year, having upon it 160 Negroes. During six months of 1816 he visited many estates in Trelawney, with his uncle Mr. Cunningham, who was both a proprietor and an attorney. He had also been a good deal in Manchester and St. Elizabeth.—The time allowed the slaves by law to raise their food, he was convinced, was wholly inadequate. The land in general was ample, but the time, without encroaching largely on the rest of Sunday, very scanty, it being only his own time, and not his master's, which he could apply to that purpose (p. 34). The labour required to keep yams, and cocoes or eddoes, free from weeds, is very considerable. The time required by a plantain walk, when once established, was certainly not great;* but still, to secure sufficient food for the slave, far more time is absolutely required (p. 35, ques. 342). At present the slave is almost wholly debarred from the religious use of two Sundays in three, and from attending the Sunday schools on those days.—The wealth found among slaves is principally among mechanics (ques. 308, p. 36); but he knows no parish where provisions are deficient (ques. 384, p. 37). As to the hours of labour, the whip is cracked generally between four and five in the morning. In general they go out as soon as they can see (ques. 392, p. 38). Half an hour is usually allowed for breakfast, and an hour and a half for dinner (ques. 396, p. 38). In duration their day's labour is thus raised to twelve hours. In most estates cane-hole digging to a considerable extent is indispensable; on very fertile lands it is much less called for (ques. 415, &c., p. 39). Cane-holing was the chief work in Clarendon, from the middle of August to the middle of November, with occasional intermissions of lighter work, as the strength of the Negroes would permit (ques. 462, p. 39). The plough and jobbing gangs are in use on many plantations, with a view of sparing the Negroes (p. 40). On estates not strongly handed, during crop, the Negroes work day and night for about 18 hours out of the 24. If the estates are strongly handed, this labour is lessened, but in none is the loss of sleep less than two nights a week† (p. 41). Mr. Taylor is asked whether the mortality is as great among the children of the free as among the child-

* But, if a hurricane comes, plantain walks are swept away, and, if the Negro has no other food to rely upon, he is reduced to a state of absolute famine. The planter who permits his slaves to *rely* on the plantain exposes them to destruction of the same kind which, in 1789, swept away so many thousands by the famine caused by the miserable penuriousness of the planters of that day in the allotment of time to their slaves.

† An intelligent person, who kept spell as a book-keeper for four years in Jamaica, is ready to testify, if called upon, to the uniform practice, in his time, to divide into two spells that part of the first and second gangs not occupied as coopers, in making casks, or as waggons, or mule-drivers.

The following is a sketch of the working of those two spells, which we will call A and B, a white book-keeper being allowed to each, who had the same length of night duty as the slaves:—

ren of slaves (ques. 496, p. 44), but he cannot answer the question.*—No attempt was made to instruct and civilise the maroons till 1829, when Mr. Taylor was authorised by the Church Missionary Society to erect schools for them in Accomping Town. Prior to that they had been left in a state of utter ignorance and barbarism; but from that date he observed a rapid change among them (ques. 537, page 48).—Mr. Taylor affirms the ample sufficiency of his experience to justify the assertions he has made respecting the Negro character and the conduct of the slave population. His experience was as large as that of most others who had been in that island (ques. 562, p. 49). His means of acquiring a knowledge of lettered instruction among the Negroes were peculiar, and he pronounced their advance, as compared with 1816, to be *immense* (ques. 581, p. 51); meaning by lettered instruction the knowledge of reading. They acquire it in Sunday schools, which are chiefly attended by the adult slaves, and *they* carry it home and spread it diligently. The knowledge of reading was not general, but it was spreading rapidly. In these schools are many children, but the chief part is composed of adults, and this though they could only attend one Sun-

On Sunday, at 6 P.M., the spell A went to the works and put the mill about, remaining there till midnight, when it went to rest as soon as relieved by spell B. At day-dawn, on Monday, spell A went to the field, and continued cutting canes there for the mill till noon. At noon it resumed its place at the works, and continued there till midnight on Monday, when it took rest till day-dawn on Tuesday, and was then again in the field cutting canes till noon, and thus it proceeded on each succeeding day of the week, except that on Saturday it did not always retire at midnight, but remained sometimes to two or three on Sunday morning, till all the cane juice was boiled off. During the same week, the spell B came on duty at the works at midnight on Sunday night, and continued there till noon on Monday, when it went home; but at 2 P.M. it was again in the field, cutting canes for the mill from that time until dusk, when it went home to rest, till called up again at midnight to relieve spell A. And so the work proceeded the whole week, only that at midnight on Saturday there was no call of spell B, however late might be the boiling.

The succeeding week, the spells were changed, so that the spell B began work on the Sunday evening at 6 P.M., and so had the very same tale and hours of labour, both at the works and in the field, which the spell A had had the week before, and A the same as B had had. Thus each spell during every 24 hours was 12 hours at the works and six hours in the field, the whole of their sleep being taken from the six hours which then alone remained to them. And the same must of absolute necessity be the case still, if the manufacture of sugar be continuously carried on, on estates not having more than from 200 to 250 Negroes, embracing a large majority of sugar estates. Is not this toil dreadful, and most wearing and exhausting? and it affects the women still more than the men. Can women, by any possibility, breed under such circumstances? It is altogether impossible.

* But can the slightest doubt rest upon this matter when the returns officially sent from the West Indies are examined? The increase among the maroons of Jamaica is nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, while the decrease on the sugar estates is from 1 to 2 per cent. or more. The free black and coloured people of Demerara, Berbice, and the Mauritius, increase at the rate of nearly 3 per cent. per annum.—How terrible is the waste of slave life as compared with this increase!

day in three. These schools are numerous in St. Thomas in the East, in St. George's, at Buff Bay, at Annotta Bay, at Falmouth, at Montego Bay, at Lucea, at Savannah-la-mar, and in St. Elizabeth, where the clergy, the dissenting missionaries, the Moravians, and several private families are particularly active; and the recipients of such instruction are themselves, in their turn, the active instruments of teaching others. It thus spreads rapidly. Many adults are able to read Anti-Slavery publications, not from England, but published in the island: some subscribe for them and take them in. The proprietors and land-owners know little of all this (p. 51 and 52). The Watchman and Christian Record are unsafe reading for the slaves in Jamaica. As for the Anti-Slavery Reporter, it was little known in Jamaica, and he did not believe it was read there (p. 53).—The insurrection Mr. Taylor thought had arisen chiefly from the rapid advance of knowledge among the slaves; partly from the debates in the Assembly, as to the free people of colour; partly from a desire and expectation of freedom, excited by the discussions between the colonial legislature and the government at home; and partly from the excited and divided state of the press* (p. 53).—The handsome furniture found in the houses of Negroes were exceptions; such things were almost entirely in the houses of mechanics, but slaves, generally, have a strong desire to possess better clothing and furniture (p. 55).—The Negroes always put on sandals when they walk a great distance. (ib.) The Negro house is a low-roofed cottage of three apartments; the centre is the eating apartment. The parents occupy one end and sleep there, and the children sleep in the centre apartment. The other end is for their property. Many houses have only two apartments, one for living in, and one for sleeping. They have rude bedsteads of timber nailed together. Some have mattresses stuffed with leaves, and some bed-clothes and sheets (p. 55). Mr. Taylor could affirm that those slaves who were constant at church were those most desirous to receive instruction.

Mr. Taylor is of opinion that on plantations, generally, it is in the power of the manager to inflict great cruelty on the slaves, without their being able to obtain redress; and that, within the limit of the law, most appalling cruelty may be inflicted, which cannot be punished (p. 56). The Assembly of Jamaica voted large sums for the pro-slavery publications of Macqueen, Bridges, and Barclay; and the planters support the Jamaica Courant (p. 56). With the Negroes, the flogging of women operates against marriage. They will not marry, because they cannot endure to have their wedded wives flogged (p. 57).—It is indisputable that one part of the Jamaica clergy promotes religious instruction among the Negroes to the utmost, and that another part does not (ques. 670, p. 57). The former exert themselves in every

* Mr. Taylor has entirely omitted to notice the parochial restrictions of Jamaica in August, September, and October, 1831; the appointment of delegates to England; and Mr. Beaumont's bill for abolishing female flogging, and facilitating manumissions by compelling masters to grant them at a fair appraisal.

possible way to instruct the Negroes, conceiving it their bounden duty to their flock to teach them to read the Scriptures, and to put the Scriptures into their hands, whether the masters like it or not. The other party will do nothing without permission of the owner (ques. 684, p. 58). There are not sufficient magistrates in Jamaica at present to serve as substitutes for the master in enforcing discipline (ques. 681, p. 58).—Mr. Taylor thinks that no consideration would induce an emancipated slave to submit to the degradation of joining a Negro gang to work in the field with a driver behind him; but his refusal to do this, especially as he can procure more profitable employment, is only a proof of his good sense (p. 63).

A paper was produced which Mr. Taylor acknowledged to be his, and in which he had embodied, for the information of a friend, his general views on the subject of emancipation; and he added that they were still his views, and the result of much deliberation and reflection. It was as follows:—

“First let emancipation, and strict police arrangements, be contemporaneous.—Ample materials would be found for a police corps in the coloured class, whose services could be had at a low rate of charge.—Avoid paying the emancipated Negroes by means of allotments of land, as those would detach them from regular daily labour; but pay them in money.—At first there would be difficulties, but gradually the equitable price of labour would be ascertained, and act as the producer of regular labour.—A stipendiary magistracy would be necessary, because the peculiar prejudices of the present magistracy generally unfit them for the office.—The island would have to be divided into districts, each possessing a certain portion of the constabulary force, with a stipendiary magistrate, and a house of correction or other penitentiary. Were the island thus divided, and the police and magistrates properly organized, I firmly believe that emancipation might take place with perfect security.—Of course there would be difficulties, obstacles, and disappointments, in carrying into effect the detail of the system of emancipation; but if Government would address themselves actually to the work, telling the planters on the one hand that such is their determination, and the Negroes on the other that while they aim at instituting equal laws, and securing them their civil and religious liberty, they by no means design that idleness should be at their option,—I am convinced that the result would be as beneficial, in a pecuniary way, to the planter, as it would be elevating and humanizing morally to the present degraded slave. The present system is incurable; it will not modify: it must be utterly destroyed. My experience, as a planter, assures me that to attempt to ingraft religion and humanity upon slavery, with the hope of profitable results, is a vain and fruitless endeavour. A religious man is a most unfit person to manage a slave estate. The fact is, cruelty is the main spring of the present system. As long as slavery exists, and the whip is the compeller of labour, it is folly to talk of humanity. Legitimate motives are taken away, and coercion becomes the spring of industry; and in proportion to the ap-

plication of this, that is, coercion, is the effect on labour. The Negro character has been much underrated, even, I think, by the Negro's friends. When justice is done to him, even in his present degraded circumstances, he shows a sagacity and shrewdness, and a disposition to a regular social life, which emphatically prove that he only requires freedom secured to him by law to make him a useful, and, in his situation, an honourable member of the human family." Mr. Taylor added that he firmly believed all that he had stated in this paper to be true. It had been privately written, and he never expected to see it again, but he perfectly agreed now in every sentiment it contained.

Such is the evidence of Mr. William Taylor, and certainly more important evidence has never been laid before the public on this subject. It will commend itself to every reader by its calmness, consistency, and truth, by its cautious and discriminating character, and by the straightforwardness with which he states, without regard to the impression they may produce. It bears all the marks of a thoroughly honest evidence.

II. The next witness is the Rev. JOHN BARRY, a Wesleyan Missionary. When he first went to the island, and for some time after, he found the work of education in a backward and inefficient state. The children attended only on Sundays at the chapel. They were all regularly at work during the week in St. Thomas in the Vale, where he then was, and no fit teachers were procurable. Now, however, great numbers of children, and latterly of adults, have learnt to read. The Wesleyans have no schools on any plantations, nor on any day but Sunday, and at their chapels, except in Kingston. The Negroes in St. Thomas in the Vale derived their subsistence from the provision grounds allotted by the master, and cultivated by themselves. Besides provisions, some of them reared pigs and poultry. The yearly allowance of clothing was two suits of Osnaburg, a common hat or cap, and a coarse rug coat, for bad weather; but many were clad in better clothes, procured by the sale of their surplus provisions. The whole of the 26 week days allowed by law, and any spare time they had, and the Sundays, were given to the culture of provisions, or to marketing. They generally laboured in their grounds on Sundays, except when they went to market, and which market, whether Spanish Town or Kingston, was 20 miles distant from the plantations near which he lived. This use of most Sundays was invariably and decidedly necessary, though they were very industrious in employing what time they had in raising food and articles for sale. He had paid attention to their industrious habits, and had not the least doubt they would labour willingly for hire if free. They did not become less industrious by having acquired some little property. He had a servant of his own who had been a slave, but had obtained his freedom; and, though he received a liberal weekly pay for his services, he requested to be allowed to devote his hours after 8 or 9 o'clock to his own purposes, and has been known almost constantly to work till midnight, or even two in the morning, in manufacturing baskets to

sell, and increase his property and comforts. The Negroes employ themselves much, besides cultivating their grounds, in manufacturing ornamental baskets, making coarse straw hats and earthen utensils, and a variety of little articles, and sometimes in cutting grass, all which they sell. This is done to a great extent near towns. The slaves sell their provisions and other things in the public markets, as is done in England. They are very shrewd indeed in their bargains—as shrewd as any white man. They well understand the value of money. They often go as far as 25 and 26 miles to market, and sometimes as far as 35. Their plan is to prepare their loads on that Saturday which is their own, and to travel with it all Saturday night to be in time for the Sunday market; so that the violation of the Sabbath is unavoidable, for it necessarily requires the whole of the day when they go to market, to vend their goods and return home (p. 64—68).

The Negroes, Mr. Barry thinks, are remarkable for the social and domestic affections. He never knew more dutiful and obedient children. They are exceedingly attached to their parents, and will do all in their power to promote their comfort. The greatest offence that can be given to a Negro is to speak disrespectfully of his parents. At the same time, in St. Thomas in the Vale, they are generally in a state of sad demoralization. Great improvement, however, has followed religious instruction. On Mount Concord, near the missionary station, there were 130 Negroes. The adults were about 70. The overseer of that plantation called upon Mr. Barry one day and said, “Mr. Barry, the Negroes on this property perfectly astonish me. They are the most industrious, and the most intelligent, and the best Negroes I have ever seen in this island. I have just left the Port Royal mountains, and such was the state of the Negroes there that I was afraid to eat my food, lest I should be poisoned, and I always considered my life in danger.” Mr. Barry replied, “I am glad to hear you bear that testimony, Mr. Jordan; for almost all of these people are members of our society.” It is true that, owing to some peculiarities in the state of the Negroes, they had not sufficiently correct notions as to petty thefts and the obligations of truth and purity; but, when brought under the influence of religion, those evils were almost invariably corrected. Had the slave population, generally, been as well instructed as the 10,000 or 12,000 Negroes belonging to the Wesleyan establishments, they might be considered as on a par, in point of morality, with ordinary persons. In the late insurrection not a single member of the society was found implicated: and there were only two cases even of suspicion. The Governor himself stated as much to Mr. Barry; and Major-General Yates said that, after the most minute investigation, it did not appear that a single Wesleyan had taken part in it. Since Mr. Barry had quitted the island, a few months since, he had heard rumours that three or four had been detected, but on no good authority (p. 68).

Mr. Barry was decidedly of opinion that, if emancipation took place under prudent precautions, there would be an infinitely greater opportunity of communicating religious instruction, and a more rapid advancement in morality and civilization. He called once, in travelling

through St. Mary's, on a Mr. Clarke, the possessor of about forty slaves who had been receiving instruction for two or three years. The change, he said, was remarkable; he no longer employed a driver, and seldom visited his slaves while at work. Previously to their becoming religious, he had employed two drivers, and constantly visited the slaves himself. Now he got infinitely more work from those very slaves than he could get by his own care, and that of his drivers; and this he attributed to the influence of religion. Religious slaves, however, are not exempted in general, under the present system, from the infliction of punishment. If they work under drivers, as is the common case, they will share in it, however attentive they may be to their duties. If emancipated, he believes, they would do more work than now (p. 69).

Many plantations have no religious instruction at all. St. Mary's had a population of 25,000 slaves: when first he visited it, in 1825, the only places of worship were the parish church at Port Maria and another small church that only held 200 people, both very distant from the dwellings of the great majority of the slaves. This is a fair picture of the provision of places of worship generally throughout the island. In some parishes the advantages are greater, but in no due proportion to the number of slaves. The aggregate number of slaves even partially under religious instruction, by all the religious bodies, did not exceed 50,000, being only a seventh of the whole. The proportion of the free black and coloured inhabitants who attend religious instruction is much larger. A great degree of immorality, however, prevails among both slave and free, the constitution of society in Jamaica tending much to general demoralization, and more generally among the whites than the other classes. It prevails to a very great extent indeed; and among the whites of all grades it is nearly universal. This general profligacy pervading all ranks, whether slave or free, has had its origin in slavery, and especially in the master's unlimited power over the body of his female slave. It is true he has not the same power over the free women; but the example and influence of the whites are so corrupting that the mothers of free females generally prefer seeing their daughters the concubines of white men than the wives of men of their own colour. Emancipation would tend greatly to improve this state of things. Religious and moral improvement would then necessarily advance; and, under the influence of religion, the present loose habits would be abandoned. In the Wesleyan Societies in Jamaica there are hundreds of fine young women who will labour incessantly rather than submit to such a state of degradation. In some instances women have had the strongest inducements held out to return to their former keepers, which they have almost uniformly refused. The discredit which still attaches to white men who marry women of colour is great, notwithstanding the new rights and privileges conferred on that class. Such marriages cause an almost entire exclusion from white society. The emancipation of the slaves would tend to obviate this evil (p. 70 and 71).

The free coloured and blacks maintain themselves by their own industry in a great variety of ways; they work as carpenters, smiths,

masons, coopers, wood cutters, cabinet makers, watch makers, and at all other trades carried on by whites. Many of them who have themselves been slaves are employed in the very first works in the island. Numbers of them are domestic servants, and a great many cultivate lands of their own, and sell the produce. They never work in the field of plantations: indeed their services are never asked for there, and they have constant work otherwise; and at all events in cultivating land of their own, which they purchase. The present system of labour excludes them from plantation work in the field. A planter would not willingly admit free persons to work with his slaves, and the free persons would feel it a deep degradation to work with a gang of slaves in the field: extreme necessity alone could drive them to it. Land may be had, but not always in convenient situations. Mr. Barry himself paid 7*l.* currency, or 5*l.* sterling, for an acre of very good grass land, which he wanted for his own use. There are immense tracts of uncultivated land both in the plains and on the mountains, partly belonging to the crown, and partly to individuals (p. 72).

Mr. Barry professes to be well acquainted with the habits of the free blacks and people of colour. They have certainly greatly improved in information, intelligence, and wealth, during his residence in the island. Some of the best educated men he has known in Jamaica are people of colour, and they promote education among the young. Being allied by blood and marriage with the slaves, they communicate with them to a great extent, and thus the slaves acquire much general knowledge.—There is scarcely a transaction which takes place even in England with which they are not acquainted. They take a deep interest in what relates to emancipation. When in the last session Mr. Beaumont brought in his bill for compulsory manumission, the greatest possible excitement existed among the slaves, and their expressions of joy were almost unbounded; and the great mass not only of the slaves, but of the free black and coloured classes, were eager for the measure. He knew slaves that were head men and tradesmen on estates, who were able to purchase their freedom, and desirous of obtaining it, but could not obtain it. He had known instances of aged and infirm slaves who did not desire to be free; but he never knew an instance of a vigorous Negro who did not desire it. It is very common for emancipated slaves to pay large sums for the redemption of their wives and children: the desire to do so is universally very strong, and very exorbitant prices are often paid for them (p. 73).

When Mr. Barry first went to Jamaica, from what he had heard, he was led to think that emancipation could not be effected without danger. But now he was of a contrary opinion. He was now convinced, by a more close observation of the Negro character, that, with proper regulations, it might be effected without any danger; and that such is their willingness to labour at their own hours, whether field slaves or mechanics, that no apprehension need be entertained of the result.—The cause of religion and morality would be most essentially promoted by it. Under the present system the slaves are generally precluded, for weeks together, from attending places of religious worship and in-

struction. Any system of police, however severe, would be preferable to the evils of slavery. And not only would the free people, generally, be perfectly competent to discharge police duties, but thousands of the slaves themselves, if emancipated, might safely be put into a corps of that description. They would keep order themselves, and aid in keeping others in order. The present magistracy, however, would be inadequate, and there ought to be stipendiary magistrates to superintend the whole. The feeling of freedom has got so firm a hold of the slaves now that they will never be satisfied till they attain it, and even its delay will be attended with considerable danger. During the late insurrection, those who were judicially executed, with very few exceptions, died glorying in their death, and stating that, had they twenty lives, they would sacrifice them all rather than return to slavery. No mere amelioration of their condition will ever reconcile the Negroes again to slavery. Religious instruction tends indeed to restrain turbulence and outrage, but it never can repress the desire of freedom (p. 74, 75).

The Negroes are generally a shrewd and intelligent people. Many possess strong intellectual powers. They are strongly attached to their homes. They are grateful to those who treat them kindly. Taking all their circumstances into account, they are much the same as other men. Plantation field slaves have little opportunity of working for hire. Plantation mechanics will work assiduously after hours, as long as they can see, and often by candle-light. It cannot be doubted, however, that in case of emancipation all would work, for fair wages, at plantation or any other work. They dislike sugar planting more than any other work; but, for a proper remuneration, they will work even on sugar properties. They know the value of money, and they will labour for it (p. 76).

Mr. Barry did not think that the present means of education and divine worship were at all sufficient for the slave population. Difficulties, too, are thrown in the way by masters. One Sunday, in St. Thomas in the Vale, a woman came into the chapel with a wooden tray on her head, filled with dirty clothes. Mr. Barry felt inclined to reprove her for the indecorum, but the steward told him she was not to blame, as what she had done was to elude the opposition of her owner. His opposition to religion was so strong that his Negroes were obliged to leave the estate with their best clothes put into the tray, and their working dress on, that he might be led to suppose they were going to their grounds or to market; but when they came near chapel they put on their best clothes, and put their dirty ones into the tray, and all this was done to elude the opposition to their attending religious worship. But the grand hindrance is the necessary attention that must be paid to their provision grounds, and the impossibility of going to market if they attend chapel. They cannot attend any school but a Sunday school—their master's interest stands in the way: and from Sunday schools they are frequently altogether debarred. Even the children, from the age of five to ten, are constantly employed in gangs under a driveress, to perform various works on the estate. Mr. Wild-

man, and Mr. S. M. Barrett, are the only planters he knew to pay any great attention to the religious instruction of the slaves, both children and adults. Mr. Nicholas Palmer's wishes on that point were wholly frustrated by his attorney. Mr. Palmer sent out as a catechist a Mr. Stockman and his wife, from Bristol, to his estate in St. Dorothy's. But, when Mr. Stockman arrived, Mr. Bailey, the attorney, would not permit him to go on the estate, and, though informed of Mr. Palmer's wishes, would neither make him any allowance nor suffer him to perform his duties. The consequence was that Mr. Stockman, having opened a school at Old Harbour, in a very hot and inconvenient house, fever ensued, of which he died; and Mr. Palmer paid the expenses of his widow's return to Bristol. He did not know of any specific opposition to Mr. Wildman's plans of education, but he became very unpopular in consequence of them (p. 77).

Mr. Barry could not tell, from his own observation, whether the field slaves worked harder on the plantation, or for their own profit on their grounds; but he had seen carpenters working as hard for their own profit as it was possible for men to do. There is, however, a great difficulty in entering a plantation to obtain information as to the state of the slaves. Attorneys and overseers never like it (p. 77, ques. 949).

He had known instances, during the late insurrection, of slaves who had shown attachment to their masters or managers, and had defended their property. One man in particular, James Muir, had defended his master's property to the last; and, when at length compelled to abandon the house to the insurgents, he secured the most valuable of his master's effects and carried them to Montego Bay, where he resided. This man was one of the principal slave members of the Wesleyan Society (ques. 950, p. 78).

Mr. Barry explained the mode by which members were admitted into that Society. There are subordinate leaders in the Society. If any of these should be applied to by an individual for admission, he states the fact to the missionary, who examines particularly whether, if a slave, his conduct as far as known is irreproachable, and whether he has been faithful to his master. If the examination be satisfactory, he is admitted for two or three months on trial. If, at the end of this probation, the leader can still recommend him for moral conduct, a ticket is then given him which recognizes him as a member. At the weekly meeting of the leaders the missionary further enquires of each as to the moral conduct of every member of his class during the week, and if a slave has been guilty of any act of immorality or dishonesty, or of running away, the slave is immediately called up and examined, and, if proved to be guilty, is expelled. This course is invariably pursued. He does not, however, necessarily become a leader: that requires higher qualifications. In fact, there are not above five slave leaders in the island. The office of a leader requires that he should undertake the moral and religious instruction of a certain number of members; and, before any such appointment, he is brought to the leader's meeting, and the missionary examines into his knowledge of Christianity, and his moral character,

and whether he is in debt, or any pecuniary embarrassment, and it is only when the missionary is satisfied on these points that he is appointed a leader. There would have probably been more slaves appointed leaders, but for the prejudices existing in the colony, which are so strong that it was always avoided as much as possible. But for this, vast numbers of slaves were as fit to be leaders and subordinate teachers as any freemen in Jamaica. The Negroes are not allowed to preach. Mr. Barry had often heard them pray and communicate religious instruction; but none of them are allowed to become public teachers for the same reason, that of obviating prejudice (p. 78).

Mr. Barry had resided as a missionary not only in St. Thomas in the Vale, but in Kingston and Spanish Town, occasionally exercising his ministry in St. Dorothy's, at Old Harbour; and in Clarendon, on the estate of Lime Savannah, belonging to M. de la Beche. He had not, however, an opportunity of visiting the slaves in their huts, or conversing much with them, except in the way of religious instruction on Sunday, and on evenings in the week. Four times a year, however, he had direct and personal intercourse with every individual of the congregations in order to ascertain his religious and moral state. Mr. Barry does not believe that there is any essential difference in the characters of the Negroes in different parts of the island, or on different plantations, except in the grosser ignorance of some of the parties. On the sugar estates they are generally very destitute of instruction indeed. The difference of character arose mainly from their respective advantages or disadvantages (p. 81).

Mr. Barry did not know what time was required for the cultivation of different articles of Negro provisions. Plantain walks required little time when once established. Yams required considerable labour in the cleaning and weeding (p. 83).

Mr. Barry never knew emancipated slaves to work in the field on sugar estates. No freeman would willingly submit to the degradation of working in the field with slaves on plantations, and planters would not allow of it; many of them had themselves told him so; and they were generally indisposed to the intrusion of the free on estates.

Being asked how sugar would be cultivated if the slaves were immediately emancipated, he replied that, on his first arrival in Jamaica, he was opposed to such a plan, and did not think that emancipation would be safe. As he became more fully acquainted with the Negro character he changed his opinion. He was convinced of their general disposition to labour for a fair remuneration, and he believed that any danger which might possibly arise from emancipation bore no possible proportion to the danger that must result from the perpetuation of slavery. With respect to sugar plantations, though some difficulties might exist in the first instance, in inducing the Negroes when free to work upon them, yet with due precautions, and the sense the Negroes had of the value of money, he certainly thought they would be induced to labour even on sugar estates. He was aware of their dislike to sugar culture more than to any other work, and this might operate on their minds for

a time, in the event of freedom ; but he felt convinced, from their hard-working habits, and their love of money, that a proper remuneration would lead even those on sugar plantations to continue to work upon them. This conclusion had been drawn from a long course of observation, which had enabled him, as he believed, to form a correct judgment of the habits and views of the Negroes, and from frequent conversations with coffee planters around him. He had conversed little with sugar planters. He repeated his strong and immovable conviction, from all he had seen and heard, that the Negroes, when free, would work diligently, even in cane-hole digging, if adequately remunerated for their labour (p. 85, 86).

Being asked what he meant by proper precautions accompanying emancipation, Mr. Barry replied that he meant more particularly a strong police force, and the appointment of a magistracy for the special purpose of preserving the public peace. In the event of a general emancipation he should consider this as a proper precautionary measure, to repress any partial tumult or disorder ; and, as a measure of prudence, it ought to be maintained for some years afterwards, say five or six or more, according to circumstances. A large force properly distributed might be expedient, in the first instance ; but, believing that there would not be any general indisposition in the Negroes to labour or to due subordination, a large force would not, after a time, be requisite ; and in some districts, little or no difficulty of any kind would be experienced (p. 86).

Being further questioned as to his manner of reconciling the necessity of coercion to compel the slave to labour, with his view of the industrious habits of the Negroes, he said that the infliction of punishment often depended on the *driver* alone. Besides, the slave now considered himself to labour without remuneration. The whole system was compulsory, and he himself was the object of that compulsion. While the present system of slavery endured, such compulsion, by the corporal punishment both of females and males, was, he believed, necessary (p. 87).

In St. Thomas in the Vale, the members of the Wesleyan Society amounted to about 700, besides free people ; 300 or 400 usually attending. The school here was very inefficient. In Kingston their three chapels contained about 4000 ; about half who attended were slaves, and of the slaves about half were domestics and mechanics residing in Kingston ; the rest plantation slaves ; but the plantation slaves could not attend every Sunday, and many only every third or fourth Sunday, on account of their own engagements. There was a vast number in the Sunday schools, both children and adults, many capable of reading the Scriptures. The schools have been much more efficient of late. The children are taken in at all ages, from four years and upwards. The parents take a manifest interest in the progress of their children in reading. A great number of children, but by no means a majority of them, are taught to read, and a child diligently attending for twelve months may acquire a knowledge of reading. In

Spanish Town there were about eighty slaves in the school, some of them; but not many, adults. Those not taught to read are orally instructed in religion. The slave children in the town attended twice on Sunday. The general aptitude of the Negroes to learn is about as great as that of any other peasant population. There is a great number of children who are now able to read, and some can write; several adults also, who have received instruction solely in the Wesleyan Sunday School. In Kingston there is a day school, lately formed, attended by about 150 children. There is here a mixture of free and slaves, and of brown and black, but Mr. Barry does not know the proportions. The parents of the free children pay towards their schooling. These schools have been encouraged by some owners, but very generally discouraged by others. The indisposition is very prevalent to religious instruction, whether given by sectarians or not. Planters would prefer not having their slaves instructed at all by ministers of the church or of any other persuasion. This Mr. Barry asserted from what he had seen and known. He had known many severe corporal punishments inflicted for no other crime than that of merely attending public worship (p. 88, 89, 90).

Then follows a long enquiry about a set of resolutions passed by some Wesleyan Missionaries in Jamaica, on the 6th September, 1824, and afterwards disowned by the society at home; but, having no reference whatever to the points now at issue, the whole is omitted.

Mr. Barry afterwards went on to state that he knew several estates on which facilities were afforded for the instruction of the slaves, both by clergymen and by missionaries of the Scotch church. But he did not know of many instances in which additional places of worship to the parish church had been erected by voluntary contributions in Jamaica. He knew of some: some catechists had been sent out to estates, connected, he supposed, with the Church of England, but they were discouraged. A few clergymen, of the Church of England, are active in preaching in chapels to the slaves, and in forming Sunday schools; but they do not carry on preaching or instruction on the estates. There are four Scotch Missionaries on the island (p. 99, 100).

Mr. Barry denied that, to his knowledge, any Wesleyan Missionaries had ever corresponded with the Anti-Slavery Society in England. He knew them occasionally to send letters to the newspapers and other periodical publications in Jamaica (p. 100).

Mr. Barry was then questioned as to his view of the moral state of the white society of Jamaica. His view was briefly to this effect:— While he resided at Grateful Hill, in St. Thomas in the Vale, two women came to complain that, the night before, the overseer of Mount Concord had taken away three of their daughters, the eldest thirteen, and locked them up for improper purposes, and they begged him to interfere. He said no; but sent them to the nearest magistrate, Mr. Lane, who interposed and had the girls set at liberty. In this way a knowledge of facts was often obtained by the missionaries without any interference on their part. As to concubinage, it prevailed generally throughout the island.

It is impossible for any man to reside in Jamaica, or travel through it, without being perfectly acquainted with this fact. Certainly many scenes occur peculiarly offensive to morals, in England as well as in Jamaica; but, as for concubinage, it is carried on to a greater extent in Jamaica than he could ever have conceived possible in any country. Concubinage exists to a great extent among all classes, but it prevails most among the whites, merchants, planters, clerks; indeed, the whole white population. In short, the system of concubinage is universal in Jamaica: to say it is general is saying too little. That very circumstance constitutes one of the principal obstructions to missionary labours in Jamaica. To the consequences immediately resulting from the power of the master over his female slaves must be ascribed the general demoralization in which the island is plunged. A proprietor, for instance, has twenty female slaves on his estate, all of them entirely at his disposal: that of itself must lead to great demoralization. But these women have children, to whom and to the mother the master often gives freedom. Children of such parents, under such circumstances, can hardly hope for marriage with men of respectable character; and women of colour will not intermarry with those that are below them in life. The distinctions of society are all founded in colour. Hence concubinage is resorted to, and mothers prefer letting out their daughters to white men to marrying them with people of their own colour. This Mr. Barry has frequently known to take place, all originating in the original illicit commerce of whites with slaves. In case of emancipation Mr. Barry does not conceive that this evil would continue in the same degree as at present; not only will the women be less in the power of masters but religious instruction has already elevated many, and will elevate still more, among the women of colour, to make every sacrifice to escape from this state of vice and degradation. A young woman of colour had formerly lived with a merchant, who died, and from him she had received some property; but the executor or attorney of the estate, taking a fancy to this lady, requested her to live with him. She refused to do so, from religious motives, and she was obliged to purchase of this man the property that had been given to her, but for which she could exhibit no deed. This case he mentioned to show the effects of religion, in leading women of colour to resist the strongest inducements to return to their former degraded habits. She was at that time about thirty years of age. Mr. Barry adds that he could produce many instances of the same kind. The ignorance prevailing among these women of colour he affirms to be deplorable. He knew one who had seventeen children, and no two by the same father, and who rode in her carriage. No moral turpitude attaches to such female deviations from rectitude. A woman who gives her daughter to-day to live in concubinage holds the same rank in society she did the day before: he spoke of the coloured women. The white women in Jamaica are a virtuous race. The women of colour, but less so than formerly, prefer concubinage with the whites to marriage with their own colour; but this is attributable to slavery. The decrease of this evil may be traced, in almost every instance,

to religious instruction. Among the slaves too there is a strong desire to receive religious instruction, and he had never seen any general indisposition among them to receive it (p. 101, 102).

In the Wesleyan Society in Jamaica there are about 13,000 members, of whom 10,000 are slaves, a great many attending the chapels who are not members. The church in Kingston is generally well attended, so is the Kirk, but few slaves attend either. In the towns, and especially in Kingston, the proportion attending public worship is very considerable; but in the country places few attend, either slaves or free. They have few opportunities, few places of worship. It is Mr. Barry's firm belief that religion alone will keep the slaves quiet in the hope of ultimate emancipation, but nothing will ever extinguish their strong desire of freedom. As the slave becomes enlightened, his desire after freedom certainly becomes more intense, though religion will enable him to control his passions, and wait for the legitimate accomplishment of his wishes. This appeared strongly in the conduct of the Wesleyan slaves in the late insurrection. Religion must certainly increase the desire of freedom: this is in the nature of things (p. 102, 103).

Mr. Barry further declared his firm conviction that no missionaries of any denomination in Jamaica, whether Methodists, Baptists, or Moravians had ever had, even remotely, any thing to do with the late insurrection. There are circumstances in the constitution of the Baptist Society which gave a colour, though most unjustly, to the charges against them. Baptists give tickets to men enquiring about religion; but the Wesleyans only to those who are admitted as members. There was not the slightest ground for any imputation on the Baptist missionaries. The causes which appeared to Mr. Barry to have led to the insurrection were these:—The slaves had long known what had been passing in this country respecting their freedom, and had been led to entertain the notion that the king had given them their freedom, but that their masters withheld it from them. The parochial meetings that took place in Jamaica, the resolutions of which were published in all the island newspapers, requesting to be absolved from their allegiance, was one of the proximate causes. Some whites also travelling through the island frequently take newspapers with them, which they read to the slaves. Negroes attending at the tables of their masters hear their masters discussing the questions of freedom and slavery as freely as if no slaves were present. The parochial resolutions seemed to the slaves to shut the door against their hope of freedom. Then there was Mr. Beaumont's bill for compulsory manumission, which was at once rejected by the assembly. The slaves had been elated to the highest pitch of joy by its introduction, and proportionately depressed by its rejection. The uncalled-for publication of the king's proclamation, in December 1831, was also an unfortunate occurrence. It cooperated powerfully to promote the insurrection. Such were its main causes (p. 104 and 105).

His reasons for thinking that there was more danger in withholding than in granting freedom were, that the Negroes knew very well what

was going on in their favour in this country. Their minds have been long set on freedom, and they never will be satisfied without it. A feeling of liberty has gone abroad among them. Many of the Negroes who suffered during the insurrection died glorying in their death. And, with all this danger on one side, no evil bearing any proportion to it could possibly result from freedom (p. 106).

The Negroes who cultivate their own grounds are well fed, but their clothing would not be sufficient for decency, were it not for what they purchase for themselves. All this, however, is gained by the sacrifice of the slaves' Sunday (p. 106).

III. The Rev. PETER DUNCAN was the third witness called. He had been a Wesleyan Missionary in Jamaica for more than eleven years; had resided five years in St. Thomas in the East, two in Kingston, two in St. Thomas in the Vale, and two in Montego Bay. In St. Thomas in the East, which was a great sugar parish, there were three chapels, in all of which he did duty. There were about 1000 slaves attending at these chapels, besides free people; but the members of the society were much more numerous, for all could not attend each Sunday. The chapels were as full as they could hold. There were no Sunday schools at first: they were regarded with an unfavourable eye by the planters. At Kingston about 3000 attended in two chapels, a third has been added since; the majority of the slaves there were domestics. In St. Thomas in the Vale about 300 attended, chiefly plantation slaves. At Montego Bay the average attendance was between 600 and 700, more than half being slaves, and of these a half being plantation slaves. There were Sunday schools at all these places, principally for children, but also for adults. At Kingston there were 300 children of both sexes taught. It was not till 1825 that the Sunday schools became efficient, and that reading was taught. A day school was opened in 1830, attended both by slaves and free, about half of each. The teachers were coloured persons. The aptitude of the scholars was pretty much as elsewhere (p. 106 and 107).

From all that Mr. Duncan saw of the slaves, he thought they were just as willing to labour as the people of any other country. Hard labour being performed by slaves in Jamaica stamps it with a kind of disgrace; but, when they get above that feeling, they are much more willing to labour when free than when slaves. Their desire too to acquire comforts and luxuries, beyond their allowances as slaves, is very evident. They have in general a stronger taste for these things than the lower classes in European countries. He had seen emancipated slaves with their little settlements so arranged, and their premises so regulated, as to indicate a desire for very superior comforts and luxuries in furniture and dress: this is quite obvious to the spectator. He is persuaded that if emancipation were general, and firmly established, the Negroes would be more industrious than at present: the unthinking and worthless among them might shrink from labour, but, if slavery were done away, hard labour would be stripped of its degrada-

tion, and they would labour generally and industriously. As a body Mr. Duncan thought them the most industrious people he had ever seen. The free people he had known do not at all murmur at hard labour, but they would not submit to go and dig cane-holes, that being slaves' work. Many of them who have even had the advantage of a liberal education will pursue without complaint, and perseveringly, work as laborious as cane-holes. They have appeared to him to have energy little short of the people at home, though warm climates are less favourable to exertion (p. 108 and 109).

Mr. Duncan was well acquainted with plantation slaves, especially in St. Thomas in the East, but almost wholly in the way of religious communication. When he went on plantations he had no intercourse with the slaves, nor visited their houses, but he knew much of their habits and mode of living from conversation with themselves, and with attorneys, overseers, and others. The enquiries which were found necessary to be made into the causes of absence from divine worship revealed much of the interior of plantations, and pains were taken to substantiate excuses by the evidence of slaves on the same estate on whom reliance could be placed. The most general excuse was that they were bound to attend their provision grounds. He believed it to be quite indispensable at present for the slaves to labour in their grounds on a Sunday. He never expected to see them oftener than once a month, and this even in the case of such as had masters favourable to instruction. The number of slave members in St. Thomas in the East was 3000 or 4000, but only about 1000 attended each Sunday. It was absolutely necessary that they should devote their Sundays frequently to their provision grounds, to have even a bare maintenance for themselves and families. Indeed the slaves are compelled by their masters, in some cases, to go upon their grounds on Sunday. In one instance Mr. Duncan had to intercede with a humane master to save a Negro from being flogged, whose crime was that he had been to the parish church on Sunday, instead of going to his grounds. It was scarcely possible for the slaves to keep the Sabbath strictly, or to attend every Sunday. Some have attempted it, but have suffered materially. Religious instruction certainly tended to make the slave more patient of injury, as he had seen in many instances; but it also diffused a light which tended to make them long for its extinction. It cannot be that slavery should long continue in any country which is generally christianized, so that Christianity may be fairly said to be at issue with slavery; but, if religion get hold of the slave's mind, he will submit to his lot till freed by legitimate means. It is the duty of slaves to obey their masters; but that does not justify slavery, nor will it prevent the light from flowing in on the slaves, whether religious or not, who have an education. They cannot be indifferent hearers of the discussions going on around them. Slavery cannot stand before the light of instruction. Mere oral instruction, indeed, would do little, as in Catholic slave communities; for no substantial knowledge can be communicated without letters. The work of Christianity, however, is

still in its infancy in Jamaica. The number of slaves religiously instructed is very small as compared with the population, and the proportion of them that can read is of course still smaller. The moral state of the uninstructed Negroes is awfully degraded. Marriage is almost wholly neglected by them, and indeed is not unfrequently opposed by the whites who are living themselves in the same low and vicious habits as the Negroes. But even those slaves that are uninstructed are very acute in understanding their own interests, and in making a bargain; and he would entertain no doubt of their ready subjection to the authorities over them (p. 111, 112.)

Mr. Duncan believed that wages would induce the Negroes to labour when free, and that they would labour harder in a state of freedom than they now do. They now want the stimulus of remuneration, and that makes the toil hard which would otherwise be light. Cane-hole digging, though hard, is not harder than the work of English labourers, nor harder than that which is voluntarily undergone by many free persons in Jamaica itself. He has known such exert themselves in their own grounds, and at their trade, more than the Negroes in the cane-holes. Whether sugar would be raised in the same quantity as now in Jamaica if the slaves were free, he would not pretend to affirm; but that sugar might be raised he has no doubt, nor that numbers would labour in raising sugar for wages. There need be very little change in the mode of remuneration; the labourers might have land and increased time for their own use, only having the Sabbath as a day of entire rest (p. 113).

Mr. Duncan further stated that he had had, over and over again, the testimony of masters, attorneys, and overseers, to the beneficial effects of religious instruction in improving the morals of the slaves, and in restraining the disposition to thieving and licentiousness, and he had seen it himself in a thousand instances. The very same moralizing effects are produced by it in Jamaica as in England (p. 113).

He doubted on what footing sugar cultivation might stand, in the case of emancipation; but he believed that a great number of the present slaves, attached as they were to their domiciles, and having their provision grounds already planted on the estates, would be desirous of remaining where they were, and would continue to cultivate sugar for wages. If they had money enough to obtain land of their own, they would doubtless prefer cultivating that. With the twenty-six week days they now have, and the Sundays, they are able to raise food for their comfortable subsistence. He had heard few complaints on that head, and he mentioned it with very great pleasure. A day and a half in the week, however, is the very least that can suffice, allowing Sunday free. Seven days in the week could not fail to put him in a state of the highest comfort, if he had land in possession; and if he had land, and his time, he would soon have property. In case of emancipation the money possessed by the slaves would be expended in buying land, and forming settlements of their own. Land would then rise in value, and at length be as much

out of their reach as it is now out of the reach of the peasantry of this country. The greater part of them, however, would not be able to obtain land. They have now provision grounds cultivated and ready to their hand; they would be reluctant to leave them, and, if encouraged by the master, they would be willing to remain and labour on the sugar plantations. They receive now no food from their masters that he ever heard of, but a few herrings or other salt fish, occasionally. If free, they might pay a rent, by labouring for their former masters. The black labourer might give, say four days' labour in the week to the master, to cultivate sugar, and employ two days for himself and family. If he could do better in any other way he might prefer it; yet those who had lived long on certain estates, where they had been born and brought up, and where they had become familiar with sugar culture, would, he believed, be willing to remain and give labour in return for a certain portion of land which the owner might let them have. But if they could purchase, or rent, land of their own, some might prefer it. He had no idea of their attempting to possess themselves forcibly of it (p. 113, 114).

He did not know how much time it took the Negroes to raise their food; but the time allowed them was not more than enough for that purpose, and the little additional comforts they required. Some were well clothed, others very badly, although all of them are desirous of appearing as fine as they can. In labouring on their own grounds they generally appear very diligent, but the labour is not severe. They work with the hoe. In general they are very anxious for conveniences, and even finery, and they work very diligently, and even laboriously, in their grounds; but they have often to go a long way to market; and what between this and planting their provisions, and keeping them clean, and gathering them, and preparing them, carrying them home, and taking them to market and selling them, their time is generally fully occupied.

It is not possible for them, but in rare instances, to attend both church and market, even when the church is contiguous to the market. They cannot quit their marketing till it is finished, and then the forenoon service is over. In the afternoon they are obliged to return home early, especially in crop time, when they must be home to put the mills about on Sunday evenings.* There is, therefore, no time to sell their provisions and attend chapel too (p. 115). In point of fact, they scarcely ever do attend market and chapel on the same day. In the former case their secular engagements seem wholly to engross them. In St. James some few attended both, but crop time lasts there for six months, and the necessity of being at home to put the mills about rendered it generally impossible. At Montego bay the market was chiefly supplied by slaves, and it probably may be so in Kingston and other places. The Negroes obtain money by selling hogs and poultry, as well as provisions, especially the head men.

* There is a law against putting the mills about on Sunday evenings, in Jamaica, of which the Jamaicans make a great boast. This evidence shows how ill it is observed.

Other Negroes who have peculiar advantages have hogs and poultry, but they complain of the overseers' often shooting their hogs and taking their poultry—sometimes for straying, sometimes from mere wantonness (p. 119.)

If compulsory manumission were the law of the island, some slaves would be able to buy their freedom, but not many as compared with the whole population (p. 117).

The fish allowed to the slaves is given them, not on the Saturday, but, according to the statement of the planters themselves, on every alternate Sunday, except in one or two parishes (p. 117).

Inconveniences might possibly arise, both to master and slave, from any great and sudden change, like that of emancipation, as they arise more or less from all great changes. But it is Mr. Duncan's firm opinion that, even if the Negroes were emancipated at a stroke, there would not be that loss or disturbance which must ensue if emancipation is long delayed. Emancipation might take place with perfect tranquillity, if a proper police were established. The public peace, however, would be very seriously endangered by any long delay, or without a reasonable hope of early emancipation. He does not take it upon him to say what would precisely be the effects of emancipation; but he is persuaded that if one set of labourers could not be got to work on a particular estate, another would. In the event of freedom, the resources of the island would be rapidly developed; machinery would be more employed; and the Negroes, he is convinced, would labour in general, as they do now, for a remuneration, only with more heart, and with more profit to the master. They would in that case, he fully believes, cultivate sugar as they now do, and go through all the process of cane-hole digging and the duties of the boiling houses. Their inducement to this would be the desire of liberty, and of their own profit, so natural to man. He would himself rather dig cane-holes all his life, than have all the money on earth and be a slave; and the Negroes partake of that feeling. It is infinitely more ardent in their minds, as late events have proved, than was supposed. He could raise provisions indeed, but he must first acquire land on which to raise it, and if he had not property he must labour for it. They would, it is true, rather pay a rent in cash than in labour, but either would be equally beneficial to the master. The 300,000 Negroes of Jamaica, if they possessed the land themselves, would have no inducement to work for others, if they could work for their own profit. But few of them could buy land at first; and if emancipation were universal, land would be more difficult to get than now. At present their provision grounds are not generally disturbed, but still complaints are often made that after having cleared, and planted, and cultivated their grounds, they are taken from them by the overseers; and, though this injustice may not be general, yet the grounds are secured to them by no legal tenure. It is not a common case; but when it does occur the complaints are very loud, and the overseer has certainly the power to do it. Mr. Duncan had heard of the difficulty which Mr. Simon Taylor had experienced in inducing his slaves to allow some cocoa trees of theirs to be cut down which were sup-

posed to interfere with the healthiness of their houses on Holland estate, but his forbearance was mentioned as a rare instance of disinterestedness, and eulogized as highly as language could praise any thing. As to what would be the actual result of emancipation, Mr. Duncan could not venture to predict; but his hope was that the Negroes would desire to retain their provision grounds, and that masters would feel it their interest to secure as many willing and efficient labourers as possible, and that they would make bargains for certain portions of ground in lieu of certain quantities of labour. This would be the mutual interest of proprietors and labourers, and that they would feel; and therefore the slaves would be ready to comply with any reasonable overtures of the masters. If the property of the master in the slave ceased, the right of the slave to his ground would also cease, and a new bargain would have to be made. The slave would still feel his dependence on his master, notwithstanding his freedom, and the master would be able to say to the slave, "There is the ground which is no longer yours, as you are a free man, but mine; but, if you will continue to work for me, you will have for your labour that land and so much time to cultivate it." He could have no doubt, from his knowledge of the Negro character, of their acceding to any such reasonable proposition, if made by one on whose veracity they could rely; and, as to the religiously-instructed slaves, there would, in his view, be no difficulty whatever. The religious slaves, too, are considered by the others as their best friends and advisers; and as for enforcing such contracts, and ousting of their grounds those who failed, an active police could easily enforce the law. In St. Thomas in the East, for example, the number of Methodist converts is from 3 to 4,000. Their influence over the rest was demonstrated during the late insurrection. The slaves of St. Thomas in the East were as much agitated as in other parishes, yet the influence of the religious slaves was so great that, while the whites of the parish were all absent, engaged in militia duty, a planter from that district stated that the Negroes there took off the crop as well in the absence of the white people as if they had been present. In the plain garden district of St. Thomas in the East, here chiefly referred to, religion has existed longer and been less opposed than in most other quarters. In Manchioneel district, on the contrary, where religion had been constantly opposed, the Negroes were very troublesome and discontented; but where religion had been encouraged and embraced, while in other parts of the island labour was, to a great extent, suspended, there it was going on as well as if nothing had happened (p. 117, 118, 119, 120, 121).

With respect to opposition to religious instruction, Mr. Duncan had known as much made to zealous clergymen of the established church, and of the Scotch kirk, as to any others. The erection even of additional places of worship seemed to him to arise rather from a wish to appear in England more friendly to religion than they really were, than to promote the religious instruction of the slaves; and for this reason, that the most laborious clergymen had been always as much opposed as any dissenting ministers ever were. Of the general

body of the clergy, about 42 in all, four or five have been very laborious among the slaves; and these have been as severely opposed as any Methodists or Baptists ever were. As for the established Scotch church, there is only one place of worship, namely, Mr. Wordy's, at Kingston; he had been frequently there, and never had seen one slave attending (p. 122).

As to plans of emancipation, Mr. Duncan thought that all partial plans would fail of their effect. The best was that of emancipating all children born after a certain day, but even that was attended with great and perhaps insuperable difficulties. Still that would be better than nothing. The only plan not attended with very great, perhaps insuperable difficulties, is a general emancipation. Not that there are not great difficulties in the way of that measure, but they may more easily be overcome (p. 123, 124).

Mr. Duncan then entered into some explanations respecting the resolutions of the Methodist Missionaries in 1824, already adverted to, and which were disclaimed by their superiors at home. The only part of it we shall now notice is the case laid by the Missionaries before Mr. Burge for his opinion, and his reply to it, which tended to produce in the minds of the Missionaries the alarm which led to their rash and ill-considered resolutions.

The parliamentary resolutions of May, 1823, had scarcely reached Jamaica when, however unreasonable and absurd, it was stated, and generally believed, that the Methodist Society had something to do with them. Very great prejudice was thus excited against us. It was threatened to shut up the chapels. Two Missionaries had arrived, and had applied for a license to preach in our parish; but the license was refused. An alien act was then in force, which was thought sufficient to enable the Governor to transport any suspected persons. It was even proposed that we should be transported as well as refused permission to preach. Here was a painful state of things, especially as it was uncertain what might be the sentiments of His Majesty's Government at home upon the great subject of religious toleration in Jamaica. The Missionaries got alarmed, and they applied to a legal gentleman, Mr. Burge, to know what was the law of Jamaica upon that subject, and his opinion added greatly to their alarm.

The case laid before Mr. Burge, with his opinion, was read as follows:—

“To the Honourable William Burge, Esq., His Majesty's Attorney-General, Jamaica.

“The Reverend Francis Tremayne, Wesleyan Missionary, arrived in this island in March, 1823, possessed of the regular documents of his church, viz., a letter of ordination and certificate of license, obtained before the Lord Mayor of London, authenticated in the usual way by signatures and seal. At the first court of quarter sessions held at Spanish Town, after his arrival, he applied for and obtained a license to officiate in the precinct of St. Catherine's. After having laboured with success, and to general satisfaction, for twelve months in St. Thomas in the Vale, he was removed to St. Ann's, taking with him testi-

monials from the only magistrates of the immediate neighbourhood, of their decided approbation of his conduct, which letters were produced in the court of quarter sessions held at St. Ann's Bay, on the 13th ultimo, together with his letter of ordination, English license, and the license obtained in Spanish Town, in this island, at which court he made application for leave again to take the usual oaths, to qualify him for officiating in two of our chapels which had been previously licensed by that court, which was rejected. Now the questions on which we would solicit your opinion are these—

“First,—Has not Mr. Tremayne sufficiently complied with the law to authorise him to preach in those chapels?”

“As I consider it necessary for the minister to qualify at the court of quarter sessions of that parish to which he removes, and in which he intends to officiate, and as Mr. Tremayne has not been admitted to qualify by the court of quarter sessions of the parish of Saint Ann's, I am of opinion that he is not authorised to preach in that parish.—
W. BURGE.”

“Second,—Is not one personal license obtained in any parish in this island sufficient to qualify a man for the whole or any licensed house?”

“I do not consider that one personal license obtained in any parish in this island is sufficient to qualify a man for the whole or any licensed house.—W. B.”

“Third,—Provided that one personal license is not sufficient, and a Missionary with such documents is denied the privilege of thus re-qualifying in any court of quarter sessions, can such a court be compelled to re-qualify such a person by writ of mandamus or otherwise?”

“I am of opinion that, if he is possessed of all the documents above referred to, and the court of quarter sessions refused to admit him to qualify, such court might by mandamus be compelled to admit him.—W. B.”

“Fourth,—What could be done provided a Missionary, with only his regular home documents, should be refused a license by a court of quarter sessions in this island, could he have redress by a writ of mandamus or otherwise?”

“If the Missionary had not officiated in any parish, and consequently had not obtained his license from any court of quarter sessions, as in the case of a minister on his first arrival in the island, and had therefore only the documents authenticating and evidencing his ordination as a minister, I consider that the court of quarter sessions might by mandamus be compelled to admit him to qualify.—I cannot conclude my answer to these questions without impressing upon the serious consideration of the Wesleyan Missionaries the very great inexpediency, both as it regards the welfare of their institution in the island, and the public repose of the island, of engaging at a crisis so agitated as the present in any litigation with the local magistracy on this subject. With the limited information that is possessed respecting the distinguishing tenets of different religious sects, it is not surprising that many persons of great worth and great liberality should entertain, from the conduct of the Missionary Smith, at Demerara, strong feelings on the introduction of any Missionaries. It would be

highly imprudent, and quite at variance with the correct conduct of the Wesleyan Missionaries in this island, to incur the risk of increasing or confirming those feelings by any litigation with the magistracy.—W. B.”

Now it was under the alarm and apprehensions thus produced that the resolutions were hastily adopted.

Mr. Duncan was residing at Kingston when the late insurrection broke out. He had resided two years before at Montego Bay, and therefore well knew the quarter in which it broke out. The causes he thought obvious.

1st. The ill-judged policy of the British Government, which, instead of conciliating the planters, as they vainly hoped, had greatly exasperated them. Had they carried the emancipation at once, in 1823, less loss would have resulted to the master, and far less misery to the slave. Vehement excitement, and discussions without end, were the consequence. The slaves heard and knew all this; for the planters were not very careful in expressing themselves before the slaves.

2nd. The parochial meetings, and the resolutions there adopted, in 1831, which were of the most violent character,—stating that the king's government wished to take their property from them, and make the slaves free, and that they would renounce their allegiance rather than submit to this, being determined to hold their slaves in bondage.—The slaves said naturally enough, “our masters tell us the king wants to make us free, but they will not submit, but keep us slaves still.” This was their impression. Now the king has not more loyal subjects in the wide extent of his dominions than the slaves of Jamaica. They will do any thing for him. They revere his very name. Believing the two parties were at issue, they had no difficulty in taking their side with the king.

3rd. The unceasing opposition to religious instruction, in different districts of the island, on the part of the planters. And while the religious slaves desired religious liberty that they might benefit by their teachers, the more unprincipled and uninstructed availed themselves of this desire to diffuse principles injurious to the peace of society.

4th. Mr. Beaumont's bill for compulsory manumission. Many Negroes hailed it with high satisfaction; they thought it would pass, and, when they saw it thrown out by an immense majority, they gave way to a feeling of despair, and seeing their masters determined to keep them in slavery, though the king wished not, they resolved to rise and take their freedom.

5th. The dread of having the island transferred to the United States. Now not only the slaves, but the free classes, are enthusiastically loyal, and their hatred to America is as deep and deadly as their attachment to Great Britain is warm and devoted. A flame would have burst out before this but for the people of colour, who, it is known, would be ready to oppose the very first movement of the kind. *They* would not submit to such a thing; they hate the very name of America, and every thing that is British is dear to them as a body.

Mr. Duncan said that the plans of his majesty's government had produced evil. But this was not because they were evil in themselves; on the contrary, they were wise and moderate, and, if they had been acceded to by the planters, they would have done good: but the planters, instead of falling in with the views of government, uniformly opposed them. It would have been far better for the planters had the slaves been made free at once; for all opposition must have soon subsided, and it would only have been the effervescence of the moment.

Being asked how many of the whites would have remained in the island afterwards, he replied, the whole of them. It might have been followed by some inconveniences; but there would not have been either that loss to the planter, or that misery to the slave, which has been caused by the violent opposition of the planters to every wish of the government. It was his calm and decided opinion that emancipation would not tend to the effusion of blood, but that the attempt to perpetuate or prolong slavery certainly would. Even now, the violence of the whites in their persecution of religion, the destruction of places of worship, and the oppression of missionaries and their converts, was exciting an unwonted irritation in the minds of the slaves and free classes, who were prepared for stern resistance to farther outrages. Even the less religious part of the coloured people felt deeply interested in the cause of civil and religious liberty, and they were bent on actively resisting any farther attempt to infringe them. Yesterday letters were received stating that one of the Wesleyan missionaries at Falmouth was attacked by a mob of white men, who entered his premises armed with bludgeons; bedaubed him with tar; knocked down himself and his wife; attempted to set fire to him, and to throw his infant child out of the window. The timely interference of the people of colour prevented all the mischief that was intended; but, when the missionary went to lodge informations against these rioters, he could get no magistrate to take his depositions. Such things must lead to blood: indeed the prolongation of slavery must lead to it. Emancipation would be perfectly harmless compared with this state of things. Indeed so completely has the law proved ineffectual for the protection of property, that the people of colour seriously talked of arming for its defence (p. 140). Besides, the systematic opposition of the planters generally, and with a few bright exceptions, to that religious instruction for which the slaves are so eager, joined to their growing thirst for civil liberty, increased ten-fold by late events, must be fatal ere long to the public peace. Whatever dangers, therefore, there may be in emancipation, they are very greatly exceeded by the danger of prolonging the present system. The slaves who were executed died exulting in suffering for the sake of freedom; and this is a feeling likely to increase. Without a reasonable prospect of early emancipation, it is my firm and deliberate opinion the peace of the island cannot be preserved for any thing like five years (p. 131—134).

Mr. Duncan then stated the case of Henry Williams, a slave, of the cruelties practised on whom, on account of his religion, a full

account will be found in a former number of our work (see vol. iii. p. 356, 384, and 431). During the late insurrection, the estate to which Henry Williams belonged was left under his care, and he preserved it from all disturbance. He was, nevertheless, arrested, tried, and severely punished, at St. Ann's bay, "for holding unlawful meetings, and administering unlawful oaths!" This Henry Williams is a very intelligent person, who can read and write. On the last night of the year, he did what is customary among the Wesleyans: he spent it in religious services with a few of his friends. There is also a custom among the Methodists of renewing, in their chapels, on the commencement of the new year, what they call their covenant with God. As the chapels were then shut, and the missionaries forced to leave the parish, Henry Williams read over with his friends the form of this covenant or engagement; and, as is also customary, he and they lifted up their hands in token of assent. Some one having given information of this circumstance, Henry was apprehended, taken to St. Ann's bay, tried by a slave court, and sentenced to be flogged and to six months' hard labour, in chains, in the work-house, from which he effected his escape, a circumstance which Mr. Duncan regrets, although the many cruelties he had patiently borne before, and the injustice and severity of the present proceeding, seem to have subdued his constancy. He possessed great influence among the slaves, and the effect of these proceedings towards him must be bad (p. 141, 142).

Mr. Duncan then gave some account of the Colonial Church Union of Jamaica, composed of the magistrates and most influential persons in each parish. The objects of the Union were to "resist the encroachments of their enemies;" to furnish "an antidote to the falsehoods of the Anti-Slavery Society;" to collect "the whole strength of the island, and to obtain therefrom a general petition to the legislature, for the expulsion of all Sectarian missionaries;" "to strive to regain the confidence of their slaves, by a more rigid discipline in the first place," and next "by granting every indulgence that may be merited;" "to lend their influence and support, on all occasions, to those patriots who, on behalf of the paramount laws of society, hazard their personal responsibility for our preservation," and "to obey promptly and implicitly all constitutional orders of the Union." One of the resolutions adopted by them was to request all proprietors to restrain their slaves from attending any dissenting chapel. Many members of these unions are Jews (p. 142, 143).

After the most rigid enquiry, it did not appear that one Wesleyan convert was concerned in the insurrection. Some of them had successfully defended their masters' property. In no case does it seem possible that slavery and Christianity can long exist together. But, in the present state of excitement in Jamaica, it seems quite impossible that any efforts of Christian ministers can keep the slaves quiet in their present state (p. 144).

The hostility of the planters to religion has exceedingly increased of late. The growing efficiency of missionary labours and Sunday schools has aggravated it greatly (p. 144).

Mr. Duncan was present, in the House of Assembly, on the 3rd of

March, 1832, when the Order in Council of the 2nd November, 1831, was discussed. One member, Mr. Barry, after a long and violent speech, moved that the order should be thrown over the bar and burnt by the hands of the common hangman. Mr. Stamp was not for proceeding so far; but, if the British government should try to enforce it, they had, he said, 18,000 bayonets, and with such a force they would never submit to the dictation of the King's ministers. This was known to the slaves. The speeches were published and read by them, and many blacks too were present in the House at the time (p. 145).

Mr. Duncan, being asked whether the hostility of the planters to religion was not a dislike of particular sects, rather than of religion generally, replied that, wherever Christianity was promulgated, light was diffused in many cases where the religion was not embraced or obeyed, and that light could not but make slavery odious. Slavery was incompatible with the known rights of mankind, and the ideas of justice, which Christianity recognized and enforced, and must ultimately fall before it. Christianity in Europe extinguished slavery, by its influence both on the master and the slave. Ministers of the gospel were bound indeed to inculcate obedience on the slave as a duty; but Christianity also binds Christian masters to free their slaves. The slave is required to obey his master, till his condition is changed; but the duty of the master is to "let the people go." This view of the matter was avoided by the missionaries in Jamaica; but the slaves who could read had access to newspapers where slavery was discussed. The influence of the island press was very injurious to the cause of Christianity, particularly in exciting the opposition of the planters. He alluded to the Jamaica Courant, the Falmouth Courier, the Cornwall Chronicle, and other papers. There was a paper on the other side, the Watchman, but he did not think it so hurtful; for, though it advocated the cause of the slaves, and exposed the oppressions of slavery, yet it inculcated obedience on the slave (p. 427).

When asked whether he persisted in saying that religion was opposed, when taught by the ministers of the Church of England and Scotland as well as by sectarians, he said he adhered to that opinion, and he believed that neither the increase of the clergy, nor the addition of places of worship, arose from any wish to give *effective* instruction to the slaves, but to make people at home think they were friendly to religion, if taught by the Church. He did not scruple to say this, though it might appear uncharitable, that such, and even worse, was the general case, judging from what he had himself seen. Many of the clergy do not labour at all among the negroes; those of them who do so, with zeal and unwearied diligence, as some of them, about five or six, do, are as much opposed and maligned as any Methodist, even by persons professing to be members of the church. It is *effective* religious instruction, whether oral or otherwise, to which they are opposed, but especially to the slaves being taught to read. The clergymen to whom he alluded had themselves told him of the severe opposition they had to encounter. They were discouraged in

every way, and their characters traduced. This was quite notorious (p. 150).

Mr. Duncan denied the allegation of their drawing *large* contributions from the slaves. The contributions they received came mostly from the free—not a fiftieth part came from the slaves (p. 151).

Being asked whether he thought the condition of the slave was more comfortable now than when he first went, twelve years ago, to Jamaica, he said he did not think so (p. 152).

Mr. Duncan produced a memorial that had been addressed to the governor, Lord Belmore, in April, 1832, stating the destruction of a number of their chapels by lawless mobs, and that, having discovered the authors of these outrages, they had furnished the Attorney General with informations, on oath, but that no step had been taken by him to bring the offenders to justice; that their missionaries were prevented from performing their duties by threats and violence; but that, notwithstanding these circumstances of outrage and oppression, they were happy in being able to affirm that not one individual connected with their societies, whether free or slave, had been connected with the late insurrection. They therefore solicited the governor's interference. On the 21st of April the governor's secretary transmitted to them a copy of a letter from the Attorney General, stating that no unnecessary delay had arisen, and that he meant to institute proceedings against the offenders at the next June grand court, but complaining that the complainants had not bound themselves in recognizances to prosecute, and had not held the offenders to bail: all which, as Mr. Duncan had said, was surely his duty, and that of the magistrates, and not theirs (p. 153).

Mr. Duncan has certainly known slaves suffer severely from the pecuniary distress of their masters, being driven from their grounds, perhaps converted into jobbing gangs, or put in gaol for their debts. But he cannot say that the slaves are the best off on the most prosperous properties.—Their education depends almost wholly on the disposition of the owner or manager (p. 156).

Mr. Duncan had known the marriage of slaves opposed by their masters in a great many instances, and this could not be ascribed to a dislike to sectarians, but to religion itself. When he has enquired into the objections on the part of the master or overseer, it was of this kind:—"I will not allow you to get married, you may live as I am living myself." This has been the general and almost only reason assigned in all parts of the island. In 1826 two respectable slaves, who had been living together in the usual way, applied to Mr. Duncan to marry them privately, as their master would not consent. Mr. Duncan refused; but, the Negroes intreating him with tears in their eyes, he wrote to their master (a Mr. William Rae of Kingston) a respectful note, saying he had no intention to interfere between him and his slaves, but intreated him to consider the case. The Negroes took the letter, and when he read it he tore it in pieces before them and gave no reply to it. A few owners and attorneys, but very few, encourage marriage; but in general they are very adverse to it, and the general answer is, "You may live as I do" (p. 157).

Our readers cannot fail to be struck with the honest boldness, and at the same time with the clear and comprehensive views, and sound principles which mark the evidence of these two Wesleyan missionaries, Mr. Barry and Mr. Duncan. They reflect credit on those who appointed them; and it must afford general satisfaction to have such clear and indubitable indications as their evidence affords, of their calm and dispassionate judgment, as well as of their enlightened zeal and unshaken courage.

IV. The next witness was the Rev. THOMAS COOPER, a Unitarian minister, who had lived on the estate of Georgia, in Hanover, belonging to Mr. Robert Hibbert. The slaves, he said, had a weekly allowance of herrings from their master, the adults seven or eight, and the children half. For raising food they had land on the back part of the estate, which they cultivated on Sundays and on the 26 days allowed them by law. The time allowed, exclusive of Sundays, was not sufficient: besides which they must attend market on the Sunday; so that they must labour the whole of the time allowed them, and on Sunday also, to provide for themselves and families in any thing like comfort, the chief part of their subsistence being derived from their own labour. The grounds were too distant to allow of their working upon them in the intervals of their labour during the working days. Their surplus provisions they carried to market, to which they had often to travel 13 or 14 miles and back. Some were nearer the market. The least time that could enable a slave to live in comfort, he thought, was 78 days in the year, besides what little they had from their masters. Two days in the week, or 104 days in the year, would have been sufficient, he thought, to support them entirely without the master's aid. He had never known a slave to possess more than 30 or 40 dollars. If emancipated, he thought the slaves would be better labourers and better members of society. The free were highly respectable, as compared with the slaves. They were as much disposed to industry as the people of this country. He saw none idle among them. Many accumulated property, both as settlers cultivating land, and as merchants in towns. He thought that the best way of procuring labour from manumized slaves would be to pay a fair rate of hire for their labour. He had seen brown men very industrious as carpenters, &c. He had never known them work in the field as labourers, but he had known them work as boilers. He had no fears that the Negroes would return into the woods if emancipated: that would be placing themselves voluntarily in poverty and distress. That they would be industrious if free, he felt well persuaded, as he had never seen any tendency to idleness in those that were free. If they were free and worked for wages, labour would no longer be disgraceful, as now. The free coloured are rising in intelligence. They send their children to schools to be educated. Mr. Cooper had known whites living on parochial relief: he had never seen free coloured persons in such distress as to require it. He thought that in case of emancipation a few able and well disposed men would keep a Negro village in order as effectually as our police

keeps London in order. A total change, however, would be required in the magistracy. The free coloured people, he believed, were loyal. They formed a part of the militia. He never heard any distrust expressed of them by whites. The Negroes had no hope of liberty when he was in the island. They submitted to their state as a great but unavoidable evil. They seemed like persons in despair: they had no hope whatever. They were sometimes gay, and danced and jumped about. In general they exhibited that sort of gloom which must arise from being oppressed without any hope of rising. He did not recollect hearing them sing, as they returned from work in the evening: they were generally too fatigued. They sometimes had dances at night; but the planters disliked it, thinking it added to their exhaustion (p. 138).

It was doubtless possible to teach the slaves to read and write, but it was not thought consistent with the master's interest to give time for that purpose. Even the children he taught were not kept one day from work. As soon as they were fit to go to the field, they were taken from him. There was a general and very powerful prejudice against teaching them to read. He had been sent by Mr. Hibbert to instruct his slaves, and no one actually obstructed him, but he had no encouragement. He had never known a plantation slave who could read. In general, at that time (1817 to 1821), the slaves had no means whatever of religious instruction. There was no hindrance to my going on neighbouring plantations, but the overseers did not like that I should communicate with the slaves. The overseer of Georgia did not directly obstruct me, but he told me he considered the teaching the slaves a very injurious thing, and the clergyman of the parish said I was training up generals for the black army; he did not object to teach them the Lord's prayer, and the being of a God (p. 139).

Mr. Cooper had employed Negroes for hire as carpenters, and in his little garden, and they worked very well. The free blacks often complained to him of the difficulty in obtaining payment for the work they did for white people (p. 139).

Mr. Cooper had written to Mr. Hibbert to say that, if the slaves were taught to read, he thought they would certainly soon cease to be slaves; that, in proportion as they were enlightened, they would be dissatisfied; and that, when they came to see their real condition, they would themselves alter it. On Mr. Cooper telling Mr. Hibbert this, the latter begged him to discontinue teaching them to read. It appeared to him that the slaves submitted to their condition on account of their degraded state, but if instructed, and taught to read, and to understand the principles of Christianity, they would at once discover the wrong done to them, and there would be a general resistance, if no means were taken to make them free; and such was the universal opinion among the planters in Jamaica. He quite agreed with them in thinking that knowledge diffused among the slaves by reading was wholly incompatible with slavery. Slavery considers them as animals, goods, and chattels. Instruction considers them as men; and if knowledge be widely diffused among them, and emancipation be not given them, it will be seized by force (p. 140).

On Georgia and other estates, it was the duty of the book-keeper to go to the Negro grounds on Sunday, to see that the Negroes were at work there. In these cases, at least, the overseers thought that it would not do to depend wholly on the diligence and providence of the slaves for their support, but that they must be superintended even then.

V. MR. HENRY LOVING resided at St. John's, in Antigua, and was proprietor and editor of the Antigua Weekly Register. In 1821, by a census, the population of the island was 1980 whites and 4066 free coloured persons. There has been no census since, but in 1828 pains were taken by himself and some friends of his, coloured gentlemen, to ascertain their numbers, and they made the total 5400, being an increase of 1334 in 7 years. This account excluded the intermediate manumissions. This account was not published then: it was not thought prudent to do so, lest the authorities should suppose they had an improper motive in exhibiting the superior strength of the coloured as compared with the white class. Of late years marriage has become much more common among the free persons of colour. Formerly, concubinage pervaded all classes, even the highest, and the force of example carried it through every rank. This change he regarded as owing to education and religious instruction, which of late had greatly advanced (p. 159).

A corresponding improvement had also taken place in the slave population. From an early period, though the Established church was asleep, the Moravians and Wesleyans were very active in the work of religious instruction, and very successful too. And, since the appointment of a bishop, Antigua has been greatly favoured by having such clergymen as Archdeacon Parry and Mr. Holberton. That gentleman is Rector of St. John's, and has endeared himself greatly by his indefatigable exertions in diffusing religious knowledge among the slaves. Schools have multiplied, and there is a unity of feeling between the clergymen and the sectarians, which promises the best results. The school under the established clergy having more ample means, and being also zealously superintended, have flourished much, and things proceed very cheerfully. The slaves in Antigua are the most intelligent and best instructed in the West Indies. Formerly, few were taught to read: now great numbers are so taught—some even on plantations. Having known Antigua from infancy, he can say that marriage has increased as religion has been diffused. He had refrained from conversing with the slaves as to their feelings about freedom, thinking it imprudent to do so; but, though he could not say that they were positively restless under their slavery, he thought it impossible their minds should be enlightened, and yet remain so debased as not to desire freedom. He had never seen any tendency to tumult in the slaves of Antigua, till the month of March, 1831, when the Sabbath market (their only market day) having been taken away by the legislature, and no other day substituted for it, a revolutionary movement took place among them, which was alarming, and they seemed determined to resist the operation of the law (p. 160).

Mr. Loving believed his newspaper was read by the slaves. He did not know of any who were subscribers to it, but many of them are purchased for ready money, and doubtless some by slaves.

The slaves had been in the habit, from time immemorial, of bringing their articles to market on Sunday; for they had no other time for doing so, having no other day given them by law. But, in alleged compliance with the wish of the Government at home, the legislature, in 1831, abolished marketing on Sunday, and thus, as no other time was given them in lieu of Sunday, in fact abolishing marketing altogether for the slaves.

The Negroes have some ground allowed them, but no time in which to cultivate it. They have an allowance of food by law.* Some proprietors, however, allow their slaves occasionally a little time, but by no fixed rule. The effect is that Sunday, instead of being religiously observed, is, in great part, devoted by the slave to labour for himself, either on his ground, or in some other way (p. 161).

The free blacks in Antigua, of whom there are many, are on all occasions willing to labour for hire; and they work cheerfully as jobbers, porters, hodmen, &c. They do not labour on plantations. Proprietors would not permit them, lest they should poison the minds of the slaves. Besides, no free black would willingly quit his present pursuits to go and labour on a plantation. Whether the present slaves, if emancipated, would do so, is another question.

There is no doubt whatever that the Negroes have a very great relish for the comforts and conveniences of life. Hence arises the very great industry with which they use every moment of time they can redeem from the hours of interval from labour. After a slave has done his master's work at night, he will travel perhaps six miles with some little article to sell to add to his little comforts. At the same time he would not probably overwork himself to obtain mere luxuries (p. 162).

Cane-hole digging is certainly very hard work, especially under a tropical sun, and still more as the whole gang are obliged to work together, the weak with the strong. Many of the slaves, when emancipated, might not like to engage in plantation labour, disgusted as they are with it, and deeming it a kind of punishment; but necessity would compel them to accept of wages for labour. Besides which, they are much attached to the place of their birth, or what they fondly call their "born ground." Their early associations are formed there; their huts, their little fruit-trees are there, and there they have their family

* The allowance is a very scanty one indeed. It is fixed by the 1st clause of the slave law of 1798, viz.—Weekly to every adult slave, nine pints of corn, or beans, or oatmeal; eight pints of wheat, or Indian corn, or Cassava flour, or seven pints of rice, or twenty pounds of yams, with one pound and a quarter of herrings; and, to children, half of this allowance—the whole being diminished by one-fifth in crop time. This is little more than half of the prison allowance to runaways in Jamaica. By the same law, two jackets, and two pairs of trowsers, are annually given to male slaves, and two petticoats and two wrappers to females. But only one suit need be given, if a blanket and hat be given. The hours of labour are the same as in Jamaica, viz. eleven hours and a half (clause 10).

ties. They are well aware, too, that they cannot get food without labour or money; and nothing but a hatred of their master would induce them to leave the estates on which they now live. A part of them might, from a sense of former hard and cruel treatment, and a hope of bettering their condition with lighter labour, put down the plantation hoe; yet most of them would feel the necessity of continuing to labour at such labour as they had been accustomed to. If they could get land by renting or purchasing it, he thinks they would prefer any other culture to that of the sugar-cane (p. 163).

Much, he thinks, might be done by the planters to lessen the necessity of manual labour on the estates, by substituting machinery even in weeding canes. Some planters, wiser than the majority of them, use the plough, and it might be used to spare cane-hole digging almost entirely; but the planters generally have a distrust, he knew not why, in the benefits of machinery (p. 163).

Mr. Loving thinks that about nine-tenths of the slave population of Antigua attend some place of religious worship. Religion certainly will not teach men to take up arms and shed blood to obtain freedom; but undoubtedly religious knowledge cannot but be attended by other knowledge: it tends to expand the mind, and leads the slave to see the wretchedness of his condition, as compared with that of the free. The contrast is very great and striking, both physically and civilly, between the slave and the free. The latter has the use of his own faculties both of body and mind. *Morally*, many of the slaves are superior to many of the free; but, in point of the comforts of life, the free blacks in Antigua stand infinitely above the slaves. He can earn as much in a day as the slave gets from his master's allowance in a week. This is remarkably illustrated in the case of the African apprentices emancipated in 1828, to the number of 400. Their conduct since proves a good test for ascertaining the fitness of the present slaves for freedom. With a solitary exception, none of them had committed any offence, down to July, 1831, when Mr. Loving left the island, and they were then pursuing a course of industry for their own support. They lived near him, and were occasionally employed by him; and he saw with his own eyes their industrious habits, their desire of property, their love of fine clothes, and their efforts to imitate the speech, manners, and dress of the creoles, and in these respects some of them had already surpassed the creoles. A great part of the laborious work of St. John's is done by them. They are fishermen, mariners, bargemen, hodmen, porters, domestics. Agricultural labour had been forbidden to them by His Majesty's Order in Council respecting them. But, besides this, since their liberation, no planter likes to employ them, from a fear of their instilling into the minds of the slaves notions of liberty. Many of the women are active hucksters. Many of them, amounting to about twenty, have already purchased their own houses, including three freeholds; and only one man and five women had been thrown on the bounty of the Crown, and this by medical advice, they being declared unfit for labour.—Mr. Loving had been at pains to authenticate these facts. Apprehensions were entertained and loudly expressed by many in Antigua of

the state of mendicity and wretchedness to which they would be reduced, and of the consequent burden that would fall on the public, but proved totally groundless. There may have been among the Africans persons of bad principles (it would be strange were it not so); but their general conduct has been quiet and orderly. After all, their greatest crime is what in a slave colony is termed their insolence; but those who make this charge do not consider that these Africans had not forgotten the freedom of which they had been robbed, and had sense enough to know that they could not be treated as slaves with impunity. Some of their masters and mistresses attempted so to treat them; but as the indentures strictly forbade this, and the apprentices resisted it, an incurable rankling against them has been left in the minds of the defeated party. As for any danger from the Africans there is absolutely none, though some jealousy may be entertained of them by the slaves, who see these newly-imported persons thriving as they do under the effects of their freedom. Some of them have attached themselves to the Moravians, and some to the Methodists. He did not know that education was general among them;—still they were all sufficiently enlightened to know that they ought to conduct themselves as good members of society. Hence only one case of petty larceny had occurred among them before July, 1831. They were not above the slaves generally in Antigua in respect to religious instruction and knowledge; nor do they despise the slaves. They sometimes intermarry with them, and their social intercourse with each other is unchecked. This adds to the danger of delaying emancipation. When they intermarry with slaves, it is always before sectarian ministers. The clergy of the church are forbidden by law, under a penalty of £50, to be parties to intermarrying a free person and a slave (p. 165, 166).

The African apprentices were liberated by proclamation of the Governor. They were only required to exhibit proof that they could maintain themselves, and having done so they were all immediately made free. Their certificates of freedom were printed by Mr. Loving (p. 166).

VI. The Rev. JOHN THORP was Curate of St. Thomas in the East, in Jamaica, for upwards of two years, from 1826 to 1829. He had known many emancipated, but had never known or heard of any who were in want, or who lived by crime, or who hired themselves to plantation labour. They would regard it as a degradation to work with slaves, and they had also employments more profitable than field labour. There might not exist the same hindrance if slavery were abolished. The slaves in Jamaica are fed with food cultivated by themselves, with about six salt herrings a week to each adult, and half to each child, from the master. They maintain their children as well as themselves from their grounds, being allowed 26 days in the year for that purpose; but that is not enough; they work also on Sundays. The time allowed them is clearly not sufficient, as they are forced to work on Sundays also. Indeed, he remembered one instance, on an estate called Stanton, where some slaves who would not repair to their

grounds on Sunday were assembled in a gang, and compelled to do so, and fed in the interim by the master. In general the slaves work in their grounds on Sunday. The surplus they raise beyond their wants they carry to market. The daily duration of field labour in Jamaica is eleven hours and a half. In St. Thomas in the East they do not usually gather grass afterwards. In crop time there is no legal limit to their night labour. The usual time of sitting up in the night was six hours. When the gangs were large this labour was lightened. In general, the slaves in crop time worked 18 hours out of 24. Their labour, during the day, appeared to him severe and exhausting (p. 167—169).

The attendance of the slaves in his church was about 80. They were chiefly plantation slaves. They were clean in their dress; the head Negroes in white jackets and trowsers, the others in Osnaburgh. They did not wear shoes. The women generally appeared at church in a muslin dress. He had known two or three hundred emancipated slaves, and he knew them to be well behaved and industrious, not shrinking from hard labour—having a great desire for the comforts of life. He never knew them to work on sugar estates. He has known them to raise provisions, and bring them to market. He thought that the slaves, if emancipated, would be willing to work. His duties, as a curate, carried him occasionally to a few estates on which religious instruction, but only orally, was permitted by the owners. He visited 24 estates in this way, superintending some free brown catechists selected by the rector, Mr. Trew. He never visited the slaves in their houses. Reading was permitted to be taught on Sir George Rose's estates at Coley and Morant, but not during the owner's time. It was merely for half an hour during the dinner interval, twice a week. The number taught to read was only one in 38. When he went on the estates, he met the children at the boiling house, or at the house of the overseer. He knew no difference in the aptness of children to learn in Jamaica and in England: he had been much engaged in teaching the children of the peasantry in this country, both before and since his visit to Jamaica. The children were of the age of from six to fourteen. Their parents had a strong desire they should be taught. The adults did not attend on the estates, though they showed their desire for instruction by coming to the Sunday schools. The oral mode of instruction Mr. Thorp deems quite inefficient, but, when united with reading, the effect was good. He never had any conversation with the slaves respecting freedom, having been warned by Mr. Trew of the peculiar state of society in Jamaica. On the same ground he abstained from questioning overseers on the subject. He found, however, that the proceedings in this country about slavery were well known to both slave and free—they having access to the newspapers. Mr. Thorp, however, saw no symptoms of disaffection when he was there, except that he heard frequent complaints of the extent and exhaustion of labour, and of the consequent exclusion from the means of religious instruction. Those means were at that time more abundant than in any other parish, and there was an improved moral feeling among the slaves. For, in St. Thomas in the

East, not only was religious instruction to a considerable extent afforded by the rector, but the Wesleyans had three chapels largely attended by slaves (p. 170—172).

Mr. Thorp had seen the slaves cultivating their grounds and taking provisions to market, and not only supporting themselves, but their aged relations, by their own labour. He understood that the law compelled the owner to support the aged slaves; but certainly the law was not carried into effect; for, in cases he knew, they were supported wholly by the exertions of their relatives, without any thing from the owner but their small allowance of fish, and grounds which they were not able themselves to work, but which their relations assisted in working. He could not tell that the time so occupied was not made up by the masters, but his strong impression was that it was not* (p. 171).

Then follows a number of questions respecting the influence of general as distinct from religious knowledge; on the nature of police regulations proper to be adopted; and on the degree in which the emancipation under such regulations would be partial or complete: they elicited, however, few or no material facts, and therefore may be passed over (p. 172, 178).

VII. The Rev. WILTSHIRE STANTON AUSTIN is a clergyman of the established church. The insurrection in Demerara, in 1823, he conceived, arose from the ignorance in which the slaves were kept of the real purposes of government, and the excitement produced by their being led to believe that privileges had been conceded to them by the king which their masters withheld from them. Knowing, however, as he did, the feelings and habits of the slaves, he did not imagine that the grant of entire freedom to them would endanger the public peace, especially if the slaves were allowed to cultivate the land from which they now draw their food. There would be no danger of either the young or the old suffering from want with their fellows around them able to give assistance; he never had seen natural affection more strongly exhibited than among the Negroes. Their wants indeed are few, and the soil is fertile; but yet such is the desire of the Negro to improve his condition, that he would make equal exertions with the European, if his inducements to labour were the same. A slave working for himself is a very different being from a slave working for his master: in the former case he labours cheerfully and willingly. On his father's estate, in Surinam, he was in the habit of employing the slaves to execute the work of the plantation by task, and he found that a reasonable day's task would thus be performed in much less time; and that when a double task was assigned to a man and his wife, the wife was sent to attend to her domestic

* The law on this point sounds plausibly to an English ear, but in fact it goes only to prevent masters from permitting their infirm or diseased slaves to become mendicants, or to wander from the estates, and this obviously as a regulation of police, to prevent the annoyance to the public, rather than to secure a provision for the slave. See clause 17 of the Act of February 19, 1831. It does not interdict quartering them on their relatives, or prescribe the allowances to be made them.

affairs and prepare the comfortable meal, while the husband completed the task of both in the usual time allotted to labour. In Guiana and Barbadoes the slaves at present are fed by provisions raised by the gang as a common stock, which are dealt out to them by the master. If the slave were allowed to feed himself, and were paid wages for his labour, the master might be relieved from all his present heavy expenses for food, clothing, medical charges, and the cost of providing for children and for the aged and infirm, and the master would be greatly benefited by the labour of the slave. It was his father's opinion, as well as his own, that if his 250 slaves were emancipated, and he could place them around him as a peasantry, paying rent for their houses and grounds, and having also wages for all the labour they did for him, he should be a great gainer. That he could not carry this plan into effect was owing to a heavy mortgage on the estate, comprising the slaves. Had he tried to treat them as free labourers, while they were still in fact slaves, the experiment, under existing circumstances, must have failed; and if he had emancipated them the mortgagees would have interfered. He had seen in Hanover four instances of slaves emancipated and land given to them, on which they not only raised provisions, but also canes, which were manufactured into sugar at the master's mill for half the produce. In short he was convinced that the emancipation of the slaves might be made compatible with the cultivation of sugar, and probably in equal quantities as at present, and at no greater cost. This, however, was only opinion, not experiment. The desire of the slave for comforts and luxuries is very strong, and would induce him to engage in constant profitable employment (p. 179—182).

There are in Surinam two settlements of emancipated slaves, with which he had had much intercourse. Their employment was to cut and saw timber into planks, and bring it down from the interior; and also their surplus provisions, as rice and yams, and other articles, which they bartered for whatever they wanted, besides accumulating property. Mr. Austin had in his possession 10*l.* to keep for one man; and he knew a friend with whom as much as 300*l.* had been deposited by various individuals belonging to those settlements, the produce of very hard labour; at least as hard, if not so regular, as the cultivation of sugar. Under all the circumstances of the case, his own clear opinion was that West Indian property would be improved, and not injured, by emancipation; and, as for danger to the public peace, that, he thought, would be lessened, not increased, by it. So strong was his belief of this, that he should not hesitate to return thither with his family in case of emancipation, while nothing could tempt him to return to the West Indies if slavery is to continue. He has large reversionary interests in prospect both in Guiana and in Barbadoes, and though those interests are in slaves and not in land, so that he himself might be a sufferer by the change, it was his decided feeling that, with a view to the general interests, emancipation was desirable (p. 183).

The free settlements spoken of are not settlements of Indians, but of Africans who had forcibly emancipated themselves, as stated in Stedman's History of Surinam, and with whom the Dutch had entered

into a treaty, which has been pretty well observed on both sides; and instead of being a source of danger to the colony, they are now a great protection to it. He had never heard of any want among them; and, though he had had much intercourse with them, he had never seen one of them intoxicated. Their settlements were not very far from the cultivated parts of the colony, but they did not themselves raise sugar or coffee. They are a very handsome, well-formed race, with their features sharper and more raised than the Africans generally. They consist of persons from different parts of the colony, escaping from slavery, and uniting to defend their liberty. Their number is not known; they are jealous of enquiries on that point; but the reports vary from 10,000 to 20,000. They are very prolific, and their habits are very favourable to their rapid increase. They speak what is called Negro-English, a compound of English and Dutch and African. The Bible has recently been translated into it by the Moravian Missionaries, who have planted a mission there. The settlers allow no other Europeans to reside among them. Mr. Austin made one or two attempts, but did not succeed. He had, however, frequent intercourse with them on his father's estate for a few days or even a week at a time. Generally speaking, they were heathens, with the exception of those converted by the Moravian missionaries; but their mission commenced only 15 years ago, and since Mr. Austin's intercourse with them had ceased (p. 184 and 185).

Mr. Austin stated that his opinion of the safety of emancipation was derived from his knowledge of the character of the Negroes. They were naturally peaceable, and they would be still more so when the great boon for which alone they had to contend was conceded to them. Their habits of submission, and their respect for the superiority of the whites, he thought would remain with them. What course the planter might think it right to pursue he could not pretend to say, but it would be obviously his interest to hold out every inducement to the emancipated slaves to continue as labourers on his estate. As he could have no other labourers, there could be no fear of want of employment for a time, though indeed the richness of the soil would hold out temptations to persons emancipated in the other slave colonies to migrate to Guiana (p. 186).

In Demerara the slaves had little opportunity of attending religious worship. There were only two clergymen and four missionaries, for a population of 90,000 of all classes (p. 186).

Mr. Austin had never known slaves buy their own children's freedom; but he has known parents, after being emancipated themselves, redeem their children. As slaves, had they had the means, they would have been most eager to do so, even in preference to redeeming themselves (p. 186).

In the island of Barbadoes he had seen one or two cases of blacks begging about the streets; but whether they were slaves or free he could not tell. The number, however, of such persons was extremely small indeed; while white beggars swarmed in many parts of the island. He had even seen such relieved by the slaves (p. 187).

The free blacks and people of colour whom Mr. Austin had known were remarkably industrious as mechanics, hucksters, and in a variety

of ways, and though not indeed as field labourers for others, yet as labourers on their own plots of ground. He had known Negroes of good character, both in Demerara and Barbadoes, when emancipated, continuing to live near their former master; or some kind friend, raising small patches of cane, which when ripe were sent to the master's mill and manufactured for a half or a third of the produce, as might be agreed. This, however, is much disapproved of by masters generally, from the same feeling which, in this country, leads a farmer to disapprove of his labourer growing wheat or barley, suspecting that, if he had a bad crop, he would help himself from his master's field (p. 187).

In Demerara, as late as 1822, the marriage of slaves was a thing unheard of, being considered as incompatible with slavery. This was his official reply to a question put by the government of that day (see the parliamentary returns for 1823, No. 89, p. 81). Such marriages were in fact discouraged by the planters and the governors. Two persons applied to Mr. Austin to be married, and the fees of the Secretary's office were so high that he was obliged to send them to the Methodist Missionaries to be married. They being desirous of marriage, and Mr. Austin refusing to admit them to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper till they were married, he saw no other course. Marriage appeared to him incompatible with slavery, because, under the law of Demerara at that time, the husband and wife might be separated so as never to meet again. The law may now be different; but, previous to 1824, the husband and wife might be separated. Marriage is now more encouraged than it was then (p. 188).

Mr. Austin said that his conduct, in respect of Missionary Smith of Demerara, had caused a wide breach between him and his relations in the West Indies, with all of whom, excepting his father, all intercourse had ceased for a time. He was not without fear that the evidence he was now giving might produce a similar result. But he was so deeply interested in the cause of Negro emancipation that he should be ready to promote it at any hazard or sacrifice. There was a time, he admitted, when he felt somewhat differently on this subject, or rather in his views of Christian principle and duty concerning it. As those views became clearer, he was more fully convinced of the incompatibility of religion with slavery. His opinions had never been opposed to those he now held; but they were so affected by early prejudices and views of interest, as to lead him at one time to regard Mr. Wilberforce, for example, as a great enemy to the West Indies. Reason, experience, reflection, and better feelings had led him to a different conclusion now. He then thought only of the injury emancipation might inflict on the planter; but he had latterly thought of the wrong done to the unfortunate Negro and his unoffending offspring, condemned to perpetual bondage. Even in 1821 he had expressed opinions in Demerara which Governor Murray considered as dangerous, and which proved a bar to his promotion, leading the governor to suspect his being connected with the African Institution in this country. The governor particularly objected to his opinions respecting the education of the slaves, and said he would banish any missionary who should attempt it. To these views, and to his advocacy of the

missionary Smith, he conceived he owed the hostility of the Governor, and his loss of preferment to the chaplainship of the colony on the resignation of Mr. Strahan (p. 189, 190).

Neither in Guiana, nor in Barbadoes, did the law require the owner to allot land to the Negroes; and, in point of fact, it was not the practice generally to do so, though in the former it may require the owner to provide a sufficiency of food for his slaves. He was certainly not aware that either the law or the practice of Demerara was to allot land to the slaves. Being asked whether he knew the estates of La Belle Alliance, and the Land of Plenty, he said that he knew them; they belonged to two uncles of his, and that the slaves of the latter were most kindly treated; but he was not aware, nor did he believe, that on those estates grounds were allotted to the slaves; neither did he know that from the slaves on those two estates any thing was brought to the market in George Town, but pigs and poultry occasionally. Being further asked whether he meant to state that it was not a fact that the market of George Town was supplied by provisions brought thither by the Negroes, he replied that some planters, one of them a friend of his own, sent its main supply to that market; that the Negroes certainly had it in their power to carry to market, from Sunday to Sunday, any trifle they might have, but, generally speaking, it was only fowls or pork. The Negroes from time to time had Indian corn given them by their masters, and might possibly grow a little themselves, as Indian corn was of particularly easy growth, and cheap and abundant, and with that poultry are fed. The plantain too, at some seasons of the year, abounded, and, when ripe, is a very nutritious food for pigs as well as poultry; but the slaves had not, as far as he knew, grounds of their own. They were, it is true, abundantly supplied with plantains, but they had little else in the way of food (p. 191).

When *he* knew the free Negroes who had emancipated themselves, and were placed in back settlements in Surinam, he found no religion among them, and at that time religion occupied so little of his own thoughts that he should never have thought of questioning them about it. He only knew they were sober. He never saw any drunkenness among them; but, among the slaves, drunkenness was common when they could obtain spirits. The free Negroes were also very punctual in all their engagements with himself. The free Negroes were also as far beyond the slaves in appearance, and in their manners and habits, as the gentlemen of England are above the peasantry (p. 192).

Frequent attempts had been made at education, and by himself among others, and they were successful till interrupted by the insurrection. He had commenced his own contrary to the wishes of the Governor, after having been deterred for some time by the fear of losing the prospect of preferment held out to him. After many conflicts with himself, he had at length opened a large Sunday school, which, down to the time of the insurrection, interested him much; but whether after he was driven from Demerara his successor continued it he could not tell. The children he found very apt to learn, and very eager for knowledge. There was no provision made by law, either for the

education or for the religious instruction of the slaves; but the missionaries, and also he himself, were permitted to instruct the slaves in religion, but not on the plantations. A few weeks before he quitted Demerara, two clergymen arrived there with that object in view, but before that nothing had been done under the authority of Government, nor was he aware whether oral instruction only was meant, or any other instruction (p. 192).

The Negroes throughout Guiana were, generally speaking, stronger and healthier on cotton than on coffee estates, and on coffee than on sugar estates. There are, in Demerara, many free coloured persons. They are in very good condition, many of them rich, and none poor. As president of the board of the poor's fund, he was called to investigate all cases of distress. He remembers one or two cases where the cast off mistresses of white men were reduced to great distress, but, with the exception of one or two other individuals in a wretched state of disease, he knew of no free Negroes who were claimants on this fund. The chief claimants were Barbadian whites of a very low description, and other white immigrants who had been unsuccessful in their speculations (p. 192, 193).

It was in consequence of his experience of the working of slavery that his opinions upon it underwent a change. By the time he had reached the age of thirty, he thought somewhat more seriously on the subject, and began to shake off the prejudices which had grown with his growth. He left Surinam because he was disgusted with the whole system. There was one thing which peculiarly disgusted and pained him, and which led to a separation, not in affection, but in labours, between his father and himself, and that was the flogging of women. He was so disgusted with that and some other points, that he gave up all connection with the estate. In Surinam, the Negroes were less heavily tasked than in the English colonies, but were more severely treated than in the latter. In Surinam, the Moravians are admitted on a few estates, and among them on his father's. There is no protector of slaves in Surinam; the slaves, therefore, are more at the mercy of the planters than they are in the English crown colonies since the appointment of protectors there. There is, he believes, no protector of slaves in Barbadoes (p. 193, 194).

Mr. Austin said that he had no connection with the Anti-Slavery Society. He had come as a witness on this occasion at the instance of a friend, Mr. Z. Macaulay.

He thought a more gradual plan of emancipation would meet the views of the planters better than one that was immediate; and, feeling interested himself in West India property, he should, on the whole, prefer the former to the latter; but he had no fear that immediate emancipation would affect the public peace in any way. As for the slave, he viewed him as at this moment fit for emancipation. He should think of any modified plan, only in the hope of reconciling conflicting interests. Of course, if education went on, each day would render the slave more fit for it. All such plans as freeing the children and apprenticing them to their masters were liable to great and numerous objections, both as respects the master and the slave, and they would

not satisfy the slaves generally. Notwithstanding the great facility of acquiring uncleared land in Demerara, the slave, he thought, would prefer land already laid out, as the most laborious work is that of felling trees, laying out new land, and trenching it. The Governor could undoubtedly grant the slaves new land, but it would be easier for the slaves to cultivate land already in cultivation. The owner of an estate might let it out in portions to the slaves; and, as slaves are fond of the spot where they have lived, they would prefer to buy or rent land of their masters than to go and plant themselves in new situations (p. 192, 193).

VIII. Vice Admiral the Hon. CHARLES FLEMING thought the slaves greatly improved since he had first been among them. He did not regard them as at all deficient in natural capacity. If they were at once emancipated, he had no doubt, from what he had seen in Cuba, Caraccas, Bahamas, and Trinidad, they would not only maintain themselves, but cultivate the land as well as it is now. The slaves are not industrious except when they work for themselves, but when they do they are very industrious. He has had slaves who worked for hire most industriously; but, when working under overseers, they did as little as they could. He did not think that in Trinidad and the Bahamas the slaves were much dissatisfied, but in Jamaica they were generally much dissatisfied; and, during all the time he was there, he was in fear lest all that has since occurred should happen there, and he feared the same still. In the Bahamas there are no sugar plantations, and the slaves are not worked in gangs, and there slavery is as light as it can well be. Still, even there, they ardently desire freedom, and are availing themselves of the law for compulsory manumission as much as they can. In Trinidad, the slaves appeared better treated and better fed, and, being mostly Catholics, the priests have a great influence over them and keep them quiet. Trinidad is under the excellent laws of Old Spain, and the slaves have efficient protection from the slave protector. In Jamaica, the slaves have no protector, and the magistrates, generally, neglect their duty. If the hope of emancipation were to be extinguished, they would not remain for a moment in hopeless slavery. The only reason they are now tranquil is the hope of emancipation by the Government. No island he had visited would be tranquil for a moment if that hope was cut off. If that hope be withdrawn, insurrection will soon take place. His reason for forming this opinion is the great anxiety they show to learn what is going on in England for their own emancipation, and that of their children. In the island of Jamaica, particularly, this feeling is very strong. He resided lately for eight or ten months in Jamaica, and, during that time, he was much in the interior of the island, and lived on a coffee estate, and near a sugar estate, on the Port Royal mountains; and, in going to his house and coming from it, he had to pass through the sugar estates of the Duke of Buckingham, Mr. Wildman, and others. He had frequently been on these and other estates, seven or eight in all. At the place, too, where he lived, called Claremont, he had much intercourse with the free blacks, the whole district around

being peopled with them and the free browns, who lived in great comfort with their families, having pieces of land of their own which they cultivated themselves. They also reared vegetables, and fowls, and pigs, and cultivated the sugar cane, and coffee, and all kinds of Indian corn, which they sold in Kingston market. Some of them had slaves of their own. Persons of high naval and military rank have little access to the interior of plantations, though they are always hospitably received. They would be expected, in most cases, to give notice of an intended visit, but, on some estates, there would be no objection made. He had observed no alteration in the dress of the slaves on those occasions. He had himself been turned off estates in Jamaica, but had visited others and gone through them without giving notice. He went thither last in 1827, and left it in 1830. The admiral's regular residence was at a pen two miles from Kingston. But, when the rains set in, he was obliged to quit it, and went to reside in the mountains, about 13 miles off. He lived ashore during his being in command there more than six months at one time, and, in all, about ten months. He had not only passed constantly to and from his residence to Kingston, Port Royal, and the admiral's pen, during that time, but travelled into St. David's, about 30 miles, three or four times. He was also at Stoney Hill, 11 miles in another direction. He went on several estates to observe the management, particularly Mr. Wildman's estate of Papine, which was very differently managed from the others. Former admirals resided still more on shore than he did. Admiral Halsted lived on shore the whole time. He was turned away once, but by mistake, from the Duke of Buckingham's estate, and also from Lord Claremont's, near Stoney Hill. He thought he had seen enough, during his last visit, to form a sound opinion of the increased intelligence among the slaves, as compared with their former state. They are certainly now not inferior to the white people in intellect. He knew that reading, and listening to works read, were common among the slaves in Jamaica. He had seen a person reading the Gazette to a gang of slaves.

The Admiral was asked "*Was that at Mr. Wildman's?*" He answered it was a jobbing gang, belonging to Mr. Sinclair. The slaves generally are strongly excited to acquire knowledge, and their knowledge of what passes here and in Jamaica must put an end to slavery soon. He had viewed insurrection as probable all the time he was in Jamaica, and its occurrence was no surprise to him. The debates in the House of Commons and in the local legislatures are quickly known. When the slave law of 1829 was disallowed, the fact was instantly known to the slaves. It was even known the next day at thirty miles from Spanish Town; and he found it was known at his mountain when he went up, as well as all the way up to it. He was assured that, by means of hawkers and pedlars, news were conveyed to the whole of the interior, and publications diffused in a very short time. He did not believe that there had been any amelioration of the state of the slaves with respect to labour, punishment, &c., while their intelligence was thus increasing. The instrument carried in the field by the driver is called a cart-whip; he had never heard it called by any

other name. It differs from a waggoner's whip: it is a cart-whip. It is laid aside on some estates, but not generally. He never heard a doubt till now of its being called a cart-whip. He had extensive intercourse with persons of all classes in Jamaica, and the driver's whip was always spoken of by them as a cart-whip. He had now one in his possession bought from the driver of a jobbing gang, who was using it in the field at the time (p. 198--201).

The Admiral had been more in Cuba and knew more of it than of Jamaica. The number of free people there is very great. The whites there are about 380,000, the free coloured 136,000 to 150,000, the slaves 200,000 or 220,000. This he drew from public documents; but the returns are somewhat confused. They are made up by the priests in the different parishes. The free people generally are in good condition in Cuba; many of the browns, and of the blacks too, are very rich. He had never heard in Cuba any complaints of a want of industry in the freed classes. A great many of them are employed in cultivating sugar in Cuba. Even some whites work in the field in Cuba, who come from the Canaries, and manage all the indigo culture. He had himself seen the free people digging cane-holes, and some of them work their whole estate without slaves, growing the canes, and selling them to persons who boil the juice. He could not tell how many were so employed in Cuba; the number was considerable; and when they were deficient in hands at any time on such sugar plantations they hired additional labourers, at two pissettas, or 18d., to half a dollar a day, sometimes more, usually paid in coin, but sometimes in goods. Some free persons manufacture their own canes, but more frequently sell them, as mills and boilers are expensive, to richer persons near them. They get back a certain portion in a manufactured state. The soil is richer than in our colonies.* He knew one man who sold his canes in this way who had 45 acres in cane, all wrought by free labour. The estates are more extensive in Cuba than Jamaica, and portions of them are let off to free people. It was a continual subject of dispute with many intelligent persons in Cuba whether free labour or slave labour was cheapest. The English in general whom I met there thought slave labour the cheapest. One party argued that if the slave trade were stopped they could not cultivate the island. Another party held that they could. Many Cubans are against importing Negroes; as the new Negro is always found to take part with the Government, being influenced by the priests so to do; and the Government holds the slaves and free blacks over the whites as a rod to keep them in order. This alone has prevented the independence of Cuba, as of the other Spanish colonies. The domestic slaves in Cuba are equal in intelligence to those of Jamaica; the field slaves inferior: but in Cuba neither can read except some domestics. The same danger of insurrection certainly does not exist

* So that now the secret of cheap sugar in Cuba is out. It is free labour; and all the minute calculations of Mr. Keith Douglas and Mr. M'Donnell, *et hoc genus omne*, may be given to the winds as waste paper. See the massy labours of the Committee on West India distress reviewed in No. 97, of the Reporter.

there as in Jamaica. There is little discontent among the slaves in Cuba. They can all obtain legal or compulsory manumission if they can make up the means, and thus free themselves, their wives, and children. They work generally by piece-work, and are not driven except on some estates held by Englishmen and Americans. The Spaniards of Cuba never drive. Freedom is never placed beyond the reach of any slaves in Cuba, and they may always change their master, even if they cannot pay their price, provided another is willing to buy them at their value; so that if a slave is valued at 200 dollars, and B will pay the money, the slave may oblige A to sell him to B. The Admiral sent home all these regulations to Sir G. Murray, and they must now be in the Colonial Office. There is a compulsory manumission law in Cuba, and a tariff fixing prices. He could not find the law and tariff in Trinidad; but he and General Grant found it at the Caraccas.* The existence of this compulsory manumission in Cuba is a great cause of the difference of feeling among the creole slaves in Cuba and Jamaica. The *new* Negroes in Cuba, as formerly in Jamaica, are comparatively indifferent about the question of freedom. Accordingly the newly-imported Africans are not permitted to be worked with the creoles in Cuba, as they require a stricter discipline than the creoles. The creoles would not like to be put on the same footing with new Negroes. The creoles are both better behaved and better treated. The Spanish planters take pains to inculcate religion on their slaves; the women teach the children born on the estates, and the priests attend every estate. The Catholic slaves are more submissive than those in the English colonies, but he does not know what their religious state is in our colonies, but he believes very defective. He has seen the annual returns of manumissions in Cuba; they are very considerable, but he is not in possession of them. They may be got either through the Colonial Office, or from the commissioners of the mixed Commission Court at the Havannah. The slaves in Cuba, working generally by task-work, have more time to work out their freedom. Besides they have the whole of their Saturdays, and all their saints' days,† and they work much fewer days for their masters than in the English colonies. And this applies not to Cuba only, but to the Caraccas. Task-work prevails on the sugar estates not only in Cuba but Caraccas. He had been frequently in Cuba from 1827 to 1830, and on many estates. He had liberated 4000 slaves in that time from Spanish slave-ships. Holding rank in the Spanish navy, and speaking freely the Spanish language, he had

* But how came it that these documents, transmitted by Admiral Fleming to Sir G. Murray, were not laid before that Committee? They would have saved a world of trouble, and no small expenditure in paper and press-work. Is there not some ground to suspect treachery in some of our former public functionaries in Trinidad, in having kept out of view these most important documents? Some enquiry into the matter seems to be imperatively called for, and we trust will be instituted.

† The saints' days are 30; added to the Saturdays they make 82, and to the Sundays 134.—See *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 37, vol. ii. p. 233.

peculiar facilities of communication. He was treated there with great attention and hospitality. Free labour he thinks has increased in Cuba. He does not think that slaves are cheaper in Cuba than in Jamaica. The price of a good new slave in Cuba is 250 dollars, or about £55 sterling. He paid £70 currency, or £50 sterling, for a good slave in Jamaica (p. 201—205).

An estate in Cuba, making 200 hogsheads of sugar, has about 200 slaves, besides carters and others, who are usually free. The slave trade in Cuba, he believes, is chiefly carried on by foreigners and foreign capital, as Spanish capital employed in it would be confiscated (p. 205).

The moral habits of the white people of the interior of Cuba are much superior to the same class in Jamaica. In Cuba a great many people live quietly with their families, cultivating their lands, and they are very respectable indeed. In the towns on the coast their habits seem much the same as in Jamaica (p. 205).

The importation of slaves into Cuba is chiefly not by Cubans, but by foreign adventurers and by Spaniards expelled from South America. Most of the old proprietors in Cuba will not purchase Africans. A few purchase them; but rarely. They are chiefly for new estates.

The law and tariff connected with manumissions bear, he thinks, the date of 1789. It is a written law, first published, he believes, at St. Domingo after the only insurrection that had occurred in a Spanish colony in the time of Ferdinand the Fourth: * he sent a copy to Sir G. Murray, and one to General Grant. It is one of the laws of the Indies, promulgated by the King of Spain. By this law the slave is entitled to purchase a day at a time, paying the proportion of his price to the protector. His holidays or other days are never taken from him. He is fully protected, and has easy means of redress through the *sindico* or protector, and the priest. The bishops in Cuba, of whom he knew two, are very vigilant on this point. The slave confesses to the priest, and has free access to him on every plantation in Cuba. This is a great protection, and gives him an opportunity of stating his grievances. The priest was always looked to by the slaves in South America as their protector as well as the *sindico*. There is no such practice in Jamaica. Some Spaniards refused to buy new slaves from not liking to mix them with their creoles; others, even the first merchants, from conscience, thinking it was a disgraceful transaction, and illegal. Many of them are a high-minded people. The English he saw at the Havannah, and who thought that buying new slaves was the cheapest, were slave-holders from the West Indies. English officers were generally of a different opinion. He was fully convinced that there would be no more difficulty in the English colonies as to free labour than in Cuba, Caraccas, and Hayti, and in the Bahamas and Trinidad. On the sugar estates in Cuba there are more slaves than free; but in the interior, where corn is grown and cattle reared, the free labourers are more than the slaves. If slavery were abolished by law in Cuba to-morrow, he does not believe the least confusion would ensue, or that one sugar estate would be thrown out of cultiva-

* It was probably a republication, called for by the insurrection.

tion. There is no dislike in Cuba to employ free people in cultivating sugar, as in the English colonies. In estimating the profit of slave labour in Cuba the holidays must of course be taken into account: some owners give their slaves, besides these, two or three hours for going to mass (p. 207).

When Admiral Fleming first visited the Caraccas, in 1828, the slaves were all free after a certain age, females at twelve and males at fourteen. Many of the old Negroes were not free, but greater facilities were given them to obtain their freedom than even under the Spanish law. Funds were created for freeing them gradually. He never saw, during the three times he visited Caraccas, any confusion or disorder from this cause. And yet sugar was cultivated there and exported to a considerable extent. In all parts of the Caraccas sugar was grown and exported largely, though the export duty was high. There the free and the slaves worked promiscuously on the same sugar plantations. Cane-holing is carried on there, but the soil is rich and the canes seldom require to be renewed. Still he had seen cane-hole digging, and free blacks were employed in it on their own account. There the wages were ninepence a day and food. In the Caraccas he had heard the question of free and slave labour often discussed. The Spaniards and Columbians were generally for free labour; the Americans and English for slavery. The Spaniards and Columbians were in favour of freeing them all, even on the score of profit. The Marquis del Taro, a cousin of Bolivar, had immense estates; but his great number of slaves were worked as free labourers. Admiral F. had great facilities of intercourse with all of condition there. He was four months there at one time, and went 200 or 300 miles up the country. He availed himself of his facilities, and it was highly interesting to him to see a people newly emancipated, both from European oppression and from slavery, in their progress of becoming free. His opinion is, that the blacks in Caraccas are making rapid progress in civilization. Many schools are established, of which they anxiously avail themselves. Many are learning trades, and the desire of knowledge is great among them. They maintain themselves perfectly well without aid, either from their former masters or from government. The law of manumission was suddenly enacted by a decree of Congress, under Bolivar. Bolivar had previously freed his own slaves, and many of the principal people had done the same. There was no interference with the rights of landed property. Many of the proprietors of the soil, who had before wrought with slaves, cultivated it at once by free labour. No convulsion whatever was produced. A time was fixed when slavery should wholly cease. He did not recollect the year. It had not ceased when he was last in Caraccas, but it was gradually declining, and would be extinguished very shortly. There were not above a fourth of the slaves remaining then of those who were in slavery at the time of Bolivar's decree. He saw no traces of receding cultivation. It was even making a rapid progress, though Caraccas had been the seat of war, and therefore had suffered greatly. During his second visit, he found the culture of wheat advancing rapidly, though it had not been cultivated formerly. American wheat

is now no longer imported. Every body agreed that the culture had much increased. When I visited the Caraccas the second time, the improvement was manifest and rapid. There had been a year and a half of peace; party spirit had evaporated, and confidence was established. They were improving rapidly in agriculture and the arts. The revolution has tended to obliterate distinctions of colour; but the political disturbances had certainly retarded improvement, great numbers being employed in the armies. He had himself seen slaves and free blacks working together in the same field in the Caraccas. Field labour was no longer viewed as degrading there. The free might have obtained land to cultivate for themselves, on higher and colder regions, but they seemed to like the low warm country the best, and therefore readily continued to work on the established plantations. They certainly were not driven to sugar planting by necessity; they might have pursued other means of living. They might have got lands easily in the interior. They continued, however, to labour voluntarily and cheerfully on the sugar estates, and at much the same rate of wages as on other estates. The English who had estates there objected to employ the free blacks. They said they were not accustomed to that mode of working. He only knew, however, three Englishmen having estates there (p. 208—210).

General Peyango was a perfectly black man; but he was a well informed, a very well educated person, well read in Spanish history, and altogether an extraordinary man. Many English officers were serving under him. He knew many other black officers of very considerable acquirements in the Caraccas, and also in Cuba, and a black priest born in the Cape de Verds, a very intelligent man (p. 210).

The admiral referred for the particulars of the decrees about freedom, and the progress of manumissions, to the Caraccas laws and the Caraccas Gazettes, which may easily be obtained. There are commissions for freeing slaves, and the names of those freed are regularly inserted in the Gazettes. He repeated, confidently, that he had seen free persons labouring with slaves on sugar estates, not to the same extent as on other estates, for there was not so much of sugar raised as of other articles, as wheat, potatoes, cocoa, coffee, indigo, &c. There is no more indisposition to grow sugar than other articles, but, in point of fact, he believed the majority of sugar cultivators were slaves, although he had no accurate data on which to rest. He was assured that the cultivation of sugar had increased in the Caraccas and Margarita. He could not tell how many were employed in sugar culture; but the free population greatly exceeded, on the whole, the slaves. At the time emancipation was first declared, the numbers were about equal in the Caraccas. The slaves are widely scattered on estates over the country. They were not in huts as ours, but in a large square called Repartimento, where there is a chapel and an hospital, and a communication with the owner's house. A great many had entered the army, and thus became free. The time of the emancipation, he thinks, was 1821. It was not a time of civil commotion, but of tranquillity. The free blacks were numerous in town, and employed themselves industriously as other free persons. The blacks had not had much educa-

tion, except the young, who are now in the schools. They were supposed, generally, to have embraced the Catholic religion. Slaves not taught were liable to be confiscated to the king. They could all, therefore, say their prayers and their confession of faith. They were all sufficiently instructed for that. Before the late insurrection, he should have had no fear of the same system of emancipation in Jamaica as in the Caraccas. Now, he should doubt whether it would be sufficient. They had not the excitement of the press in the Caraccas; but they had the excitement of civil war, in which they took part. The civil war was between two parties in the State, but the slaves expected that if the liberal party succeeded they would be free (p. 211, 212).

Admiral Fleming had been in Hayti, in 1828 and 1829, for a short time. He had been there before, when the insurrection first broke out. In 1827 he understood that labourers were scarce. He did not hear that in 1829, and the people seemed then industrious. They worked for wages, and were paid in kind—he did not know how much exactly;—the law said a certain proportion of the produce. He never saw any compulsion used. He was told that vagrants and deserters worked by compulsion, but he did not see any himself. He had never heard of any working under the lash. The lash was prohibited by law. The Haytians appeared to him the happiest, best fed, and most comfortable Negroes he had ever seen; better off even than in the Caraccas; infinitely better than in Jamaica: there was no comparison between them. He could not speak positively of the increase of the Haytian population since 1804, but he believed it had trebled since that time. His belief, from the best testimony he could collect, was that it had increased threefold since 1804. This differed from Consul Mac Kenzie's report, but he believed it to be correct. They now fed themselves, and they exported provisions, which neither French nor Spaniards had ever done before. He did not recollect what was the population in 1804, but there were official documents on the subject. He had been in Hayti in 1797, when war was raging, and in 1828, and 1829, when things were quite tranquil. Things were greatly improved in the interval, as to the condition of the Negroes; for in 1828 tranquillity had prevailed for some years. There were no beggars in Hayti, and few in Jamaica. He saw a sugar estate near Cape Haytian, formerly Cape François, general Bourlon's, extremely well cultivated, and in beautiful order. It was wrought by blacks, all free. It was very fine land, and had not been replanted a long time. A new plantation was forming on the opposite side of the road. The rate of wages was a franc, or 9*d.* a day, with victuals, and two francs without. Their victuals were very superior to those of Jamaica; consisting chiefly of meat, cattle being very cheap. The highest contract of beef in Hayti was 2*d.* In Jamaica it was 12*d.* He had no means of knowing the state of religion in Hayti, but all the people seemed to go to mass. He had no means of observing their moral conduct, but marriage existed among them. Promiscuous intercourse also, he believed, prevailed; but two Spanish priests with whom he had conversed said that things were improving, and that they believed marriage would

become general. It was so now among the principal people. But, whether married or not, the children were well taken care of, and they lived together in families. It was not easy to distinguish them in their habits from married people. Though the ceremony might not have been performed, the tie seemed to be practically binding. They generally lived one man with one woman. The parents *do* provide for the children. He saw no marks of destitution any where. The country seemed improving, and trade increasing between his two visits (p. 212, 214).

The estate the admiral visited near the Cape was large. It was calculated to make 300 hogsheads of sugar. The whole was cultivated with plantains, and Indian corn or manioc intermixed. It was beautifully laid out, and as well managed as any estate he had seen in the West Indies. He was told that this estate, though so good, was inferior in fertility to others in the interior. The culture of sugar, however, was comparatively not much followed in Hayti. Their means of properly manufacturing it are indifferent, and they have not capital to set up sugar works again. The reasons assigned were the entire destruction of the former works, and the want of capital to re-erect them. They had also other and more urgent and profitable things to attend to. The Haytian government too seemed to think that they might excite jealousies in other countries if they went much on sugar. He had never heard the unwillingness of the Negroes to engage in it assigned as a cause: they were very ready to work if paid. Nor had he heard the high rate of wages assigned as a cause: he believed sugar could be made cheaper in Hayti than in our islands, if the Haytian government did not discourage it. The insecurity of the country is still a hindrance to expensive works. They are hardly out of their revolutionary state. When he was there, Spain had been making a claim on them for the Spanish part, and they were raising a large army to resist it. This occupied their attention and discouraged such undertakings. His official correspondence, as admiral, with the Haytian government made him attribute much efficiency to it, and it bore very strong marks of civilization. There was a much better police in Hayti than in the New South American States; the communication through the country was more rapid; the roads were much better; one had been cut from Port au Prince to Cape Haytian that would do honour to any government. A regular post was established. He had sent regular couriers from Cape Nicolas Mole to Port au Prince, a distance of 80 leagues. The government is one quite worthy of a civilized people. The government still feared an attack from France, even during his last visit; and this had the effect of retarding their progress. The convention with France had not been fulfilled. Only one instalment of the money stipulated to be paid had been paid. Hence partly their apprehensions. The people were very much against paying, and blamed the government much for agreeing to pay it. The Negroes of Hayti are certainly richer and happier and in a better condition than any he had ever seen elsewhere. They were all working in the fields when he was there. He rode about very much. He did not think any acts

of oppression were practised on the people of Hayti by the government (p. 213—216).

The emancipation of the slaves in the Caraccas took place, the admiral thinks, in 1821. Bolivar had taken refuge in Hayti some time before, for which benefit the Haytian government stipulated that he should emancipate his slaves, and he did so (p. 216).

He had frequently visited the Bahamas when last in the West Indies. There are more slaves there than free. Sugar is grown in small quantities both by slaves and free, but little or none is manufactured. Both are employed in growing provisions, fishing, and taking care of cattle, and in looking after wrecks. They are all very orderly, and no difficulty is found in preserving order. The proportion of free blacks and persons of colour is greater than in Jamaica: it is about one third. The liberated Africans there seem equally civilized with the creole slaves. The African apprentices, knowing they are to be free after a certain time, intermarry with free blacks, and they become civilized by this intercourse in a very short time indeed. In seven years they are quite equal to any of the creole slaves in our islands. They are all married. Concubinage is not permitted them. There are missionaries there who instruct them, and they are all required to go to divine worship. They are very industrious. They cultivate their own grounds, and also work for wages. The rate of wages in the Bahamas is about a dollar a day; but they do not get much employment, as it is only at a particular time of the year that they are wanted. The wages are high because there is not regular employment but at particular seasons. If there were regular employment they would take less. They all have land which they cultivate, selling the produce they do not want. They get nothing from government but the land. The free blacks, as well as the slaves, in the Bahamas, are much more moral than in any other colony except Bermuda. In Bermuda and Bahamas there is no sugar cultivation, and there certainly the black population, both slave and free, are much more moral than in any other island he had visited. There are more pains taken with them. Almost all are Christians. They go regularly to places of worship. They are married and much better treated. The proprietors are smaller proprietors, who live almost with the slaves, and are very kind to them. The slaves in the Bahamas and Bermuda are quite a different race; they speak better English and are much more intelligent than those elsewhere. He had no hesitation in asserting that the best effect was produced by religious knowledge on their morals, manners, and civilization; and this he asserted on his own actual knowledge of the fact. The liberated Africans become, before their apprenticeships expire, as civilized as those born and bred there. He only knew of one of these Africans being punished all the time he was in the Bahamas. He lived frequently on shore there, and he could himself observe their great advance in civilization. He found in every cottage beds, and cooking utensils of all kinds. Their huts were better than in the other islands, perhaps because more exposed to hurricanes. They had comforts far beyond the mere necessaries of life. They showed not the slightest disposition to return to the habits of savage life. On the contrary,

in a tour he had made with the governor through the islands, he found that they all wished to acquire property; that many *had* acquired property; that their children were well taken care of; that they were well clothed, and the women dressed out in unnecessary finery. He had seen no exceptions to the general industry but in two old men, who could read Arabic, and were looked on as priests, and who, besides doing something for themselves, had also supplies from the others, who looked to them with veneration as old men.—He saw in Lane Island a man who came up and complained to Governor Grant of his having been kept longer than his apprenticeship. His master, being sent for, stated that he had kept him because he had five children, and, his wife having died, he could not maintain them if he were free. The man answered, “If with two hands I can feed them in three days out of fourteen, why should I not feed them all in ten days, go to market on Saturday, and to church on Sunday?” The governor freed him. Admiral F. saw him next year, on the land that had been allotted to him; he was in perfect comfort; his land was well cultivated, and his children were all taught to read. The blacks have taken advantage of the manumission law which exists in Bahamas; and then they either hire themselves to work, or rent land from the owners. The value of slaves, however, is not fixed in the Bahamas; there is no tariff. The exports from the Bahamas are salt, cotton, onions, pine-apples to the United States, platt, salt-fish, logwood, fustic, and other woods. In all the labours of the Bahamas the free and the slaves are intermixed, and especially in cutting wood, which is the hardest work of all (p. 217—219).

He had often heard in Jamaica of transferring their allegiance to America, and it had a considerable effect in adding to the discontent of the slaves. He had heard this said in the presence of the slaves, particularly on the occasion of the disallowed slave-law of 1826, and on other occasions, and he then observed that they must first get the consent of the 300,000 slaves, which would be very difficult. There were slaves present at the time. He had even heard the same language used at his own table. “The conduct of the government,” it was said, “would make the star-spangled banner be hailed with delight in Jamaica.” One gentleman, on taking leave of him, said he perhaps should never visit the island again as a British Colony. That this conversation produced discontent among the slaves, he had learnt from the slaves themselves. They spoke to him frequently of it in the conversations he had with them at different times. They often asked him if it was true that the island was to be given up to the Americans. One man, who asked him the question, was Frank, a slave belonging to Prospect, who was a very intelligent person.—He had lived little with the white inhabitants of Jamaica generally; but some were always with him or he with them. He was much with Sir John Keane, who then lived in Kingston. He conversed much with the slaves, in going about, as he would have done with the peasantry in this country. Being asked whether he had not gone out with strong opinions previously formed, he said, No, till he had returned the last time to Jamaica, when he found that little or no

improvement had taken place. He was very much struck with the difference between the slaves of the Bahamas and those of Jamaica. The condition of the former was very superior. At the same time, on many estates in Jamaica, the slaves were well clothed, fed, and used; but that was by no means the case throughout the island. They were not improved to the extent he had expected since 1797. He had been in the Negro houses of sugar estates in Jamaica: some of them had the appearance of comfort. He thought the slaves had much more cause to be discontented in Jamaica than in Trinidad. They are not so effectually protected in the former as the latter, from harsh treatment. On estates where the proprietor resides, and on some others, they are well treated; but attorneys and receivers are often very oppressive. He thought that a general emancipation would now be less dangerous than no emancipation, yet more difficult than it would have been before the late insurrection. But any plan short of immediate emancipation, like that in Columbia, which should give protection to the slaves, and give them the certainty of ultimate emancipation, might perhaps avert danger and be more favourable to the interests of the planters. The danger is infinitely greater from leaving things as they are than from any even immediate emancipation (p. 219—222).

The following is the tariff which Admiral Fleming procured from the two Alcaldes in the Caraccas, who were in charge of the public documents of that colony. It was given to him on the 18th April, 1829. The value is here stated in sterling money.

	£	s.
Children of Eight days old	7	10-
Ditto of One year	15	0'
Ditto of Five years	18	0
Ditto of Ten years	27	0
Adults of Fifteen years to Forty	45	0
Ditto of Forty-five years	41	5
Ditto of Fifty years	30	0
Ditto of Fifty-five years	18	15
Ditto of Sixty years	7	10
Ditto of Sixty-four years	0	15

For each intermediate year a proportionate increase or deduction is made, as the age advances to 15 or rises above 40. If upwards of sixty-four, the slaves are deemed of no value.

From the age of fifteen to forty the slaves are valued at forty-five pounds; but if they have any particular trade, acquired at the cost of the master, or taught by him, the highest value is to be given, unless it be for their manumission. And where there is any blemish, defect, or disease, which diminishes their value, the value is to be lowered according as the blemish, defect, or disease may be considered to lessen their daily labour or the expense of their care.

The above was the tariff established at Caraccas in 1801; and it was also in force at Trinidad. This document could not be found at Trinidad, but Admiral Fleming discovered it at the Caraccas. Many with whom he had conversed, at Trinidad and the Caraccas, ad-

mitted that this law was in force in Trinidad. A Columbian, in particular, of the name of Mundosa, told him that he himself had resided in Trinidad, and the law was then in force, prior to its capture by the British, and that he himself had had a slave emancipated by it. The law applied equally to domestic and field slaves. Admiral F. knew it to be common in Cuba, and that plantation slaves were freed under it (p. 239, 240).

Admiral Fleming also laid before the committee authenticated extracts from the Spanish Slave Code which he had obtained, by order of the governor of the Caraccas, from the proper officers there.

These laws are too long to be inserted here, but they breathe a spirit of morality and humanity which is highly creditable to the Spanish government. They provide for the careful instruction of slaves in the Catholic religion, and for their enjoying all the holidays of precept. They also provide for their food and clothing; for the regulation of their daily tasks, according to their ages, powers, and strength; prohibiting laborious tasks to the aged, or to children under seventeen, or to females, which last shall not be employed in labours unbecoming their sex, or in any which may oblige them to mix with male slaves. Time is also to be allowed to them for simple and innocent amusement, in which all excess in drinking is to be prevented. Separate dwellings are also to be provided for the unmarried of both sexes, and all their dwellings are to be commodious, and to have bedsteads, blankets, and other necessaries; and there is to be a separate house for the sick. Various other regulations are prescribed, all bearing the character of great benevolence, for the temporal and spiritual interests of the slaves (p. 240, 241, 242).

IX. ROBERT SUTHERLAND, Esq., had visited Hayti four times since 1815. He remained there for some time in 1819, 1820, and 1821, and afterwards saw it in 1824 and 1827. His experience of the Haytians is that they are a free people, working for wages or for shares of produce, and not coerced to labour, except by their wants. Great numbers of them have land of their own, which they cultivate themselves, while others labour for hire, though the number of labourers for hire was complained of as deficient. The Code Rurale he did not consider as an oppressive code by any means. There is decidedly no such thing in Hayti, practically, as compulsory labour. All corporal punishment is abolished in Hayti. Those who resided on their own farms appeared to him to live in the happiest state possible. Those who were employed for hire on plantations wrought five days in the week, having Saturday and Sunday entirely to themselves (p. 223).

X. The Rev. N. PAUL, a coloured native of the United States, and a Baptist minister. An act was passed by the legislature of New York, in 1817, abolishing slavery in 1827. The number thus freed was upwards of 10,000. No means, that he knew of, were employed to prepare these slaves for emancipation, and no disturbance of any kind was caused by it, either at the time, or at any time thereafter; and he heard no complaints of the subsequent conduct of the emancipated

persons. After their emancipation they became much more attentive to their religious duties, and were eager to acquire education. The general wages they obtained for agricultural labour when emancipated were from ten to twelve dollars a month and their provisions (p. 229, 230).

A number of slaves who have escaped from slavery in the United States into Upper Canada have formed settlements there. They had introduced the culture of tobacco to a considerable extent, and had begun to export it: it had never been thought of before.—They purchased their land of the Canada Company. They have been very industrious, and their moral conduct exemplary. They are generally either Methodists or Baptists, and their children are carefully educated. At their settlement of Wilberforce they have taken very effectual means to ensure sobriety: they have unanimously agreed to exclude ardent spirits. He visited these settlements as a Missionary, and did not find any distress among them, or any tendency to disorder (p. 231—233).

XI. The Rev. THOMAS MORGAN, a Wesleyan Missionary, resided in the West Indies seventeen years. He had been at Nevis, St. Kitt's, St. Vincent, Antigua, and Jamaica. In the smaller islands he was frequently on the estates, and had a good opportunity of judging of the state of slavery. The Negro certainly possesses the ordinary powers of acquiring information in common with his fellow-creatures, and only requires they should be developed. He understands and profits as much as the people of this country by religious instruction, the beneficial effect of which on those who receive it is very manifest. At the same time it is impossible, under the present system of slavery, to carry religion to any considerable extent, on account of the inability of the slaves to attend religious worship. But the disadvantages they labour under in that respect are less in the smaller islands than in Jamaica. There was no reason to complain of opposition or discouragement in either St. Kitt's, Antigua, or Nevis. In St. Vincent there was at one time great opposition, but there was afterwards a better feeling. In Jamaica there were not the same facilities. In Antigua, for instance, we may have preached on forty estates; in Jamaica we preached only on one or two. In the Leeward Islands, viz. Antigua, St. Kitt's, and Nevis, the slaves receive a small allowance from the master, consisting of Indian corn, corn meal, horse beans, and herrings. The allowance is not sufficient to maintain them. They are forced to supply the deficiency by working on Sundays; for no time in the week is allowed them by law. He had heard Mr. Rawlins, the Speaker of the House of Assembly in St. Kitt's, declare that it was impossible for the slave to subsist on what he received from his master, unless he worked on the Sunday. In St. Vincent 26 week-days are allowed the slaves for cultivating their grounds, as in Jamaica. He regarded the Negroes as a very industrious race, when they worked for themselves; and he had no doubt they would work cheerfully for fair wages in growing sugar or in any other way. The emancipated slaves maintain themselves very comfortably by labouring in various

ways for their own benefit. He never knew them to work on sugar plantations. He had never heard of such a thing being proposed to any of them. Their conduct is usually quiet and orderly (p. 234—236).

Mr. Morgan apprehended no danger whatever from emancipation. He believed the slaves when free would follow their occupations, if fairly paid for their labour. He apprehended great danger, however, from continuing the state of slavery as it exists in Jamaica. The desire for freedom is very strong among all classes of the slaves, religious and irreligious, only that the religious are unwilling to take violent steps to obtain it. They are very peaceably inclined. The emancipation, in his opinion, when it takes place, should be total, and not partial (p. 236, 237).

The free black and coloured people of Jamaica are rapidly improving in morality and knowledge, and many are acquiring wealth.

Mr. Morgan repeated over and over again his conviction that there was no danger in granting emancipation, under proper regulations of police, but the greatest danger in withholding it.

XII. The Rev. WILLIAM KNIBB, a Baptist missionary. He had been seven years in Jamaica, and quitted it in April, 1832. He was in that island during the late insurrection, and at Montego Bay, near the spot where it first broke out. He was well acquainted with the slaves in that quarter; many of them were Baptists; some of these took part in the rebellion, but none who were previously known to him by person. Of the congregation under his immediate charge three were tried at Falmouth and punished, but not capitally. He did not know whether they were guilty or not.—About Christmas, 1831, the slaves appeared to be generally dissatisfied. The reasons they gave for it were that a part of the time allowed them by law was taken from them; and that they were severely flogged, and, when flogged, were taunted by the overseers with their being to be free at Christmas. They came to ask him if that was true; and he told them that it was not true.—They complained also of being debarred of their religious privileges, and flogged for attending the house of God. The fact that such taunting language, about their expected freedom, was used by the overseers, was reported to him not only by slaves, but by a free man and a white book-keeper, who heard it used on Flamstead estate. It was a common topic with the planters that the Negroes were looking for their freedom at Christmas. After the rebellion many of the Negroes told Mr. K. that the parochial meetings had led them to believe it. He had heard nothing of it before from the slaves, except the enquiry to which he has alluded as to the truth of the rumour, and to which he had given a negative. He had heard, it is true, white persons using that language, but he did not believe it; he had not the slightest expectation of any rising; he thought it was idle talk, and that persons who so talked did not really mean what they said.—Meetings had been held in every parish with the exception of Kingston, at which all who chose might attend; and resolutions were passed to the effect of renouncing their allegiance to the British crown. He had himself attended that

at Falmouth, and the question of emancipation was there publicly discussed. The meeting consisted of proprietors, attorneys, overseers, and others. The speakers were Mr. Macdonald, the custos of Trelawney, Mr. Frater, a member of the assembly, Mr. Lamonas, and Mr. Dyer. Mr. Frater was the chief speaker; he and the others were very violent: they talked of resistance, if England continued to interfere with their property in slaves. There were black persons present, and they may have been slaves. He knew that slaves had attended at some of the meetings, and immediately conveyed the intelligence obtained there to their fellows. The insurrection arose partly from these meetings, partly from a knowledge of what was passing in England, and a belief that the king of England had resolved on freeing them; and partly from an idea that the planters, to frustrate this design, were going to transfer the island to America. The hatred of American rule is very strong among the blacks and browns in Jamaica. He had heard some of them declare they would spill their last drop of blood before a Yankee should get a footing there. Their detestation of America is quite notorious. The reason of it is the contempt with which the blacks and browns are treated in the United States. The slaves also dreaded a transfer to America as rendering their freedom quite hopeless. They expected too to be aided by the king. This was stated to Mr. Knibb by a man under sentence of death, whom he was requested by the custos Mr. Miller, with the concurrence of the chief justice, to confer with. He had no idea of this till after the insurrection. He knew indeed they were anxious for freedom; but, on the only occasion on which the subject had been mentioned to him, by any slave, as a thing looked for, he decidedly discouraged any such idea.

The occurrences which took place during the insurrection, and afterwards, plainly showed how intense was their passion for freedom. A man belonging to Round Hill estate went up to a party of soldiers and said, "I will never work more as a slave; give me freedom and I will work; you may shoot me." They shot him at once. The fact is stated in the Cornwall Chronicle.—One said if he had twenty lives he would risk them all for freedom.—As far as he could learn it was not their intention at first to destroy property or to injure the whites; but to insist on having wages at the rate of 2*s.* 6*d.* currency, or 20*d.* a day, the present rate of wages. But when the insurrection broke out they got drunk and fired the properties.—They certainly had inferred from the violent language at the parochial meetings, and the threat of giving up the island to America, that the king had made them free.—Many of the Baptist slaves were active in saving their masters' property. On Green park estate, in Trelawney, where there were many Baptists, they mounted guard every night, and defeated an attempt to fire the trash-house. They seized three of the insurgents and brought them to Falmouth, and were rewarded by the Assembly with £40. These men had come to him to say that the other slaves had blamed them for having arrested their fellows; but Mr. Knibb commended them, and begged them to continue their exertions; and, in point of fact, they defended the property to the last (p. 245, 246).

In the Baptist Societies there is a distinction between members who have been consistent characters, and have been admitted to full communion as being under the influence of Christian principle, and mere enquirers, who are on trial, as it were, and only admitted as members if their conduct and attendance are regular for a certain period, perhaps for two or three years, and also till they have attained some knowledge of Scriptural truth. They are in fact in a probationary state, and are often not admitted into membership at all (p. 146).

Various instances have occurred of rewards for good conduct bestowed on Baptists by the Assembly.—Charles Campbell, a slave belonging to Weston Favell, took charge of the estate, and preserved it from injury, and carried on the labours of it as at other times; all the Baptists on the estate uniting to preserve order. He obtained his freedom from his master for what he had done. He was a deacon of the Baptist church.—A man of the name of Barrett, belonging to Oxford estate, also a deacon, acted in the same way, and has since had his freedom given to him.—A slave named George Prince, another deacon, had the entire charge of the estate committed to him with written instructions from the overseer, and he kept every thing in the best order the whole time of the overseer's absence. The same occurred on Carlton estate. The Baptists were numerous on all these properties.—Six Baptists were hung belonging to Mr. Burchell's congregation; none belonging to Mr. K.'s. Some were shot at random. In Mr. Cantlow's congregation out of forty-eight leaders two were executed. One of them, of the name of Francis Escrow, had his freedom for his good conduct; but he lost his wife, who was shot by the random firing of the militia. He was required by the overseer to put a rebel to death, but he refused. On this the overseer seized a cutlass and with it literally hewed the alleged rebel to death in Escrow's presence. One of Mr. Burchell's deacons, named William Rickets, obtained his freedom for his conduct. Mr. Knibb had not heard of one deacon having been executed, and only of one or two leaders (p. 247, 248).

Mr. Knibb himself, and two other missionaries, Whitehorne and Abbott, were forced, by a militia colonel, to perform military duty, notwithstanding their remonstrances. They were after that arrested, and on the 2nd of January, 1832, sent as prisoners to head-quarters in an open boat, guarded by soldiers, and when they landed were paraded as prisoners through the open streets; and, after being sent backwards and forwards from the civil to the military power, were confined in the Court-house, guarded by four soldiers, and assailed with reproach and insult, till at midnight they were permitted to go on bail, but without being told of what they were accused, to a private house in Montego bay, which house they were not allowed to quit. During the interval, however, Mr. Knibb was ordered down to the court-house to answer a charge of having been preaching contrary to an interdict of the militia colonel, Lawson. He pleaded that he had only been performing family worship in the house where he resided. A little time after he had been sent back, some gentlemen, among whom was Mr. Manderson, a magistrate, and Mr. Roby, the collector of the customs, and Mr. Lewin, came to inform him that fifty persons

were coming with clubs to murder him and the other two missionaries. This was on the 7th of February, martial law having ceased on the 5th. The Baptist chapel was demolished on the 7th at noon by a mob of white men, though the commander in chief, Sir W. Cotton, was in the town with some troops, and there were king's ships in the bay. On hearing this, and that the same mob was coming to attack him, Mr. Knibb escaped with his wife and child and the other two missionaries, to Mr. Manderson's, and thence on board one of the king's ships. They were led to this step by the alarm they felt, partly from the representations of their friends, and partly from the threats and scurrilous language of the newspapers, the Courant and the Cornwall Courier, which said they should be tarred and feathered wherever they could be met with. On the 14th of February Mr. Knibb obtained his release both from his bail and from confinement, by the following discharge :—

“ *Montego Bay, February 14th, 1832.*

“ Having examined the evidence of Samuel Stennett, Alexander Erskine, Adam, and Paris, against W. Knibb, Baptist missionary, and finding nothing therein to support a criminal prosecution, I declare the said W. Knibb discharged with his sureties from their recognizances.”

(Signed)

RICHARD BARRETT, Custos.

Being released from his confinement, under this order, without the slightest charge having as yet been preferred against him, though loaded during his confinement with injury and outrage, he returned to Falmouth on the 15th of February, where he found his chapel had been destroyed on the same day on which the demolition of that at Montego bay had taken place. His congregation there he found had been suffering great anxiety on his account, and they appeared delighted with his return. Persons came from thirty estates, containing perhaps 10,000 slaves, to enquire after him. They complained much that they who had defended their masters' property should suffer for the sins of others, and that their chapel should be destroyed, and no place left them to meet in, though not a single estate in which he had members had been burnt. This occurrence produced a very strong sensation among them. They enquired whether the chapel would be rebuilt, and they be permitted again to attend the worship of God. Mr. Knibb consoled them with the hope of having the chapel rebuilt by help from England, and of again enjoying their religious privileges. The chapel had been their own work, built at their own expense. Instead of being allowed to preach to them then, he did not even dare to leave the house, being threatened with murder by a party assembled for that purpose, consisting not of blacks but of whites. There was no protection of law; mob government ruled. The custos, Mr. Miller, and Mr. Gordon, a magistrate, to whom he applied for protection, said that in the then state of feeling it was impossible, and advised his departure. A party of white men, disguised in women's clothes, came to his house at night, and threw stones while he was in bed: one stone fell on the bed. There were some coloured gentlemen, who had heard of the intended attack, and came for Mr. Knibb's defence, and when the assailants heard

them cry out, they ran away. These attempts were renewed for three successive nights, and at last Mr. K. was persuaded by his friends to quit the place and repair to Montego Bay, where he had left his wife and child. He was assured of the designs against him by two white gentlemen, one of whom had been applied to to assist in tarring and feathering him.—He knew of nothing that could have excited such ill will to him among the whites of Falmouth, except that his congregation there was composed of slaves, of whom 1000 generally attended on Sunday mornings, the number of members being 983 and of enquirers about 2500. These came from eighty plantations. The congregation had been originally formed by a preceding missionary who had died; many of them were illiterate, but many very sensible. A great many were learning to read, and about 100 adults could read. He found the desire for knowledge very intense, and he had no doubt they were stimulated to take pains by the power it would give them of gaining information relative to slavery. Since the rebellion he has learnt what he had not known before, that they were eager in obtaining and diffusing information on that subject. He had known that they read newspapers occasionally with that view (p. 249—255).

Mr. Knibb admitted the great hostility shown him by the whites; he denied, however, having ever touched, in addressing his congregation either publicly or privately, on their temporal condition. It was difficult to avoid doing it, but he thought it right and what every good man would do. When called to preach on subjects connected with the freedom of the gospel, he was at pains to make them understand that gospel freedom had respect to the soul and not to the body, and that there were slaves in the times of the apostles as well as now. He thought it imperatively his duty to preach the whole counsel of God; but he took care to make it understood that Christian freedom meant spiritual not temporal freedom, and the conduct of his congregation was a sufficient proof he was not misunderstood. The witnesses he had summoned from 70 different estates would have proved this had he had the pleasure of being tried at the March assizes, as was intended. General clamour had charged him with preaching seditious doctrines. He called loudly for the proof, but it has never been produced. At a public meeting of planters at Montego bay, the custos Mr. Macdonald in the chair, a resolution was moved and carried, "That it appeared, from a mass of moral evidence, that the Baptists had been instrumental in misleading the slaves, by inculcating doctrines teaching disobedience to their masters. As sectarianism leads to revolution both in church and state, it behoves us to adopt means to prevent any other than duly authorized ministers of the established churches of England and Scotland from imparting religious instruction to the slaves; and in furtherance of this measure we call upon all proprietors of estates, or their attorneys, to put down all sectarian meetings on their respective properties, and that the magistracy should be most strongly urged to withhold for the future their license to sectarian ministers and their places of worship." The meeting was for forming a Colonial Church Union, and the resolutions were printed in all the newspapers, and were of course known to

all the slaves. All the religious slaves who attended sectarian meetings would of course mourn over such resolutions. But although the light produced by instruction tended to increase the desire of freedom, yet in the case of truly Christian slaves, they thought it wrong to seek it by violence. They said that if God intended to give them freedom, he would give it without force on their parts. If they took it by force, it would come with a curse and not a blessing; and this sentiment, he believed, was the only security against their using force. In reply to a question whether he had been always guarded in preaching to the slaves, he said he had proffered proof of it in Jamaica, and he should be ready to produce a thousand witnesses of that fact (p. 255—257).

Mr. Knibb then entered into some explanation of the causes which led to the dislike of missionaries. The doctrines inculcated by missionaries were directly condemnatory of the general habits of thinking and acting of the white community of Jamaica, which consisted chiefly of the mere servants of the proprietors who resided in England. Certainly it was his conviction that the generality of the planters entertained the opinion that Christianity would lead necessarily to the abolition of slavery. This was the view given him of the general feeling in the island by Mr. S. M. Barrett, and many others whom he declined to name (p. 258).

In a great variety of ways English newspapers, and the contents of English newspapers, were conveyed to the knowledge of the slaves (p. 259).

At Montego bay from 90 to 100 slaves were punished capitally, either hung or shot; and some were flogged to death, dying of the infliction on the next day. One of Mr. Burchell's members (sentenced to 500 lashes), died of the flogging. The courts martial that sat, were composed of militia officers: he did not know if they had Sir Willoughby Cotton's approbation. He could not answer for that fact. He thought, in some cases, they could not have had his sanction, as persons were shot at distant places on the same day. There were about 300 shot, many by drum-head courts. One person told Mr. Knibb he had caused eleven to be shot. Some were tried, and shot or hung, in half an hour, Sir W. Cotton being then absent. He had himself seen men hung at Montego bay when Sir W. Cotton was so far distant that he could not have been referred to. The trials and executions went on the most rapidly in St. James's while the general was in Westmoreland; and he was told that he had delegated to some other the power of signing the sentences of the courts martial. Mr. K. had never known more than one hour elapse between the sentence and the execution. At Montego bay he said that 90 had been hung or shot, but in fact the number was greater. At Falmouth 11 were shot, 6 were hanged, and 36 were flogged. The executions were conducted with considerable levity, four or six being sometimes executed in a day at Montego bay. Mr. Knibb saw Delaney hung, with two others. He fell from the gallows by the rope breaking. He went up again with the utmost firmness, and, the other two being dead, he swung in the centre, and kicked them. There was on this quite a horse-laugh, which was very disgusting. Blacks as well as whites

joined in it. The bodies of those shot and hung at Montego bay were buried in a trench; those put to death in the country were left to be devoured by vultures. The feeling produced by all this is very painful and alarming, as many have lost not only fathers and brothers, but wives also. The severities exercised are much more likely to excite a deep-rooted feeling of revenge, and to accelerate a recurrence to violence, than to produce terror. The firmness with which they met death was remarkable. There was not one who did not. Delaney's case was one he should never forget. He neither heard of nor saw one who manifested any symptom of fear: not even a woman who was hanged. These things were currently known in the island, and of course to the slaves generally, for they appeared in all the newspapers (p. 258—262).

A young man, a Methodist leader, belonging to the militia, having been asked to pray with some people condemned to be shot at Falmouth, was then ordered to shoot them, and did shoot them. He did it under military compulsion, and he gave Mr. Knibb to understand that the very men who had told him to pray with the convicts had then ordered him to shoot them. His own words to Mr. Knibb were, "They asked me to pray with them prisoners, and then they made me shoot them." He spoke to me of the matter as a great hardship that had been imposed upon him (p. 263, 264).

Some of the clergymen of the church of England went out and fought in regimentals, among them Mr. Burton. He joined the militia as a trooper (p. 265).

Mr. Knibb was re-examined as to the conversations that had passed between him and the slaves prior to the insurrection. He repeated that several slaves, Baptists, had come to him to ask if it were true, as they had heard, that they were to be free after Christmas. He told them no. They said they had heard the overseers frequently say that they were to be free after Christmas. He told them it was not the case—he had heard nothing of it, and did not believe it, and he hoped they would not harbour such thoughts. They said, at the same time, that they had never been so cruelly treated as during the preceding three or four months. The only reason they assigned for this increased severity was that sometimes, when they were laid on the ground to be flogged, the overseers said that, as they (the slaves) were to be free at Christmas, "they would get it out of them first." On the occasion of this conversation, and with a view to create a disbelief of such statements, and thus to allay their excitement, he used the words, "Did you ever know the overseers tell you any thing to do you good?" The words were used to undeceive them. He had no reason to doubt that the statements made to him by these slaves were correct, and his object was to undeceive them.

Being questioned as to some passages in a printed speech of his, which had appeared in a paper called the Patriot, he affirmed their accuracy. One respected the flogging of an infant slave; and he said that, in riding through Macclesfield estate, in Westmoreland, he had seen a child of seven or eight years old laid down, and held down by four others, and flogged. This was about two years ago.—Another case

he had mentioned, that of Catherine Williams, was as follows:—“Just as the rebellion broke out, one of my members came and said that Catherine Williams had just crawled to her house, and her back a mass of blood. I said, ‘How is this? she always appeared to be a faithful servant.’ My informant said that she had been confined in a dungeon for three months, and had been flogged because the overseer wanted her to live with him in fornication, and she would not. Her back, my informant stated, was very bad indeed. He had mentioned the circumstance to Mr. Blyth, a Scotch missionary, who wished it to be laid before the *custos*; but my informant feared the trouble it would occasion, and Mr. Blyth therefore declined doing it. I had the utmost confidence in my informant.”—A third case was that of one William Plomer, an emancipated slave, who was one of the witnesses called on behalf of Mr. Gardner, the missionary, who was shut up in a room with a pot of burning brimstone, in order to induce him to accuse Mr. Burchell; the person who placed the pot of brimstone telling him that they would give him a taste of hell, as he would say nothing against Mr. Burchell. This was related to Mr. Knibb by the gentleman who had taken Plomer’s examination, preparatory to the trial of Mr. Gardner, and who had inserted the fact in the brief. He had heard the person’s name who had placed the pot of brimstone and used the above language, but he had forgotten it. The person, however, who took the examination of Plomer could tell (p. 265—267).

Mr. Knibb was further asked whether he had used the following language attributed to him in this speech, viz.—“A colonial Church Union, composed of nearly all the fornicators in the island, has been formed to stop the march of mind and religion, to protect the white rebels from deserved punishment, and to dry up the streams of religious instruction. Infidels, clergymen, slave owners, newspaper editors, high and low, have joined hand and heart.” “Yes,” replied Mr. Knibb, “that is mine” (p. 268).

Mr. Knibb stated that of the Baptist missionaries six had been arrested during the rebellion, and one Wesleyan. Thirteen Baptist chapels and four Wesleyan chapels were destroyed. The effect on the minds of the slaves of the destruction of those chapels was of the most painful description. He can never forget their tears and their emotion at the sight. Mr. Knibb told them that, if they were obedient, their chapels would be restored, and that he was sure the king would see that they were permitted to pray, but this would depend on their good conduct (p. 270).

Mr. Miller, the *custos*, told Mr. Knibb that the Governor had requested him to find out the cause of the rebellion, that he himself was perfectly convinced of Mr. Knibb’s innocence, and that he had conferred also with the Chief Justice on the subject, and they concurred in thinking that they could not do better than employ him; and the *custos* added, “Mr. Knibb, I have his Excellency’s permission to say that if any slave will divulge that which may lead to a full disclosure of the rebellion, every effort will be made to have his life spared.” This occurred between the period of finding a true bill of indictment against him, and the abandonment of the prosecution by the Attorney-

General. Mr. Knibb accordingly examined some of the prisoners, some alone, and others in the company of Mr. Murray, a Wesleyan minister. He examined each separately. He examined none that had been tried, except one who was under sentence of death. They agreed in their answers as contained in the papers now produced, a copy or the substance of which he had given to Mr. Miller. These answers were taken down at the time, in the presence of the slaves, on sheets of paper, and afterwards copied into this book. Mr. Murray is now at Montego Bay. Mr. Miller himself attended the examinations of Sharpe and Gardner. The meetings of the inhabitants and what passed there formed one of the principal reasons they alleged for the insurrection. The last of the examinations he took was that of a slave called Hilton, on the 23rd of March.—Meetings of the drivers of different estates were held at a place called Retrieve, where Samuel Sharpe appeared to be the leading man. On Christmas morning Sharpe spoke to Hilton, at the chapel at Montego bay, to be sure, if the minister asked him about freedom, or not working after Christmas, to tell him he knew he was free, and that he would not work again for any body any more unless he was paid for it. The minister, however, did not call upon him. After the morning meeting he went to Richard Bailey's, with some others, and had breakfast. Bailey looked for an old newspaper, and said, "This is not the right one; this is four months old, and tells us that eight years back women were not to be flogged." Bailey found another paper, which said that the English people would not submit to the brutish practice any longer. Hilton afterwards asked Thomas Williams, a leader, whether it was true what was said about freedom. Williams said, No;—that foolish people had put it into their heads; for he had never heard Mr. Burchell say one word about it, or that he was gone home to bring out their freedom; but that the whole had been made up at Retrieve.

The persons examined all referred to the expectation that was entertained of the island being given up to America.—In one of the examinations is found an account of a conversation among some of the slaves, which took place on Christmas day, to the following effect:—Gardner and Dove, though supposed to have been leaders, both solemnly denied that they had any connexion with the plot till Christmas day. On that day they met Guthrie, Sharpe, Taylor, and other members of the church, who were talking about freedom. Taylor strongly urged Sharpe not to refuse to go to work after Christmas. Gardner strongly advised to go to work after Christmas, saying, "If freedom is come we shall get it quietly, but if we do what is wrong we shall bring disgrace on religion." Sharpe said, "I know we are free. I have read it in the English papers. I have taken an oath not to work after Christmas without pay, and I will not." Sharpe then went away. Gardner after fell into company with Guthrie and some others, at Guthrie's house. Guthrie offered them wine or spirits: they chose wine. Guthrie poured it out, and, taking his glass, said, "Well, friends, I hope the time will soon come when we shall have our privilege, and when we shall drink wine free. I hope we shall soon have Little Breeches under our feet." Gardner asked

who was Little Breeches. Guthrie said, "He is my master, Mr. Grignon. I heard him say the king was going to make us free, but he hoped all would be of his mind, and spill their blood first. But," added Guthrie, "I'll be the first to do the job, though I am his slave; I will give him a pill as I follow him." On another occasion some one was doubting of their freedom, when John Morris said he was sure it was true, because when the women at Duckett's having young children went to Mr. Grignon for their Christmas allowance, Mr. Grignon said that they must now look to their friends in England for allowance, for he had no more to give them. Morris argued long on this fact, saying, "If we are not free, what made Mr. Grignon say so?" This made all the people stout upon it, and they said they would throw down their hoes and say they were free (p. 271—273).

One circumstance, Mr. Knibb said, which induced the slaves to think they were to be made free, was Mr. Beaumont saying in the Assembly, when discussing the bill for compulsory manumission, that they should no longer be called slaves, but labourers (p. 274).

Mr. Knibb said he believed the people told him the truth, for it agreed with what his own people told him afterwards. His church was not in St. James's, where the rebellion broke out, but in the next parish to it, Trelawney; and he earnestly requested them afterwards to tell him all they knew. They said they heard it commonly said they were to be free at Christmas, and that, if he had not contradicted the rumour, they should have continued to believe it. A young free man of colour, who had joined the rebels, and was executed at Montego Bay, told him and so did many others that they did not expect the king's troops would fight against them. This man of colour was executed for a deliberate murder. He shot a faithful slave, who was defending his master's property (p. 274).

The slaves are now in the full expectation that their freedom will come to them from England. He doubted whether they would be content to wait long for it. As the rebellion was breaking out he had himself spoken to about a thousand people, not of his flock, urging and entreating them, even with tears, to remain faithful to their masters, telling them they were misled by wicked men, and that no free paper had come out. But some who were present told him afterwards that the effect of what he said was neutralized by their being told by some of their companions, "Do not believe him; the white men have given him money to say so. The free paper *has* come out." The way in which he came to meet these people was this. On the last day of the Christmas holidays he had gone to some distance to open a new place of worship. Mr. Blyth came and told him he had heard the people were going to refuse to work, and that the militia had been called out. He went off immediately; and, after riding 32 miles, he found them assembled, and talked to them for three or four hours, assuring them they were all mistaken, and urging them, if they had any love to Christ, to go to their masters, and not suffer themselves to be misled to their ruin. He had heard of their having this impression only the night before from Mr. Blyth. A person named Stephen James also called to tell him of the rumour, and he said to

him, "Go and tell them that, if one of my members refuses to go to work after Christmas, I will exclude him instantly from the church;" and he sent his free people in all directions to the estates to tell them the same. It was three or four months before this that he had been first questioned by the slaves. He then told them not to believe any thing they heard about it: "it is not true: you must not listen to any such reports at all: you ought to be thinking about your souls: you must never speak to me on the subject; I will not hear it." He viewed it at the time as an idle enquiry which he had only to check. He was at this time preaching at a distance from home to a strange congregation. He heard no more of it, and nothing of it whatever from his own congregation. He really thought nothing more of it, till Mr. Blyth informed him of what he heard was about to take place. He was thunderstruck, and went and told Mr. Manderson. But at this time the military force was under arms, and the magistrates quite awake. In fact he found them all better informed than he was, having already had informations on oath. His first intimation was at Falmouth, from Mr. Blyth. He immediately got Lewis Williams, a free man, a deacon of his church, who is still alive, to ride from property to property, to beg them not to be led away. He himself drove in his chaise as far as he could; but did not get down till ten at night, when the country was in complete confusion. The military indeed had been called out that very day. When he got to the place to which he was going he addressed the people in the way he had already stated (p. 275—277).

Mr. Knibb certainly thought the slaves were more disposed to listen to the missionaries of the Baptists and Methodists than to the ministers either of the English or Scotch churches. There were some excellent men among the English clergy, but few slaves comparatively attend upon them. Some of them use their very utmost exertions, but not only are their habits of life and their adaptation of language and manners different, but they had other congregations to attend to, the free and the whites. The same sermon that would suit a white and intelligent man would be lost on the unlettered and simple Negro (p. 278).

In the parish of Trelawney, Mr. Knibb said, there were no catechists. There was a curate, but he did not visit any estate; he was requested to go on one; he did not go, and Mr. Knibb went. He knew one excellent and devoted curate, Mr. Hannah. He did not mean to say he was the only excellent one. There were undoubtedly others, as Mr. Dallas of Spanish Town, and many did their utmost; but they were occupied with the free, and, if there were no slaves in the island, they would have had enough to do. The Church-Missionary Society had catechists; but, if there were a hundred more missionaries in Jamaica to-morrow, they would all have enough to do. In the disturbed districts there were no properties where slaves were attended by curates or catechists of the church of England; while, on all the estates on which the Baptist missionaries were allowed to go and preach, the people continued faithful. There were Baptists engaged in the rebellion; but he meant to affirm that on the estates to which he and the

other Baptist missionaries were admitted, the people defended their masters' property to the last. There was not a single member of Mr. Abbott's congregation at Lucea in Hanover who was implicated in the rebellion, or even refused to work for his owner. There was one Baptist preacher wholly unconnected with the missionaries, on the borders of St. James's and Trelawney, at a place called Spring Vale Pen, who was shot as a rebel, many of his congregation being shot too (p. 279).

Christianity, Mr. Knibb thinks, will lead every man to love freedom, but true Christianity will keep him from taking it by violence. It will inspire a love of freedom, but it will lead him to be quiet till it is granted. As the apostle Paul says, "If thou mayest be free, use it rather" (p. 280).

There is in the mind of the Negro a suspicion of what his master does, so that even when Baptist missionaries have gone on an estate at the request of the master, the slaves would not attend them. This makes them jealous of clergymen; and, if they thought the missionaries were paid by their masters, they would not come near them. Clergymen themselves have told Mr. Knibb they found this to be the case. He was himself once requested by Mr. E. B. of Bristol, a very worthy gentleman of the church of England, to visit his estates; but, in consequence of something that was reported to the slaves to have passed between him and the overseers of the estates, they came to him in a body requesting him not to come, for if he did they would not hear him. "Keep," they said, "to your own chapel, and keep away from the overseers, and we will come and hear you."

Mr. Knibb communicated with Mr. B. on this subject privately, and has seen him since his return, having been received by him with great kindness. He had felt the subject a difficult one. One of Mr. K.'s reasons for not visiting his estates was the state of concubinage in which the overseers lived. Almost every overseer and book-keeper in the island is living in fornication, and he did not think it right to associate with such characters. Slanders also were raised against himself. The attorney too took the part of the overseer against him.—He is unwilling to go farther into the matter or to mention the proprietor's name.

In the report of a speech of Mr. Knibb, he had spoke of the innocent blood that had been shed during the insurrection. He said he referred to the number who, during martial law, had suffered innocently. The feeling produced by it, he feared, was very strong: for in this, as in all servile wars, great enormities were apt to take place, and much blood shed which would not be revealed till the day of judgment. Where soldiers go out, as they did, and fire indiscriminately, a great deal of innocent blood will be shed. This feeling he believed to be very prevalent, but was directed, not against their masters residing in England, who they thought were friendly to them, but against the resident whites. The probable existence of a feeling of resentment and revenge was the subject of much conversation among all classes of the free in the island (p. 280, 281, 285).

Mr. Knibb left the island early in April. Mr. Miller and Dr. Gordon had sent for him and said, "Mr. Knibb, it is our decided opinion

that your life is not safe. I would do every thing to protect you, but I cannot protect you" (p. 281).

The Baptist leaders, in his congregation, were about fifty. Each had his own ticket entitling him to come to the sacrament. No one could have a ticket which he had not received from the minister, whether he were a deacon, a leader, or a member. Enquirers or probationers also had their tickets; and this explains why so many tickets were found; for many enquirers, after receiving their tickets, withdrew their attendance. Most of the tickets found were of this description. Nothing was paid for these tickets. All members however subscribed something quarterly, as the dissenters consider it the duty of all, bond or free, to do what they can to support the gospel; but these contributions go, not to the support of the missionaries, for they are supported from home, but to the erection of chapels for themselves, which are vested in trustees, and could not be taken from them (p. 282).

Mr. Knibb did not know, of himself, who had commanded the militia when the new chapel at Salem's Hill was destroyed, but he understood it was Captain Gordon who was over the company. He was himself a prisoner at the time, and did not see it; but the missionaries were in possession of abundance of evidence to take before any court of justice of the persons who destroyed the chapels (p. 283).

He had been informed of slaves having been threatened with death, or severe punishments, for refusing to give evidence against the missionaries. He had also heard of torture being inflicted to extort information as to slaves engaged in the rebellion; but he had no personal knowledge to that effect. A slave, whom he himself had hired as a servant, told him that he was flogged by his master, a man of colour, for refusing to assist to pull down the chapels (p. 283, 284).

Mr. Knibb was of opinion that the Negroes, if emancipated, would labour for wages. He had known Negroes who paid their masters a weekly rent (one of them paying two dollars a week for himself, and a dollar and a half a week for his wife) and maintained themselves and families at the same time. He knew one who purchased himself and his wife: he paid £250 currency for himself, and £80 for his wife. His name is Richard Brown; he lives at Falmouth. Samuel Swiney tried to purchase his wife, but could not effect it, though he bade as high as £250 (p. 284).

He had said at a public meeting in England that he believed the Baptist slaves would be flogged if they were caught praying. He had seen a slave flogged for praying, the very Samuel Swiney he had just mentioned, but who is now free. The evidence is given in full in papers laid before Parliament. Mr. Finlayson, the magistrate, said that praying and preaching were the same in law. He and his brother magistrate who pronounced this judgment were struck off the commission by order of the Government. He never heard any other ground alleged for their sentence. He had not applied to the Governor on the occasion, but sent the facts to the Society at home, that they might act as they thought proper. They laid the matter before the

Colonial Department. He did not regard himself, as a Missionary, entitled to originate any matter by applying to the Governor or the Attorney-General. An order has, he believes, gone out requiring all complaints to be made through the Governor; but he knew nothing of that then. He had published the case in a newspaper in Jamaica, because, having sent it home, he thought it fair to apprise Mr. Finlayson of his having done so. He does not think that, after what has passed, *magistrates* in Jamaica would flog slaves for praying, but he thinks overseers would do it, and with impunity. Mr. Knibb was then asked whether the overseer could by law do this, provided he limited the number of lashes to 39; but to this he gave a vague answer, professing not to know sufficiently the provisions of the new slave law.* He had never attended to the proceedings in the courts of law, as he made it a point not to interfere with the temporal condition of the slaves. He had heard them say, however, that it was of no use to complain (p. 290).

Mr. Knibb denied his ever having had any communication with the Anti-Slavery Society, or having seen any of their Reporters except by accident (p. 318).

He had no conversation with the Attorney-General on the *nolle prosequi* entered by him to the indictment preferred against him at the Cornwall Assizes. All he had learnt of it was through his attorney, who told him that if the Missionary Gardiner's case broke down the Attorney-General would not enter upon his. He went into court with his witnesses, and the Chief Justice said to him, "You will have the kindness, Mr. Knibb, to remove your witnesses." Mr. Knibb said, "I am not sure whether I am not to be tried." He said, "You are not; there is a *nolle prosequi* entered." Mr. Knibb bowed and went out (p. 319).

The above is the whole of Mr. Knibb's evidence which it seems at all material to give. We have omitted many of the offensive and discourteous questions which were addressed to him by some member of the Committee, and which, while they tended in no degree to shake the force of his testimony, manifested a most galling sense of its importance, and of the irritation it had produced in the mind of his examiner.

We have now gone through the whole of the evidence which was adduced to establish Mr. Buxton's propositions, "*That the slaves,*

* Had Mr. Knibb been acquainted with that law, he might have replied most confidently that no overseer who limited his lashes to 39 was liable to be called in question in any court of justice for any punishment within that limit which he might inflict, whether for any offence, or for no offence. The words of the 33rd section of that Act, of February 19, 1831, authorize every overseer to inflict 39 lashes on any slave; and there is no part of that clause, nor of any other clause in that Act, or in any other Act of the Jamaica statute-book, which authorizes any magistrate to take cognizance of any complaint, made by a slave, of a flogging which does not exceed, and is not affirmed to exceed, 39 lashes; provided only they are not inflicted twice in the same day, or until the person shall have recovered from the effects of any former punishment.

if emancipated, would maintain themselves, would be industrious, and disposed to acquire property; and that the dangers of convulsion are greater from freedom withheld from than from freedom granted to the slaves;" and we think it will be allowed, by every candid and unprejudiced reader, that he has most triumphantly established them. But we must not forget that we have still to hear the upholders and apologists of slavery in vindication of their system, and in refutation of the strong statements that have already been brought under the view of our readers. To that part of our task we therefore now proceed.

I. CAPTAIN CHARLES HAMPDEN WILLIAMS, of the Royal Navy, commanded the first ship of war which arrived at Montego Bay two days after the late insurrection had broken out. He has been promoted for his services there, and his conduct has been applauded both by the Admiral on the station and by the civil authorities. He had been sixteen months in all in the West Indies, and in that time had visited almost all the West India islands (p. 291). And yet Captain Williams states in a subsequent part of his examination (p. 297) that he had gone for the *first* time to the West Indies "in January last," which was January, 1832, only six months prior to the day of his examination. We presume, therefore, he must have meant, by January last, January 1831.

The cause of the insurrection was that the slaves understood the king had given them their liberty, but that the planters had withheld it from them, and he adds, "*I believe* they were stirred up to the rebellion by the Baptists." The gallant Captain's reasons for this belief are somewhat vague. He attended several courts martial of slaves at Lucea, and he was led to suppose from what passed that the Baptists had preached up the slave's right to liberty. It could not be brought home to any body, but this was his inference. He had spoken to several members of the court martial, and they were all convinced the Baptists had stirred up the rebellion, though they could not bring it home! "I saw several men shot, hanged, and flogged." "Every man had a fair trial before the courts, which were composed of *militia* officers, and I believe every man to have merited his punishment." "They had a very fair *chance*. I went up to one prisoner myself, and offered to assist him in his defence."* He does not think any persons were killed without trial, except they were in rebellion. He had met with no slaves in open rebellion. He went seven miles with his sailors "to try to get near them;" but they could not come within gunshot of them. In his opinion "*all* the punishments that took place were cases required for example." The rebellion, in the opinion of this officer, was "very formidable indeed;" and the reason he gives for thinking so, for he admits he saw nothing of it himself, is this, that when he arrived at Montego Bay he found them "in a great panic." "The militia themselves were frightened, and he had to call

* The gallant Captain does not say the offer was accepted. We rather infer from his silence that the poor prisoner was too undiscerning to appreciate its value.

their very “ colonel* to order,” and to tell him that he could not act with him unless “ he adopted discipline and order.” It, therefore, became quite necessary to “ strike terror into the Negroes,” and therefore 100 persons were executed by shooting and hanging, and 100 flogged. “ I believe,” says the Captain, “ that was the exact number.” † Besides these, he thinks, “ 400 more were shot in resistance in open warfare.” ‡

Captain Williams further testifies “ that he went out to the West Indies with strong opinions upon Negro slavery;” he believed they were “ an ill-used people,” and he gives as his reason for having thus condemned the West Indians before-hand, “ BECAUSE I had lived in a family that even would not eat West Indian sugar, because it was raised by slaves.” But “ what,” he is then asked, “ is your opinion on that subject now ?” To this he promptly replies, “ I believe they are much better off than *any* labouring classes in this country !” But, he is asked, “ are you not aware that they are flogged at the will of their masters ?” The reply of Captain Williams to this question is highly instructive :—“ Their masters,” he says, “ can inflict thirty-nine lashes ; but they must first of all have two or three justices of the peace, or magistrates, before they can give the punishment ; and I could give my men forty-eight lashes *whenever I please*, and more severe.” || Before he went out Captain Williams was in favour of

* This, we suppose, was the redoubted Colonel Lawson of whom we have heard so much.

† It was but a just retaliation that the same militia officers whom the Negroes had so terrified should be made the instruments of striking a salutary terror into them in return, by shooting, and hanging, and mangling with the cart-whip 200 unarmed wretches, who had dared so to frighten them. But was it quite fair towards the persons thus summarily tried, and convicted, and shot, and hung, and lacerated, to constitute as their judges, without appeal, the very men who had been terrified and disgraced by them ? Does Captain Williams think that was giving the prisoners a “ fair chance ?”

‡ Captain Williams has no where told us how many lives this “ formidable resistance,” this “ open warfare,” caused the gallant troops opposed to them, and for whose loss so severe a vengeance was exacted by the alarmed members of these courts martial.

|| It is quite impossible to resist the temptation of a brief comment or two on this evidence of this leading witness of the West Indians, this advanced guard of their array. Mr. Burge, himself, must have blushed for him. He goes out to the West Indies animated with Anti-Slavery views. He sails from island to island for a few months, attending the Bishop of Barbadoes in his pastoral visits. He repairs to Jamaica, and spends a month there, and reports in that short space 100 shootings and hangings, and 100 floggings worse than either shooting or hanging. He sleeps ashore, in Jamaica, for two or three nights, having before had the happiness of sleeping under the roof of the renowned Mr. Huggins, of Nevis, for other three nights ; and he comes before a Committee of the House of Commons to dissuade them from abolishing slavery, since he, Captain Williams, is able to assure them, after this ample experience, that the slaves are “ *much* better off than *any* labouring classes in this country.” His illustrations of this extraordinary statement are certainly somewhat unfortunate. He can give his men, his British sailors, 48 lashes *whenever he pleases*, and these more severe than the Jamaica cart-whip inflicts. Is it indeed so ? If it be, then indeed might the British sea-

emancipation. He is not so now. Emancipation would produce anarchy; there would be no more returns either of produce or revenue; for the slaves, being a lazy set of persons, if emancipated, would only raise plantains and yams for their own use. Being asked his ground for this inference, his answer is, "BECAUSE they are naturally lazy!" He had seen several free blacks, "and they are very lazy." He admits they have property of their own, but he is not aware how they got it; in short, "they are very lazy" (p. 291, 294).

The only ground Captain Williams has for representing the Baptist Missionaries as the instigators of the insurrection is his conversation with the officers composing the court martial, and general rumour (p. 294). He had heard that fourteen white women had been violated, and that seven persons had been burnt (*ibid.*). Being asked whether he had any communication with the slaves on the causes of the rebellion, he replied, "yes, I rode round one day to two or three estates, and I desired them to remain quiet; I told them that I would shoot them or flog them if they did not behave well; but they all seemed well disposed. I merely admonished them, and told them I was the captain of the ship in the harbour." He heard of the destruction of the Baptist chapels; he believed it was effected at noon day, and by whites, not by blacks. They were destroyed as a retaliation for the missionaries having preached up rebellion; but he was not aware of any foundation on which that charge rested (p. 295).

Captain Williams further states that he had not heard it assigned as a cause of the rebellion that the Negroes were afraid of being given up to America. And yet he immediately adds, "I visited a great many islands, and *in all the islands* the whites are forming a confederacy now to cast off the mother country. It is general throughout the West Indies. The planters are dissatisfied with the late Order in Council, and they wish to throw off the mother country*" (p. 296).

"The insurrection was quelled," said Captain Williams, "when I left Montego Bay" (he had been there only ten days); "but there were several executions going on at that time. When I went back to Montego Bay from Lucea" (where he had been about eighteen days), "I saw two persons hanging, and one or two flogging at the foot of the same gibbet!"

Captain Williams admitted that all he knew of the treatment of the slaves in Jamaica or the other islands "was *only* by conversation with

man complain of his condition; but it is a slander on the British navy to say so. He takes it upon himself also to tell the Committee that the slave master must have the authority of two or three magistrates, before he can inflict thirty-nine lashes of the cart-whip on the bared buttocks of any slave, man or woman. This, we need not say, is as gross a mis-statement of the facts of the case as could have been uttered. It is directly the reverse of the truth, and that on the very point which lies at the root of the whole question of slavery. To have produced such a witness, at such a crisis, looks something very like the infatuation we have on former occasions imputed to the colonists.

* Was it possible then that the slaves should not have heard of this design, and been influenced by it?

white persons" (p. 297). He also admitted that all he knew against the Baptist missionaries was from the same source. "They could not prove it; they could not get it in evidence;" and yet he admitted "that the militia officers were particularly desirous of bringing guilt home to the Baptists;" and that "they were inveterate against them" (p. 298). He saw no professional or other persons assisting the Negroes on their trials. The courts martial began by shooting the insurgents, and afterwards by shooting and hanging them alternately. Then they hanged all, thinking death by shooting too honourable. The men did not mind being shot. He saw three men condemned to death: they did not alter their voice or countenance: they appeared prepared for it; but he heard them express sorrow and say they were legally condemned. The hundred who were flogged received from 150 to 500 lashes. The lives lost by the king's troops, including the militia, were, he had heard, ten (p. 292).

Captain Williams repeated his conviction that West Indian slavery was a happier state than that of the English peasantry. He did not think it bore a comparison, so much better off was the condition of the slaves. "They are a happy people, and they have a great many enjoyments." But, supposing that the Englishman might be sold and separated from his family, and be liable to be flogged, and to have his wife and daughter seduced without redress, like the slave, he was asked if that would better his condition. He said the Englishman was a free man, and the slave had not his feelings. He admitted, however, that the Englishman would feel aggrieved by such liabilities; but still the slaves were born in that state and were used to it. The slaves are now a happy people, and he thought they would lose by freedom; and many of them would not accept it if offered them. At the same time he did not think it a happy state for a man to work for another and receive nothing for his labour but clothing, a hut, a garden, a surgeon, and some salt fish (p. 299—301).

Being asked whether the flogging of slaves was viewed with any horror in Jamaica, he said it was not: he had never seen any *feeling* exhibited about it (p. 301).

He had affirmed the slaves to be naturally lazy; but he admits that the West India markets are supplied, by the voluntary labour of the slaves, with poultry, pigs, provisions, and vegetables, which they brought from a considerable distance to the Sunday market, and for which they knew very well how to drive a bargain; but all this industry, he added, was for themselves. And, being asked whether he knew who would work without wages if not compelled, he said he did not know any (p. 302).

Again, some of the free blacks in Jamaica have property, which he supposed they must have got by their exertions; but he persisted in thinking they were "a careless people," not raising more than sufficient for the present, "BECAUSE they are naturally a lazy people" (p. 302).

Captain Williams does not think the slaves in Jamaica will ever rebel again. They are convinced by late events that they cannot succeed. The British army and navy are able to quell any insurrection; but as for the militia, "all the militia together are not able to cope with the slaves" (p. 303).

Being asked whether he had not imbibed his impressions of emancipation and the state of the slaves from his conversations with the white people, Captain Williams said, "Yes, in all the islands." But he corrects himself by adding "from observations of my own also;" and, when asked to specify what kind of observations, he gave, as the example, his having lived three days upon an estate in Nevis, Mr. Huggins's estate, the speaker at Nevis, where he educates eighty children, and has them taught sewing, reading, and writing, the same as in England.*

Captain Williams believed that flogging was very rare now; and the reason he gives for this belief is that so many persons in England have interested themselves in favour of the slaves. The flogging of women, he believed, however, was still continued; but he did not think that would disgust the men, they were so degraded. Even in this state of degradation, he thought the slaves more happy and comfortable than the English peasant; and he was so far from regarding this state of degradation as incompatible with happiness, that he should say that "it was better to remain in that state than to have it altered" (p. 304).

In the island of Jamaica he believed it was customary for the overseers to live with black and brown women: they had their favourites. He believed this to be the case generally, nor had he ever known a master to interfere with it. It is common when English gentlemen visit an estate to have black girls offered them. A servant offers the girls in the master's name, but there is no constraint: it is a custom; and the master he believes is aware of it. This is the custom "*not only in Jamaica but in all the islands.*" *And the master is aware of it "not only in Jamaica, but in the whole of the West Indies"* (page 305, 306).

At the close of Captain Williams's examination a kind friend stepped in to extricate him from some of his inconsistencies, and drew from him that the labour by which the slaves raise superfluities is so very easy that it cannot be compared to free labour, and furnishes no presumption that they will work on estates even if remunerated; and that, with regard to flogging females, separating husbands and wives and children, and some other existing evils, they may be got rid of or modified without putting an end to slavery itself.

Such is the evidence of this witness, thrust forward in the van of the apologists and vindicators of slavery. May all who attempt to varnish crime, and to reconcile the people of England to blood and oppression, be equally successful in their advocacy!

* It is no small satisfaction to learn, on such authority as that of Captain Williams, the happy revolution which has taken place in Mr. Huggins's treatment of his slaves, since Lord Liverpool thought it right publicly to characterise his treatment of them as cruel, atrocious, and even murderous.—See House of Commons' Papers for 1814, No. 205, containing the proof of Mr. Huggins having, in the public market-place of Nevis, subjected 21 of his slaves, men and women, to upwards of 3000 lashes of the cart-whip, one woman receiving 291, and one man 365.

II. WILLIAM ALERS HANKEY, Esq., is the proprietor of a sugar estate in Trelawney, with 300 slaves upon it, yielding about 250 hogsheads, of 14 to 16 cwt. each. He never visited the West Indies. He knows Mr. Knibb, and has corresponded with him about his estate, for two or three years, on the subject of instructing his slaves, being decidedly favourable to their instruction. He felt it to be his duty to do so, a matter of absolute obligation upon himself, and essential to the best interests of the slaves. He should think so if he had merely a regard to his interests as a proprietor, but also from the situation he had held for 16 years as Treasurer of the London Missionary Society, which embraces and employs all denominations of orthodox Christians, including churchmen. The Baptists and Methodists have Societies of their own. His experience led him to believe that religious instruction even increased the value of the slave in the market, and that in no case had an insurrectionary spirit been encouraged, but checked and resisted, by missionaries. The Society does not force reading on proprietors who are averse to it, but they recommend and pursue it wherever they can. He admitted that the slaves when taught to read would read stimulating publications, and that, with the means of doing so, slavery could not long continue; and yet he was not prepared to anticipate any general measure of emancipation at this moment. He was prepared to follow the course Government meant to pursue. He should feel it rash himself to precipitate the measure. He wished the Government to settle the whole question, and it would be his duty and happiness to forward the views of the Government. His disposition to favour emancipation rested on general views of humanity, and not on any idea of pecuniary advantage from the measure, though he admitted that West India affairs could not well be in a worse state than at present. Even if his own interests were to be entirely merged in the measure, he trusted that his sense of moral and religious obligation would lead him to say the sacrifice must be made, still hoping it might not prove a sacrifice in the end. At the same time, Mr. Knibb must have misunderstood him, if he supposed him to connect the immediate emancipation of the slaves with Mr. Knibb's undertaking to instruct them. He had undoubtedly expressed himself anxious to see emancipation effected, being ready to express his abhorrence of the system in very strong terms, and he should at all times be ready to concur in any proper plan of effecting emancipation. He had also expressed and certainly felt horror at the treatment the missionaries had received in Jamaica. He had also spoken to Mr. Knibb of his desire to have his own slaves emancipated as soon as they were fully prepared, and he should be well contented, if it were prudent for Mr. Knibb, on other grounds, to return to Jamaica, that he should resume his labours among his slaves, feeling unshaken confidence in Mr. Knibb's integrity and determination to discharge aright his spiritual duties; and, in case of emancipation, he should consider the presence of such a person as highly desirable, if not necessary. He conceived, however, that measures of preparation ought to precede emancipation. Mr. Hankey inherited the estate he now has as a partner in his banking house. He is also a mortgagee of New Hope and Albany estates

and has been through life much connected with West Indian property. The measures Mr. Hankey himself had taken, in the way of preparation, were very slight and incipient. He had instructed the attorney, at his discretion, to stop some of the supplies usually granted to the Negroes, and to give them a compensation in money, that they might have an opportunity of being cognizant of their own wants, and thus take one little step towards the management of themselves under other circumstances; but the step had not yet been taken, the time being not yet come. He carries his notions so far that he conceives there is great moral guilt in slavery, and that, that guilt being national, the nation must be content to bear its share in the atonement it may involve. But he does not think the slaves yet prepared to make a proper use of freedom, and, therefore, to give them freedom immediately would be inexpedient. He has blamed the spirit of the colonists, and he has blamed the spirit shown by the advocates of freedom in this country. He has never associated himself with either party. He is a friend to the *objects* of the Anti-Slavery Society, but not to the means it employs. He is a decided enemy to slavery in the abstract. But he thinks it a national crime rather than an individual one, and the nation should compensate the planter. He admits, however, that the Negro cannot, in *absolute* justice, be detained in slavery till this question is settled between the Government and the planter, and that the Negro, at least, owes nothing to the planter (p. 307—313).

Mr. Hankey admitted the incompatibility of Christianity with slavery as it now exists. Christianity cannot be so preached to the slave as to suppress the feelings of nature in respect to his own condition. The Negro cannot read the Bible without discovering that his state is incompatible with what the Bible enjoins; and yet he believes that Christianity furnishes the best guard against the evils apprehended from freedom, in the patience which it inspires, and the obedience to authority it requires. A period he conceives must come beyond which the proprietor cannot hold that unjust possession which he now has of his fellow man as a slave. He blames, however, the blazoning the wrongs of the Negro, as calculated to produce excitement in him without corresponding advantage. He thinks that indolence is a natural propensity of man, and that it is aggravated in the case of the Negro by his peculiar circumstances. Were he himself forced to work without remuneration he should do as little as he could. The hostility of the colonists was not caused, as he thought, by a Missionary being of this or that sect: it was directed against the pure and simple preaching of Christianity itself, whether preached by an Episcopalian or a Baptist. In his own case he had preferred the Baptists, because generally they were placed conveniently near his estate. The fundamental principles of all orthodox sects are the same. He had been only three years in possession of this estate, and he immediately began a correspondence on the subject. While Mr. Hankey thought the nation was bound to remunerate the planter for any loss he might sustain by emancipation, he fully admitted that the planter had no claim whatever on the Negro. The case was different with the nation. The nation had sanctioned and encouraged slavery, and the criminal-

ity of it was never thought of by his ancestor who advanced money on slave property. The feeling of its moral turpitude was a feeling of modern growth, although that moral turpitude was always the same* (p. 314—317).

* High as is our respect for the character of Mr. Hankey, and much as we admire the openness and manly frankness with which he has expressed his opinions on this subject, we must confess that we have read some parts of his examination with feelings of deep regret and extreme astonishment. We think it due to him and to the public, as well as to ourselves, to state explicitly the grounds which have produced in our minds these feelings of surprise and regret.

1. Mr. Hankey admits as fully as any one can do “the moral guilt,” “the moral turpitude,” of slavery. He believes it to be “incompatible with Christianity,” and to be “opposed to the injunctions of scripture.” Still he seems to think it not an “individual” but “a national sin.” We had always thought hitherto that “national sins” were neither more nor less than the aggregate of the sins of the individuals composing a nation, and especially of those who, having a conscience of any particular sin, did not at least wash their own hands of it, and heartily concur in employing their influence, by all lawful means, to point out its criminality to others, and to induce them to aid in putting an end to it. We feel utterly at a loss to understand the process of reasoning by which Mr. Hankey, on his own principles, has arrived at his conclusions on this subject. With Mr. Hankey, we admit that the crime is national, and that the suffering for it ought to be national also; but surely it is not enough that we should suffer nationally, and nationally confess our sin, and endeavour to repair it; but that every individual for himself should renounce his share of the “accursed thing,”—should relinquish at least the “Babylonish garment,” and “the wedge of gold,” before he can stand clear in the sight of God or of his own conscience.

2. Mr. Hankey, however, feels some difficulty in pursuing this course, lest he should heap further wrongs on the slaves themselves. They are not “fit,” they are not “prepared,” to receive the measure of justice to which he avows that they are fully entitled. He at least must wait the *fiat* of the Government before he “lets the people go.” Be it so. Then has not Government intimated, in terms that cannot be mistaken, that there are certain measures which ought to be taken by all proprietors, and which they have themselves enforced, as far as they have had it in their power, on all proprietors who are subject to their legislation? Those measures it is in the power of every proprietor to adopt as the rule of his own conduct, whether his slaves are placed in a crown or in a chartered colony. Can Mr. Hankey show that he has gone this length? The wishes of the Government were very clearly and repeatedly announced and urged upon the attention of the colonists; and it is obvious that there was not one of them which any proprietor who chose to do so might not have adopted into his own plan of plantation economy. Did he wish to rescue his slave from all necessity of Sunday labour? He might have done as Mr. Wildman did on his Jamaica estates: he might have given his slave, instead of the twenty-six week-days allowed by law, fifty-two week-days in the year, or, what would have been still better, seventy-eight days. He might also, with Mr. Wildman, have abolished the exhausting night labour of crop. He might have entirely interdicted, with that gentleman, the flogging of females. He might, moreover, have put down the driving whip in the field, as the immediate stimulus to labour. He might have introduced regulations as to marriage. He might have established for his own slaves the principle of compulsory manumission, and aided its operation in a variety of ways. And he might, moreover, have had a regular record of punishments, properly vouched, and transmitted to him from time to time. He might have done all this without going one step beyond the declared wishes of Government, and without infringing any one of the severe and oppressive enactments which load the statute-

III. JAMES DE PEYSTER OGDEN, Esq., a native of New York. This gentleman proves that emancipation was attended with no danger or inconvenience in the State of New York, the slaves being few,

book of the colonial legislatures. Now which one of all these practicable and approved methods of lightening the oppressive yoke of slavery, and "preparing" the slave for freedom, has Mr. Hankey adopted? Has he adopted one? We fear not; and we fear it because, having been urged to state what preparatory steps he had adopted, he specified only one, and that one which was altogether superfluous and uncalled for. He instructed his attorney, at the beginning of the year 1832, to negotiate with his slaves a substitution of a money payment in lieu of the clothing and other articles of supply annually sent for their use from this country; and he did that in the hope that he might make them in some measure acquainted with the use and value of money. Nothing could have so well illustrated the utter ignorance of Mr. Hankey respecting the state and capacity of his slaves as this most futile and unnecessary project. He will probably have read the preceding part of this analysis before he peruses our present remarks; and he will then have learnt that the Negroes are as fully acquainted with the nature and use of money, and as capable of making a bargain for its acquisition and application, as any banker in Lombard or Fenchurch Street; and that this species of instruction is no more needed by his slaves than it would be to teach him the multiplication table.

3. But this is not half of what he might have done on his own principles. He wholly condemns the opposition of his fellow planters to the diffusion among their slaves of a knowledge of letters. He might, after Mr. Wildman's example, have had at least an elementary school on his estate. He might have found a man and his wife fully competent to the task, at no very heavy annual cost, compared at least with the importance of the object on his own showing, to have taught the young at least, if not also the old, to read the word of God. Above all he might have provided religious instruction, though to this hour nothing effective, we fear, has been done for that paramount object. He has stood at the head of a large religious society, which under his administration, and guided by his zeal, and vigilance, and talents, has been diffusing a knowledge of the saving truths of the gospel to the very ends of the earth. The islands of the South Seas, the myriads of China, the millions of Hindostan, the miserable hordes of Caffraria, and even the slaves of Guiana, have either heard, through this Society's labours of love, the glad tidings of salvation, or been enabled to read, in the Holy Scriptures, and in their own tongues, the wonderful works of God. Until recently, in the midst of all these mighty exertions of benevolence, his own slaves, his own household, seem to have been wholly overlooked. Was it impossible, with all the interest possessed by him and his family in the well being of so many of their fellow creatures, to do something at least to dissipate the heathen gloom which overshadowed them, and to shed some ray of light on their benighted souls? Could not even one solitary catechist be found, one man among the hundreds who have gone forth, under his auspices, throughout the length and breadth of the earth, as the heralds of mercy, who would have undertaken to convey some glimmering of light, some of that moral preparation which Mr. Hankey deems so indispensable, before he shall pay to his slaves the debt of justice which he owes them, by striking off their fetters and admitting them to the rights which God and nature have bestowed on them, but which he withholds on the very ground of their unpreparedness? Mr. Wildman succeeded, for he was in earnest, in procuring the means of religious instruction for his slaves. Was success of the same kind wholly unattainable in the case of Mr. Hankey?

4. But one word more and we have done. Mr. Hankey abjures all association with the Anti-Slavery Society. He does justice indeed to their object, and we thank him. But then their means of accomplishing that laudable object he

and the free overwhelming in point of number, namely 170 to one, and the process being also gradual. Mr. Ogden has correctly stated that fact. But he has further stated, though without any data, that the moral habits of the emancipated persons have not improved, and that a great proportion of the petty larcenies are committed by them. The success of the experiment however in New York would be no criterion for judging of the effects of emancipation in the Southern States, where the slave population amounts to two millions, being nearly a sixth of the whole population of the United States, estimating that at thirteen millions. The slave States are Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Florida

cannot applaud or concur in. As far as we can guess his meaning, it would seem as if he alluded to their delineation of slavery and their occasional exhibition of its practical effects. "I would not," he says, "give a strong statement to the Negro of his wrongs," even though "those wrongs were grievous and severe. I would practically mitigate them; I would not expose them." Now this language seems to proceed on false assumptions in respect of the Anti-Slavery Society. They have never published a single line, and Mr. Hankey *must* have known that fact, in order to state *to the Negro* his wrongs, but in order to bring them to the view of those who could "practically mitigate them." The object of the Society, Mr. Hankey *must* be well aware, was not to address the Negroes, but the public and the parliament of Great Britain. And how were the public and the parliament to be stirred to a due consideration of the subject, or led practically to mitigate the evils of slavery, but by delineating its real nature, and exhibiting its real enormities? It was their best and wisest, nay their only course, and, but for that, the public and parliament might still have slumbered on in listless apathy. They had also another purpose to serve, that of rousing the slumbering consciences of those good men who acknowledged the authority of the Word of God, and who were unfortunately, like Mr. Hankey, owners of slaves, that they might not lay the flattering unction to their souls that they were not guiltless in this thing—that God would not one day require their brothers' blood at their hands, and therefore that they might sleep on and take their rest, leaving it to the nation to *atone* for their guilt, and settle the account for them, not only as a matter of profit and loss in this world, but of awful responsibility in the next. The Anti-Slavery Society might indeed have whispered into the ears of their friends the truths which they have thought it their duty to proclaim as from the house-top; but it may be doubted whether they would have moved a single individual, even Mr. Hankey himself, to take one step towards doing justice to their slaves by freeing them from their bonds. Mr. Hankey will not say that we have not truly described slavery and its effects, nor will he say that our descriptions have had no influence in producing those feelings on the subject, in his own mind, which have drawn from him so many candid admissions of the guilt and criminality, the injustice and moral turpitude, which belong to this most iniquitous system.

We should have been glad to have avoided the necessity of these comments, but we did not dare to decline them; and Mr. Hankey, having come forward at this critical period of our great question, and being in fact the representative of a very large class of West Indian proprietors, who call themselves, and we trust really are, sincere and orthodox Christians, but who, from that very circumstance, are able to accredit in the world both principles and practices which are far more nearly linked with evil than good, and have had the effect of producing, we are sorry to say, especially among many worthy and pious clergymen, and dignitaries of the Church of England, a lukewarmness on this question which has not tended to raise them in public estimation.

and Arkansa territory. Sugar is grown in Louisiana and the Floridas, rice in these two States and in Georgia and the Carolinas, and cotton in all except Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky. The treatment of the slaves, he thinks, is generally good, and their food abundant. They increase rapidly. They are not allowed land of their own : the master feeds them. The emancipation of the slaves has not been agitated as a practical question in America. As for the Colonization Society, and its plan of transferring the blacks to Liberia, it can do nothing towards that object. The difficulty felt in America is what shall be done with the Negroes when they are freed. It is evident that rice and sugar can be cultivated only by blacks. Besides, slavery is guaranteed by the constitution ; and to indemnify the owners would cost at least four hundred millions of dollars, so that no plan of emancipation has been proposed. All that has been done is to limit the system of slavery to the States in which it now exists. The question of slavery has been discussed occasionally in the Northern States ; but the publications on the subject are not allowed to circulate in the Southern. Nothing has been done with a view to prepare the slaves for emancipation, by education or otherwise. The slave states dread the effects of education, and effectual precautions have been taken by them to prevent the diffusion of lettered knowledge. The Americans admit that personal freedom is more valuable than property ; but they apply that principle only to whites. He does not know that any thing has been done to encourage or to discourage religious instruction among the slaves. He cannot see any benefit the slaves, continuing slaves, could derive from education. He had seen many emancipated slaves who were very good characters, but he thought petty offences were frequent among that class.*

* The difficulty, after all, which the Americans deem so insuperable, that of disposing of the slaves when free, seems to us no difficulty at all. The slaves are now employed in agriculture ; nay, sugar and rice, it is said, cannot be cultivated but by blacks. We can see no good reason why the same persons may not cultivate these articles in a state of freedom as in a state of slavery. White men work in America : so do black men when free, and wages are given them for their labour. We are utterly at a loss to discover what there is in this particular problem which can puzzle Mr. Ogden, or raise a single difficulty in the mind of American statesmen, provided only they are willing to act on the principles of eternal justice. But see to what length of wickedness the free, enlightened, and Christian whites of America are driven, to maintain their cruel and usurped dominion over their black brethren. No nation values education and instruction more highly than the United States. Every state has made a point of establishing and supporting seminaries of learning adequate to the wants of its citizens, and common schools are provided "for the education of the poor gratis ;" yet the benefits of education are withheld from the slaves, and even from the free Negroes also. South Carolina, as early as 1740, passed a law to punish with a fine of £100 any man who should teach a slave to write. Georgia followed the example. Virginia has enacted "that any meetings of slaves, or free Negroes, or mulattoes, at any school, or teaching them reading or writing, shall be deemed an unlawful assembly, and the magistrate may disperse it and inflict on the offender at his discretion twenty stripes." South Carolina in a later act has declared any meeting unlawful which consists of slaves and free Negroes,

IV. ROBERT SCOTT, Esq. This gentleman is a Jamaica proprietor, and had resided in that island from 1802 to 1826, and again for a few months in 1828 and 1829. He had under his management at one time 4000 slaves,* and had visited different parts of the island; but his concerns lay chiefly in the parishes of Hanover, St. James, Trelawney, and St. Ann. He had consequently great opportunities of becoming acquainted with the Negro character. On most plantations they have as much land as they can cultivate for themselves.—The time allowed them by law, twenty-six days, is not only amply sufficient to supply all their wants, but to enable them to sell great quantities of provisions. The usage, he says, was to give them more time, namely, every Saturday out of crop.† Few of the slaves work at all on Sunday. The market is on Sunday morning.‡ In Trelawney the distance from the market at Falmouth is generally ten miles; but the people from the town meet the people of the country half way.§ He gives 100 barrels of herrings in the year to 250 Negroes || (p. 330, 331).

Mr. Scott denies that, on estates of a size to afford only two spells during crop-time (that is, all estates of the size of his own, having 200 to 250 Negroes), the Negroes work eighteen hours a day.¶ He

and mulattoes, though there be whites among them, assembling for the purpose of *mental instruction*; and the officers who are required to disperse the meeting may inflict twenty lashes on each slave, free Negro, &c., so as to deter them from the like unlawful assemblage in future. In Savannah any person teaching any person of colour, slave or free, to read or write incurs a fine of thirty dollars for each offence; and every person of colour keeping a school to teach reading or writing to a fine of thirty dollars, or to be imprisoned ten days and flogged with thirty-nine stripes. Nor are they to meet for *religious worship*, but between sunrise and sunset. The only exception to the general bearing of these acts is in Louisiana, where it is enacted that it shall be the duty of the owner to procure for his sick slaves all kinds of temporal and spiritual assistance which their situation may require—a sort of death-bed charity.—

Stroud's Laws of Slavery. Philadelphia, 1827, p. 85—92.

* We cannot find that he is now proprietor of more estates than one, namely, Kinloss, which in 1831 had upon it 249 slaves, and in 1823, eight years before, 296, showing a decrease in that time of 47, or nearly 2 per cent. per annum.

† If that were true, it would raise the number of days, estimating the time of crop at five months, to 30.

‡ In point of fact the first law which limited the market to Sunday morning, and that at eleven o'clock, was that of 1831, which is only recently in operation.

§ This is a strange assertion. No market can be held at any place, by a law still in force (Act of 5th William and Mary, c. 6), but by appointment of justices in sessions. Let it be shown that any such intermediate markets are appointed, and what and where they are.

|| That is, less than six herrings a week for each.

¶ He takes some pains to mystify a plain matter; for, by what possible arithmetic can it be made out that, where there are only two spells, and where the work of the mill and boiling-house is continuous night and day, and where the cane-cutting for supplying the mill goes on for twelve hours of the day, each spell, that is, each half of the gang, should not work half the night also, or six hours more, making eighteen in all?—See above, p. 338. Mr. Scott admits the work at the mill

admits, however, that it does amount to sixteen. He states, as one of the inconveniences that would arise from the Negroes being free, that they might ruin the master by striking work in crop-time; but he admitted that that was an inconvenience to which the English manufacturer was equally liable, if the labourers, thinking themselves not adequately remunerated, struck for wages (p. 332—335). He admitted that cane-hole digging was hard work, and that, if the people did not do their work, the driver must coerce them. He carried a whip; but he believed he did not now use it, though formerly he did, but rarely, except by the direction of the overseer. He now uses switches for coercion; but seldom even these, if the people are under proper control (p. 336).*

The slaves in Jamaica, Mr. Scott thinks, are much better off than the people of this country have any idea of, nor so ill off as is supposed. Many of them, even of the field Negroes, by selling provisions, pigs, and poultry, have a good deal of money. They all have pigs and poultry, and some have cattle. The possession of property unquestionably increases the diligence and industry of the slave. He did not know many slaves who had been emancipated, but he never knew any who hired themselves on an estate, except coopers and carpenters. They regard plantation work as degrading. Large sums, however, he said were annually raised in Trelawney for the relief of people of colour who were paupers. He was quite sure the largest proportion was raised for people of colour, and very little for whites. A return, however, from this very parish of Trelawney, of the distribution of the poor's rate for the five years from 1821 to 1825 inclusive was produced, from which it appeared that the whole sum raised in those five years was £6896; and that of that sum the expense of the poor-house, which is for the accommodation of poor whites, according to Mr. Scott's own testimony (quest. 5064), exhausted £1766; and that, of the remaining £5130, about two-thirds, or about £3420, was paid in pensions to whites, and only about £1690 to free black and coloured paupers—almost all females of the coloured class (probably the cast-off mistresses, with their families, of whites who had died or quitted the country). This account is signed by James Shedden, the vestry clerk. (Papers of 1823, No. 353). Mr. Scott, however, seemed still to doubt the correctness of this return (p. 337 and 341).

Mr. Scott admitted that he had seen punishments inflicted to coerce labour, of which he disapproved, but not frequently. Without the knowledge that there was a power to coerce them, they would not

and boiling-house to be continuous, and yet he cuts off the two hours from six to eight in the evening, of which he makes no account in his estimate of the slave's sleepless hours; but there must be slaves at work during these hours as well as during all the other hours of the week. In fact the loss of rest amounts to nineteen hours every day instead of eighteen, at which we have placed it.

* That is, have been duly coerced into industry (see above, p. 323). But, if the driver has no power to flog but by the overseer's order, what means the clause in the very last slave Act (Act of 1831, § 33), which limits the driver to ten lashes in the absence of the overseer?

work at all; he was quite certain of that. He thought the females would become excessively troublesome if they could not be flogged. They are much more difficult to manage than the men (p. 337).

When the slaves worked by task-work, they performed their day's work much more expeditiously, finishing it by two o'clock, and having the rest of the day for their own grounds. They did not work hard at any employment, but they will work harder when a task is set, or when they work for their own profit. He had known them carry loads for themselves which no compulsion could have made them carry.— They carry enormous weights to market sometimes (p. 338).

Mr. Scott is questioned as to the probability that the slave, in case of emancipation, would be willing to recognize the master's right to deprive him of the grounds which he had hitherto cultivated for his own use, unless he would consent to pay a rent for it. He doubts whether he would, but he had always known the slaves exceedingly averse to quit the spot where they had been settled: they would regard it as an act of spoliation* (p. 339). Mr. Scott, however, is so impressed with the disadvantage of being under compulsion, that he thinks a slave and a free man are not to be brought into comparison at all (p. 340). The slaves know how to make use of money very well (p. 341). He would not deny that the Negro may, in many cases, be levied upon for taxes, and sold into a distant part of the island, from his family and from his provision grounds; but this seldom happens with sugar estates under mortgage, which most of them are (p. 342).

Mr. Scott admits that he had never contemplated any plan by which it would be practicable to secure the cultivation of sugar in Jamaica by labour for wages, because he could not conceive the thing possible† (p. 342).

He is asked, evidently with a view to abate the force of Mr. Taylor's evidence, whether he should consider a person's experience of two years and a half in the management of 700 Negroes, having, moreover, been upwards of ten years in the island engaged in other pursuits, as competent to pronounce a judgment on such a plan; and answers, very candidly, that though he might regard any such plan with doubt, yet "a man of observation may certainly gain a good deal

* The main condition of the problem to be solved is here wholly kept out of view. The slave, when free, is to receive fair wages for his work; but would he, in that case, consider it as a spoliation that the master should say to him "If I pay you fair wages you must pay me a fair rent for my land?" When was it ever known that an emancipated plantation slave claimed to have a right to occupy land belonging to his former master? The circumstance of the strong attachment of slaves to their domicile, which Mr. Scott affirms, is the very ground from which we should derive the conviction that the slave, if free, would prefer to continue to occupy his present house and grounds, and to work for his master, paying a part of the wages he would earn, for the sake of retaining possession of them.

† A gentleman is brought forward by the West India body, to represent their views, in a committee appointed to consider the measures most proper for effecting the extinction of slavery, and he tells the committee that he had never even contemplated the possibility of any such measure! Where can he have lived for the last ten years?

of experience in two years and a half. He considers, however, Mr. Taylor's plan to be quite chimerical (p. 345---347). His reasons for this conclusion will be found to be of a kind very naturally to be looked for in a man who had never contemplated the subject before; they cut both ways. He thinks that, if the emancipated slaves had grounds of their own, they could not be depended upon for labour; and if their labour were paid for in money, no food would be procurable but from abroad; and yet he admits they might make more profit by cultivating their grounds than by working on sugar estates. He gravely doubts whether the two plans might not be combined of both growing provisions enough as they do now, and yet cultivating sugar for wages; and he strengthens this doubt by a vague reference to history. Sugar lands, this experienced planter tells the committee, are not convertible to any other purpose than sugar. He cannot deny, indeed, that they might be easily converted into pasture; but then, he adds, cattle would be of no value if sugar estates were abandoned.* The pens now rear more than the planters require. Sugar lands, he also admits, might grow provisions (p. 348, 349).

Mr. Scott says, confidently, that the Creoles in Jamaica increase, though the Africans may not; but his speculations on population and the theory of labour and wages, which he has evidently contemplated as little as he has plans of emancipation, may be passed over without any injury to his own cause (p. 350, 351). Being further questioned, he was led fully to admit that the slaves, being much attached to their present homesteads, would, if made free, be glad to pay rent for their present lands, and would be disposed to cultivate provisions to the full extent for which they could find a market, and when they had done that, and overstocked the market, they would gladly take wages from the sugar and coffee planter (p. 352).

Mr. Scott knew the maroons, and he admitted they were very well behaved, and required no strong police to keep them in order. With respect to the slaves, he also admitted that if nothing unreasonable were exacted from them they were easily managed, and patient

* Thus we learn that in Jamaica cattle are of no value but to draw canes to the mill and sugar to the wharf! These are, doubtless, important uses. But is he not aware that in other countries than Jamaica cattle have other still more important purposes to answer? Is it of no importance to cheapen food? Admiral Fleming was obliged to pay a shilling a pound in Jamaica for meat which he could procure in Hayti for twopence a pound, while the people of Hayti were chiefly fed with beef. Did Mr. Scott never contemplate the effect of 330,000 emancipated slaves being fed with beef reared in Jamaica, instead of being fed with a few miserable salt herrings imported from abroad; or being shod, as in Hayti, with the leather made from the hides of the cattle that were thus eaten? In England, where there is a free population, cattle, he knows, is valuable as food as well as for work. Might it not be so in Jamaica? A sugar planter, like Mr. Scott, of 20 years' experience, has never learnt to think of cattle but for purposes of draught. His views travel only between the cane field and the mill house, and between the curing house and the shipping place. The pens, he says, breed more cattle now than the planters require. He never has meditated, for one moment, what a free population might require in the way of food.

and submissive, although there were ordinarily on an estate of 250 slaves only three or four white persons to govern them and maintain order. If nothing unreasonable is required, they are very obedient and require no harsh treatment whatever (p. 352). This is an important feature in the Negro character.

Mr. Scott thought the slaves were better treated than formerly. The Creoles require less punishment than savage Africans, and are less frequently punished; but he thought they worked as much and produced as much as ever. His own slaves received no education whatever. They went to church or chapel if they thought proper. The clergyman of Trelawney superintended the Negroes, if they went to him, and they did frequently go to him. When he first went to Jamaica he cannot say the parochial clergy paid any attention to the slaves: the Bishop made a change, and the clergy became more alert. The slaves he thought very imperfectly instructed indeed. The Negroes were mostly christened; but it did not follow from this that they knew any thing of Christianity (p. 353).

Mr. Scott, though in charge for many years of 4000 slaves, and now a proprietor of 250, has no idea what is the cost of rearing a slave. He professes to know nothing of the progress of population on sugar estates and pens; but, he thinks, if the Negroes were educated and civilized they would become more moral and increase faster (p. 354).

Mr. Scott however thought it possible that Negroes might be over educated, though certainly he admitted they were not so as yet, nor likely to be so for some time to come (p. 355).

There is now, he thinks, scarcely any profit at all from West India property; on the contrary, proprietors, in many instances, are getting deeper and deeper in debt. He attributes this to the low prices of sugar and rum, and these low prices he attributes to over-production: more is made than can be consumed. Being asked whether it is possible to keep up a system of over-production which can profit the planter, and whether land therefore should not be withdrawn from sugar cultivation, he assents to that, but says, the ruin of many must be the consequence.* In case of emancipation land would become valueless: no one would take it. Being asked whether there is any country in the world where there is plenty of land to let and a number of people to be maintained where land did not let, "Yes," says Mr. Scott, "but there must be a different description of people to deal with;" and yet he admits (quest. 5387) that Negroes are human creatures, influenced in the same way as whites. He admits too that the Negro is industrious in his own grounds, and raises food for himself and family, and buys comforts, and luxuries, and finery, though compelled to work so many hours for his master; yet now he has the advantage of being under control: if he were free it would be very different.—He is asked whether he thought that the desire of good food, and fine clothing, and the luxuries of life, or the love of money,

* If men will embark in hazardous speculations, and continue to pursue them after gain has become hopeless and loss certain, what can follow in any part of the world, or in any mode of employment, but ruin?

supposing a man to have earned some as a slave, would cease the moment he became free and had more time to indulge all these desires: he reluctantly, at length, admitted that it was not in nature that they should (p. 536, 537).

Mr. Scott being asked whether provisions, as beef, pork, butter, &c., might not be raised abundantly in Jamaica so as to supersede the necessity of importing them from abroad, replied, he thought not; they must still have salt beef, &c., as fresh beef would not keep.*

He refers to his knowledge of history, and cites St. Domingo (where good beef, according to Admiral Fleming, is always to be had fresh at twopence per pound). He then dwells on the difficulties of increasing the quantity of provisions and cattle. There would be no "labourers except the sugar estates were abandoned." And yet Mr. Scott had before stated that the planters were dying of a plethora of sugar, and this notwithstanding no labourers could be turned from that ruinous speculation to raise fresh beef at a fourth of the price they pay for wretched salt beef from Cork (p. 357)!

Cane-hole digging, Mr. Scott thinks, is not such tremendous work as might be supposed. It is not so hard as digging ditches, cutting down hills, or filling up ravines, as is done by English labourers; but then he admits it to be a little hotter in Jamaica, though the Negroes do not dislike the heat; and he admits, also, that the women of Jamaica dig cane-holes as well as the men: he does not say that in England they dig ditches, cut down hills, and fill up ravines.

He concludes his evidence by a statement of the clothing given annually to his 260 slaves. It averages as follows:---About four yards of a coarse narrow woollen cloth called Pennistones, and about nine yards of a coarse stuff made of tow or flax called Osnaburgh, and about two and a half yards of check in long ells; and this is all!

V. JAMES SIMPSON, Esq., was engaged in commerce in Jamaica for 24 years nearly. He left it in 1828. He had been the representative of many absent proprietors, being intimately acquainted with the island generally, and particularly with Vere, Clarendon, St. Mary, St. George, St. Andrew, St. David, Port Royal, and St. Thomas in the East, and a little with St. Elizabeth, Manchester, and Hanover. Mr. Taylor had been a partner of his for ten years; and, though he visited some of his estates occasionally, Mr. Simpson was jealous of his designs and projects, and only allowed him to visit those estates where the immediate managers were prudent men, and where there was a high state of discipline. Mr. Simpson, however, admits that he did not take any pains to ascertain what Mr. Taylor's views and purposes were, and he actually knew of them, though Mr. Taylor was ten years his partner, only from hearsay. One project, however, gave him great alarm, a project which he learned, not from Mr. Taylor himself, but from one of the

* This is certainly one of the most extraordinary reasons ever given by man for voluntarily foregoing the use of wholesome fresh meat and butter, supplied from the daily market, and having recourse to Ireland for stale salted beef, and pork, and butter. Would he not himself prefer good fresh beef at twopence a pound, fresh from the slaughter, to Irish salted beef at sixpence or eightpence a pound, full, as it often is, of rotteness and vermin? And why might not such a daily market exist in every part of Jamaica?

overseers, who, doubtless, had his own private reasons for disliking and distorting the project. The plan was that of "separating the sexes, and taking means to prevent their intercourse; and locking up the women at night to prevent the men from having access to them"* (p. 360).

Mr. Taylor, it is admitted by Mr. Simpson, disliked Jamaica, its occupations, and society, and wished to quit them all and enter the church. Mr. Simpson opposed his retiring, and entreated him to remain. In 1827, however, Mr. Simpson altered his views respecting Mr. Taylor, and then urged him to retire from the house as strongly as he had before pressed him to remain in it. He even forced him to retire, and the connexion was dissolved † (p. 360, 361).

Mr. Simpson had at one time under his charge from 7000 to 8000 slaves. He had, therefore, every opportunity, he conceives, of forming a correct judgment of the character and circumstances of slaves; and his decided conviction is that, generally speaking, nay, almost universally, with some exceptions, they would not work voluntarily for wages in the cultivation of sugar. He admits that the emancipated slaves, at that part of St. Thomas in the Vale called Above Rocks, do supply the markets of Spanish Town and Kingston with provisions, and that they do frequently carry them thither, a distance of upwards of twenty miles. There are, however, he affirms, intermediate market-places within every five miles, at which they may sell their goods; but he does not mention where or what they are, or give them any name. ‡

* We cannot wonder either at the alarm produced by such a scheme among the overseers and attorneys of Jamaica, or at the absurdity of the exaggeration with which Mr. Simpson, without asking Mr. Taylor for any distinct explanation, has thought proper to bring it forward as a grave piece of evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons. Did he mean any thing more than that which every man of common morality must desire—that marriage should be encouraged, and concubinage discouraged on plantations, and that, above all, the overseers and book-keepers should be positively interdicted from converting each estate into a brothel, and corrupting, by their facilities of intercourse, all the young women upon it, from the earliest age of puberty? Does not Mr. Simpson, in his conscience, believe that this was the extent of Mr. Taylor's non-intercourse scheme? and, if he does believe it, is his evidence fair evidence? It was a grievous mistake in Mr. Simpson to expect that his sneer against such a project would be received in the Committee of a British House of Commons with the derision with which it would have been listened to in a company of attorneys and overseers meeting at his dinner table in Kingston. It furnishes a melancholy exemplification of the state of morals and manners in Jamaica.

† The time, therefore, of this change of feeling towards Mr. Taylor, on the part of Mr. Simpson, seems to have been the very time when Mr. Taylor and Mr. Wildman had resolved on conducting Mr. Wildman's estates on more humane principles than had hitherto governed planting concerns in Jamaica. (See above, p. 329).

‡ This discovery, now first heard of, of intermediate market-places between Above Rocks and Kingston or Spanish Town, is not a little extraordinary. Mr. Simpson, as much stress seems laid on the circumstance, ought to have specified them more clearly, together with the order of the justices in session by which they have been appointed, and the name of the clerk of the market by whom its transactions are regulated; for there is a clerk of every *legally* constituted market-

He is not aware of any emancipated slaves offering themselves to cultivate sugar on estates. Labourers are often wanted, but *they* never offer themselves. He is persuaded the time allowed to the Negroes for cultivating their grounds is ample, and that there is no necessity for going, and that few slaves do go, to their grounds on Sunday* (p. 362, 363).

Mr. Simpson is next questioned about spell-keeping in crop-time, and he gives the same untenable account of it which has been already exposed, denying that the slaves keeping spell during the night are limited to six hours' rest in the twenty-four, in cases where the population of the estate only allows of two spells (see above, p. 338, and p. 417). The slaves, according to Mr. Simpson, are never exhausted by their labour. Dancing, and performing attitudes and evolutions, and festive nights, when he visited the estates, proved how little they had been exhausted by the labour of the day (p. 364).

Cane-hole digging seldom exceeds a third of the cane land in cultivation, and, in some cases, very little cane-hole digging is required (p. 365).

He is decidedly of opinion that Negroes would certainly not work voluntarily if they had the means of procuring food. They are naturally indolent, and would not be induced to work so long as by plunder or otherwise they could obtain the means of subsistence. It is very difficult to get them to work without some stimulus or other. The whip has been resorted to; but he had been anxious to discontinue its use: he tried to do without it, particularly on one estate called Albion, belonging to Mr. Robert Hibbert, of Chalfont, Bucks, having more than 500 Negroes; but he was forced to resume it, and made so effectual a use of it for a time that he restored order and re-animated industry; and now, he understands, it is laid aside. And yet he affirms that the Negroes do not work under the terror of the lash, even when they do not act under its impulse† (p. 365, 366).

place in the island. And let him also state what population there is at each of these market-places, which occur within every five miles, to arrest the progress of the venders of provisions in their way to the markets of Spanish Town and Kingston.

* The *West Indian* evidence to confute this statement is quite overwhelming, independently of what appears in the preceding pages. See Reporter, vol. ii. No. 41, p. 315; and vol. v. No. 92, p. 24. The unhesitating boldness of such assertions is altogether amusing.

† Was ever any thing heard from the mouth of a reasoning being at all to be compared to this evidence of the absolute master of the comfort and happiness of 7000 or 8000 human beings? The Negroes, he affirms, will not work if free for any thing beyond mere food; and even not that, if they can live by plunder. Yet they work so well at present on Albion estate, without the terror of the lash, that there is no room to complain of either their order or industry. Now what is the stimulus employed? Is it wages? He does not say that it is; and it is evident that the stimulus of wages had never entered his mind at all as a means of exciting industry;—for, when Mr. Hibbert's 500 Negroes slackened in their industry, he restored it, not by any such means: no, he restored it by the good old Jamaica way—he “resumed the whip, and made some examples.” The cart-whip, then (but Mr. Simpson will not allow us to call it the cart-whip), or “the driver's whip,” for ever This is Mr. Simpson's grand specific.

Mr. Simpson fully admits that the slaves not only work for their masters, but that they raise sufficient food to supply themselves and all the markets in Jamaica, and thus to buy ornamental clothing and articles of finery, and to acquire considerable property, even to the amount of from £2000 to £3000; yet he despairs of being able to persuade them of the reasonableness, when they become free, of paying a rent for the use of the land, the master's property. The slave would consider such a demand as an outrage on his own property; and, therefore, to expect him to work for wages, and pay rent for land, is a scheme wholly chimerical, actually impossible, utterly impracticable* (p. 370, 371).

Then, as to a police composed of the free people of colour and others, in order to preserve the peace of the island, he pronounces in the most positive and unqualified terms on its utter absurdity and impracticability† (p. 371). Against Mr. Taylor's proposal of stipendiary magistrates as protectors he is equally decided; it is wild and visionary.

Mr. Simpson is also strongly of opinion that the missionaries have no title to give any opinion of the character and disposition of the Negroes: knowledge so limited as theirs could afford no opportunity of judging either of the Negro character or of their treatment and their habits (p. 372).

He considers the Negroes in general as intelligent, and as to be worked upon more by kindness and conciliation than by compulsion; but he does not think them intelligent enough to understand that they must work in a state of freedom for their own subsistence, or accept of wages for working; so that emancipation would necessarily be followed by the abandonment of all cultivation, and therefore by the most pernicious consequences to themselves (p. 575).—If Mr. Simpson is himself more intelligent than the Negroes, he certainly has not the faculty of making his views of human nature either intelligible or consistent.

Mr. Simpson has known slaves who were instructed by the ministers of the church of England and Scotland, and he has given them

* Is this common sense and common consistency, or is it the mere raving of inveterate and incurable prejudice?

† Mr. Simpson evidently had it in view by this answer to stultify his old friend and partner Mr. Taylor; but it so happens that he has stultified along with him the Council and Assembly of Jamaica; for, without any debate, they have embodied into an Act dated April 28, 1832, and which we have reason to believe has actually received the royal assent, a plan of police as nearly resembling that of Mr. Taylor as could well have been framed. We would advise him to consult that Act forthwith. It is the 28th chapter of the 2nd of William the Fourth. We ask no better, safer, and more efficient police for the purpose of averting all danger from emancipation than that which has been so wisely and providently planned and adopted by the local legislature. The work is done—the machinery is ready; and it may be considered as furnishing a test for appreciating the respective titles of Mr. Simpson and Mr. Taylor to public confidence, both on this point and on the plan of paying wages to the emancipated slave for his labour, against which Mr. Simpson is equally furious.

instruction himself, and he has also attended Sunday schools, and he observed that instruction produced a great improvement in their general conduct, and a great superiority in all respects to others. He had also admitted on one of his estates a Wesleyan missionary, with whom he was satisfied. But he supposed, though he had no personal knowledge of any such circumstance, that religious instruction, injudiciously administered, might do harm (p. 376).

When Mr. Simpson left the island Sunday markets were being discontinued, and Saturday markets more frequent. The slaves had thus an opportunity of attending worship on Sundays.*

The slaves, whom he knew to possess as much as £3000, were in the habit of hiring other persons to attend to their concerns (p. 377) (a fact, however, not very consistent with other parts of Mr. Simpson's evidence). These hired persons work separately, and, of course, without compulsion. Slaves also often rent themselves of their master, paying to him a certain proportion of their earnings; this is frequently done by slave mechanics by monthly or annual payments; but he never knew it done for field labour.† Mr. Simpson could not recollect any instance of persons of colour possessing property acquired by their own exertions. He found, however, that the slaves, when improved by religious instruction, became more temperate and more industrious, and thus increased their personal property; and, he thinks, this effect of religious instruction is perfectly well known to all planters: they are deeply sensible of it.‡

Mr. Simpson says he was in the habit of giving to his slaves, for the purpose of religious instruction, as much in some cases as one day in the week. This he represents as having been generally done; and he cites the fact as a decisive proof of the universal desire to give religious instruction to the slaves (p. 380).||

Mr. Simpson denies most stoutly that there is any severity in the treatment of slaves, or that there is any difficulty in their obtaining redress for any well-founded complaint; but that they are very apt to complain on slight or no grounds. And, in illustration of this fact, he tells a long story of a complaint preferred, not by a slave, but by a white medical gentleman, against an overseer with whom he had

* The utter untruth of this statement we shall take another opportunity of exposing more fully.

† And can this be wondered at?

‡ We shall never cease our astonishment at the evidence of this planter.

|| We must frankly say that we greatly doubt this statement. Mr. Simpson must certainly labour under some defect of memory. We, therefore, call upon him to name the estate or estates under his charge on which a day in the week was so given to the slaves for their religious instruction, together with the year or years in which such grants were made, and the person whom he employed, on the day thus appropriated, to convey to the slaves this religious instruction, and who, we presume, must have been some minister or missionary. We are willing to stake the accuracy of the whole of Mr. Simpson's evidence on the correctness or incorrectness of this one fact, when established by adequate proof. The original plantation journals must still be in existence; and we are willing to submit to their inspection as the test of its truth.

quarrelled, and which, on investigation, proved to have had no foundation in truth. This story brings out incidentally a circumstance of some importance. It is admitted that formerly it was very possible for masters or overseers to employ force to subject the slaves under them to their licentious appetites. But, adds Mr. Simpson, such a thing would now be impossible: no man would dare to attempt it; or if he did the female, on repairing to a magistrate, would obtain instant redress* (p. 381).

There then follows, in pages 382 to 390, an examination of Mr. Simpson on West Indian economics, in which we shall not attempt to follow him, because to us it is utterly unintelligible, in many parts, we can say with truth, most inaccurate, and totally at variance with notorious facts (p. 382—386).

The value of the clothing given to the slaves, Mr. Simpson estimates at 35s. or 40s. a head. On turning to Mr. Scott's evidence (see above, p. 422), we find his account (not one of mere estimate, but of actual distribution) to be somewhat different. It may be thus stated:—4 yards of pennistones, 5s.; 9 yards of Osnaburgh, 4s. 6d.; 2½ yards of check, 2s.: in all 11s. 6d. But let it be taken with all charges at 15s., and we shall still be very far below Mr. Simpson's estimate (p. 386).

One of the allowances Mr. Simpson states to be regularly made to the slave on an estate is about three shillings' worth weekly of sugar and rum, all the year round. This of itself would make for each slave £7. 16s. a year; and would amount to about 3 cwt. of sugar and 50 gallons of rum to each in a year. Can this possibly be true?—There must be some strange habit of miscalculation or some singular defect of memory about this witness. It must be admitted that Mr. Simpson has guarded against the charge of wilful inaccuracy; for he has told us (quest. 5756 and 5757) that it is utterly out of his power (though he has had charge of upwards of 7000 Negroes belonging to absent proprietors, and still, we presume, has charge, by means of his commercial house in Kingston, of a considerable number) to give in-

* Mr. Simpson may possibly have been acquainted with the Rev. Mr. Trew, the late Rector of St. Thomas in the East, in Jamaica. Let him, then, turn to the testimony of that gentleman, as he will find it in the 4th volume of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 76, pp. 107 and 108, for a contradiction of every part of his present apologetical statement; and he has only to consult the Index to that work for numerous proofs of the inaccuracy of the assertion so confidently made by him of the certainty of redress for even undisputed acts of cruelty. The contrary stands on official documents, which cannot be contradicted, and all of recent occurrence. Besides, let us ask Mr. Simpson to point out a single clause in any one act of the Jamaica statute book which, down to the year 1832, inflicts the very slightest penalty on any overseer who puts a female slave in the stocks all night, and works her all day in the field for weeks together; or who orders that same female to have her limbs exposed naked to the gaze of the whole gang, and to receive, upon her bared posteriors, 39 lashes of the cart-whip, and even to repeat these 39 lacerations the moment the former wounds are healed. We challenge him (and we permit him to call Mr. Burge, the late Attorney-General of Jamaica, to aid him in making out his case) to point out any such law.

formation respecting the various items of expense attending West Indian estates. Of one thing, indeed, he seems to be quite certain, namely, that on the Duke of Buckingham's estate of Hope the Negroes have the opportunity of realizing about £125 annually for every three acres of land they may be able to cultivate on the 1000 acres of land attached to that estate, and appropriated to their use; so that, supposing the number of able slaves upon it to be one-third of its population, that population being, in 1830, 368, the annual income within their reach would amount to about £15,500. Is this quite credible?

There follows, at pages 391 and 392, a not very seemly attempt to put the credit due to the representations of Admiral Fleming in competition with those of Admiral Halsted and of Mr. Simpson; but, we apprehend, with pretty much the same success which we have already shown to have attended the attempt to discredit the statements of Mr. Taylor: but we pass over that part of the evidence as wholly immaterial to the real objects of the enquiry.

Mr. Simpson farther testifies that from the time he had taken charge of estates, which was about the year 1817 or 1818, he had done all he could to encourage marriage amongst the slaves; and that marriage was accordingly frequent* (p. 394).

The emancipated Negroes employ themselves in different ways. They are seldom seen in distress. Then come some admissions of the comforts and luxuries that slaves are enabled to procure, but which they would not, according to Mr. Simpson, have the same facilities of procuring when they are free.—There is such an utter extravagance in supposing that a man whose seven days in the week are his own should have fewer facilities of accumulating property than the man who has only twenty-six week-days in the year and his Sundays, that we are at some loss to divine Mr. Simpson's end in giving such evidence. He cannot expect it to be received as true (quest. 5931). But what are these facilities? The horses, and cattle, and waggons, and wains of their masters and of themselves. And this is said by one who,

* The parishes in which Mr. Simpson states himself to have been chiefly concerned are Vere, Clarendon, St. Mary, St. George, St. Andrew, St. David, Port Royal, and St. Thomas in the East. Now we have parliamentary returns of the marriages which took place in these parishes of Jamaica, from 1808 to 1825 inclusive, the very period during which Mr. Simpson exercised his large powers; and the results during those seventeen years are as follows, showing clearly that marriages cannot have been very frequent, and that in some parishes they have been remarkably rare, viz.—

Vere	containing 8,000 slaves	marriages in seventeen years	2
Clarendon	„ 17,000 „	„	3
St. Mary	„ 25,000 „	„	176
St. George	„ 12,000 „	„	161
St. David	„ 8,000 „	„	201
Port Royal	„ 6,000 „	„	27
St. Thomas in the East	„ 26,000 „	„	2643

From St. Andrew the returns are wanting for the last five years (see the Parliamentary Papers for 1823, No. 347, and for 1826, No. 353). The result in St. Thomas in the East is owing to the zeal of the Rev. Mr. Trew.

living in Kingston for twenty-four years, must have been the weekly witness how few of the slaves coming to the Kingston market had any means of conveyance but their heads, on which their loads were brought into town on the Sunday morning (p. 398, 399).

Mr. Simpson does not believe in the efficacy of wages to induce the slaves to work. He admits, however, that during his twenty-four years' stay in Jamaica, and with his extensive means of making experiments, he had never tried the effect of wages on the slave, nor endeavoured to ascertain whether he might not work for remuneration as well as from compulsion. This is a remarkable fact, and at least explains Mr. Simpson's prejudice against free labour. He says, cane-hole digging and the whole work of a sugar estate is far from laborious; for women perform it as well as men: and yet he is quite confident that Negroes, when free, will never be prevailed upon, by any inducement, to cultivate sugar (p. 400)!

Mr. Simpson is again examined about night work and spell keeping in crop, and again puzzles himself and the committee most completely. It is evident that Mr. Simpson never kept spell himself, or he would have been able to make the matter intelligible.

Mr. Simpson states the fact of a naval officer having gone on an estate as a guest, and having drawn up a long string of questions, which he addressed to one of the book-keepers to be answered, and the book-keeper answered many of them; and this fact is produced as proving the liberality of the planters of Jamaica (p. 402). Mr. Simpson, however, ought in fairness to have given the sequel of this affair, which the reader will find in a note below.*

Mr. Simpson affirms (quest. 6011) that he, the attorney of 7000 slaves, never knew of *any* whip being used in the field in Jamaica.—This is certainly a most extraordinary assertion; and it proves most incontestibly either that Mr. Simpson has lost his memory or that he is determined at all hazards to whitewash slavery. The assertion, we take it upon us to say, is so manifestly untrue as of itself to render the whole of his evidence absolutely valueless.†

* The book-keeper in question lived in the year 1824 on Yarmouth, in Vere, an estate belonging to Lord Dudley, and was a very warm partizan of the pro-slavery cause. He wrote many papers in the Royal Gazette, during the years 1823 and 1824, under the assumed signature of "The Hermit in Vere," for which Mr. Simpson may refer to the files of those Gazettes at the Colonial club-room. A naval officer visited Yarmouth, and certainly gave to this book-keeper a long list of very pertinent questions, which the book-keeper undertook to answer. A copy of those questions is now in this country. They were brought hither by the book-keeper himself, who was deprived of his employment, and forced to quit Jamaica, for having dared to listen for one moment to such an application. His previous services to the pro-slavery cause availed him nothing; and he was actually persecuted to such a degree that he was forced to return to England, in consequence of the determination of the planters to refuse him employment. He convinced some planter in this country, we believe Mr. Watson Taylor, that all this persecution was unmerited, and he was sent back by him to one of his estates, where he soon after died. And this is Mr. Simpson's exemplification of the liberality of Jamaica planters!

† We need go no further to prove the utter falsehood of Mr. Simpson's state-

VI. WILLIAM MIER, a native of the United States. He possessed in Georgia 500 slaves; and, from his knowledge of the Negro character, is led to doubt whether they would be disposed to work for wages. Slaves are very seldom emancipated in Georgia. The Americans are very tenacious of this species of property. They value it more than gold itself. No publications relative to slavery are permitted in Georgia. Though half of the Georgia slaves are Africans, yet they increase at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum; and the increase continued to 1822. The labour of growing and pounding rice was particularly hard (p. 366—369).

VII. The Rev. JOHN SHIPMAN, a Wesleyan Missionary.—The whole of this gentleman's examination turned on the wholly unimportant resolutions adopted by some of the Wesleyan Missionaries in Jamaica in 1824, and afterwards disallowed by their superiors at home (p. 405—416).

VIII. The Rev. ROBERT YOUNG, another Wesleyan Missionary.—This gentleman's examination is also chiefly directed to that which forms the subject of Mr. Shipman's examination. Mr. Young gives it as his opinion that the justice, mercy, brotherly kindness, and charity of the Gospel are unfriendly to slavery, and in their full development must put an end to every system of oppression, and liberate every slave. He did not think that, with the knowledge the slaves now possessed, they could be detained in bondage much longer. Slavery is the parent of numberless vices; it corrupts both the master and the slave; the principles of Christianity are therefore directly opposed to it, and without abolishing slavery altogether he did not think its evils could be obviated. At the time that he was in the island there was perfect impunity for any outrage committed on a slave, if there was no evidence to prove it but that of slaves. He was five

ments on this point than the pages of the Royal Gazette, and other papers of Jamaica, during the session of the Assembly in 1826, when the disallowed slave act of that year was under discussion. It was not even proposed on that occasion that the *driving-whip* in the field should be abolished, but merely that the cat should be substituted for the cart-whip in the coercion of labour. "If we adopt such an innovation," said Mr. Hilton, "in 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 by the king, and that we have been compelled to relinquish the whip, and with it every means of punishment and restraint." Mr. Mair 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, as in the case of that instrument there were limits, but not to the use of switches. Many of our readers will recollect Mr. Barrett's speech on that occasion. The whole of it turns on the use of the "cart-whip," which he declares to be a horrid instrument. Mr. Barrett is now in England, and he and Mr. Simpson may settle the matter between them. Mr. Simpson's words are, "I never knew of the cart-whip being used." This is a most complete stultification both of Mr. Barrett and of the Jamaica Assembly, if it be not rather a complete stultification of Mr. Simpson himself.

years in Jamaica, and left it in 1826. The flogging of females he regards as an outrage on all decency, directly opposed to every feeling of Christianity, and calculated to sour and brutalize the minds of all concerned.

IX. WILLIAM SHAND, Esq., went first to Jamaica in 1791, left it in 1823, returned in January 1825, and quitted it finally in May 1826. The number of slaves under his charge was from 18,000 to 20,000, on estates in almost every parish in the island. He resided for a considerable part of the time in Vere, Clarendon, St. Andrew's, and St. Catherine's. He was long engaged in the management of estates and had therefore an opportunity of being acquainted with the Negro character. Mr. Shand begins with affirming that six days is quite sufficient to enable the slave to raise more than is necessary for him for the whole year, so that he has twenty week days, three holidays, and all the Sundays, to do what he pleases with. The allowance of salt fish is about 450 or 500 barrels for 1230 Negroes.* The old and infirm are generally attended to by their own families. If they have no families, the master provides.

Mr. Shand mystifies the subject of spell and night work in the same extraordinary way in which we have seen it already done by his brother planters; but we need not recur to that topic (p. 430).

Mr. Shand never saw any gloom in the slaves. They are more contented and better provided for than the lower classes in this country and Scotland, and their labour is much lighter. The great mass of emancipated slaves are very idle, frequently keep slave women, and are in a great measure supported by them. They generally remain on the master's estate, living with women upon it. He never knew any of them work in the field. He knew no instance of freed slaves working for wages. They live very much by pilfering their neighbours' coffee. A man of observation in three years may learn a good deal; but Mr. Taylor's plans were not much liked in Jamaica. He thought differently of slaves from all around him, and treated them differently. He was not, in Mr. Shand's opinion, competent to be a witness respecting the Negro's situation and character. He had not been regularly bred a planter (p. 431—434).

In many situations the Negro, after he has established a certain quantity of provisions, may rear food for himself by one day's labour in the year, and he knew of no situations where he might not do so by a week's labour or even less. A Negro, indeed, may almost subsist on what nature produces, with merely the slight trouble of collecting it. Every Negro may have all kinds of articles if he chooses to be industrious, but very few have the luxuries they might have. They would not be generally disposed to work in order to gratify artificial wants. Emancipated Negroes do not, either in Jamaica, or in St. Domingo, or in Trinidad, acquire industrious habits, nor are they useful and industrious. In Jamaica, some are tradesmen; some live with slave women on estates, and are extremely idle; and others by receiv-

* That is only, on the average, four or five herrings a week to each.

ing stolen goods. If the slaves were made free, they would be exactly in the state of the Negroes of St. Domingo. He never knew any Negro work in the field after being made free : nothing useful is to be expected from them, and least of all sugar planting. Those who live in towns acquire no property : what they have has been bequeathed to them. He does not recollect an instance of any who have acquired property by their own exertions. If the blacks are made free, neither white nor coloured persons can remain there. Nothing could be done by a police to preserve due subordination (p. 434—437).

Several years ago the established church was doubled in Jamaica, and many places of worship, both of the churches of England and Scotland and of dissenters, built. He believes the motives for doing so were very sincere. The slave population of Jamaica have since made very great advances. He knew none of the missionaries, and was not for encouraging them ; some of them he believed to be bad men, though there may be good men among them. It is most impolitic for the slave to be of one religion and the master of another. He employed the curate of Clarendon, at £100 a year, to teach the people on his two properties and to read prayers twice a week. He does not believe it is much the practice to employ curates in this way, but he always told his overseers to bring up the Negroes when the clergyman chose to come. The planters are well disposed to give religious instruction to the slaves, but their means are very limited. The imposts on them are so heavy that they cannot afford additional expense. He objects, however, to any but oral instruction. If prudently conducted, religion would not be hostile to slavery. He himself gave no encouragement to missionaries, or to any but duly authorized teachers. Negroes are so prone to complain, that it was necessary to restrain his feelings lest mischief should follow from encouraging them. He found it scarcely possible to carry into effect any plan of task work. Sugar land is not applicable to any other purpose, and, as for converting it to pasture, there would be no demand for cattle without sugar to occasion it. The infirm slaves are generally provided for by their relations, who act very kindly to each other, and are willing to work for their support. If relations cannot support them, then the master supports them (p. 438---440).

When Mr. Shand was a book-keeper, he had to be on duty in crop-time for eighteen hours and a half. Even though in crop-time the Negro should work six hours of each night as well as all day, this does not equal the labour performed by people in this country, who work much harder than in Jamaica. The boatswain of the mill carries his whip with him. Mr. Shand maintains that to work twelve hours of the day the whole year, and six hours more during crop, is lighter work than that of labourers in this country, who, in many cases, work longer than the Negro does even in crop-time. His own cart-man in this country works longer and harder. He has, it is true, no driver at his back ; and glad would Mr. S. be to get rid of the driver and his whip (p. 441).

Mr. Shand differs not only from all the witnesses opposed to him on principle, but from the West Indians who have preceded him, in his views of the Negro's taste for luxuries and conveniences, and the pains he would take to acquire them. He concedes such a taste to very

few, and denies it to the mass. He thinks them not equal to the Europeans in intellect, and this because they are not inventors. Yet he admits they are quick in acquiring knowledge, and acute in making a bargain. He admits, likewise, that few slaves are content with the clothing given them by their masters, but purchase better clothing for themselves. Mr. Shand's effort, however, throughout his evidence, is to reduce the measure of the slave's ideas of comfort and convenience to almost the lowest point that can support life; few do more. Contrary to the testimony of all his brother colonists, he says the slave does far less for himself than for his master; taking twenty days in his own grounds to do the work of one. In short, if Mr. Shand is to be believed, we must bid adieu to all those tales of comfort and happiness by which the slave is raised so high above the British peasant, and view him as a gay, unthinking, reckless being, making no provision beyond the merest necessities of animal life. He admits there are, or rather may be, exceptions; but such is the general view he labours to convey, except when surprised into facts at total variance with the theory that a Negro will do nothing from the desire of bettering and improving his condition, but merely from a desire to satisfy his hunger and escape the lash of the cart-whip. It would be endless to follow him in all his vague, tortuous, inconsistent, and inconsequential statements on this subject: we can only convey, as we have endeavoured, a general impression of their character and bearing (p. 459—461).

Mr. Shand says he is friendly to religious instruction, but he would have it given by the established church. He distrusts the missionaries, although he is acquainted with none of them personally. He has heard of their misconduct only from others; he knows himself nothing against any of them (463).

Mr. Shand affects to know something of the statistics of Hayti, though it does not appear that he has visited it as Admiral Fleming has done; but he states that the blacks in Hayti earn only 7s. a year each, for the only way of valuing wealth, according to him, is to divide the value of exports from any country by the number of its inhabitants! He concludes, therefore, with singular acuteness, that they not only are not clothed with British manufactures, but with *any* manufactures at all. He believes, in short, that the cultivators of Hayti are in a state of the most degraded poverty that can be conceived, next to savage life (p. 464).

Is it possible for the blindness of ignorance and prejudice combined to go beyond this, which we presume will be dignified with the name of testimony? After reading it, let any one who wishes to see the full force of the distortions of prejudice turn to the evidence of Admiral Fleming respecting Hayti (see above, p. 385).

Mr. Shand, who has made his fortune by being the attorney of absentee proprietors, pleads for the profitableness of absenteeism, and thinks an owner may gain by living on one side of the Atlantic, and leaving it to an agent to manage his plantation on the other. The case of Mr. Wildman is an awful example of the danger of owners not visiting and managing their own properties. A practised attorney, like Mr. Shand, would not have been guilty of the folly of preferring

the comfort and happiness of the slaves as his first object, and the owner's gain as merely secondary. And yet he cannot deny the advantage generally of a man's managing his own concerns; but he thinks the case of the West Indies peculiar. The business of a Jamaica agent requires a high degree of information, so that the fruits of such agency may be highly beneficial to the employer, notwithstanding the expense that may attend it, and the absolute freedom from all effectual control of the employer, arising from distance (p. 465, 466).

Mr. Shand is himself at present the proprietor of 1200 slaves. He does not know whether they have increased or decreased, but he *thinks* they have increased on some properties and decreased on others.* He cannot state any satisfactory reason why slaves should increase in the United States and not increase in Jamaica (p. 466, 467).

The drivers, who are slaves themselves, possess, according to Mr. Shand, to a certain extent, the power of correction (p. 469).

* It must strike our readers with some surprise that this experienced planter, Mr. Shand, should be able to give no more satisfactory account of the progress of population on his own estate, and that, on that very point to which every man of the commonest feeling of humanity would look with intense anxiety, as the only sure criterion of the well-being and comfort of his dependents, he should scarcely be able to give a single definite answer,—nay that, even in matters on which a perfect stranger to his concerns might acquire information, he himself should be most miserably uninformed. What then must have been the state of information possessed by the proprietors of the 18,000 or 20,000 slaves who, during Mr. Shand's residence, entrusted him with their management? Before we conclude this note, our readers will have discovered our reasons for these remarks.

Mr. Shand says that he is now the possessor of 1200 slaves. In the month of March, 1831, the number he appears to have had in Clarendon (and he has not said that he has estates elsewhere), was 881, namely, on Kellett's 433, on the Burn 135, on St. Tooley's 206, and on Mammee Gully 107. Three years earlier, that is in March, 1828, the numbers on the same properties were, on Kellett's 464, on the Burn 151, on St. Tooley's 210, and on Mammee Gully 118: the whole number being then 943, exhibiting a decrease in these three years of 62, or at the enormous rate of upwards of 2 per cent. per annum. Now surely Mr. Shand ought to have known this. And there is not only this aggregate decrease, but there is a decrease of each separate estate, though he affirms there has been an increase on some of them. The decrease on Kellett's is 31, or nearly 2½ per cent. per annum; on the Burn 16, or upwards of 3½ per cent. per annum; on Mammee Gully 11, or 3½ per cent. per annum; and only on St. Tooley's as low as ½ per cent. per annum. What a dreadful waste of human life have we here! Had Mr. Shand's slaves increased at the rate of the slaves in the United States, or of the maroons in Jamaica, the number in 1828 of 943, in 1831 would have grown to 1012, instead of having sunk to 881, making an actual destruction of human life among this gentleman's Clarendon slaves of 131 in three years!! Now, after this, what reliance is to be placed on Mr. Shand's representations? He evidently can have no title to claim the weight of a single feather to be given to his evidence, or deducted from that of Mr. Taylor or any other witness, on the ground of his experience or local knowledge. And, as for his attempt to apologise for the decrease of his slaves, on the ground that some are Africans, he has only to turn to the evidence of Mr. Mier, which states that in Georgia, with a population half African, the slaves increased at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum, and yet that their employment was the hardest of all, namely, growing and pounding rice (see the evidence of Mr. Mier, p. 368).

Mr. Shand admits that the time allowed the slave by law is only 26 week-days, with three or four holidays, in the year, besides Sundays. The master may sometimes give them a few more days. He admits that all sorts of necessary food may be raised in Jamaica, without resorting to any foreign supply. There could be no starvation or any want of food in case of emancipation, if people chose to labour. He never applied to any emancipated slave to work on an estate for wages. He is asked, since slaves, he admits, often labour voluntarily, why he thinks they would cease to labour when they become free, and his answer is that he really cannot tell, but such is the practical fact: he is sure few of them live by industry (p. 470, 471).

There are few slaves in Jamaica, however old and infirm, who cannot raise their own food; and, if they should not, their relations help them, or, failing that, the master supports them (p. 474). Mr. Shand speaks of his having 1230 slaves. In what part of the island are the 350 placed who are over and above his 880 in Clarendon? (p. 474.)

Mr. Shand preferred the English and Scotch church to the Methodists, for this reason, among others, that the Methodists teach predestination, and the Church of Scotland does not! He knew nothing personally of the Missionaries, but he had heard much against them (p. 477, 478).

Mr. Shand had very frequently, on the complaints of slaves, dismissed overseers for misconduct, severity, and harsh treatment (p. 480).

The visionary views he attributed to Mr. Taylor were "his fancying that he could manage the slaves in a different way from others, without using the whip or punishing them." *In the present state of things* he doubted very much whether they could be managed, either for the advantage of the master or of the slave, without the whip, or some such means as the whip. It has been tried to do without it; but it is found impossible to get labour without it, especially since the excitement caused by the discussions on slavery in England, which create discontent, and give occasion to punishments which would not otherwise be necessary. He thinks the excitement thus caused has increased punishments; and he does not believe that any thing can now be done by the Colonial legislature to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, their excitement making increased severity necessary.

When Mr. Shand made the extravagant statements that a day in some situations, and in others six days in the year, were quite sufficient to provide food for a slave and his family, he must have had in view an established plantain-walk of adequate extent. He entirely omitted, however, all consideration of the time required for clearing wood land for such a purpose, for digging holes, and for bringing and planting the shoots; and further, that a year of careful attention must precede his reaping any fruit from it, besides considerable labour afterwards in keeping it in order. All this he seemed to have overlooked. But, at the close of his evidence, we find him referring to the starvation and ruin which might ensue if the Negro were to depend on this easy mode of providing for his wants. "If the slaves cultivate that species of provision which is most liable to injury by a

hurricane, the consequences would be very serious indeed, and the loss very great."

We conclude with very heartily thanking Mr. Shand, as well as Mr. Simpson and Mr. Scott, not only for their concessions and contradictions, but for the invaluable light they have thrown on the whole subject of West Indian plantership. They have done more for the Negro race in the space of a very few days than they ever dreamt of doing, and have much more effectually promoted the cause of that emancipation they so seriously dread than the stoutest anti-slavery witness who came before the committee.

X. BRYAN ADAMS, Esq.—This witness is brought forward, we presume, in the hope of shaking, if not overturning, the powerful and convincing evidence of Admiral Fleming. He quitted the Caraccas in May 1832, after a residence there of about eighteen months. He had gone 500 miles into the interior and visited the finest plantations of cocoa, coffee, and sugar in that country. The finest he saw, Elisendas, is cultivated in coffee by 375 slaves. He is not aware of any estates cultivated by free blacks. One estate, Belmont, within three miles of Caraccas, has 50,000 coffee trees and fifty acres of cane land, all under irrigation, and more than 1000 acres of wood land, and there are upon it twenty-three slaves.* The next question however is decisive of the extent of this gentleman's intelligence; for, being asked whether he knew of any emancipation of slaves having occurred at the Caraccas, he replies, "I recollect something about it; but I do not believe it ever did take place" (p. 444).

Sugar is exported from the Caraccas in increasing quantities. He saw 2000 barrels come in from one estate, of 6 or 7 cwt., each for shipment to the United States; it was very excellent sugar. He had been impressed with the idea that unless severity were used with the slaves they would not work; but he found, on the contrary, that where no severity was used things went on better, and he instances Elisendas estate.† He saw however a whip in use at Tapatapa, an estate of an Englishman, Mr. Alderson (p. 444).

He contradicts himself however about free labour; for he says, those who have not labourers enough of their own hire peons and native persons of colour, who are hardly to be distinguished from the slaves. The native Indians are very industrious and very faithful. The slave possesses the power of demanding to purchase his freedom,

* It is obvious that Mr. Adams must have made some mistake here, and indeed contradicts himself afterwards about estates not being cultivated by free persons. The twenty-three slaves on Belmont could not possibly perform a tithe of the work upon it: 50,000 coffee trees would require 400 acres of land; does he mean to say that twenty-three slaves planted, and weeded, and pruned these, gathered the coffee and pulped it, besides cultivating fifty acres of cane? It is utterly impossible.

† If he mistook about Belmont, as he evidently must have done, he may also mistake about Elisendas, and there may have been on that estate also only a small proportion who were slaves.

or he may change his master. The soil is fertile and provisions very abundant. They have as much ground as they can cultivate, are clothed, and have a pound of beef a day. He does not think the present slaves would be disposed to work if emancipated. He thinks a general rising would follow emancipation. He afterwards frankly admitted that he was quite incompetent to speak about questions of freedom and slavery. He had not investigated them. He had seen numbers of labourers working on plantations; but he never asked the question whether they were slaves or free. If the labourers had been chiefly free, they might have been so without his knowing it. He admitted that Admiral Fleming had been very diligent, and that he had access to the very best sources of information. The people of colour associate generally on good terms with the whites. The people of colour are generally the friends of order. On an estate which he attempted to purchase, formerly belonging to Bolivar, there were a very few slaves working conjointly with free persons. They worked together without difficulty or confusion (p. 444—452).

XI. MR. JOHN FORD PIKE. This gentleman had been in Cuba at different times since 1819, but he had only been for two days in the interior, and he had no opportunity of knowing any thing of free labour, nor of the cultivation of the island. He had been brought from Wales all the way to London to give evidence; but he said he knew nothing of the matter (p. 452).

XII. WILLIAM WATSON, Esq., had been in the Caraccas from 1810 to 1814. Estates were then cultivated partly by slave labour and partly by free. The free worked with the slaves when they were wanted, which was chiefly in crop time. He had known many instances where slaves were managed wholly by persons who had themselves been slaves. The managers of estates were mostly coloured or black persons, who had been emancipated. This was common in the Vale of Chaldo, five or six miles from the town. He has had no connection with the Caraccas since 1814. But while he was there he thought the free black were generally employed in cultivation, and that they were a better sort of people than he had seen in our islands. Great confidence was placed in them. The whole system of Spanish slavery is different from ours: it is much milder, and the consequence of this mildness is an improvement of character. He had no doubt at all that the blacks were, when well treated, susceptible of the same motives which influence other men. The most powerful stimulus in the world to a man is labouring to gain his freedom. In Louisiana the planters say that they get a great deal more work when they put the slaves on task work; and, if the stimulus of freedom were generally tried, and men were allowed to free themselves by their exertions, they would be much more industrious, and would not cease to be so when free, though, in a country furnishing easily the comforts and conveniences of life, many might relax when free. He noticed the slaves after emancipation generally at work, raising provisions and other things. In his time the estates had slaves enough to keep the fields

in order, except in crop time, when they called in free labourers. There was a very considerable free coloured population in the Caraccas, who were in general very industrious. He had been in Mexico, but had never seen any slaves there. The great mass of the population are a mixed race, and those of the Africans were deemed as industrious as the rest. They were not more degraded, or more idle, than the others. The people of Mexico generally do not exert themselves much. The stimulus of want could not be made very strong in that country. There was no import of sugar into Mexico, nor any export of sugar from it. A great deal of sugar is consumed in the country, and it is dear (p. 452—457).

XIII. HERBERT TOWNSEND BOWEN, Esq., had been in Trinidad, but his attention was not directed to cultivation, or to the state of the slave population. He had nothing to do but with one plantation, and on that he did not reside; it was a plantation of cocoa, and coffee, and cinnamon, and cloves. He paid an overseer 400 dollars for managing, and he hired six or seven peons, but the speculation was not successful. The emancipated slaves there mostly employed themselves as tradesmen, or in raising Guinea grass, or provisions. It appeared, from the reports of the protector, that a considerable number of slaves had purchased their freedom. The peons were paid wages, at the rate of half a dollar a day (p. 457—459).

XIV. RICHARD GARRETT AMYOT, the Colonial registrar of slaves, produced certain tables of population, to which we shall hereafter advert more particularly (p. 484, 485, and p. 519—522).

XV. SAMUEL BAKER, Esq., had visited Jamaica in 1816, and afterwards in 1817, and for a short time in January, 1832. He landed in Manchester, and went afterwards to the north side of the island. He thought the slaves much improved, since his former visits, in their clothing and comforts. He had thought them comfortable before, but now they were better dressed on Sundays. He talked with the head man of Dumfries estate, in St. James (an estate in the hands of the trustees of William Fairclough, with 198 slaves upon it). This man had distinguished himself by defending the property in the absence of the whites, and Mr. Baker made him a recompense for his conduct. He was reluctant to give any opinion as to the cause of the rebellion. He was a Baptist, and attended the Baptist chapel built in that neighbourhood. He expressed himself as comfortable and satisfied, and as not desiring any change. He gave Mr. Baker to understand, however, that the general feeling of the slaves was towards revolt, and that they could not be depended upon. Mr. B. also conversed with the Negro, a respectable man, who attended him as servant; but he could give no information, for the people had never left the place, but staid at home to defend it. The Negroes generally were sulky, and did not choose to answer his questions. He thinks that there was a general disposition in the slaves to be content with their lot, till the late excitement. The head man on Dumfries told him

the Missionaries received certain sums from the Negroes who attended them. He paid for his seat in chapel, and also paid a macaroni, or quarter dollar, when he attended the sacrament: he did not say how frequently. He heard nothing of the part the Baptists took in the insurrection, except that it was called the Baptist war. He had never heard the slaves say any thing, good or bad, of the Missionaries. He had attended the Scotch place of worship in St. James, and found it well attended by decent, orderly slaves (p. 485—487).

The chief object of bringing Mr. Baker forward appears to have been to falsify the statement of Mr. Knibb that he had been employed by the custos, Mr. Miller, to examine some rebel prisoners; but all Mr. Baker could say was that Mr. Miller had not told *him* so, and that, from what he knew of Mr. Miller and his character, he did not believe he could have done so (p. 487).

Mr. Baker doubted much whether the slaves if free would work for wages. But he had no doubt that if left alone, and not excited, they would be quiet. The means of their obtaining information were much more general now than formerly, as many can now read. He saw twelve or fourteen executed; and there appeared in them a morbid determination to meet their fate. He thought it showed a purpose of taking any opportunity which might occur of gaining their freedom by force. Mr. Baker takes it upon him positively to deny that the slaves were influenced in their rebellion by the fear of being transferred to America; and yet he says he could get no answers from them. Then how was he to know their minds, so as to make this positive assertion? (p. 489.)

Mr. Baker never even heard the rebellion attributed in any degree to the parochial meetings in the fall of 1831. But how should Mr. Baker hear of that, or of the transfer of the island to America, as causes of the rebellion? The slaves, who were the best witnesses, would not open their mouths, and the whites would not, of course, accuse themselves either in the one case or in the other. He had heard of two murders by the blacks, and of fourteen white ladies having been violated; but the ladies all denied it! He never heard any effect attributed to Mr. Beaumont's motion on manumission in the assembly. He was in the island in all, this last time, about three months, and during that time he visited Manchester, Westmoreland, Hanover, St. James, Trelawney, St. Ann, St. Mary, Spanish Town, and Kingston. The improvements he alluded to in the condition of the slaves, since 1816, were increased luxuries, and a much better style of dress. Some have horses of their own. His servant had a horse of his own (p. 490).

Mr. Baker knew Mr. Manderson, a gentleman of colour, and of great respectability, a man of great intelligence and honour (p. 490).

He thinks the slaves are in a state of comfort, and, if their comforts were increased, they would be disposed to be luxurious and turbulent. As to time, they have as much as they want, and, if industrious, might be rich. As to the whip, good slaves should not have it, and never did have it; and the bad require it. Corporal punishment might be put an end to without any great mischief to the slave, but

there would be mischief to the proprietors. The idle will not work without the whip. The slaves have already as much comfort as they want: if they had more time, the active would add luxuries to their comforts, the others would not (p. 491, 492).

He did not perceive any strong sensation produced among the Negroes by the burning of the chapels. The Baptist Negroes in the towns were offended by it. He did not think they were in the country. The African Negroes are generally indolent; but many of the Creoles are active. As they are improved by education, they improve in activity. He knew many men of colour. Whites now associate with them more than they did formerly. They are generally persons of education and understanding. Many of them are fully competent to act as overseers on estates, and do so act. Some are quite as competent as any white men (p. 493, 494).

There was occasionally a talk, among persons meeting together, about throwing off their allegiance, on account of the general dissatisfaction with the oppressions of the mother country. He was aware of the resolutions passed in August and September, 1831. The Negroes must have known of them; and it may have added to their excitement. The people of colour, he thinks, would be disposed to go with the whites; but he does not believe *they* have any general wish to throw off their allegiance. The free coloured population would not be willing to subject Jamaica to the United States. They would not consent to be separated from this country; they are much attached to it. He had heard that about 100 rebels were executed, about 1000 killed, or missing, in various ways. He supposed about 100 might have been flogged. Five white persons, he believes, were about the number put to death by the Negroes. The women, who were in possession of the Negroes, have always denied having been violated by them (p. 495).

A great part of the respectable Negroes can read, and he conceives it is quite impossible to put a stop to the diffusion of knowledge among them. Fresh insubordination can only be prevented by a different disposition, and a change of principles, in this country: this Mr. Baker regards as the only hope; without this, the colony cannot be saved (p. 495).

The Negroes, who were executed, generally suffered in a very short time after trial (p. 497).

He was persuaded that much of the excitement among the slaves proceeded from irritating communications from this country. He does not, however, know any of the Anti-Slavery party in this country (p. 498).

XVI. ANDREW GRAHAM DIGNUM, Esq., resided in Jamaica from June 1818 to May 1832, and acted there as a solicitor, and was named in 1827 protector of slaves in two parishes. The protectors were paid by salaries varying from £70 to £250, and were appointed to defend slaves charged with criminal offences. He was employed for St. Dorothy and St. John, and acted as a barrister would have done. His duty was to see that the slaves had a fair trial. He recollects the

discussions that took place on Mr. Beaumont's motion in 1831. It produced some sensation among the slaves in St. Thomas in the Vale. He also recollects the concession of white privileges to the people of colour in 1830. He does not think that any excitement was produced by that, or by the meetings held in the different parishes in 1831. He does not believe that any excitement whatever was caused by the idea of being transferred to the United States: he heard of that now for the first time. He visited the disturbed districts soon after the insurrection. The impression made on his mind by conversing with the slaves was that they believed the British government had made them free, and that they were to be relieved from all labour after Christmas; and their finding the case not so caused the insurrection. When he saw them afterwards they seemed ashamed and sorry for what they had done. None of the slaves spoke to him of the missionaries; but he was told by an officer that he could always cause an excitement among a body of Negroes by mentioning the name of Mr. Burchell, the missionary, who they seemed to think had brought them into this trouble. What they said to himself was that they did not know what had made them rebel, but the devil must have got into their heads. He was impressed, as early as July 1831, with an idea that they had even then an expectation of being free after Christmas (p. 500). He thinks the plot was deeply laid, and he draws this conclusion from a conversation he had with Mr. Panton, a barrister, whose servant had committed suicide; but the connection of that fact with such a plot is very lamely made out.—He thought it very improbable that Mr. Miller, the Custos, should have authorised Mr. Knibb to examine the rebel prisoners in confinement* (p. 557).

Mr. Dignum says that the law of slave evidence is now so altered, by the act of 1831, that an overseer may be punished for inflicting even less than 39 lashes on a slave if he cannot show that an offence was committed by the slave adequate to the punishment inflicted.—If that were true, it would have been easy for Mr. Dignum to have produced examples, but he has not produced one; and till such examples are produced, duly authenticated, we shall continue to view the opinion of Mr. Dignum as a mere *gratis dictum* (p. 557, 558).

Mr. Dignum tells an absurd story in proof that the slaves did not desire freedom. He entered an estate with an armed force, and while surrounding the negro houses asked the inmates if they wished to be free; and they said, No. What else could they have said under such circumstances?

Mr. Dignum further gave it as his opinion, that to prevent any further insurrection it was necessary that masters should no more be interfered with by the government in the way of Orders in Council,

* Surely nothing could have been more probable than that Mr. Miller, who is represented as a sensible man, and who was commissioned to obtain information about the causes of the insurrection, for the governor, should have employed that very person to confer with the prisoners in whom they were most likely to repose confidence.

or by discussions; in short that the masters should be left to themselves (p. 559).

Mr. Dignum admitted that in strictness of construction he had no right to interfere in the defence of slaves, as protector, but in cases where they were tried for capital crimes. He had no right to interfere for their defence in cases of plantation discipline, or cruel treatment, but only where slaves were tried for capital crimes committed by themselves. He had no right to interfere in any case arising under the 33rd section of the Act of 1831, which authorises overseers to inflict thirty-nine lashes. He had only seen one workhouse, and never saw a Negro punished there. He said magistrates appeared to him to be authorised to cite an overseer before them to answer for inflicting even less than thirty-nine lashes; and if the offence were of a very trifling nature, the magistrate might say to the overseer, "You may give thirty-nine lashes for aggravated offences, but you have over-stepped the law in this instance," and inflict a fine upon him in consequence. He had known such cases, but he could only cite one, being the first overseer convicted on slave evidence. The man's name he thinks was Ellis, and the trial occurred in November, 1831. He was overseer of Nightingale Grove (an estate of Lord Harewood's). Mr. Dignum, however, was not present, and does not tell us whether the offence was his exceeding thirty-nine lashes, or whether the punishment might not have been cruel as well as wanton. The case ought to be called for with the evidence (p. 560).

Mr. D. had seen slaves at work, and had seen the driver give them one or two cuts over the shoulder to make them work. The cat was introduced in place of the cart-whip on some estates, but the slaves were dissatisfied with it; they preferred the cart-whip. The driver's whip has a stout handle, about two feet long; the lash he thinks is four or five yards long; the upper part is thick, but does not touch the Negro: it is the lash at the end which strikes the Negro* (p. 501, 502).

XVII. Vice-Admiral Sir CHARLES ROWLEY, K. C. B., knows much of the West India Islands, and commanded on the Jamaica station from 1820 to 1823. He frequently visited the estates in various parts of the islands, and he did not find that any thing was at all concealed from him, any more than by a farmer in this country on paying a visit to his farm. In one case he had gone upon an estate and staid there all night, without being known as the admiral on the station, and he was much pleased with all he saw. He had gone also into the negro huts and found every thing comfortable there. He had no slaves himself, but he hired some. He offered his freedom to one man, but he declined it. He was a mulatto, who acted as his valet.

* The reason of this is plain. The lash is the part which *cuts*. The thick part is chiefly of use to give its momentum to the cutting part. The whip altogether, including the length of the driver's arm which wields it, with the handle, and the thick heavy part, forms a lever of great power, which enables the small, hard, flexile lash at the extremity, to make its incisions, drawing blood from the buttocks, at every stroke, in cases where they have not been made callous by previous inflictions.

Two negresses belonging to his brother had been freed some years before; and when he went out, in 1820, he sent for them to assist in the house till he could get servants, and they said they regretted having been made free, because they could not get work constantly. If asked whether the slave was happier than the labourer in this country, he had no hesitation in saying that, if he had been born to labour, he would sooner have been a black in Jamaica, than a white man in this country or any other. He stated this as the result of his own observations. There may be harsh treatment sometimes; but taking all chances he thought they were a much happier race than the poorer class in this country. He saw little of demoralization there any more than here, yet he would not go to a tropical climate for virtue; people are some wicked and some virtuous there as elsewhere. He does not think that, if emancipated, the slave would work for wages on sugar estates: no man of whatever colour would work hard in a tropical climate if he could live without it. A man who can get food enough at an easy rate will not be anxious for much more, if he remains in darkness; but if his mind is enlightened he will exert himself more. In general he thought the overseers attentive, the hospitals good, and the little plantations of the slaves well kept. They appeared to be a very happy race of men. He had seen runaway Negroes punished and worked in chains, but no cruelty inflicted. He never saw any thing to impress his mind that the treatment of the Negroes was cruel. He had thought otherwise formerly, but after having seen them he altered his view, and now he doubted whether they would be happier if emancipation were granted to them. He once saw a Negro man flogging another Negro severely, and he stopped and desired the man to be released, saying he would complain to the agent Mr. Simpson or Mr. Shand, and the overseer was dismissed. Being asked if he thought the cart-whip a cruel instrument of torture, he said that if it were laid on his back he should say it was uncommon torture; yet many seamen suffer more from the cat-o'-nine-tails. He admitted it was very bad that the whip should be inflicted at the pleasure of an individual, and thought it ought not to be allowed. Certainly when he was in Jamaica an overseer might inflict to the extent of thirty-nine lashes, without being answerable for it by law. When he compared the Negro with the English peasant he thought of apprenticeships in this country which were attended with as much harshness and cruelty as slavery. The slave might not have the same facility of redress by law as the apprentice; but, in the case of severity he had mentioned, the overseer, on his representation, was dismissed by the attorney. Had it been his lot to be born to labour, he should prefer the certainty of the black labourer for food, clothing, lodging, care, &c., to the uncertainty of the labourer procuring work, severity of climate, and other evils. He knew an apprentice might have his indentures cancelled if he were ill treated, but he did not know that a Negro might be emancipated if he were ill used (pp. 501—505).

Being asked whether he went on estates to obtain information respecting the Negroes, he answers, “decidedly not,” but to gain in-

formation as to working sugar, and general management, as he would visit a farm here. He thinks marriage is more protected in Jamaica than in England! Being asked whether a wife or daughter may not be flogged by the overseer before her husband's or father's eyes, and whether he would prefer being a labourer on these terms rather in Jamaica than in England; he said he had not thought, in making his answer, of wife and children, or any fine feelings about them, but about food. As to immorality and concubinage, never being guilty of these things himself, he made it a rule never to enquire into the doings of others. He did not think the Negro would work for wages if wages were given him: he could get enough by working on his own grounds, and he does not think it natural that a man, in a warm climate, should exert himself for more. With respect to the Negroes who worked at his pen, he admitted that he offered them pay for extra work, and, the pay being their own, they did it. (Now what is this but working for wages?)—The Negroes are a very cheerful people, much more happy than labourers here: that made him say he should prefer being a labourer there. He thinks Mr. Barrett has misnamed the driver's whip, in calling it a cart-whip; it is more like a postillion's whip on the continent; but, whatever be its proper name, Sir Charles adds, "decidedly the whip is a very cruel whip; there is no doubt of that." He knew many gentlemen in Jamaica, but he knew none more competent to give evidence than Mr. Shand and Mr. Simpson (p. 506—508).

XVIII. JAMES BECKFORD WILDMAN, Esq., has three estates in Jamaica, with 640 slaves upon them. He was there in 1825; and in 1826 he went out again and staid two years and a half. When he went he found the slaves perfectly destitute of all religious instruction, but by no means inferior in intellect to the labouring classes in this country. They were particularly astute in driving bargains, and perfectly acquainted with the proper prices of commodities. Between domestics and field Negroes there was a difference; but it was of the kind which exists between our servants in the house, and a ploughman or a girl taken out of a cottage. The first step he took was to give them religious instruction. He watched its progress, and the effect far surpassed any thing he had expected, and was quite as satisfactory as any thing that could be found in this country. Their morals also have improved under religious instruction. When he first went out there was not one slave that was married on the estate; by a letter lately received from a young man sent out by the Church Missionary Society as a teacher, there are only two living in concubinage. The change for the better from religious instruction was decided, and there was as great eagerness for it, if not more, in many instances, than he found in his own village in England. And not on his own estates only, but throughout the island, the desire for both religious and general knowledge is too strong to be eradicated. It cannot be eradicated. They will have it some way or other. If there were encouragement given to it, it would spread rapidly. At present it is not only not encouraged, but thwarted. There is a decided hostility to instructing the slaves in

letters. Many will give nothing but oral instruction, which he regards as a farce and deception. An hour is fixed for visiting the estate to give oral instruction; the Negroes may have a mile or a mile and a half to walk home; the teacher gets them together slowly enough, and begins catechising them, but they have scarcely entered on business when the hour is expended, and away they go again. He regards it not only as wholly inefficient in itself, but as carried on by most unfit agents, by book-keepers generally, who are themselves living in the grossest immorality, and who thus bring religion into contempt.

To employ persons living in open immorality to inculcate morality is surely a gross absurdity. In the case of his own people the effect of instruction was very gratifying in respect to their exertions in the labour of the estate: it was all done in a gratifying way. Looking only at his own interest, and without any higher motive, the proprietor will best promote those interests by the religious instruction of his slaves. His first object was to do away with the driving whip as a stimulus to labour, and he found that a most valuable change. The whip was used, not as a stimulus to labour, but only as a corrective of crime: and he thought all proprietors might pursue this course with advantage, if they would only treat their slaves as Christians would naturally treat their fellow-christians. The estates have certainly been less productive since he went out; but for that he thus accounts:—The system, when he arrived, was severe to a degree that was quite revolting and horrible, and, when he went to the other extreme, the Negroes relaxed altogether, and therefore at first little work was done; but, when they found that work must be done, though in a different way, they came into his plan, and it went on perfectly well. He effected this by talking to them, and making them understand that, if their work was not done, they must be punished for neglect of duty: and this lenient mode of proceeding had a great influence upon them. The hire of a field Negro in Jamaica is 3*s.* 4*d.* currency, or nearly 2*s.* 6*d.* sterling, a day. Now, what is actually given to the slave by the master is very little, as in fact he maintains himself by his provision grounds. Herrings are the chief allowance besides, in the way of food. All charges included, the cost of a slave to the master may be about £5 a head, besides the rent of house and grounds. This calculation includes the women and children. Hired labour is dear; for there is none to be got but that of jobbing gangs. And certainly a most miserable life is that which is led by those who compose such gangs. He tried the plan of giving allowances to his slaves for extra work, but he never could get overseers to enter heartily into the plan: the slaves were most ready to adopt it. His experience led him to say that they were quite disposed, while slaves, to work for money; but he was not equally convinced that they would do it when perfectly free; for then the stimulus to labour, which now operates, would be entirely lost. He talked with one of his head men on the subject, and explained the circumstances in which the slaves would be placed, giving up their grounds, and supporting entirely themselves and families. He shrunk back from the change, and this led him to think they would rather remain as they are than be free, if compelled to

work. The impression on his driver's mind evidently was that he might lose all he now possessed, and lose, besides, the protection and friendship of his master, and gain nothing* (p. 509—513).

The chief difficulty which Mr. Wildman had seen in the plan of wages was the want of a circulating medium. The only feasible plan that had occurred to him (for he had not looked to entire emancipation) was to bring the slaves into something like the condition of our labourers, but withholding the name of freedom, freedom implying in their view an exemption from labour. The admission of slave evidence has now been effected, which is most material; for the slave's life was in the master's hand before. He would totally put an end to trafficking on Sunday, and give him another day in lieu of it; for the master has now the whole seven days; and, if the slave does not work on Sunday, he starves. It would thus be in his power to keep the Sabbath. He would also provide a paid magistracy, it being absolutely essential that the magistrates should be wholly unconnected with the island. In that case the slave would get redress, which he cannot get now. The same should be the case with *all* judges, as the system now pursued of appointing planters to be judges is a mere farce. He would take away all power of corporal punishment from the master, and place it with the magistrate; and he would protect the slave from being separated from relations, or dispossessed of property, and make them in all respects like the peasantry of this country, except as to the name of freedom, being unwilling to break the link which now connects the master and slave with each other. Mr. Wildman's impression is that the only thing the slave sees valuable in freedom is exemption from labour; and he will be able to maintain himself on a piece of ground so easily that he will not be stimulated to labour beyond a bare subsistence,—a course to which he would be encouraged by the example of the low whites, and the free black and coloured classes also† (p. 514, 515).

* The case could hardly have been stated quite fairly to this slave, if such was his impression. He was not led to contemplate the possibility of retaining his house and land, paying a reasonable rent for them, and having wages besides—and all this, as might be the case, without losing his master's friendship, as his landlord, though no longer his master.

† We must here make a few remarks on these views of Mr. Wildman. In much of what he says we entirely acquiesce; but surely he sees difficulties where none really exist, if he deems that arising from the deficiency of a circulating medium to be insuperable.—But is Mr. Wildman quite correct in the view he has taken of the law as to slave evidence? He has not, we apprehend, read that law: he would otherwise have passed a very different judgment upon it. He is perhaps not aware that the present law on the subject, that of 1831, clauses 130, 131, and 132, are almost verbatim the same with the corresponding clauses of the Act of 1826, which was disallowed by Mr. Huskisson. Mr. Huskisson's observations upon it are as follows:—"This law appears to contemplate the admission of the evidence of slaves in those cases of crime only in which they are usually either the actors or the sufferers, *excluding the evidence in other cases*; a distinction which does not seem to rest on any solid foundation." "The rule which requires that two slaves at the least shall consistently depose to the same fact on being examined apart, before any free person can be convicted on slave testimony, will

Mr. Wildman was then questioned about Mr. Taylor's management and its effects on his property. He complained of it, saying that Mr Taylor was so carried away by his feelings and his scruples that great

greatly diminish the value of the general rule. In the case of rape, for example, such restriction might secure impunity to offenders of the worst description. The rejection of the testimony of slaves twelve months after the commission of the crime would be fatal to the ends of justice in many cases; nor is it easy to see what solid advantage could result from it in any case. If the owner of a slave is convicted of any crime on the testimony of that slave, the court has no power to declare that slave free, although it may exercise the power when it proceeds on other evidence. Highly important as it is to deprive a slave of any motive for giving false evidence against his owner, that object might be secured without incurring the inconvenience of leaving the slave in the power of an owner convicted of the extreme abuse of his authority." In these remarks of Mr. Huskisson, Lord Goderich entirely concurs. But neither of them pointedly notices the defect that the evidence of slaves is wholly excluded in *all civil* cases, and in all matters of wrong affecting their persons and property, and not involving certain crimes that are specifically mentioned in it. The whole range, therefore, of plantation discipline, not involving those specified crimes, is wholly excluded from the operation of this boasted law of slave evidence.

As it is of the very utmost importance that this subject should be fully understood, both as it respects the unintentional misapprehensions of such a man as Mr. Wildman, and the intentional sophistications of such men as Mr. Dignum and Mr. Burge, we will give the law as it actually stands in the statute-book at this moment.

"CXXX. And be it further enacted, That from and after the commencement of this act, upon any complaint made before a justice of the peace of any *murder, felony, burglary, robbery, rebellion, or rebellious conspiracy, treason, or traitorous conspiracy, rape, mutilation, branding, dismembering, or cruelly beating, or confining without sufficient support, a slave or slaves; or in any cases of seditious meetings, or of harbouring or concealing runaway slaves, or giving false tickets or letters to such runaway slaves, to enable them to elude detection; or on any inquisition before a coroner*; the evidence of any slave or slaves, respecting such complaint and inquisition, shall be received and taken by such justice of the peace or coroner; and on any prosecution in any of the courts of this island, for *any of the crimes before mentioned*, the evidence of a slave or slaves shall also be admitted and received: provided always, that, before such evidence shall be received, the justice of the peace, coroner, or court, shall be satisfied, on due examination had, that such slave comprehends the nature and obligation of an oath. And provided also, that nothing herein contained shall prevent the court from receiving objections as to the competency of such witness, or from receiving evidence as to the credibility of such witness, in like manner as they would receive the same as to free persons. And provided also, that no free person shall be convicted of any of the crimes aforesaid, whenever the evidence of any slave shall be admitted, *unless* two slaves at least clearly and consistently deposed to the same fact or circumstance, such slaves being examined apart and out of the hearing of each other, or *unless* the evidence of one slave shall be corroborated by some free person deposing clearly and distinctly to the same fact or circumstance, such free person and slave to be examined separately and apart from each other. And provided also, that no free person shall be convicted on the testimony of any slave or slaves of any crime or offence, as aforesaid, unless the complaint shall have been made within twelve months after the commission thereof, and unless the crime or offence shall have been committed subsequent to the commencement of this act. And provided also, that no free person, accused of *any crimes herein before mentioned*, shall be committed for trial, or re-

loss ensued, and he should have lost all had Mr. Taylor remained; as, conceiving that slavery was a crime, he neglected to maintain due discipline: indeed, there was a total relaxation of discipline. The year before Mr. Taylor came into the management he had realised £2000; the year Mr. Taylor left he was deficient £1400. He remonstrated with him on the change; and his answers turned almost exclusively on the right or wrong of slavery (p. 515 and 517).

Mr. Wildman's own plan was, that, when a slave behaved decidedly ill, he punished him. He flogged only three, however, during the whole time he was there. One was a young man belonging to Salt Savannah, who absconded once for three days, and afterwards for a week. On his return Mr. Wildman talked with him, and told him if he continued thus to run away he would be of no use to him; and, rather than allow him to set so bad an example to the other slaves, he should part with him. The slave urged him impudently to do so. Mr. W. then had him punished with sixteen or seventeen stripes, when he begged very hard, and promised not to repeat the offence. The driver told Mr. Wildman that the young man was particularly quiet and well-disposed, and that he had doubtless been set on by the other slaves to try the experiment how far they might venture to go, in behaving ill, with impunity. Though the use of the whip, therefore, was practically discontinued, it was not extinguished, when crime was com-

quired to enter into any recognizance to appear and take his or her trial upon the evidence of any slave, *unless* such evidence shall be corroborated by some other slave or free person clearly and consistently deposing to the same fact, being examined apart as aforesaid."

The next clause, 131, refers merely to technical matters of form, and the allowances to be made to slave witnesses, and the compensation to be made to their owners; and it is therefore omitted.

"CXXXII. And, in order to remove as much as possible any temptation to commit perjury by those slaves who shall be required to give evidence, be it enacted, that the court *shall not be at liberty* to exercise the power given by this act for declaring any slave free and discharged from all manner of servitude, where the owner of such slave has been convicted of particular offences, if *any slave* shall have been sworn upon the trial as a witness on the part of the prosecution."

The reader will here observe that this last provision debars the liberation of a suffering slave from his cruel master, not only when he himself is a witness, but when *any slave*, and consequently when 20 or 100 slaves testify to the same fact. We would further observe that now, for the first time, is the *branding* of a slave made penal by the law of Jamaica.

Now we can have no doubt that Mr. Wildman will agree with us that the admission of slave evidence is most inadequately and elusively effected by this law.

We must wholly differ also from Mr. Wildman in thinking that all the slave sees in freedom is an exemption from labour. He cannot have given a correct account of the intelligence of the slaves, if this be true; for the slave himself, if he opens his eyes and looks around him, must see that no human being, whether slave or free, is exempted from labour. Let Mr. Wildman only read the evidence of Admiral Fleming on the Caraccas, Cuba, and Hayti, given above, p. 378—390, and he must see that, if he continues to maintain his present views of this subject, it can only be from his labouring under the influence of some unsuspected prejudice.

mitted. The instances in which it was used (and he was thankful they were so few) was in cases in which the man would have been sent to gaol in this country by a magistrate. Mr. Wildman said that had he stuck to the law, which is not usually done either on one side or the other, he might have given, in each of these cases, 39 lashes. He had it in his power by law to give to the extent of 39 lashes, if any thing displeased him, even a look : that was decidedly the law. The master was the sole judge when a man should be punished, and to what extent, provided it was not beyond 39 lashes. To that nominal number he was restricted by law, but persons went constantly far beyond the law. If a slave did any thing to offend his owner or overseer, even by a look, he might be punished with 39 lashes, and the owner was answerable to no one for doing so. The whip was abolished on Mr. W's. estates as a stimulus to labour, but retained as a punishment for offences, on the principle that if a farmer in his parish in England had complained to him of his servant neglecting his labours, he would have sent him to the tread-mill for a certain time (p. 516, 517).

Mr. Wildman does not think that, if the slaves were free, any sugar at all would be cultivated, or that any labour could be hired for that purpose. He does not believe that degradation attaches to sugar cultivation on account of its being the work of slaves. The taunt is not that a man has, but that he has not a master on whom to depend.* A free brown man, married to one of his own slaves, lives on Papine, and the slaves speak of him quite sneeringly.—There is the greatest possible distinction between domestic slavery and field labour. If a domestic slave is turned into the field, he views it as a great degradation ; but the field labourer does not so view it. Before he came away he turned all his domestic slaves into the field, on purpose to do away the impression of any disgrace in field labour.—Cavaliers was inhabited by free people, who rented small portions of land, but who led very dissolute lives, cultivating a little coffee, to enable them to tempt the slaves on the coffee estates around them to steal it, and sell it to them ; and, when the time came for paying their rent, they sold their crops, and were off, and did not return again. Their houses were inferior to those of his own slaves on Papine, and even to the houses of *industrious* slaves generally on other estates, though, on estates, some huts were worse than theirs. Their *ordinary* clothing was superior to that of the slaves ; but, when the slaves put on their best, they were better clothed than those people. Their furniture was better than that of some of the slaves, but inferior to that of the head people on estates. The people of colour, however, in general are better clothed than the best clothed of the slaves ; but the people in Cavaliers were certainly not so well off as respectable slaves on estates. The persons who resorted thither were probably servants, to whom gentlemen had given freedom on their quitting the island ; and, being close to Kingston, and the land rich which they

* Surely Mr. Wildman's philosophy is at fault here. He is misled by the circumstances of his own particular case, and the affection his own slaves bear to him.

had an opportunity of hiring, it became a favourite resort of such persons. The free people on Pedro plains are much better off than the Cavaliers people: they have cattle. Those at Cavaliers keep much out of sight. They are less frank and bold in their manners than the slaves, which he attributes to their predatory habits. They had women and families with them, but he did not think they were married. They had no religious worship or instruction whatever. He endeavoured to establish, before he came away, both divine service and a school among them; the reports he has since received are favourable: and he has a confidence that they and their children will avail themselves of instruction, and will improve by it; but he was fearful of freedom without the restraint of religious feeling.—The people at Cavaliers mostly built their own huts; and the land was rented to them at about £2 an acre (p. 518, 519).

Mr. Wildman was decidedly of opinion that the slaves, on the existing system, could not employ Sunday in religious instruction. "They must employ it in their maintenance, or starve" (p. 519).

Mr. Wildman had stated that four slaves, whom he had tempted to work for hire as an experiment, had overworked themselves, and he was asked to reconcile that fact with his opinion that they would not work for hire when free: he replied, "The slaves knew they were compellable to work, therefore any reward given them was a boon for which they exerted themselves." He had tried this experiment, to see whether they would work for the inducement of gain: no threat or compulsion was used, and at the end of the day they were found to have overworked themselves. This was not the only experiment he tried. In other cases he gave money to have work done, and always with success. Mr. Wildman, notwithstanding this universal success of his experiments, does not think it a proof that the slave if free will so work. As a slave, a man must labour for a certain time, and any reward he can get is a bonus; but if free he may choose to work at all or not, as it pleases him. He had no doubt that the fear of want, if he could be made to feel it, would induce him to work; but Mr. Wildman apprehends that if made free, as he could support himself with a little labour, he would do no more than was needful to that end. He thinks, therefore, if a state of villainage could be substituted for slavery, instead of perfect freedom, he has no doubt it might be made to answer. His notion is simply this: If the planter could command his Negroes as the farmer can his labourers through the magistrate in England, the thing could be done. The cottager here may be compelled to work to support his family, and if he does not he is punishable. Now if the slave was in the same state, and his wants compelled him to work every day in the week as the cottager does, then the same system might be adopted there as here.

In crop time the practice is for the slave to be in the field and begin work before sunrise and to continue at work till twelve; and to return to it again at two, and continue till dark. The practice on one of his estates, when he first went out, was to keep what is called the long spell: that is to say, one spell at the mill and boiling house

continued to work there from noon on Monday, for example, till noon on Tuesday, when it was relieved by the other spell from the field that had been at work from day dawn in the morning, and then remained at the mill and boiling house till Wednesday at noon, and so alternately throughout the week ; so that there were thirty-six hours of continuous labour, and from ten to twelve hours of continuous rest, in each forty-eight hours. But on his other estates, where the short spell was kept, there were eighteen hours of continuous labour and five or six hours of rest, in each twenty-four hours. The long spell appeared to Mr. Wildman to be a very dreadful system, and when he discovered it on going out, he resolved to put an end to it ; but he found, to his surprise, that his attorney was actually ignorant of the existence of any such practice till he pointed it out and convinced him of it. That system was put an end to, and in place of it the mill was stopped every night at eight o'clock ; and when the sugar was boiled off, which took an hour and a half or two hours, the whole of the people went home ; and the mill began again at four in the morning, so that they might all have if they chose seven or eight hours' rest in the twenty-four. He did not consider this change as any loss to himself ; for it was plainly utterly impossible for human life to stand such long interruptions of rest, whether at hard work or not. It was wholly incompatible with the health of the slave. He therefore put a stop to it ; but he was thwarted on all sides in his endeavours to do so, not only by the overseers, but by the slaves themselves ; for where the long spell had been established they preferred it to the short spell, which calls them up at midnight to divide the night work between them. They pleaded that, when called up at midnight to go to the mill, they were so sleepy that they were often late and so got flogged. But when Mr. Wildman explained his plan, which was to secure to them a continuous sleep of seven or eight hours in the twenty-four, they were glad of the change (p. 523—525).

Mr. Wildman mentioned that one of the disadvantages attending this protracted labour was the manifest injury to the health of the persons, among others, who fed the mill with canes : they got wet from the spurting out of the cane juice over them, and then at the end of their protracted labours, throwing themselves down to sleep without due precaution, they caught severe colds, the nights in the early part of crop time being excessively cold. He had seen this with his own eyes, and had even fed the mill himself to satisfy himself of the reality of the evil. Though well clothed he was wet, and should have been ill had he not changed his dress. He considers this as one great cause of the loss of Negroes on sugar estates ; and it is one of which it is quite impossible that any person who had to manage a boiling house could be ignorant. In this case what was gained in produce was lost in the life and health of the slaves.

He found this remission of night labour to be beneficial in another way. A very fine woman came to him to complain of her loss of children. She never could, as she expressed it, hold a child in her arms. When he quitted Jamaica the last time, this woman had got three children in four years. There were other similar cases. Indeed

the slaves became far more prolific under the new system. Before he went out first the returns exhibited only three births in a year out of 280 slaves on Papine. The years that succeeded his going out and acting on this plan exhibit from nine to eleven births annually. In general the returns in Jamaica exhibit only the children who attain the age of twelve months, but the number who die before that age is very considerable, in spite of the utmost care. As for the losses by abortion, they are never reckoned at all. The necessity of night work, in order to working off the crop in time to take advantage of the seasons for putting in the new plant, is such that night work is again resumed on the plan of double spells, or of dividing the night; but he has directed that, to obviate the evil of the system, the spell which has to take the duty from 6 to 12 shall not repair to the field in the afternoon; but have the period from shell-blow, that is from twelve to six, for sleep, or any thing else they may choose (p. 524, 525).

In forming a police for preserving due order and enforcing industry, it ought to be kept in view that the blacks are much less apt to be jealous of authority exercised over them by persons of their own colour than by browns (p. 526).

Negroes will, like all other people, sometimes make frivolous or exaggerated complaints; but this is by no means always the case. He has known his own people severely punished when he has himself been on the estate, and has not heard of it for months, and then casually (p. 526).

Mr. Wildman had spoken of book-keepers being employed on estates as catechists; he is asked whether there are not catechists and clergymen sent out by the Conversion Society, and also island curates; to which he replies that some of the island curates exert themselves very properly in instructing the slaves; but others do not at all. They do not give lettered instruction, but that is only one objection to it: it is inefficient in other ways; for, while the system pursued is oral only, the time allotted is so wholly inadequate that no benefit can be derived from it. He spoke generally, and of what fell within his own observation. He does not say there are no exceptions; there are clergymen in the island whose exertions are beyond all praise. The time allotted for instruction by catechists is almost universally *one* hour a week. He has known estates visited on this system, and he pronounces it to be totally inadequate; he saw no beneficial effects, no progress at all to justify what has been said of it. He knew of two estates attended by the zealous clergymen to whom he referred, which were not in the rebellion. On many estates the Negroes carried on the cultivation in the absence of the overseers (p. 527).

Mr. Wildman was then asked about a slave of his, named Eleanor James, who had been most barbarously punished by the proprietor of a neighbouring estate, but for which no redress whatever was obtained, nor any penalty incurred by anyone. He laid the case before the Colonial Office. (See the account given of this transaction in our vol. IV. No. 83, p. 317.) Mr. Wildman is quite satisfied a man may live a month on an estate and be as ignorant of what goes on there as if he were in England. He could only enquire of overseers and book-keepers.

If he were to enquire of the slaves, it would be resented. He has himself gone upon an estate at the wish of the proprietor, and with the authority of the attorney, and been round it with the overseer, and yet failed in seeing the people. Without the employment of any particular caution, it is almost impossible for strangers to find out what is doing on estates. An attorney or overseer may most unquestionably exercise severe and tyrannical power without its being known to the public, even as far as to the sacrifice of Negro life. He had reason to know instances of this, slave evidence not being then admissible. (Mr. Wildman erroneously conceives, as we have shown, that there is any material change in the law of slave evidence as affecting plantation discipline.) From his own experience, he knows it to be perfectly absurd to suppose that a commander-in-chief visiting an estate, unless he took very particular pains indeed (and even then it would be difficult), could obtain any knowledge of the condition of the slaves upon it (p. 528).

Mr. Wildman's own slaves were perfectly quiet during the insurrection (*ibid.*).

He began his system of instruction immediately on returning to the island, after his first visit; but he was assailed in the newspapers as an enemy to the colony: he was told that if he meant to set fire to his own estate, he had no right to burn down those of others. The most infamous, ribaldrous, libels were published against him and his family: a more filthy libel was never published against an unoffending lady than one of them (*ibid.*).

He has had the most gratifying proofs of the gratitude of his slaves in their exertions by labour to bring up his estates from the low state to which they had fallen. The slaves on Salt Savannah voluntarily offered to give up their own time to repair the waste on that estate. When Mr. Farquharson, his present attorney and friend, took possession, the Negroes came to him in a body, and said they were ashamed and hurt he should see its condition; and at night they came to him again in a body, to say that they would give up their whole time till the estate was put in order again; and since that time the work has been carried on to Mr. Farquharson's entire satisfaction (p. 528).

Mr. Wildman mentioned one instance of the extraordinary voluntary diligence of his slaves. They had become subjects of taunt in the neighbourhood—"There goes one of Massa Wildman's Niggers"—and some of them were made wretched by these taunts about their freedom and laziness. On one occasion, however, they had to execute some hard work in digging a trench between his estate and Pusey Hall, and it was allotted in equal portions to the same number of slaves of the two gangs. The overseer said to them, "You are called worthless; you will not work, your master having done away with the whip. The Pusey Hall people work with the whip. Let them see what you can do." They set to work in such good earnest that, before the day was out, the Pusey Hall people complained that the Salt Savannah people would kill them if they went on so.—The whip in the field is now disused on Mr. Wildman's estates. Though not used, it was still carried in the field while he was there. The driver,

a very old Negro, begged not to be deprived of it, but promised that it should not be used ; for he deemed its appearance necessary to keep up his authority. Mr. Taylor put it down entirely ; and Mr. Farquharson, who has as great a horror of the whip as Mr. Wildman, has not resumed it. It is still used for crimes, but not for deficiency of labour ; but he cannot tell what the understanding of the Negroes is upon that point. If a slave quitted the field, or did not perform his fair task, he was punished, but not by the whip ; by some privation, or by confinement ; but it was fully understood that the whip was retained, though in practice only used for crimes or offences. He thought, from all his experience, and the circumstances he had stated, that the Negroes were operated upon by the same feelings of gratitude and affection as other human beings. He still thinks, however, that, if emancipated, they would be unwilling to work ; and this he attributes to the facility with which they could support themselves if free, to their natural indolence, and to the climate. He had himself worked in his garden with a stout Negro, who told him that, if he made his slaves to work as he had done, he would kill them all in three months : but it would have been utterly impossible for him to have gone on working in that way for any length of time. He has known Negroes to carry loads to market which they could not be induced, even by force, to carry for their master ; but it was voluntarily done for their own benefit : and, in point of fact, it is true that the Negroes do exert themselves, with great energy, for the purpose of obtaining, not only food, but comforts and luxuries.

Mr. Wildman admitted that if the slaves, who had now only 26 days in the year during which to provide for themselves and their families, occupied themselves diligently in their own grounds, they would do so, supposing the number to be increased to 35, or any larger number ; nor did he believe that there was any limit to which it might not be extended with advantage, and even with increased energy on their parts, with a view to the acquisition of wealth ; and especially if their moral habits were improved by religious instruction. Of this he was so well persuaded that he should not feel the least disinclination, in the course of a few years, that government should proclaim freedom to all slaves. He saw no reason to suppose that there would be any difference in their conduct and that of manufacturers and artisans at home, except as religion, and as the means of providing for every essential gratification with less labour made a difference. But he thought that, if emancipation took place in their present uninformed state, it would be the destruction of the slaves and of the island too. Four or five years might be sufficient for preparation, especially if a good example were set them, and they were not corrupted, as now, by the licentious lives of their superiors. The overseers now are generally not married men. At present married men are refused employment, simply because they are married. Married men meet with general discouragement from the planters. What the objection really is to employing them he cannot precisely say, but it is almost insuperable. The present profligacy of the whites is certainly very prejudicial to the interests of proprietors ; and why it is not put down,

it is difficult to say. In fact the system of Jamaica, from beginning to end, is so very corrupt that the moral instruction of the Negro is hindered by it. If the Negro is taught morality, he can point to his master and say, "You tell me to do so and so; but what do you do yourself?" He was of opinion, however, that the interests of the owner and of the attorney are often diametrically opposed to each other, and this is one of the sources of destruction to West Indian property. The cause of the preference given to unmarried men it is difficult to assign: it certainly is not the expense. At the same time it is obvious that a dissolute attorney would not feel at ease where the overseers or book-keepers were living morally as married men. Many of the attorneys are said to keep women on every estate they go to; but he does not say this of his own knowledge. There are many cases in which, independently of this, the interests of attorneys and owners are directly at variance. Attorneys are often paid according to the returns they make; and they may not care one penny if it be made by the sacrifice of human life. He does not believe that a better system prevailed, even when there were proprietors, married men, residing in the island. In fact, all the young men who go out to Jamaica, go out there under the idea of again returning to England: and they also know that they may at any time be turned out of their situations at a moment's warning; and that, while out of employment, they would be obliged to depend on the hospitality of neighbouring overseers; and that, if deprived of that resource, they might be ruined (p. 530—532).

Mr. Wildman's plan of instruction for his slaves was as follows:—He established an infant school, and kept the little children there all day. The gang or class above them in age he took for two hours in the morning, and two hours in the afternoon. The second gang he took for one hour a day out of his (Mr. Wildman's) time, and endeavoured to induce them to stay one hour of their own time; for, as they did not work for themselves then, it would be comparative rest being in school. Then the adults were under no regular plan of instruction, except on Sunday: but many of them would come during their mid-day interval, and also at night, voluntarily, for instruction. And this abstraction of time he did not regard as any loss to the owner; and he was firmly convinced that, on that plan, at the end of seven years, the master would be no poorer (p. 532, 533).

One emancipated slave of his own worked for hire on his estate; but it was the only instance he knew. He was acquainted with the general condition of the free blacks. He thought them increasing in wealth and prosperity, through the medium of their own industry. He had the same view of the condition of the free people of colour, except that they acquired more from gifts and bequests than the blacks; for it is common for white men who have lived with women in this way, when they quit the island, to give them a house and some property; and a great proportion of their property may have come to them from that source (p. 533).

Mr. Wildman could not venture to say what time it might take, under a system of active instruction, to prepare the slaves for eman-

ipation. His own, he thought, were not yet fit, though he had been at work since 1826. The same pains had not been taken on other estates; indeed, few admitted education at all. When he said that five years might suffice to prepare the slaves for emancipation, he assumed that a plan universally adopted would be carried on with more care than an individual, thwarted at every turn, could take. Under existing circumstances, he was decidedly of opinion that no provision for instruction could be made effectual in any short time. He alluded to the objection felt to instruction on the part of the planters; and, even if that were overcome, he does not think that the population would be so changed in five years as to make emancipation safe. He considers that, before being exposed to the chances of such a transition, they should have a decided knowledge of religious principles and practice, and a habit of acting accordingly. He hoped by such means to counteract the temptations to indolence in a country where the necessaries and superfluities of life are so easily acquired, and the climate inclines to indolence. Mr. Wildman conceives also that a slave has no adequate idea what freedom is; but the illustration he adduces to support the position is certainly as remote from any thing like a logical deduction as can well be imagined. He says, "When I came from Jamaica, a little girl, whom my sister brought home from the island, was astonished to see a white woman selling fish. They cannot fancy a white woman working" (p. 534).

If the resolutions of Parliament in 1823 had been followed up, as they ought to have been, by adequate means of instruction, Mr. Wildman would not have the slightest objection to the slaves being now declared free. Unfortunately no great increase of exertion in supplying the means of instruction in Jamaica has taken place since that time. The Church Missionary Society and the Sectarians alone have been efficiently active during the interval. By the established church, through the Bishop, little has been done. The Bishop has even materially impeded the progress of instruction. He says this, though he himself is a zealous member of the establishment, and much opposed in some respects to Dissenters. Instruction under the church of England has certainly not advanced in any degree adequate to the expense. The bishop has unhappily thought it dangerous to interfere with the prevailing vices. He has not assailed the great immoralities he witnessed, and has deemed it necessary to temporize, and leave them untouched. In saying this he alluded to the whole population, white and black. When he has known instances of gross immorality, he has not set his face against them as a Christian Bishop ought to have done. Of all the teachers of religion in Jamaica the Sectarians are decidedly the most efficient. They give themselves up devotedly to their work, and in many instances have been eminently successful. Comparing the Sectarians with the established clergy, he knew of no case of immorality among the Sectarians. Of the clergy he could not say the same; of that he spoke without doubt. The Church Missionary Society's missionaries are far superior; they also employ respectable moral men of colour when they can get them. Their exertions emanate solely from the members of the Church of England. They do not

employ Dissenters. Their exertions have been very considerable and very successful (p. 535).

Mr. Wildman did not mean to apply what he had said of immorality to the clergy generally. But he spoke of individuals both now and heretofore, and certainly the number of immoral men among them was greater than in this country. The clergy were by no means under the necessity of confining their pastoral care to the whites. Mr. Trew, of St. Thomas in the East, was most active, and the change he produced in the population of his parish was almost incredible. His system was to direct his morning service chiefly to the whites, and, after the service, he kept a school for the blacks, and for any who liked to come. The afternoon service was addressed almost exclusively to the blacks and browns; and, after that service, there was again a school. Had there been a Mr. Trew in every parish the effect would have been very great. Once, when staying at Mr. Trew's house, five or six head men from different estates came, and, a report being current of an insurrection which was likely to involve St. Thomas in the East, he asked their opinion: they, one and all, said, "Fear nothing of the kind in this parish; we will not only not suffer our own people to commit any excess, but we will not suffer any slave from other parts to interfere with us." This Mr. Wildman heard with his own ears. And yet Mr. Trew drew more malice and envy upon him than any other man in the island. He quitted Jamaica on account of his health. Had there been a Mr. Trew in every parish he should not have had the slightest fear of emancipation as to its safety; though he might still doubt the slaves continuing to labour (p. 536).

Mr. Trew, in his efforts to spread instruction, obtained the aid of many whites in his own parish; but nevertheless the ill will he drew on himself was very general, and that was increased after the Bishop came out: for he used to hold up Mr. Trew as an example to his clergy, which made him a marked man, at the same time that he himself thwarted Mr. Trew in an extraordinary way. He praised him and his exertions in his charges; but at the same time he was much opposed to Mr. Trew. Mr. Trew was assailed by slander, and met with opposition even in his own parish. He was even effectually thwarted on estates to which proprietors and attorneys authorized him to attend; for a clergyman in Jamaica cannot go upon an estate in his own parish without permission, and the Bishop even restricted his clergy from doing so without leave; so that it would have been impossible for Mr. Trew, or any clergyman, to instruct the slaves of his own parish: even if the slaves were willing to give up to him their two hours at noon, and he were to come to instruct them, the overseer might still absolutely refuse permission.* Mr. Wildman thinks the class of instructors sent out by the Church Missionary Society and

* The words of the Curates' Act of 1816 were express on this point: The Rectors and Curates were required to instruct the slaves who may be desirous to be instructed: "*Provided always that the consent and approbation of the person in possession of the estate or plantation to be visited be first had and obtained for that purpose.*"

the Dissenting Missionaries much better suited to the work of instructing negroes than educated university men. The morals and doctrines of those missionaries he believed to be sound and good, and their conduct exemplary.

And yet he should decidedly prefer pious clergyman of the church of England if to be had, feeling that there is inconvenience in the want of responsibility on the part of Sectarians, and that a clergyman must, at least, be possessed of general education and character (p. 537, 538).

Mr. Wildman has always understood that the greater part of the poor rate, raised in Jamaica, was expended on the whites.

Mr. Wildman being asked whether, in the conversation he had had with his driver about freedom, as mentioned above, he told him that, though free, he would still be at liberty to live on the estate, paying rent, but receiving wages, replied that he had not mentioned wages. He certainly thought that they could be made to understand that freedom was not an exemption from labour, but a state in which they should have the benefit of their own labour. He admits fully (and it is important to note this after the strong opinions expressed by Mr. Wildman as to the present unfitness of the slaves for freedom) that the slaves could be made to understand that continuing attached to their residences and grounds, and paying rent for them, while they received reasonable wages, they might thus live in ease by the exercise of moderate industry, and enjoy the blessings and comforts of life. He thinks certainly that the present state of things cannot continue long, as they are now, without proceeding from bad to worse. If the present system goes on, the Negroes, he thinks, will not remain quiet.

The punishments in use in Jamaica now are very cruel punishments. "The general system is to give them a certain number of stripes with a long whip, which inflicts either a dreadful laceration, or a dreadful contusion, and then they follow up that by a very severe flogging with ebony switches: the ebony being a very strong wiry plant, with small leaves, like a myrtle leaf, and under every leaf a very sharp, tough, thorn; and then after that they are rubbed with brine." He never himself saw it done: he could not have borne it; but he knew it to be practised in every part of the island. He had seen the persons of the slaves after they had been so punished, and has had to listen to the complaints of his own people, who complained wofully of it. They are struck a number of times with one of these switches, or rather bushes, which is thrown away when worn and another taken. Slaves are also punished in the bilboes in the most unmerciful manner. An iron fetter goes round the feet, and is made to run on a long iron bar, fixed on an inclined plane, to which a dozen individuals are often fixed. They are confined here all night, lying back on the inclined plane, which is a hard board, and let out in the morning to go to work, this kind of punishment being often continued for weeks together. The punishments also in the workhouses are dreadful. He had never been in any of the gaols but one, and that was extremely filthy. It was that of St. Andrew, at Half-way Tree, near Papine. He had had occasion to commit a Negress there, and she was reported to be in so

bad a state that he went to inspect the gaol, and he found it in a most filthy state, and the punishments little short of those of the inquisition: they were actually tortured there. The mode of flogging was to put a rope round each wrist, and a rope round each ankle, and then they were what the sailors call “bowed out” with a tackle and pulley. He never saw this performed, but knew that it was done from his own Negroes, who had been sent there. He complained to the custos and magistrates of the parish of these proceedings. The result was, that the block and tackle system was defended as a humane practice, as it prevented the sufferer from turning in his agony, and getting a blow on a tender part. When he went to examine the gaol, a Negro was called to lie down and show how it was done. A skin was stretched on the ground, and he lay upon the skin, and then this tackle was applied to him; and, though Mr. W. and several others were looking, yet when the rope was tightened by another Negro, the man who was operated upon gave a yell, which made Mr. Wildman quite start. The yell was not from apprehension; but from actual pain. He represented all this to the custos, Mr. Mais; but no notice whatever was taken of it at that time, which was just before he last quitted Jamaica (p. 339-340).

Being further questioned as to his views of the effect of emancipation upon the slaves, he said he thought the Negro, though he would work, would not so work as to carry on the cultivation of sugar. A want of religious instruction was another obstacle. The Conversion Society, he said, had by no means been actively conducted.—He thought that, in case of emancipation, masters might be relieved from all responsibility as to the food both of old and young. The old people are now taken care of without the master, by the Negroes themselves. Old and young might be left to the operation of natural affection. The feelings of kindred, and the love of parents and children, he thinks, are as strong in the Negro as in the white. They even carry it beyond this, to those who came over from Africa in the same ship, whom they call shipmates, and always address with regard. There is no doubt they would support their sickly children and their aged parents. Their families now support them, with the exception of the master’s allowance of clothing, &c. When old and decrepit, and wholly incapable of labour, the master provides for them, the relations aiding. The propriety and advantage of emancipation, he still thought, would turn on the slaves’ being instructed. He candidly confessed that he thought all profit to him as a proprietor would cease from that time. He admitted, however, that he might be mistaken in his expectations on this point. He certainly conceived free labour to be as cheap as slave labour; but he did not think that sugar would be cultivated by free labour, unless all the land could be ploughed—(and why not all ploughed?)—then cane might be cultivated; but not if the ground is to be dug, as now. The plough could not be applied, he thinks, to two-thirds of the island; but he does not assent to the injury caused to the land by ploughing and exposure to the sun. The digging of caue-holes is the most severe labour he knows,

except, perhaps, felling trees with the axe. He would sooner dig an acre of hops than an acre of canes* (p. 541, 542).

XIX. The Rev. JONATHAN TYERS BARRETT, D. D., is Secretary to

* It is true that there is a great deal of mountain land in Jamaica where the plough could not conveniently be used ; but there are very extensive tracts of level and fair lying land in that island, more than sufficient for all its present sugar growth ; and we can have no doubt that there are in Jamaica at least a million of acres on which the plough could be made to move as easily as in England.

But the point to which we chiefly object in the generally able, luminous, and truly interesting evidence of Mr. Wildman, is the strong opinion he has formed that full and effective religious instruction should and must precede emancipation, in order to render that measure a safe one. Mr. Wildman will not suppose that we undervalue the extreme, the paramount importance of religion in all states and circumstances of life. But to affirm, as he does, that the influence of real Christianity must precede a man's restoration to the enjoyment of his natural, and civil, and even political rights, is a proposition which we find it very difficult to understand how any man so intelligent and so observant as Mr. Wildman should have permitted himself for one moment to entertain. Would he then propose that men's natural and civil rights should be restrained in proportion to their want of Christian knowledge and Christian practice? One effect of this would be that the masters in Jamaica would soon have to change places with at least an equal number of their slaves. Besides, what man, or set of men, or what legislature, would Mr. Wildman entrust with the exercise of this vague and anomalous power of deciding the point when the influence of Christian faith shall have attained the measure that shall entitle a slave to freedom?—Look at the mighty masses which float along the streets of London, and of other great towns, and fill our villages throughout the length and breadth of this Christian land,—how many of these would Mr. Wildman reckon to have reached the degree of religious knowledge which, if he were the absolute arbiter of their destiny, would constitute their title to freedom, or leave them still to fetters and the whip? Look, moreover, at the state and progress of society in all ages, and in all countries ; in the present times as well as in the past ; in states highly civilized, as well as in those advancing from barbarism ; in polished France, or in less favoured portions of the globe. What statesman or even divine has ever supposed that, however religion might advance the well-being of states and individuals, the capacity to fulfil the ordinary duties of civil life, the exercise of a man's own limbs and faculties, the admission to the rights of nature and the protection of law, were to be suspended on the efficacy of certain schools, and the success of certain preachers of the Gospel? Some West Indians, and we are sorry to say some bishops of the church, have wished to suspend the marriage tie, which from the creation has been enjoined by the Creator on the whole race of man, on their being able to understand the matrimonial service of the Church of England ; but, if we understand Mr. Wildman correctly (and we should be sorry to do him wrong, for few men have a larger share of our esteem, and even admiration), his principle goes much farther even than this ; and we might have slavery to endure for ever, if only the professors and teachers of Christianity shall be supine, or obstacles to their success shall be wickedly interposed. Surely, also, Mr. Wildman knows better than any man what indifferent lessons either of morality or religion are likely to be learned in a state of slavery ; and that, though freedom may be, and too often is, abused, yet that, of all the impediments to the diffusion of the influence of moral and religious truth which are not common to the whole race of man, slavery is the worst.

the Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction of the Negro slaves. He has held the situation since 1822. He has corresponded with the Bishops of Jamaica and Barbadoes, and received from them various communications. Before the appointment of bishops, there were nine persons employed by the Society in all the West Indies. Since that time they do not send missionaries or chaplains, but only catechists. One chaplain was sent to Lord Seaford's estates, but he died. The bishops are averse to having chaplains of the Society in their dioceses, as it caused a collision of authorities, and was not quite compatible with ecclesiastical discipline.* Dr. Barrett then delivered in several reports, remarking that the late accounts were scanty, owing to the hurricane in Barbadoes, and the rebellion in Jamaica; the communications at no time being copious. The persons now employed by the Society are lay catechists. There are about fifty in all the islands. These are appointed by the bishops, and the Society at home knows little of them. In Jamaica, some of them are book-keepers, and some are persons of colour. He knows little about them, and does not even know the principle on which they are selected. Infant schools, on the plan of Mr. Wildman, were recommended by the bishop, but none have been established by the Society, though some have by a Ladies' Society, under the Duchess of Beaufort. Dr. Barrett thinks the bishops have not generally complained of obstructions, but, on the contrary, have spoken favourably of the disposition of the planters towards instruction. He cannot tell the number of slaves under instruction in Jamaica, nor can he furnish any return. Marriages are stated to have increased. He does not know whether the book-keepers employed by the Bishop of Jamaica are moral men or not. He does not believe that the Bishop thinks of extending that system; Dr. Barrett says, he believes that reading is taught in all the schools of the diocese of Barbadoes, but not to the same extent in that of Jamaica.†

All this is sufficiently frigid and unsatisfactory.

XX. WILLIAM BURGE, Esq., merely gave in a paper containing an account of the expenditure in Jamaica for ecclesiastical or charitable purposes, amounting, for the clergy of all descriptions, to £23,600 currency; for presbyterian teachers, to £1206; and for a Roman Catholic Priest, to £200; besides £6000 for the Kingston Hospital, and about £8650 for free schools and charitable seminaries, chiefly intended for poor whites.

XXI. JOHN MACGREGOR, Esq. This gentleman has never been in the West Indies, and knows nothing of them; but he has been in North America, and has written a book entitled "British America,"

* Thus the spiritual interests of the slave population are to be postponed to some ecclesiastical punctilio.

† The fact is that, in Jamaica, the slaves who were taught reading by the Conversion Society amounted, in 1829, to the mighty number of 210. Neither is it true that in all the schools under the Bishop of Barbadoes reading is taught. His own reports show the contrary.

which contains a chapter about free Negroes, in which he gives an unfavourable view of the state of some of that class, refugees from the United States, who are settled in Canada; but, as it contains nothing which at all tends to throw light on the present enquiry, we pass it over in silence.

We have now gone through the whole of the *oral* evidence taken before this Committee. There still remains, however, some documentary evidence to be considered. Of the population tables presented by Mr. Amyot, we defer the consideration for the present, until we have it in our power to exhibit a more full view of that whole subject than these partial documents would enable us to do; and, in the mean time, we refer our readers to the Reporter, No. 100, as containing a comprehensive view of the slave population of the British Colonies, wholly unaffected by the tables now before us.

We omit also the meagre details extracted by Dr. Barrett from the Conversion Society's Reports, as the substance of them is already to be found in our pages, and there is nothing therefore to be drawn either new or interesting.

But we cannot pass over so lightly the remainder of the documentary evidence contained in the appendix to this bulky volume. One of them is entitled "FREE AND SLAVE LABOUR," and contains "an extract from the examination of Annasamy (a native of Madras, settled in the Mauritius), by the Commissioners who visited the Eastern Colonies, to enquire into the means of improving those Colonies." It is dated 16th August, 1827. We extract a few passages from this document.

"What was the condition of the slaves on the estate of Bon Espoir, when you purchased it in 1822?—Many of them were in bad health. Did they appear to have been hard worked?—It appeared to me that they had; but I do not know the fact, as I had not been on the estate before I purchased it. It appears that, between 1822 and 1825, there were fifty deaths on the estate, or one-sixth of the whole number; will you explain the cause of this mortality?—I have stated that many of them were in bad health. Did you manage the estate yourself within those periods?—I did; but there were overseers (European and Creole). Have you been accustomed to regulate the quantity of work on your estate?—I have. What number of hours a day do the slaves work?—From half-past four or five o'clock in the morning till half past seven, and from eight till twelve o'clock, and from half-past one till seven o'clock, Sundays excepted.* Do the women perform the same work that the men do?—Except the children and the pregnant women, they perform the same field-work. The women are not employed in the sugar house. Are women taken off work during the whole period of their pregnancy?—From the third month to the period of their delivery. How soon do they go to work after the child is born?—They perform light work after three months, making mats and such things, and after nine months they return to the pioche (hoeing). Do many of the slave children die?—I have more than eighty Negroes on the estate, and of those, not more than ten bear children; and I reckon about four children born in a year, and about two that may live to five years old. Then there has been a constant decrease on the numbers, from the excess of deaths over births?—There has." "You are acquainted with the condition of the labouring class in India?—I am. Do you consider that the condition of the labourers in India is better or worse than that of the labouring

* Nineteen hours a day!

slaves in this country?—It is worse here. In what respect is it worse?—Because in India the labourers are paid for their labour, even those that are attached to the land; I speak of those parts that I have known. They also plough in India, and here they work with the hand. Do the women labour in India as they do here?—In cleansing and transplanting, but not in ploughing. Has it ever occurred to you to cultivate your estate by free labourers from India?—I thought of it at one time; but I altered my intention.” “Do you conceive that it would answer to employ them upon a property where there were no slaves?—If they were treated well, it would. Will you explain what you consider to be the treatment which would be calculated to reconcile them to the employment?—They would need such treatment and indulgences as they are accustomed to in their own country, and I do not think they could expect to meet with them in this colony.” “Are you acquainted with the cultivation of sugar in India?—I have seen it cultivated, but the mode of preparing the sugar is very inferior. Do you consider that, by improved methods, as good sugar might be grown in India as is grown at Mauritius?—I think by the introduction of machinery and of iron boilers, and also by cultivating the sugar canes in a better way, that better sugar might be made in India. Have you an intention of returning to India?—I have; and it is my intention to cultivate sugar in India in the same manner that is practised here. Would you employ slaves in the cultivation in India?—No; only free labourers. What part of India that you are acquainted with do you conceive best adapted to the production of sugar?—Bengal is best suited, but I think of first trying the cultivation upon the Coromandel coast, near my native country. What capital would you consider necessary to enable you to form an establishment for the cultivation and preparation of sugar in India, upon the scale of that which you possess in this colony?—If I select good land and well watered, farming it either from Government or individuals, I conceive that 50,000 rupees, or £5000, would enable me to form a complete establishment on the same scale; and the profits would be very considerable, if the rents were settled not too high. Do you consider that the profits of your capital would be much greater than those you derive from your present estate?—They would certainly be much greater, as there would be profit and no loss, either from interest of capital invested in land or slaves, or by death of slaves. What do you reckon would be the difference in the cost of maintaining your slaves, and of maintaining hired labourers in India? If I buy a slave for 400 dollars, and as interest here is 12 per cent. per annum, the interest on 400 dollars is four dollars a month, and reckoning the food and clothing at 1½ dollar a month, the expense on each slave is 5½ dollars; and I could hire a labourer in India at 2 dollars, or 4 rupees, including his food. Do you consider that an Indian labourer will do as much work as a Mozambique slave? The Indians have more skill and intelligence, and will do more work in their own country than the slaves.”

(Signed) *W. M. S. Colebrook,* }
W. Blair, } Commissioners of Enquiry.

The next document is entitled “remarks on the means of improving the system by which labour is exacted in the Slave Colonies, by Captain Elliott, R. N., Protector of slaves, for British Guiana, 18th January, 1832.” We must be content with extracts from it, premising that we introduce them chiefly, not under any idea that the present brutal system of forced labour as it exists in Guiana is to be continued, even for a single year, under the very best modifications which Captain Elliott has felt himself at liberty to suggest, but that our readers may see the enormous extent of the evil, the cruel and grinding oppression, which the people of this country, through their representatives, are now called upon to redress, or rather wholly to extinguish.

“ *Guiana, January 18, 1832.*”

“ In the general remarks appended to the Report which I have to-day had the honour to deliver to his Excellency the Governor, I felt it necessary to abstain from entering into any explanation of the causes to which I attribute the *deplorable increase in the Punishment Returns* for the half year ending on June 30th, 1831.”

“ The largely increasing Punishment Returns clearly prove that the actual system of coercion, extensively as it is used, is perfectly inadequate to ensure the completion of the quantum of labour, which it is loudly declared the slaves could easily finish, if they were disposed to make the effort; and a further consideration of the punishments recorded for non-completion of work, during the last eighteen months, must lead to the inference that at least a fifth of the work allotted has fallen short under the inefficacy of the present mode of securing its performance.

“ Either this position must be admitted, or the painful conclusion will present itself, that the punishments have been inflicted to a great extent for the non-completion of work which circumstances of unfavourable weather and other causes of difficulty rendered impossible of performance.”

“ It is not my purpose to contend that the slaves will work *regularly* for wages, and I am perfectly aware that regularity of work is absolutely necessary in the cultivation of the ordinary produce of these countries; but if they know that the power to coerce them be left, surely it is rational to conclude that they would rather choose to work industriously, with a hope to acquire profit and gain time, than they would perversely determine to work ill and late, to the exclusion of all chance of advantage, and under a strong apprehension of receiving punishment.

“ A great love of money, a passionate admiration of dress and finery, and a remarkable proneness to imitate all the habits of expense of the whites, are the well known characteristics of the Negro race; and certainly such qualities present the most favourable means for powerfully seconding the efficacy of a safe and judiciously directed course of encouragement, involving the immediate and great modification and eventually the complete disuse of a system at once degrading, irritating, and inefficacious.”

“ Considering the subject in this light, let it be supposed that each person who produced, at the end of every week, a certificate from the manager or overseer that he had been employed the whole of the week, and had each day completed the task allotted to him, should be entitled to his proportion of the value of the produce of that week’s labour. In the early institution of such a system, it is obvious that the payments should be very prompt, and, above all, it should be carefully insisted upon that no approach to the payment of wages by truck should be admissible; the amount should vary according to the strength and skill of the labourers, dividing them for that purpose into two or three gangs, according to the extent of the population and its state.

“ To those who are employed in the more responsible situations, and in those parts of the process which require adroitness and attention, proportionably larger wages should be paid.

“ Such a mode of regulating the scale of distribution would induce a disposition to deserve reputation for fidelity and care, and would beget an industrious inclination to acquire a knowledge of the more skilful branches of the business.

“ Those who could produce certificates that they had performed *more* than their allotted tasks should receive payment, according to a just estimate of the *surplus* labour they had performed.”

After mentioning a few of the advantages which would necessarily result from this modified system of wages, Captain Elliott thus proceeds:—

“ If the slaves resorted to their daily labour, impelled by the hope of acquiring profit, I am satisfied that, one day in the week taken with another, they

would perform in the course of *six* days at least a *third* more work than can be procured from them under actual circumstances : and, as soon too as they began to touch the means of extending their comforts, and enjoying the conveniences of life, by the honest efforts of their own industry, great and advantageous changes would be effected in the whole structure of society. Small retail dealers would find it worth their while to establish themselves in the vicinity of the large estates, and the proprietors would gladly encourage them to do so ; because it would have the effect of keeping their slaves at home, and enable them to direct and control their habits of expense, besides, in other respects, greatly improving the value of their properties. Villages would gradually grow up in the populous neighbourhoods for the location of tradesmen and rural artisans ; district markets would be established ; industrious competition would take place in all species of profitable occupation ; the price of labour would diminish with the price of provisions, and the whole machinery of civilization would fall into vigorous action.

“ The present mode of endeavouring to insure the performance of labour is every day becoming more distinctly inadequate, and, upon the whole, when the utterly inefficacious nature of the system is considered,—when it is remembered that, under such circumstances, the rapidly advancing intelligence of the Negro must principally develop itself in an increasing dexterity, by all manner of means, to evade and defeat it,—I cannot refrain from declaring it to be no source of astonishment to me that the punishment returns for the half-year ending June 30, 1831, are so large as it has been my painful duty to record them to be. That they will continue to increase may be taken as certain ; and I am convinced I speak the sentiments of the most reflecting gentlemen in the country in saying that this state of things cannot continue to subsist. The slave has advanced beyond such a system of government, and the attempt to overtake and arrest him in his career by an increasing degree of severity, would be fatal indeed ; but, docile and forbearing, it would be a work of little difficulty beneficially to direct his energies and uses by the immediate and judicious substitution of better means.”—p. 590, 591.

“ It is a great mistake to suppose that the respectable and reflecting portion of society in this country do not clearly perceive that the slave population is much improved ; but perhaps the very greatest misfortune of slavery is its inaptitude to adapt itself to those changes which it is in its very nature to insist upon. The system stands still, while it forces the slave into a state of intelligence demanding a form of government of much more extended resource for his safe direction.—To yield any thing, it is said, is to abandon all ; but this is an extremely unsatisfactory ground for resisting the legal sanction, and rejecting the direction of improvement which it is impossible to prevent ; and, in short, to modify nothing in the shape of slavery, would be to manifest the semblance of complete power, risking, in reality, all the tremendous consequences of perfect weakness.

“ It is a source of bitter complaint in this country, that the constant expectation of legislation from England is calculated to produce the most unfortunate effects on the minds of the slaves ; and it is represented that the consequences of such a state of vague impatience on the one hand, and of alarm and consequent disinclination on the other, are calculated seriously to retard the progress of amelioration.

“ If all had been done and were still doing, which might have been effected by the proprietors themselves, with real advantage to their own interests, to meet the feelings of the country, so unequivocally expressed in Mr. Canning’s Resolutions of 1823, unanimously adopted by both Houses of Parliament, there would have been as little necessity, as there can have been little inclination, to legislate upon this subject at all.

“ I am convinced, however, that no thinking man of experience in the West Indies could deny, upon calm and deliberate reflection, that, if there had been

no legislation at all on the subject of amelioration, the difficulties of this question, so far as they regard the state of the people, would be much greater than they are at present. The increased intelligence of the slave would have daily demanded an increasing degree of vigour to coerce him to work; but consider the actual condition of this population, and then let it be fairly answered, whether such a state of things could have continued to exist without, long ere this, having produced some fatal and irreparable convulsion.

“The necessity of ameliorating legislation of a progressive tendency has, unfortunately, been forced upon the government by the disinclination to legislate effectively with such a view on this side of the Atlantic. It is superfluous to say that there is very little disposition in this country frankly to accept these laws; and the painful consequence is, that the slave has not derived all the advantage from them which it has been the object of His Majesty’s Government to extend to him. Men read them carefully indeed, rather to cavil at, and with a view to evade, than to conform to them. However zealous His Majesty’s officers may be in all branches of the public service charged with their administration, it must be obvious that, in this unfavourable state of feeling upon the part of the proprietary, and with a slave population dispersed over a vast tract of country, the means of insuring and insisting upon the observance of a body of law (necessarily very detailed in its nature) are small and slow of operation.

“Such legislation, however excellent it may be, cannot provide for every exigency in the relative transactions of master and slave; and it is difficult to doubt that the least omission, or dubious construction, until the point can be submitted to legal interpretation, will be made to press against the slave. Nay, in too many cases (the truth ought not be concealed), the very letter of the law will be executed in such a temper of irritation as will render it rather a source of inconvenience than of relief. Here then is the slave population clearly convinced of the benevolent intentions of His Majesty’s Government and the British public in their behalf, and perfectly sensible, on the other hand, that these intentions are frustrated to no inconsiderable extent by the feeling with which the laws are received and acted upon in this country. The probable consequence of this unfortunate state of things is seriously to be dreaded.”

“It is impossible to observe the actual condition and habits of the Negro race in the West Indies, even in the most casual manner, and to consider the state of public feeling in England on the subject of slavery, without being powerfully struck by the reflection not only that the necessity for a great change is ripe, but with how little cheerful co-operation immensely beneficial modifications, involving progressive and rapid advancement, might at once be safely produced.

“In conclusion, I cannot help expressing my conviction that, by the concession of a reasonable share of the profits of their own exertions to these people, they would in no long lapse of time have tranquilly and legally possessed themselves of a deep interest in the maintenance of peace and order, and in the increase of the wealth and importance of the colonies.”—p. 592, 593.

The only remaining document consists of answers returned by Captain Elliott to questions addressed by Viscount Goderich, relating to the treatment of slaves in British Guiana.

“1. At what hour in the morning is the daily task commenced?”

“The legal hours for *field* labour are from six in the morning till six in the evening, with two hours of interval allowed for rest and meals. The first signal of preparation is made ordinarily by a bell at four to half-past four. The time of departure from home depends on the nearness or remoteness of the field; but the daily task may be said to have fairly commenced at from six to seven, A. M. There is no habitual work done by the slaves before they set out for the field, except preparing and eating their breakfast.”—p. 594.

“ 2. At what hour in the evening is the work usually finished ?”

“ It would be futile to attempt to deduce,” says Captain Elliott, “ any general average hours in the evening when the task of all the slaves is finished.”

But he goes on to state as follows :—

“ When the whip was no longer allowed to be kept in the field, as a stimulus to labour, it became absolutely necessary to substitute some other motive for the completion of work.”

“ In the absence then of immediate coercive stimulus [and in this point the amelioration has been complete, and the advantage to all parties convincing] the performance of labour by ‘ task ’ was the most obvious means of presenting a sufficient inducement to industrious application ; and certainly, exercised as such a system ought to be, it is difficult to doubt that it would be alike efficacious, both for the prevention of punishment and the completion of as large a quantity of work as it is reasonable can be completed ; that is to say, reasonable, considered with relation to the amount and strength of the population employed, and the extent of the soil to be maintained in a state of cultivation.

“ It is certainly natural to conjecture that, for the successful institution of the performance of labour by task, the system should have been minutely explained to the slaves, and its advantages made obviously manifest to them. In short, it was to be supposed that the adoption of the system was the result of an agreement between the master and his slave.

“ ‘ The law,’ under this view, would the master have said to his slave, ‘ allows me to employ you for ten hours in the field, between six in the morning and six in the evening, and it allows you two hours of that interval for rest and meals ; now, would you rather that I should insist upon your employment for the ten hours the law has permitted without fixing any stated portion of work, punishing you if I were not satisfied with the amount you had completed, or, on the other hand, would you prefer to have a certain portion of work allotted to you, which, by reasonable vigorous exertion, you may complete in much less time than ten hours ?

“ ‘ In this last case, if you choose to work continuously, all the time that you do gain upon the ten hours allowed to me by law (and you need only triflingly encroach upon the other two hours to refresh yourselves from time to time) may be added to the time you have economised of your own, and thus, at the close of your work, you will have a large portion of the afternoon wholly for yourselves.’

“ It does not appear that the adoption of the task system has been the result of such explanation and agreement as I have adverted to. I cannot discover that the work is performed by task because the slave has been led to perceive it was most advantageous for him that it should be so performed.

“ After very attentive enquiry, it does not seem to me that any option was left to him on the subject. Certain portions of work are allotted to him, and he has been broadly told, ‘ I know you can do that quantity of work, and if you do not, you shall be punished.’ This is indeed to give a task ; but it is not the allotment of work accompanied by an obvious motive to encourage its completion ; it is surely not the adoption of the task system in the manner the subject was alluded to by the Memorialists (connected with these Colonies) to the King in Council in the year 1825.

“ The manner in which the slave will naturally regard the matter is this : can he complete the task in such a portion of time as makes it worth his while to work vigorously ? If he can complete it by about 3 P. M., it is because in that case he would gain at least an hour upon the lawful period for his employment allowed to his master ; but if the task will occupy him (the strength of one person considered with regard to that of another) till four, or perhaps five in the afternoon, what does he gain by such a system of portioning the labour ? Where is his encouragement to endeavour to complete the work ? It would be better for him that no fixed quantity of work should be allotted, but that his master

should exact the ten hours of his employment in the field which the law has sanctioned, and that the slave should enjoy the two hours of remission between six in the morning and six in the evening.

"It is true that the quantum of the different species of field labour allotted to each person on sugar estates is nominally not very dissimilar; but is it always similarly judiciously modified according to the state of the field, the weather, the health, strength, and sex of the labourer? I greatly fear it is not.

"In the fact that the system is perfectly and successfully practised on certain estates, is to be found the most convincing proof of its complete efficacy; and I know that in those estates the great principle of the rule is, to take especial care that the labour of each day is proportioned according to all the circumstances demanding consideration. The task allotted to each person is such a quantum as it is quite clear can be performed by that person in eight, or eight hours and a half of reasonably vigorous labour; and the result of this simple and excellent principle is apparent in a diminished return of punishment, and a sustained, if not an increased return of produce.

"The task system, efficaciously practised, is the dawning of the production of sugar by the payment of wages. The master who pursues it humanely and skilfully finds it his interest, upon every account, to offer the slave the payment of an hour or two hours of the time allowed him by law for the employment of that slave, and, if this last finds that the work is so proportioned that he really can gain the offered price, he will be sufficiently disposed to make the effort; but in too many cases that offered price is unattainable, and therefore, of course, the effort is not made."—p. 594, 595.

"The task must not be increased because the slave, by dint of industrious practice, comes to perform it sooner than he did at first. It is obvious that, if the strictest faith be not unflinchingly kept with the slave in this respect, he will be little disposed to work industriously.

"I should be glad to believe that such a case has not occurred; but at all events, if it has, it cannot be matter of surprise that such a practice of the task system has failed of success. The slave would be little inclined to work industriously if he felt that the early completion of his labour to-day would produce the allotment of a larger task to-morrow."

"On those estates where the task system is practised as it seems to be *just* to the slave, and *advantageous* to the master that it should be practised, the slaves employed in agricultural labour (one day taken with another throughout the year) have completed their task in the field at some time before 3 P. M.

"On many estates in this Colony, under present circumstances, the slaves employed in agricultural labour (one day with another throughout the year) *leave off* their work in the field (task is rarely ever *completed*) some time between the hours of 4 and 6 P. M., and usually nearer 6 than 4.

"I will not close these remarks without observing that in a recent conversation with a highly sensible gentleman (a proprietor in this Colony), on the mistaken policy of allotting such large portions of work to the slaves, or at all events not attending sufficiently to the modification of it according to circumstances, he said to me, that he was so satisfied of the truth of that view, that whenever his manager complained to him that the people did not complete their work, he was persuaded, and always discovered, that more had been allotted than it was reasonable to expect the slaves would strive vigorously to complete. In fact, it appeared either that there was no motive for industry, or that it was not sufficiently encouraging.

"This gentleman's return of punishment and return of produce are demonstrative of the truth of his opinions, and the advantage of his practice."

"It must be admitted that there is no cordial disposition frankly to accept and execute such legislation, and the means of enforcing an enactment of this kind, which could not fail to be generally obnoxious, are small, and extremely slow of operation."—p. 596.

"3. What is the ordinary length of the intervals of rest allowed during the day? and is that rest generally complete, or are there any duties to be performed either for the owner or for the more immediate advantage of the slave himself?"

"The slaves on those estates where the task system is properly practised take what rest they please in the field as it suits them, but, as they surely complete their tasks (one day with another throughout the year) some time before 3 P. M., they are always certain to gain an hour *more* than the time allowed them by law for rest and meals.

"The slaves upon most estates in this Colony, under present circumstances, probably enjoy about two hours of uninterrupted time for rest and meals during the period of their occupation in the field.

"It is almost the universal practice in this Colony to require that each field slave should collect a bundle of grass, and deposit it in the yard of the buildings, after the day's labour be closed. This bundle weighs, on a fair average, perhaps about eight pounds, and it is probably most frequently collected during the course of the day's work in the fields."

"In allotting the day's task to a slave, I think it would be fair to give him half an hour for the collection, bringing home, and depositing of his grass; proportioning the agricultural part of the task so that it could be finished in seven hours and a half; and for the collection, &c. &c., of the grass, half an hour more.

The slave has of course to attend afterwards to all his ordinary domestic and culinary offices.

"4. To what extent is labour required by night? how many nights or parts of nights is the same slave usually employed, and during what part of the year is nocturnal labour in use?"

The law provides that the slave shall enjoy at least eight hours' rest in the twenty-four.

In this country there is no regular time of crop. It occupies about ten days in every month, or about a third of the year. About twenty-four slaves are always about the works. The fire is lighted about four A.M., and extinguished about ten P.M. The slave, therefore, may enjoy eight hours of uninterrupted rest. Capt. Elliott alludes to the practice of having four or five people of the field during the night employed the whole year round as watchmen, and who are allowed no extra time either for preparation before the watch begins, or for rest after it is finished. The practice, he says, is not defensible, and ought to be prohibited (p. 597, 598).

"5. What is the average nature, amount, weight, and quality of the food allowed to plantation slaves, male and female, adults and children respectively?"

We know the schedule of the food and clothing required by law in Demerara; and it is miserably scanty (see Reporter, vol. iv. No. 82, p. 294). "But," observes Captain Elliott,

"It would be unjust to omit to remark, that the amount of the food allowed is, in general, less than the amount provided. Indeed I cannot help thinking that the slave has gained nothing by the enactment of this portion of the law. The proprietors of the large estates are generally liberal in these points, and their poorer neighbours are almost constrained to conform to their practice."—p. 598.

He adds that much has been done to diminish the amount, and facilitate the performance of manual labour. Cattle have been substi-

tuted for men to tow punts on the canals. Rail-roads have been constructed for removing the megass from the mill, an alleviation of an extremely pressing species of labour, principally performed by the women, and frequently with injurious consequences. And other improvements have been introduced to alleviate labour; and credit is due to the humanity of those who have promoted these changes (p. 598).

Having now given to the public a faithful abstract of the voluminous evidence laid before the Committee of the House of Commons in the last Session, before we proceed to lay before them the still more voluminous evidence taken by the Committee of the House of Lords, we would beg to make a few brief observations on the present state of the Slavery Question.

That the abolitionists have fully established their case in evidence, no disinterested and candid man who reads the preceding pages with attention will venture to deny. They have shown, not only that the slaves will incur no risk of suffering want by emancipation, but that their speedy emancipation affords the only rational prospect of preserving the public peace, and of securing the permanent interests of the planters themselves.

That this view of the subject will not be shaken, but, on the contrary, will be amply confirmed by the result of the evidence, which, under far different auspices, and with far different objects, was laid before the Committee of the House of Lords, we take it upon us most unhesitatingly to assert. And to this result we should come, even if we were to confine our view solely and exclusively to the pro-slavery part of the case as by them exhibited.---A pamphlet, however, has just appeared, certainly the production of no feeble pen, which, meanwhile, may be perused by every man who feels an interest in this great question; and it will at least render the unavoidable delay that must take place in abstracting the whole of the evidence of the House of Lords, containing 1394 closely printed folio pages, less a subject of regret than it otherwise would be. And here the West Indians will have no right to complain, because, though the review of our anonymous author be *ex parte*, it is nevertheless an exhibition of *their own evidence* exclusively, leaving out of view the adverse testimony.

The pamphlet to which we allude, and to which we leave, in the mean time, the task of repelling the objection that we have produced only a part of the evidence brought before parliament, bears the quaint signature of *Legion*—and is entitled “A Letter to His Grace the Duke of Richmond, Chairman of the Slavery Committee in the House of Lords, containing an Exposure of the Character of the Evidence on the Colonial side produced before the Committee.”—It is printed for Bagster, 15, Paternoster Row.

Now, we mean not to be considered as justifying the style in certain expressions of this able and caustic writer; but what we mean confidently to affirm is this, that he has completely overthrown the whole weight and credit of the pro-slavery evidence brought forward in the Committee of the House of Lords; so that we may argue on the basis of that produced before the Committee of the House of Commons, without the slightest apprehension that any inference, which may be fairly deducible thence, shall be refuted by that of the Lords' Committee.

If, then, we are right in affirming that the abolitionists have proved their case, and that colonial slavery, admitted to be a crime of the deepest dye, may be abolished forthwith without injury to the great sufferers by that crime, and without danger either to the public peace or, but by their own fault, to the persons and property of the planters, there can then exist no adequate motive for a day's delay in proceeding to its extinction. Such delay, indeed, is to be deprecated, not more on account of the slaves than on that of their masters; the prolongation of the miseries of the former being only an increase of the risks, both as to life and property, of the latter.

The simple ground, however, on which we are disposed, and indeed can alone consent to place the question is this, Colonial Slavery is in itself a CRIME of the greatest enormity, besides being the parent of innumerable other crimes. It is an outrage on every principle of humanity and justice, and a flagrant violation of the spirit and precepts of Christianity. From the moment that this, its real nature, has been recognised there could exist no plea for permitting it to continue for an hour, but a well founded apprehension of injury to its victims from abolishing it. This apprehension, however, the offspring not of reason, but of mere prejudice, has now been demonstrated to be unfounded, and that with a clearness and force of evidence which cannot be resisted. What remains therefore for a Christian Government and Parliament to do but to pronounce its immediate and utter extinction, accompanying the measure by such wise and just precautions as may obviate the alarms of the most timid?

We are perfectly borne out in this view of the nation's duty by the often repeated and unequivocal declarations of not a few of his Majesty's present ministers:—

“I consider,” says one who, though not actually a Cabinet minister, speaks on this particular point with the authority of one, we mean Lord Howick: “I consider the whole system of slavery one of such deep oppression, and iniquity, and cruelty, that, if I could be satisfied it was safe to emancipate the slaves now, I would say, ‘Do so; and do it at once;’ and we will settle scores among ourselves afterwards, and determine in what proportion the penalty of our guilt is to be paid. But the victims of that guilt *must not continue for one hour to suffer*, while we are haggling about pounds, shillings, and pence.”

To this course, then, of taking immediate measures for the extinction of slavery, we can conceive but one possible objection on the part of the West Indians. It may be said that the examination of evidence in the two Committees was not completed at the close of the last session. But that examination, be it remembered, was wrung from the Government by the clamorous importunities of the whole West India body; and, before it commenced, Lord Goderich had already, in his circular despatch to the colonial governors of the 5th November, 1831, adduced the most conclusive and unanswerable reasons against the necessity of instituting any such enquiry. But, now that the opportunity has been reluctantly conceded to the colonists of bringing forward the best evidence which the whole range of the West Indies could supply, and that the result has been such as we have seen, we cannot believe that any government or any parliament will listen to a single plea for a moment's farther delay on that score. There can be no real pretence for hearing farther evidence (Lord Goderich himself being our witness), but DELAY; and therefore, on those who shall consent on that ground to renew so perfectly useless an enquiry, we must charge, before God and their country, all the awful responsibility that may follow such postponement. Neither the Government nor the Parliament, we are persuaded, will assent a second time to any such unreasonable proposition; but if, unhappily, our expectations in this respect should be disappointed, the people of the United Kingdom will not be satisfied with the decision, and will regard it as a virtual deviation from the numerous pledges so solemnly given on the hustings, at the late elections, and of which they will naturally demand a strict fulfilment.

Let the bill, therefore, which is to seal the death-warrant of slavery in every corner of the British empire, be brought in without any unnecessary delay, and let the irreversible decree go forth that that foul stain on the national character shall be effaced for ever.

When that too long delayed act of unquestionable justice shall have been performed, we shall then, with Lord Howick, deem it full time to consider, with every regard to equity, the question of the indemnities which ought to follow it.

ERRATA.

- p. 314, line 10 from bottom, after *leave* read *unnoticed*.
 „ „ 1 „ „ for *have* read *has*.
 318, „ 20 from top, for 1828 read 1829.
 321, „ 2 „ „ for 1826 read 1825.
 322, „ 3 „ „ for *me* read *him*.
 327, „ 10 from bottom, for *cocoas* read *cocoas*.
 329, „ 19 „ „ for *estate was* read *estates were*.
 339, „ 1 of note, for *restrictions* read *resolutions*.
 341, „ 15 from top, after *states* read *facts*.
 338, „ 25 „ „ after *prejudice* read *said Mr. Duncan*.
 361, „ 5 from bottom, for *it is my* read *it was his*.
 366, „ 24, 25, 26, 28, let the third person be substituted for the first—and a few similar corrections will be required in other places, but so obviously as not to need specification.

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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[VOL. v. No. 14.]

ABSTRACT OF THE REPORT OF THE LORDS' COMMITTEES
ON THE CONDITION AND TREATMENT OF THE COLONIAL
SLAVES, AND OF THE EVIDENCE TAKEN BY THEM ON
THAT SUBJECT; WITH NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

The Committee of the House of Lords commenced its sittings on the 13th May, and closed them on the 9th August, 1832.

The following 25 Peers were named upon it:—The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London and of Lichfield and Coventry; the Dukes of Buckingham* and Richmond; the Marquises of Sligo* and Westminster; Earls Harewood,* Radnor, Selkirk,* and Bathurst; Viscounts Goderich, St. Vincent,* Combermere,* and Beresford; and Lords Seaford,* Ellenborough, Suffield, Holland,* Howard de Walden,* Redesdale, Colville,* Napier, Auckland, and Bexley. Of these, the 10 noblemen distinguished by an asterisk are known to be either slave-holders or the very near relatives of those who are. The three prelates, together with the Marquis of Westminster, Earl Bathurst, Viscount Goderich, and Lord Bexley, it is reported, took no part in the Committee. The Duke of Richmond occupied the chair; and of the remaining seven not one was recognized as a decided friend to anti-slavery principles, excepting Lord Suffield; the views of the other six being, to say the least, doubtful.

It was before a Committee thus constituted, as respected at least its *practical* efficiency, that this great question came on for investigation. Can any man wonder that the friends of the Negro regarded its appointment with some degree of apprehension and even dismay? That their fears have been agreeably disappointed by the result, they must attribute to causes wholly independent of the constitution of the Committee, and which, under the overruling providence of God, are to be traced rather to the happy ignorance prevailing, among most of the noble slave-holders who attended the Committee, of the real nature of the system they were so eager to maintain, than to any skill they possessed either to veil its deformities or to give prominence to any, if any there were, of its inherent claims to support. With one or two exceptions, none of them were personally acquainted with the object of their attachment. They may have previously known it only from the florid and delusive descriptions of interested agents, and were probably as much appalled by the disclosure of its undisguised lineaments as certain monarchs are said to have been shocked by the naked forms of the consorts to whom they found themselves united by proxy.

The following is the indecisive report of this Committee: "The Committee have applied themselves to the matters referred to them, and

considering that there was no prospect of their being able to examine into the state of all the West India Colonies during the continuance of the present session, came to an early determination to confine their enquiry, in the first instance, to the island of Jamaica; and though they have collected much evidence upon the condition of the slaves in that island, some of which is of the most contradictory description, yet they have not found it possible to enter into a detailed examination of many of the other points referred to them; and upon none has their inquiry been so complete as to enable them to submit to the House any definitive opinion. They have, amongst others, called before them planters, managers, and proprietors of estates, attorneys, overseers, persons having connection with the island, or who have visited it in public capacities, and missionaries of different persuasions; and the most material points brought under their notice have been—1st. Any progressive improvement which may have taken place in the state of the slaves since the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. 2nd. The actual state and condition of the slaves; the nature and duration of their labour; and also evidence as to instances of cruelty and gross abuse of authority and power. 3rd. The increase or decrease of the slave population as it respects Africans and Creoles, and as affected or not by the state and system of slavery.—And 4th. Plans for improving the condition of the slave, or effecting his emancipation; and opinions as to the probable condition of the Negro, and the effect upon society and property in the island which is likely to be produced by such emancipation.

“Beyond this the enquiry has unavoidably diverged into various collateral matters, from which the Committee could not abstain without omitting many important points, the consideration of which would be essential to a satisfactory conclusion.

“Under these circumstances, advertng to the advanced period of the session, and to the probable arrival of persons of authority from Jamaica, whose evidence would be most desirable, they have determined to postpone the consideration of any detailed report, and simply to lay the evidence collected before the House, with such an index as may enable the House, without difficulty, to refer to the information which has been obtained upon any of the objects of enquiry.”

The evidence thus taken fills nearly 1400 folio pages, many of them closely printed, and which certainly form altogether a most ponderous and unwieldy mass. The utmost, therefore, we can hope to accomplish, within any reasonable limits, is to give a very compressed view of their multitudinous contents.

The pro-slavery witnesses examined by the Committee were as follows:—

1. The Duke of MANCHESTER, who was Governor of Jamaica for 18 years, from 1807 to 1826 (p. 3—12 and p. 379—390).

2. HENRY JOHN HINCHCLIFFE, Esq., Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Jamaica, who resided in Jamaica 17 years, from 1801 to 1818 (p. 13—22; p. 322—328; and p. 339—345).

3. JOHN BAILLIE, Esq., a planter and manager of estates in Jamaica,

who resided in Jamaica from 1788 to 1815, being 27 years; and afterwards revisited it in 1822 and 1825 (p. 22—25; 29—78; and 92—163).

4. Lord SEAFORD, a member of the Committee and a Jamaica planter (p. 88—92).

5. Major-General Sir JOHN KEANE, K. C. B., late lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief of Jamaica, who resided there eight years, from 1823 to 1830 (p. 163—185).

6. WILLIAM SHAND, Esq., a Jamaica proprietor, attorney, and manager, who resided there from 1791 to 1823; revisiting it again for a year and a half in 1825 and 1826; being nearly 34 years in all (p. 187—245).

7. Sir MICHAEL CLARE, M. D., who resided, with occasional absences, 30 years in Jamaica, viz., between 1798 and 1831 (p. 263—290).

8. Admiral Sir LAWRENCE HALSTED, K. C. B., late commander-in-chief on the Jamaica station from 1823 to 1827 (p. 291—305 and p. 321).

9. Lieutenant-Colonel ALEXANDER MACDONALD, of the Artillery, stationed for about five months in Jamaica, in 1829 and 1830, and for about six months in Honduras (p. 305—320 and p. 391—395).

11. Rev. JAMES CURTIN, a missionary, and afterwards a parochial clergyman, in Antigua. He resided there from 1799 to 1830, in all 30 years (p. 345—367 and 396—412).

12. Lord HOWARD DE WALDEN, a member of the Committee and a West-India proprietor (p. 369).

13. Rev. Dr. BARRETT, secretary of the Conversion Society (p. 370—379).

14. EDMUND SHARP, a Jamaica overseer for about 20 years, between 1811 and 1832 (p. 779—790).

15. ANDREW GRAHAM DIGNUM, a solicitor residing in Jamaica for 14 years, from 1818 to 1832 (p. 812—825 and p. 956—961).

16. WILLIAM BURGE, Esq., late attorney-general of Jamaica, and now agent of that colony; owner of a coffee plantation; who resided there 20 years, from 1808 to 1828 (p. 965—976, 981—993, and 997—1042).

17. WILLIAM THOMAS, a Berbice planter, resident there for 15 years prior to 1832 (p. 1065—1071).

18. E. J. WOLSEY, who resided at Hayti for six months and in the United States for three years (p. 1057—1065).

Besides these witnesses various papers and abstracts were produced, in the course of the enquiry, by THOMAS AMYOTT, Esq., registrar of colonial slaves (p. 27—29); R. G. AMYOTT, Esq., his chief clerk (p. 81—88; 248—261; 449—455; and 1079); and also by Mr. EDWARD IRVING, an accountant (p. 976—979; 993—996; 1010—1013; 1072, and 1073; and 1076 and 1077); and by Mr. E. R. FAYERMAN (p. 1013).

The anti-slavery witnesses were nine in number, viz.—

1. Rev. JOHN BARRY, a Wesleyan missionary, who quitted Jamaica in 1832, after residing there six years (p. 412—448, and 456—548).

2. Vice-Admiral the Hon. CHARLES E. FLEMING, commander-in-chief on the Jamaica station from 1827 to 1830 (p. 548—563).
3. WILLIAM TAYLOR, Esq., a merchant and manager of estates in Jamaica for 13 years, between 1816 and 1831 (p. 565—633).
4. Rev. PETER DUNCAN, a Wesleyan missionary during more than 11 years in Jamaica, from 1821 to 1832 (p. 635—706).
5. Rev. THOMAS MORGAN, a Wesleyan missionary, who resided in Jamaica and other West-India islands for 16 years, between 1812 and 1831 (p. 707—722).
6. Rev. WILLIAM KNIBB, a Baptist missionary, who resided in Jamaica seven years, from 1825 to 1832 (p. 723—779, and 801—810).
7. Rev. THOMAS COOPER, a Unitarian missionary, who resided in Jamaica upwards of three years, from 1818 to 1821 (p. 790—799, and 810—812).
8. THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, Esq., M. P. (p. 827—956).
9. Rev. JOHN THORPE, a clergyman of the established church, who resided in Jamaica for nearly three years, in 1827, 1828, and 1829 (p. 1048—1750).

Besides the examinations of these witnesses the Report contains a great mass of documentary evidence, to which we shall specifically advert after we have given a brief abstract of the oral testimony on both sides, beginning with that which was adduced in favour of Slavery.

PRO-SLAVERY WITNESSES.

1. THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER.

It is hardly possible to conceive any thing more meagre and unsatisfactory than the testimony given by this nobleman. After having filled the high office of governor of Jamaica for 18 years, during the interesting period which extended from the date of the abolition of the slave-trade, in 1807, to the passing of the disallowed slave-law (misnamed ameliorating) of 1826, he appears to know as little either of the events which took place under his government, or of the spirit and temper of the different classes of the population subject to his rule, or of the laws which he was appointed to administer, or of the changes in those laws which he was instructed to recommend or required to sanction, or even of the death-warrants he was called officially to sign, as might have been found (if not even less than might have been found) in the commonest observer of the same transactions who derived his information of them only from the journals of the day. His memory, which we should have thought must have been stamped with indelible impressions of the occurrences of that eventful and spirit-stirring crisis, exhibits a smooth and unruffled surface, an almost absolute blank: and he reminds us much more forcibly of a sultan immured within the walls of his haram than of a high British functionary appointed by his sovereign to watch over the lives and the liberty, the well-being and the improvement, of nearly half a million of his fellow-subjects. This is indeed a melancholy exhibition! We pretend not to say where the blame rests; but we trust that the days have now

vanished for ever which can be darkened and disgraced by so painful and mortifying a spectacle; and when the powers, whether of good or evil, possessed by the British Government over the destinies of distant provinces, are delegated to hands so little fitted to wield them.

Mr. Burge, if we understand him correctly, has taken to himself the credit (p. 967) of having marshalled the array of the pro-slavery host for the late conflict. If so, he has certainly not shown himself an able tactician. His choice of the Duke of Manchester to lead the van of his battle in the House of Lords, and of Captain Williams to head that in the House of Commons, reflects no lustre on his discernment. It exhibits rather something of that infatuation which we have been apt to impute to the West Indian body, but from which we were fully disposed beforehand to exempt that learned gentleman.

The Duke of Manchester's testimony may be thus summed up:—The treatment of the slaves was excellent; their food and clothing abundant (though he cannot specify quantities); and their dwellings remarkably good in general. They all had land to cultivate for themselves, and the markets of the island were supplied from the excess of their produce with provisions, pigs, and poultry; and their property was secure. Such was their state as much when the Duke first landed in Jamaica as when he quitted it. The slaves might now be more enlightened, but, in other respects, not a bit better off than they were twenty years ago (p. 3, 4). He did not recollect any legislative enactments tending to improvement in his time, though there may have been one or two since he came away; but complaints of slaves were much more attended to. There was no feeling of private insecurity while he remained, except during the latter years of his stay, when two or three partial insurrectionary movements occurred (p. 5). The only idea, he conceived, the slaves had of emancipation was the having nothing to do. Thirty days' labour in the year, or as he afterwards says (p. 381), on the authority of Bryan Edwards, twenty, was enough to supply their wants, and they would, therefore, have no motive to labour beyond this. As to confidence in their masters, the slaves could feel little of it, as there are hardly any of their masters there. They did not know their masters generally. He believed the slaves possessing property were superior persons, but he did not know what distinctions there were among them, and could not specify instances (p. 6). He did not recollect what had passed in the Jamaica Assembly as to their refusal to appoint protectors, or as to the admission of slave evidence, except that it was admitted against their fellow-slaves, though not against white or free persons; or as to compulsory manumission; or as to marriage. Sunday markets were not abolished in his time; but he believed, though of that he was not certain, that the slaves had Saturday as well as Sunday, or at least every other Saturday, except during crop. He was not aware of any law giving the slaves a legal right of property; nor of any attempt to substitute the cat for the cart-whip, or to prevent indecency in the flogging of females; nor could he tell whether the slaves, though liable, as he conceived, to be punished by magistrates, were also liable to be punished by councils

of protection, for unfounded complaints (p. 7, 8). He recollected an attack on the house of a Wesleyan missionary at Christmas, 1826; but he had not succeeded in discovering its authors, nor did he know that it was perpetrated by white militia-men, or that it was excited by an inflammatory sermon of the Rev. Mr. Bridges, which sermon he had nevertheless read, and did not consider as inflammatory at all* (p. 9).

His Grace was further questioned as to certain trials and executions of slaves which had taken place under his sanction, in 1823 and 1824, in the parishes of St. Mary, St. George, St. James, and Hanover, but he was wholly unable to speak clearly as to the circumstances of any of them. He did not even know, though he admitted they were condemned as rebels, that they were taken in arms. "I will not be certain about arms; but they were taken in the act of rebellion certainly," but what act he could not tell. He had looked at all the evidence laid before him, but had called for no further evidence. He could not recollect whether the whole of it was not hearsay. He did not believe that any witness for the prosecution had been cross-examined. "How, indeed," he aptly asks in reply, "could it have been?" for the accused were "certainly not defended by counsel." He had never heard that a promise of freedom was held out to the witnesses for the prosecution; or that a father named Stirling had been convicted and executed on the unsworn evidence of his own son, a lad of thirteen; or that a husband had been found guilty and hanged on the evidence of his wife † (p. 10, 11).

The Duke is questioned as to the fact of the indemnity made to the master for the slaves who may be executed. He admits that in such cases "the owner is allowed a sum of money," but, he believes, "generally much below the value. It used to be about £40. That

* We also have read the sermon, and we cannot but marvel at his Grace's judgment of it. Its tendency, if not its aim, was to excite the white militia to rise from their Christmas revels to assail the Methodists. His Grace's apology for the transaction is that it was a drunken outrage.

† And yet such were the facts of the case, as exhibited on the very face of the evidence which was submitted to the Duke of Manchester, and on which he authorized the execution of eight of the king's subjects in one day; and which he himself transmitted to Lord Bathurst; and which Lord Bathurst laid before the House of Commons, and by whose order they were printed, on the 1st March, 1825, No. 66.—For a full account of the many foul judicial murders which occurred in Jamaica during the years 1823 and 1824, and of which his Grace's recollections are so feeble and imperfect, the reader may refer to this important parliamentary document, and to an abstract of it contained in a pamphlet published by Hatchard, and to be had at the Anti-Slavery Office, entitled "The Slave Colonies of Great Britain, or a Picture of Negro Slavery, by the Colonists themselves" (p. 35—63); and also to the speech of the present Lord Chief Justice, then Mr. Denman, delivered in the House of Commons on the 2nd of March, 1826, when he moved a resolution reprobating, in the strongest terms of sorrow and indignation, the perversion of law and the violation of justice displayed in these trials and executions. See the parliamentary debates of that day, and the Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. I. No. 10, p. 113, &c.

is allowed by law"* (p. 11). On a subsequent examination which his Grace underwent respecting these trials (see p. 386), he aims at salving all defects and justifying the warrant to execute eight of the king's subjects, by stating that he could not recollect the evidence on which he had concluded they were guilty, and besides no Governor, he conceives, could get any thing by sifting a Negro's evidence. "It must be done by persons who understood their language and habits, and are used to their tricks;" implying, it would seem, that he felt himself wholly incompetent to the task of re-examining the evidence; and he further, by way of making his apology complete, says, "I know that the persons executed all confessed." Mr. Burge, he thinks, was Attorney-General at the time.†

* The Duke is so far right, in saying that this most iniquitous practice is sanctioned by law in Jamaica; but he is quite mistaken in supposing that the indemnity is limited to £40. On the contrary, in the case of the eight executions which he himself authorized in St. Mary's, the indemnities were as follows, viz.—Henry Nibbs (the man convicted by his wife), £50; Charles Brown, £100; James Stirling (the man executed on the evidence of his son), £65; Charles Watson, £80; Rodney Wellington, £70; William Montgomery, £100; Richard Cosley, £100; Morris Henry, £90. All these poor creatures, except the first, belonged to an estate called Frontier, the property of Archibald Stirling, Esq., a Scotch gentleman, who stands high in reputation in Scotland as a religious character, but who seems to have pocketed £605 as the price of the blood of these seven innocent and murdered men. These valuations stand recorded in the Jamaica Royal Gazette, of the 28th December, 1823, which states that the crimes for which they were "all found guilty on the clearest evidence, and sentenced to be hanged," were "rebellious conspiracies, and other crimes, to the ruin and destruction of the white people and others of this island, and for causing, exciting, and promoting others thereto; and also for being concerned in rebellion, and designing to commit murder, felony, burglary, and to set fire to certain houses, and out-houses; and compassing and imagining the death of the white people in the said parish"—(bless their majesties!) Can all this be believed? And yet not one overt act of any kind was even alleged to have been committed. The only witnesses even of a design of committing any offence was a boy of thirteen, who charged his own father with it, and a man named Ned, who, we are expressly told, in the Royal Gazette of the 21st of December, 1823, that of the preceding week, did not even depose to any such design on the part of any one, until he had "received a promise of pardon, and also of his freedom," if he would "discover the whole plot." And yet the Duke of Manchester, and Mr. Hinchcliffe, and Sir John Keane, and Mr. Shand, and Mr. Burge himself, who was the Attorney-General, the law adviser of his Grace at this time, *cum multis aliis*, can tell us fine tales of the effective protection and security, and of the unrivalled felicity of men on whom such deeds may be perpetrated with impunity. Such is the state in which Sir Charles Rowley says he would prefer to be born to labour, rather than in that of the English peasant. See No. 104, p. 443.

† What part Mr. Burge may have taken in this matter we know not, though he and Mr. Bullock were probably the Duke's counsellors on the occasion. Mr. B. best knows. But certainly nothing can be more contrary to the fact than the statement made, on the Duke's alleged knowledge, "that the persons executed all confessed." This statement is directly contradicted by Colonel Cox, who was present at the trial and execution of those men. In a letter to the Duke, dated the day after the execution, viz. on the 25th of December, 1823, inserted in the papers of 1825, No. 66, p. 44, Colonel Cox says, "only one of the

His Grace thinks that the insurrectionary movements of which he had spoken were to be traced to the Negro's desire to emancipate himself. This he believes was the sole cause of the disturbances in St. James and Hanover in 1824. They certainly did not arise, he says, from ill usage—(p. 380).*

The Duke is of opinion that attorneys and overseers are as likely to manage well and leniently as the proprietors themselves—(p. 381). He was again questioned about the famous Slave Law passed by him in 1826, and disallowed by the Crown; but he had forgot all about it, and could reply distinctly to none of the questions—(p. 383, 384). He was further questioned as to the attack on the Methodist Missionary at St. Ann's, after an inflammatory sermon by Mr. Bridges, and he stated his incapacity to call to mind the circumstances of the case, or the causes which prevented the detection and punishment of the delinquents. He relieved himself at last by referring the whole matter to Mr. Burge, who, he thinks, was the Attorney General at the time, "and would be much more able to answer these questions than I can be." "It was *his* (Mr. Burge's) *special* duty to take measures for the discovery. He was instructed to do it"—(p. 385).

The Duke admitted that he had been intimate with Mr. Bridges, who, he added, was "a person with whom any one would be glad to be acquainted, as a gentleman and a man of learning"—(p. 388). He had heard that day, for the first time, of the case of Mr. Bridges and

wretches confessed to the Rev. Mr. Gerod that it was their *intention* to have burned Frontier works, and Port Maria, and killed the whites. But none would mention any other Negroes connected with them, or show any symptoms of religion or repentance. They ALL declared they would die like men, and they met their fate with perfect indifference." Even the qualified statement of Mr. Cox is untrue. On the very scaffold, as we should be able to show, pardon was offered to such of them as would acknowledge their guilt, and discover their accomplices, but they, one and all, persisted in protesting their own innocence, and positively refused to save their lives by criminating other persons of whose guilt they had no knowledge. We are the more forward to state these circumstances, because not only is Mr. Burge in England, but Abraham Hodgson, Esq., the custos of St. Mary, who presided at the trial, and himself attended the execution of these eight *wretches*, is now also in this country. He is one of the delegates sent from Jamaica along with Mr. Barrett to assist Mr. Burge in pleading the cause of slavery in the present session of parliament. It is awful to contemplate the total indifference to Negro life, as well as to all the forms as well as essentials of justice which marked the whole of the proceedings of that feverish period.

* Here again the Duke of Manchester is contradicted by the documents which he himself transmitted to this country in 1824. See the parliamentary papers already alluded to, No. 66 of 1825, p. 118. The disturbance on Argyle estate, in Hanover, belonging to Mr. Malcolm, was solely owing to that gentleman's having most unwarrantably and gratuitously endeavoured to shorten the slaves' Saturdays, by requiring them to muster in the field and work there some time before they were dismissed to their grounds. This conduct was not only unjust, but illegal, and it was obstinately persisted in by Mr. Malcolm, notwithstanding the complaints and remonstrances of his slaves.

Kitty Hilton.* Being shown a cart-whip, he said he had seen many such in Jamaica, though this, he thought, was somewhat larger than those used by the drivers. He had never, however, had one in his hand in Jamaica; and had seen it hung over the driver's shoulder, or coiled round his stick. He admitted that they made a shocking noise with their whips; and that in Jamaica every thing was done by the whip: it was used for signals; and, if a boy was set to drive chickens, the first thing he did was to make a whip. Every estate has stocks to confine Negroes (p. 388).

On estates, the Duke always found old slaves comfortably provided for, he supposed by their own families. Very few slaves went to church. The driver carried, of course, the whip to stimulate the slaves to work; and, if they did not work, the driver would use his whip for that purpose—(p. 389, 390).

Such is the evidence of the Duke of Manchester, brought forward in the front of their battle by the Colonial Committee, to establish their pro-slavery case, and to confute the calumnies of the Abolitionists and of the Anti-Slavery Reporter. We greatly doubt whether the result will satisfy them. It perfectly satisfies us. We ought, perhaps, to apologize to our readers for giving so much space to it; but the rank of the witness, and the importance attached to his evidence by the West Indians, seemed to justify this lengthened notice of it.

2. H. J. HINCHCLIFFE, ESQ.

This lawyer,—for many years, we believe, the King's Advocate, and latterly the Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Jamaica,—has surprised us by his evidence still more than even the noble Governor of that colony. His professional education and his legal habits were likely to have made his information, during 17 years of uninterrupted residence, of some value. It is nearly valueless. He knows nothing, he tells us, but “from general observation” of the condition of the slave population; but that, he conceives, enables him to state that, “as compared with the labouring population in any other country, it was exceedingly good indeed” (p. 13). Want, as to food or clothing, was unknown among them; he had “no notion of any thing of the sort;” and, as far as he knew, their treatment was good and kind. He had not been led even to think of the subject of emancipation before he left the island in 1818; and now he had no idea of a slave, if freed, doing more than supply his own wants, and that he would not very soon relapse into barbarism. In his time, no religious instruction had been given to the slaves except by missionaries, and of them or of

* Mr. Bridges has certainly succeeded in gaining the friendship of successive Governors. He was, it is asserted, no less the favoured associate of the convivial hours of the Duke's successor than he was of the Duke himself. Yet this chosen and familiar companion of his Majesty's representatives in that great island stands marked with infamy in the judicial records of Jamaica, and in the official communications of his Majesty's Secretary of State. He has also been convicted of a false and malicious libel on the courts of this country. See the Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. iii., No. 66, and vol. iv., No. 76, p. 140, and No. 79, p. 246.

the state of religion he knows little. Few plantation slaves were then baptized, and he had never heard of a marriage among them. The planters were jealous of the influence of the missionaries in getting money from the slaves. He seemed to know absolutely nothing of any labours of clergymen among them (p. 14—16). Slaves had certainly no legal right to property in his time, but he had never heard of its being interfered with, though many of them, he believed, possessed property. The treatment of the slaves was, he also believed, lenient; and the leaning of jurors, on trials, in their favour: but he could not recollect particular instances. Indeed he had never seen a slave trial. The judges were almost all planters, and not professional men, and they acted in general without any legal assessor (p. 17—19).

Mr. Hinchcliffe underwent a second examination, but little more was elicited from him, by means of it, except matters of mere vague opinion and not of knowledge. He was inclined to think, upon the whole, that the act of 1831 did give slaves a legal right of property, but of this he was not sure. He much disapproved of a slave protector, as being discourteous to the master, and as prejudicially interfering between him and the slave. On various other points he professed himself wholly uninformed. He knew no slave that could read (p. 322—331).

His statements were equally vague as to the industry whether of the slaves or of the free. He inclined to think, however, that the slave would work more diligently for himself on his own one day in the week, while compelled to work five days for his master. The late insurrection, he was of opinion, though he had no knowledge of the fact, was excited by the missionaries. Of the missionaries, however, whether white or black, he knew nothing, excepting in the case of one man, a Baptist, whom he believed to be a very respectable, well-behaved man. The general impression respecting them, however, among the planters, was unfavourable (p. 332—336).

Mr. Hinchcliffe had witnessed punishments, but he did not think they could be called severe, if they permitted a man to return to his work immediately, or in a day or two after. The flogging both of men and women was on the posteriors. He believed it was not uncommon to *pickle* the wounds after a flogging. He did not know how many lashes the driver might inflict of his own authority; it might be five or ten. The master or manager might inflict 39. He believed that acts of cruelty would excite general indignation in Jamaica. He had never attended a slave court in his life; but he believed the slave had no *civil* remedy. Of the means of redress, in other cases, enjoyed by the slaves, he begged to refer to the slave law. As to licentiousness, he seemed to admit that it was pretty general among all classes, but not attended with the same violations of external decency which might be witnessed in populous cities in Europe (p. 340—344).

On the whole, the evidence of this gentleman might well have been spared; but it is at least harmless. If it proves any thing, it proves this, that a man of good education and respectable acquirements may

pass not merely a few months, but 17 or 18 years in a slave colony, and know as little of its interior as if he had passed his whole life in travelling between Lincoln's Inn and Westminster Hall.

3. JOHN BAILLIE, ESQ.

We come at length to a planter, and a man of no small experience in that capacity, for he had resided in Jamaica 27 years at a stretch, till 1815, and had afterwards visited it twice between 1822 and 1826. His experience, during that time, taught him that the slaves were "happy and contented;" sufficiently provisioned, particularly in his own district, including Westmoreland, St. James, Trelawny, Hanover, and St. Ann; and that they were remarkably improved in moral and religious feeling. The character of overseers, he said, was also improved. The property of slaves was uniformly protected. In case of ill usage, a slave generally obtained redress by going to a magistrate or a neighbouring gentleman. He had every facility in making his complaints, and also for religious worship. This testimony applied to the period even before 1815. He found matters still more improved in his last visits. Baptisms were more frequent, and that in gangs of 20, 30, or 40. The clergyman was invited, and had a dinner, with a *douceur* of £25 or £30 besides. Before 1815, baptism was generally granted on request as a boon; marriage, too, was now much more frequent. His own estate, Roehampton, in St. James's, has about 350 slaves. He had *no school upon it*, but he understood that schools had increased "for coloured children." Voluntary manumissions he understood also to have become very frequent. *He had offered to sell manumission to his own slaves, but not one had ever accepted it.* He thought all masters should be willing to do so whenever slaves apply for it. His own Negroes, to whom he offered to sell their freedom, had the means of paying for it. One of them, of the name of John Baillie, who refused the offer, possessed from £600 to £800; *but he was executed the other day as a leader in the rebellion.* He was originally a mason, and made a deal of money in that way; but, being a confidential person, he was made head driver, and getting lame, though only 48 years of age, he was then made a ranger to go round the estate, and had a mule to ride and a boy to attend him; he had also his house and land, and cattle running on the estate. In the last return of May, 1831, he stood in the list "exempt from labour," and yet "he was one of the ringleaders in the rebellion." Mr. Baillie cannot tell precisely what property his Negroes were possessed of.* He had never known but one man, a brown man, who had applied to purchase his freedom and been refused. He was a slave of Mr. Gordon, a gentleman who has distinguished himself in Greece (p. 22—25).

* The above statement is, in some of its parts, so extravagant and incredible that we felt disappointed that it should have been followed by no cross-examination. In a later part of the enquiry, however, we find it again adverted to, but still in a way which leaves a part of its strange inconsistencies unexplained. The *only* time, Mr. Baillie observes, that he offered his slaves leave to buy their freedom was (we presume during the Christmas revels) about Christmas, 1825.

When Mr. Baillie first went to Jamaica very little trouble was taken to instruct slaves; much more has been taken latterly. Sunday is now never made use of as a day of labour; formerly it was. Female slaves are not treated or punished indecently by their masters, who, he thinks, have less power, *quoad* licentiousness, than is possessed over maid-servants in England. Slaves are certainly not often subjected to barbarity in punishment, and the means of redress are always easily to be had. Complaints, whether trivial or serious, are *never* smothered. The slave law prohibits the separation of families. No difficulty attends slave evidence, in the case of acts of cruelty. Slaves, once made free, are never reduced to slavery again. No labouring population, certainly, can be better fed; and no slave is compelled to do half the work of an English labourer. It is clearly the master's interest to feed and clothe his slaves well. Slaves are proud of wearing shoes, but they throw them off when not waiting at table. The planter has to support the old and young, and all incapable of labour. Free labour is to be preferred to slave labour, if it can be obtained. A slave's dwelling is sacred from the master. The intrusion of a protector, therefore,

They refused it, but gave no reason for their refusal. They "laughed in his face," and an old African man, the same identical John Baillie, the ranger mentioned above, speaking for the rest, said, "Massa, me know better, massa, than take freedom." "I never offered it," Mr. Baillie adds, "but on that occasion." "The whole gang were up, and I called three or four of them, and, *in a laughing way*, said, 'You have heard talk a great deal about freedom. If any of you want to be free, I am willing to give it to you. John, what do you think of it?' It was done *in a jocular way*, but perfectly in earnest, if they would avail themselves of it." This offer to sell them their freedom, he adds, was general, and, though the ranger alone answered, yet any one might have dissented from him. In speaking of the property of his slaves, however, on a former day, he had referred to this one man, his slaves generally "*certainly not*" having sufficient property to purchase their freedom. This man, he knew, did possess property, and the ground of his knowledge he thus states: 'He had cattle running upon the estate (two cows and their calves); he had also a flock of goats, and he had also hogs and poultry; and, when the conversation took place as to his freedom, his daughter stated to him, "Massa, he can buy us free very well if he choose; he have plenty of money.'" Being asked how he knew that this ranger, who was executed for rebellion, possessed the sum of £600 or £800, which he had represented him to possess, and also how it was invested, he said he had no other means of knowing the fact than he had already stated, and that the property was "money, or in stock, as cattle, pigs, and so on;" and if in money, it was "perhaps hid away." He could not tell what had become of this property since the ranger's execution, but he hoped to ascertain it on his return to Jamaica, which was about to take place. Being further asked what he conceived had been the man's object in revolting, he replied, "It is totally impossible for me to conjecture; I had such confidence in him that if my family had been there, even my daughters, I should have implicitly placed them in his charge and thought them perfectly safe."

Now what can be said to all this? It must either be the wildest fable ever fabricated, a mere romance, or this poor man must have suffered from his overseer some very harsh and unworthy treatment of which his master knew nothing. The sound of a cart-whipping, and the groans it may have drawn from him, of course could not reach the ears of his master across the Atlantic, and to what indignities besides he or his daughter may have been subjected who can tell?

would be offensive to him. Mr. Baillie objects strongly to a protector, as unnecessary and injurious, and as likely to generate discontents. The Negro houses are very comfortable, but he himself did not often enter them. He has gone into the house of his ranger, and had wine offered him there. His slaves had no day given them for their grounds in crop time, but he sometimes gave four or five additional days after crop. He admitted, however, that it would be an advantage to the slaves, at all seasons, to have time for cultivating their grounds. The only slave on his estate who had cattle was his ranger: he had two cows, and some calves. The slaves *do not eat much animal food, and what they do eat they like to eat in a putrid state* * (p. 29—39).

Then follow, in this and other parts of Mr. Baillie's evidence, questions about the name and use of the cart-whip or driving whip, as if it were of the slightest importance what name it bears, or what is its precise form or size, so long as it serves to lacerate the bared limbs of human beings, men and women; prickly rods being employed to aggravate its lacerations, and brine or lime-juice to add to its torture. Mr. Baillie, however, stands pre-eminent among pro-slavery witnesses for the unflinching boldness of his assertions respecting the non-use of the whip. Many years ago, this practical planter of thirty years' standing had seen such a thing as a cart-whip; but, if *used* at all, it must have been before the abolition of the slave trade. No such thing has been known since; nay its inflictions have been wholly discontinued since 1795! He has not known it since that time, either on his own estate or on any of the estates in the surrounding district for twenty miles. The whip is carried into the field certainly; but not as an instrument of punishment, only as an emblem of authority. Then, he says, the laws of Jamaica prohibit the use of the whip in inflicting punishments without ample time being allowed after the offence has been committed; whereas it is well known there is no such law in Jamaica. In short, the whole of his evidence is of so random and rambling a nature, that we feel some difficulty in believing that the witness could understand the meaning of the words he uttered. At the very moment he is saying that the use of the whip has been discontinued since 1795, he limits the number of the lashes that may be given by the driver in the field to six. Again, he denies, in the strongest terms, the use of

* It would be endless to expose all the strange unmeaning statements and misrepresentations contained in the above abstract of ten pages of Mr. Baillie's evidence; contradicted too as much of it is by other pro-slavery witnesses;—such as Sunday is never used as a day of labour—women are not indecently flogged, and are not exposed to licentious outrage—there are no barbarous punishments—the slaves have easy means of redress—there is no separation of families, &c. Even when he speaks the truth he strangely disfigures it. The slaves do not eat much animal food in Jamaica. That is true. Many of them eat none at all. But then he would imply, because they eat it putrid, that they prefer it in that state. The fact is, they are driven by necessity to eat it putrid, for they can get little else. The Negroes in Cuba, Caraccas, and Hayti eat good beef daily. Why do they not in Jamaica? Simply because they cannot get it. In Hayti, beef is twopence a pound—in Jamaica, a shilling; and, if the slaves used it, it would be double that price in a week.

the whip to compel field labour; yet, when he is asked, in a subsequent part of his examination, whether there is a hope as to the fitness of the slaves for emancipation, he replies, "I conceive not; for the nature of the Negro is such that, unless he is *compelled*, he will not work." He does not even think it possible that, in any number of years to come, the slave would be prepared to labour as labour is conducted in other parts of the world; and, if free, he would be unable to take care of his family. Slaves made free, he maintains, become mere nuisances, and are no assistance to any one—(p. 41—45 and 60, 61). Emancipation would be the ruin of the slaves—(p. 115).

What possible use can be made, even so as to form an intelligible abstract, of such wild and contradictory statements?

It will be wholly unnecessary to follow Mr. Baillie in his details (p. 45—60) of the various employments of his slaves by day and by night, and which occupy many pages that tend to nothing and convey no useful information whatever. In the course of his evidence he takes occasion to allude to his anxiety for the religious instruction of his slaves, and to his having even meditated building a chapel for them on his estate; but his attorney told him it would be throwing away money to do so. He therefore abandoned the plan. His favourite ranger seems to have been little inclined to attend to religion: he preferred having three wives to paying it any attention—(p. 51, 52). The only conversation he states himself to have had with his slaves about marriage was to ridicule it (p. 157).

"Sunday," says Mr. Baillie, "has become a day of rest by law;" and this he affirms in the teeth of the very last slave act, which legalizes Sunday markets till eleven o'clock. Again, "The slaves *never* have been compelled to cultivate their grounds on Sundays" (p. 55).—And yet they never had any other day allowed them by law but Sunday, until the very year, 1788, that Mr. Baillie first visited the island.

The endless enquiries and remarks about shoes, and beards, and razors, are only laughable. The object seems to have been to prove that the Negro's foot was not made to wear shoes, although it is admitted they wear them if they can on gala days, and while waiting at table, and that they may protect the feet from many an injury; and also to prove that the Negroes, having no beards, do not want razors, though no man can take the trouble to inspect a Negro's face without seeing that the beard, which even Mr. Baillie admits is conspicuous in the aged from its whiteness, is only obscured in the young by the common blackness of the hair and skin.

We may also omit the details about spell-keeping, and hospitals, and ploughing, and holeing, summing up the whole in a brief sentence:—That, generally speaking, the slaves have, in crop-time, not more than six hours' rest in the twenty four; that hospitals are sometimes coveted by the slaves as a respite from severe toil; and that the hands of men and women are too generally employed in digging the ground, where ploughs and cattle would do the same work much more effectually, and to the obvious saving of human health and life. These are all points we need not touch upon or attempt to prove.

It were still more vain to follow Mr. Baillie in his loose, undigested, and wholly unauthenticated statements respecting the increase and

decrease of the slave population. He specifies, however, certain estates, in the management of which he himself was still concerned, and from which he had received recent returns of the population, which he affirmed to be increasing on *all* of them. But on inspecting the authentic accounts of the population of those particular estates in the year 1827, as compared with the year 1831, as they stand in the sworn returns of the overseers to the different parish vestries, it is evident that Mr. Baillie must have been misinformed on the subject. We find only two of the six estates he mentions to have increased in that time—namely, the estate of Home Castle in St. Ann, belonging to the late Mr. R. Hume Gordon, and Georgia in Trelawney, belonging to Mr. Thomas Gordon. On the former there were, in 1827, 318, and, in 1831, 339; so that, supposing there was no addition by purchase or removal, the increase by birth would be 21, or nearly two per cent. per annum. On Georgia the number, in 1827, was 255, and, in 1831, 258. The population of the remaining four estates was as follows, viz.—Blackness, in Westmoreland (the late Mr. Grant's), in 1827, 258; in 1831, 254; the decrease in the six previous years having been 33. Gibraltar, in Trelawney (Mr. Campbell's), in 1827, 163; in 1831, 157. Steelfield, in Trelawney, in 1827, 213; in 1831, 211; the decrease of the six previous years having been 26, and of the whole ten years 28. Orange Bay, in Hanover, in 1827, 281; and in 1831, 264; the decrease of the preceding six years having been 28, and of the whole ten years 45.

Mr. Baillie blunders sadly about the law of slave evidence. In one place he says (p. 122) that he never knew it rejected. The only law on that subject, however, the law of 1831, may be seen in the last number of our Reporter, No. 104, p. 446. He is certain, too, that a Negro cannot now be punished with 39 stripes, by his master or manager, for merely being absent from his work (p. 76, 77). There exists, however, no law imposing any such restraint on the master's power. Indeed, Mr. Baillie himself afterwards admits this (p. 120).

Being asked respecting the licentious intercourse between the sexes said to be prevalent in Jamaica, he replied that he did not consider that there was any licentious intercourse between them. It was true white people had all black or coloured mistresses living with them on the footing of man and wife in this country; but he had never seen any violation of decency. He could not name one friend, or any overseer or other person, who did not indulge in this practice. He had never known any missionaries who did so, nor any clergyman; but, if he were told they did, he would believe it (p. 108, 109). He could say nothing of schools: he had never visited any. Estates, he conceived, had nothing to do with schools. He had never put a slave to school, and never knew one who could read. He believed Mr. Charles Nicholas Pallmer had established a school on his estates* (p. 111, 112).

Mr. Baillie did not know what allowance of food the law required to be given to a slave when he had no provision grounds of his own. The law of humanity was the only law he knew on that point. He

* The attempt failed. See No. 104, p. 346.

never knew a penalty enforced for an insufficient supply of sustenance to a slave (p. 125, 126).

In a later period of his examination, the driving whip was again the subject of enquiry; and he then contradicted much of what he had said before. He denied, indeed, vehemently, the use at all of the cart-whip in the field. It was quite another sort of whip which was carried there; and even that was used, not for punishment, but show. It was generally discontinued—not, as he said at first, in 1795, but, he believed, in 1815. He even admitted that the driver is not now prevented from using it in the field by any law. On the contrary, he said that, during the twenty-seven years he had been a planter, men and women *did* labour under the direction of a driver with a whip in his hand (p. 128).

Mr. Baillie had testified that the slave was not compelled to do half so much work as the English labourer did. Being re-examined on this point he acknowledged he knew absolutely nothing of English labour (p. 129, 130).

The question of the duration of night-work was again resumed (p. 130—137), and with the same confusion as we have noticed in every other pro-slavery witness. We again refer our readers on that subject to the notes in our last number (104), p. 337, and 417 and 418.

The time required by the Negro to cultivate provisions for himself and family no witness could state very precisely. One witness, Mr. Sliand, did not scruple to say that one day, in some instances, or a week in others, was quite sufficient. The Duke of Manchester and others raised the number to thirty or perhaps twenty. Mr. Baillie seemed to think that the 26 allowed by law might be enough; but he always himself gave them four or five or six days more after crop, besides their holidays; and the Sundays, he adds, they may occupy as they please. He had denied, indeed, that they were under any necessity of working on the Sunday, and he never knew them compelled to do so. At length, however, on the eighth day of his examination, he went so far as to admit that “they *do* cultivate their grounds on Sundays, though he did not himself call them to do it” (p. 148, 149).

Mr. Baillie was very anxious to the last to testify that the Negroes did not work by coercion, and that they would on no account work for wages if free; but yet, after all, nothing but the fear of punishment really obtained from them the labour which was obtained, just as in the case, he said, of soldiers and sailors. But the Negroes differed from all other people, he added, in being more lazy. No man who was made free ever returned to work in the field (p. 151—154).

He was against all interference of every kind between master and slave, whether by Protectors, or by Orders in Council, or by suggestions of Secretaries of State. If the West Indians had been left to themselves, he thought, improvement would have gone on much more rapidly; it had been much retarded by the conduct of the Government and people of this country (p. 162).

Such, in substance, is the evidence, the confused and contradictory evidence, of this great and experienced planter, put forward with no

small promise and examined at much length. It forms altogether so strange a jumble of inconsistencies, and is so much at variance with truth, and even with probability, that we should have concluded that he had laboured, while delivering it, under some unfortunate aberration of mind. This would have been our unavoidable conclusion, even if we had heard nothing of the fatal act which soon after closed his earthly course, and which seemed to confirm all our preconceptions on the subject. We can only wonder that so acute a man as Mr. Burge, and one so well acquainted with colonial matters, should have rested the mighty interests of which he is avowedly the advocate, as he is the agent, on the testimony of one so little fitted to serve the cause he was brought forward to support. But, though he has since been removed to another tribunal, his evidence still stands forth, in all its native force, to condemn the system in which he was nurtured, and to which, for so many years, he zealously and perseveringly clung.

4. THE LORD SEAFORD.

Lord Seaford presented to the Committee a report made to him by his attorney in Jamaica, on the 1st of August, 1825, of the condition of his three estates in St. James's, in respect to the grounds, and the quantity of stock of various kinds, possessed by his slaves. The recapitulation is as follows :—

The slaves on the three estates amounted to 864, and they possessed among them about 52 acres of garden grounds, and about 590 acres of provision grounds, in all 642 acres, being nearly in the proportion of three-fourths of an acre to each individual. They were also found to possess 131 cows, 26 oxen, 53 heifers, and 81 calves, making 291 head of horned stock, together with 522 hogs, and 1728 head of poultry. Besides the provision and garden grounds, the stock belonging to the slaves ran in the pastures of the estate free of charge. The young oxen, when fit for the yoke, were bought for the use of the estate at £10 a piece. They ran with the estate's cattle, and were taken care of exactly in the same way. The stock, his Lordship states, is *bona fide* the property of the Negroes. His manager has proposed to deprive them of this indulgence, but added that it would be necessary to purchase it of them, as, by the new slave act, they had acquired a legal property in all that stock. The proposal was made in a letter which his Lordship had received only the day before, and was suggested as a punishment for the misconduct of the slaves in the late rebellion. Being asked whether he assented to this proposal, he said no. There had been, however, as yet no time for signifying either his assent or dissent.

A question then arises respecting the law of 1831, which has affected to give to the slaves a legal right of property; and Lord Seaford seems to be of opinion that the law is so framed as to confer that right upon them. This point being important, and believing Lord Seaford as well as his manager to be wrong in the interpretation of that clause, we shall deem it necessary to give the law at length. It is the 14th clause of the Act of 19th February, 1831, and is as follows:—

“And whereas, by the usage of this island, slaves have always been permitted to possess personal property, and it is expedient that such laudable custom should be established by law : Be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that if any owner, possessor, or any other free person whatsoever, shall wilfully and unlawfully take away from any slave or slaves, or in any way deprive, or cause any slave or slaves to be deprived of, any species of personal property, by him, her, or them lawfully possessed, such person or persons shall forfeit and pay to such slaves the value of such property so taken away as aforesaid, the same to be recovered under the hands and seals of any three justices of the peace before whom the complaint shall be laid and the facts proved, which three justices of the peace shall have the power of summoning witnesses, who shall be bound to attend and give their testimony, under the penalty of five pounds : provided, nevertheless, that nothing in this act shall be construed or deemed to authorize any trespass, or to allow any slave or slaves to turn loose, or keep, on his owner's or other person's property, any horses, mares, mules, asses, cattle, sheep, hogs, or goats, without the consent of his owner, or person in possession of such lands, being first had and obtained : provided always, and be it further enacted, that the said justices shall not have power to investigate any proceeding under the preceding clause unless the complaint be brought before them within twenty days of the alleged committal of the injury : and provided that such justices shall not take cognizance of any claims made by slaves for property above twenty-five pounds value, but all claims for sums above that amount shall and may be recovered by the owner in the courts of this island, on behalf and for the use of such slave : but provided always that nothing herein contained shall be deemed to authorize the institution of any suit at law or in equity for the recovery of any such claim by any slave in his own name, or otherwise than in the name of his said owner.”

Now, instead of admitting that this law gives to the slaves any really available right of property, and especially as against his master, we pronounce it to be a deliberate mockery, a studied evasion of the very right it affects to confer. To say nothing of the provisos, which are framed so as to defeat all hope of redress in the case most important to the slaves, that of spoliation by their master or his delegate, let us look at this boasted clause, as it stands, independent of these. Its purposed evasion will be more manifest if it be contrasted with the clause in the Trinidad Order in Council, which Lord Bathurst proposed to adopt, and which Mr. Burge, then Attorney-General of Jamaica, embodied into a Bill which was prepared by him in September, 1826, and afterwards brought into the House of Assembly, but rejected by that body, who substituted the above worthless and evasive clause in its stead :—

“Whereas, by the usage of Jamaica, persons in a state of slavery have hitherto been permitted to acquire and enjoy property, free from the control of their owners, and it is expedient that such laudable custom should be recognized and established by law, therefore be it enacted that no person in the island of Jamaica, being in a state of slavery, shall on account of his condition be, or be deemed to be, incompetent to purchase, acquire, possess, hold, alienate, and dispose of lands situate in Jamaica, or money, cattle, implements, or utensils of husbandry, or household furniture, or other effects of such or the like nature, of what value and amount soever, and to bring, maintain, prosecute, and defend any suit or action in any court of justice, for or in respect of any such property, as fully and amply to all intents and purposes as if he or she were of free condition.”—Papers by His Majesty's Command, Part I. 1827, p. 15.

Mr. Burge's version of this clause, adapting it peculiarly to the circumstances of Jamaica, but entirely preserving the spirit of the Trinidad enactment, may be found in the same volume, p. 48. It requires a simple inspection of the two clauses to place, in full light, the intended frustration by the one clause of all the benefits conferred by the other. No one can peruse it without being led to admire the dexterity with which, in the actual law of Jamaica, the crime of robbing a slave is taken out of the class of crimes, and made a mere civil injury; and as, even in the new evidence law of Jamaica, slave evidence is not admissible, under any circumstances, in civil cases, though it be in *some* criminal cases, it will follow that the evidence of slaves will be entirely shut out from admission in all suits respecting their property. It seems to us that there must have been something almost satanic in the mind of the man, whoever he was, who could combine such a preamble, and such a professed purpose, with such an enactment, holding forth some promise indeed to the ear, but entirely breaking it to the sense. The whole forms as gross a deception as has ever been practised.

These remarks were especially applicable to the disallowed law of 1826. That of 1831, as Lord Goderich justly observes in his despatch to Lord Belmore, dated 16th June, 1831, "is altered considerably to the slave's disadvantage; and when the owner himself is the wrongdoer the slave is left without any remedy." The new law, too, instead of imposing, as the Act of 1826 did, a fine of £10, limits the sum to be paid by the trespasser to the precise value of the property stolen or plundered; and expressly takes from the slave, and vests exclusively in his owner, all right, whether in law or equity, to sue for the recovery of his stolen or plundered property. And this is called legal protection to property!! Lord Seaford and his manager may be quite at their ease as to any danger to them from this clause. It is perfectly harmless as respects them, do what they may. At the same time we are very far from supposing that Lord Seaford would require any law but that of his own sense of right to guide his conduct in such a case. All this, however, may show what incorrect views, not merely the public at large, but even well-informed men like Lord Seaford, are apt to take, being gulled by mere words. Reading in the margin of the Jamaica Act these deceptive words, "Property of slaves protected," they take it for granted that the Act and the margin correspond; whereas they are in direct variance. The intelligent mind of Lord Seaford, if he had read the law with any care, could not have overlooked its futile and utterly evasive nature.*

But there is another part of Lord Seaford's evidence to which we must object still more pointedly, as at war with fact.—"I cannot pre-

* It ought not to be forgotten that, in a parliamentary paper printed on the 28th March, 1831, No. 301, Mr. Burge joined the other West India agents in imposing on Parliament and the public the version of the above clause in the act of 1826, respecting property, with the real nature of which Mr. Burge especially had been so conversant, as a complete protection of slave property. "It secures," they say, "to slaves the possession of personal property." Can any assertion be less true?

sume," says his Lordship, "to say from what reasons the Assembly of Jamaica, having refused at one time to make an enactment, should at a subsequent period have thought fit to make it. They refused to admit the evidence of slaves by an overwhelming majority, only two members voting for it: two years afterwards an Act was passed admitting the evidence of slaves WITHOUT ANY RESTRICTION" (p. 99). Can Lord Seaford possibly have used these words, speaking upon his solemn oath? We think there must be some mistake in the report. This law, which Lord Seaford affirms to admit the evidence of slaves without *any* restriction, will be found in our last number (No. 104), at p. 446. Even if Lord Seaford had not thought it necessary to look at the law before he *deposed* to this effect, he could hardly have wholly forgotten the comments upon it of his deceased friend, Mr. Huskisson. He might have learnt from him, as well as from the words of the act itself, that, instead of admitting, it absolutely excluded the evidence of slaves in all civil cases, which is to exclude it in a very vast majority of the cases in which slaves can have an interest, and admitted it not in the multitudinous cases of wrong connected with the ordinary and daily course of plantation discipline, but "in those cases of crime ONLY in which they (i. e. slaves) are usually either the actors or the sufferers, excluding their evidence in other cases; a distinction which," adds Mr. Huskisson, "does not seem to me to rest on any solid foundation."

Nor is this all. Two slaves, examined apart, if there be no free witnesses, must depose consistently to the same fact, before any free person can be convicted; so that the rape of a slave may altogether escape punishment. Again, no slave testimony will avail against a free person after twelve months from the commission of his crime, however atrocious it may be. Nay, however a man may have been maimed or mutilated, the very exhibition of his bleeding body in court would be a bar to that court to grant him his liberty; and his mutilator, though convicted, cannot be bereft of a master's absolute dominion over him. This is a most barbarous enactment, breathing the very spirit of cruelty and distrust; and yet Lord Seaford says of it, on his oath, that it admits "THE EVIDENCE OF SLAVES WITHOUT ANY RESTRICTION."

Before Lord Seaford was called to give his evidence, as it has now been analysed, an important paper was laid on the table of the Committee, by Richard Garrett Amyot, Esq., first clerk in the Slave Register Office, containing a view of the births and deaths of Africans and Creoles on Lord Seaford's three estates in St. James's, between the years 1817 and 1829. We will state the gross results:—

The number of slaves on these three estates, by the registry of 1817, was 450 males and 527 females, in all 977 slaves; exhibiting a state of population, in regard to the sexes, highly favourable to its increase, the females being about a sixth more than the males.

The number on these estates, in 1829, is not given in this statement, which is a great defect, and serves very much to puzzle it; but, as far as we are able to make it out, the excess of deaths over births, in the intervening time, was 101, which would make the population of 1829

876, the males being 404 and the females 472; an equally favourable state of the population as was exhibited in 1817.

The decrease, nevertheless, even thus shown, amounts to nearly one per cent. per annum. But this is clearly below the truth, as Lord Seaford's manager states the slaves at only 864 in 1825; and in 1830 his returns to the vestries of Hanover and St. James were only 846.

We are aware of the argument which it is intended to build on the distribution which is made, in this statement, of the deaths, into Africans and Creoles, and also on the distribution of the births between African and Creole mothers; but we reserve this point, to which we shall have a sufficient answer hereafter, until we execute our promised purpose, of taking a complete and comprehensive view of the whole question of population, as it has been argued both in this Committee and in that of the House of Commons. Meanwhile we shall limit ourselves to the single remark, that until Lord Seaford shall be able to show how it happens that the slave population of the United States should have increased so rapidly as it has done, namely, at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, since the date of the abolition of the American slave trade in 1808; and that his Lordship's slaves, dating from the same period of the abolition of the British slave trade, should have decreased at the rate of 1 per cent., we shall deem this boasted argument of no value whatever. Supposing the population of his Lordship's estates, in 1808, to have been 1050, at the American rate of progress it would have amounted, in the year 1829, to 1600; instead of being, as it actually was in that year, only 876; leaving a positive waste of human life, on these three estates, in 21 years, as compared with America, of 724. No one will venture to say that this is not a murderous difference, which no special pleading about Africans and Creoles can deliver from its guilty stain.

In one point of view we cannot regret that the course of the examination should have forced us to individualize on this occasion, painful as it must be to his Lordship's feelings, and unquestionably so as it is to our own. But where could we have found an example of a slave-holder more entitled to the praise of humane and liberal conduct towards his slaves than this nobleman? But such is the system which he has unhappily had to administer, that its inherent wickedness has set his Lordship's best wishes and efforts at defiance, and has triumphed over them all. On his beautiful estates, where all nature seems to smile, and both all vegetable life and all other animal life are seen luxuriating in the exuberance of their productions,

“Man only is the growth which dwindles here.”

We have indeed heard the case of Lord Seaford, and his severe losses by the late insurrection, cited, not only with the commiseration for his share in that calamity which we participate with all who have access to know his urbanity and other estimable qualities, but as a proof of the innate obduracy and ingratitude of the Negro character, which no kindness can soften, and no obligations can bind. Here, however, we must wholly dissent. His slaves, we do not hesitate to say, owe Lord Seaford nothing. Even the kindness he may have meant them, if not intercepted in its distant progress, has reached

them only through hearts and hands known to them, not by any interchange of affection, but by the stern exaction of their unintermitted toil. While they have been surrounding *him* with every enjoyment which wealth can purchase, *they* have been wearing out their lives, by night as well as by day, in bitter bondage, under the frown or the lash of unfeeling task-masters. Compared with those under whom they plied their unremitting labours, what was Lord Seaford to them? Their happiness and their destinies, from day to day and from hour to hour, were not in his power, but in that of his overseers; and while health and life were wasting, as we have seen, apace, it is but the dream of a driveller to suppose that there existed any principle which could enable them to avert their minds from the scenes around them, and fasten them on the kindly feeling towards them which might dwell in his Lordship's bosom amid the festivities and splendours of his lordly mansion at Seaford or in Audley Square.

5. MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JOHN KEANE, K. C. B.

This gallant officer passed eight years in Jamaica, in the interesting period from 1823 to 1830, as Commander-in-chief of the forces; and, during a year and a half of the time, he administered the civil government also. He conceived himself to have had abundant opportunities of becoming acquainted with the condition of the slaves, having moved about a good deal in the island, and visited many estates. We question, however, whether he could have been a very accurate observer of what was passing around him during those years. For example,—he says, speaking of the Negro, that he has always observed it to be “very much contrary to the nature of that *animal* to tell the truth.” He thus illustrates this opinion:—“Since the enactment of slave evidence being admitted, it is quite extraordinary to see the proof given in courts. They will tell a thing off-hand, and you suppose they had it perfectly; and on their cross-examination they will forget what they have said, and will tell a story diametrically opposite to what they have before told” (p. 167). Now this is certainly a very off-hand statement of Sir John's, considering that he is on oath. Sir John Keane himself tells us that he quitted Jamaica in 1830. But the act which admitted a slave to give any evidence at all against free persons did not pass till February, 1831, and was not in force until the November following. It was therefore impossible that the gallant General could really have witnessed what he swears to have taken place. It must have been the illusion of a dream.

Again, Sir John Keane tells us on his oath that one man in England does more [labour] than ten Negroes (p. 168).

Again, he never even heard of a Council of Protection in Jamaica: it must have been after his leaving the island (p. 169); while, in truth, it forms a part of the acts of 1816 and of 1826, and was renewed in the very act of 1829 upon which he himself put his veto as Governor.

Sir John Keane says he never heard of one complaint from slaves during the whole time he was in Jamaica. Their condition was good; they were contented; their food and clothing were sufficient. He was sure they would have complained had there been any cause; but they

never complained to him ; and he had never, even by accident, heard of their complaining. They were advancing fast, according to Sir John, in amelioration and moral improvement ; and he had never heard of such a thing as any obstruction to it (p. 163—165).

The slaves, Sir John thought, if made free, would sit down and do nothing, like the Maroons—nothing for themselves and nothing for others ; and yet he says they had become excessively enlightened : many could read and write, and could understand their catechism ; yet they do not improve as to their habits of lying, thieving, dishonesty, and licentiousness ; but they pay great attention to their offspring, and they have married more of late years.—The planters dislike the missionaries as alienating their slaves from their work and home.—A slave protector would, in his opinion, be of most dangerous tendency ; besides, such a person was not required. The Governor, the King's representative, was their best protector. In all his own visits round the country, he had never heard a complaint in Jamaica (p. 169). There was a strong disposition in the planters to improve the slaves in every way. A protector is wholly unnecessary. If the Governor wishes for information he can have it from the Custos, or can write to the Custos for his opinion. No cruel proprietor or manager would be tolerated in Jamaica. The Negroes would go to a magistrate either in a body or individually ; but in the eight years he was in Jamaica he never heard of a complaint, and never heard of a cause of complaint (p. 170—172). He is quite sure emancipation would lead to utter ruin and extermination ; “because,” says Sir John, “an aggregate body of 350,000 slaves in Jamaica could not arrange, if they were emancipated to-morrow, any thing like a livelihood or a state of creditable being for themselves ; and, with St. Domingo so close to them, I think they would follow the ruinous example of that ill-fated island” (p. 173).

Sir John Keane reiterates with emphasis that he had never heard of any complaint whatever. He then corrects himself, and says, he had heard of *one* case of corporal punishment that took place when he was in Jamaica. It was the case of the Rev. Mr. Bridges of St. Ann. Being asked if he recollected the particulars, he said, “it was a very nonsensical thing about a turkey which Mr. Bridges was angry about, and he flogged his female slave ‘in the most cruel manner in the world.’” He knew of no other instance of corporal punishment, and he never saw one himself, and never saw a slave struck.—How, then, he is asked, are slaves made to work ? By usage and custom ; they are used to it from infancy. He cannot tell whether they are influenced by the fear of corporal punishment ; he never asked them what motive they had ; he supposed, however, that the law sanctioned the driver in arbitrarily punishing a slave, but over the law he had never had any control. Slaves worked from habit, and from a wish to serve their owners, but he understood they might be flogged if they did not work. Masters did not wish drivers to flog them, and they themselves had told him so. The magistracy of Jamaica he knew, and thought them incapable of concealing cruelty (p. 175, 176).

The Negro, Sir John thinks, would consider emancipation as giving him the “free exercise of his own will, which, by the character of the

animal, leads to idleness" (p. 177). He knew nothing of spell or of the interior management of estates but what he picked up in conversation, or had seen himself at times. "The Negroes in Jamaica are a magnificent race of people." He does not know whether the regulations of estates are likely to make the Negroes industrious as "the nature of the *animal* differs so much;" but, if free, "they would not work as they now do, or work at all perhaps." And yet he saw nothing like disgust with their work. "It was a most extraordinary thing; they were always singing," and they were most happy at the heaviest work, "cracking their jokes, and singing from one end to the other;" but he has formed the opinion, and he "will stick to it," that they will not work if free (p. 178—180).

He praised highly the discipline and good conduct of the black soldiers, but he can draw no comparison between a soldier and a Negro. The Negroes are idle; they would, if free, "like to enjoy themselves in the sun and scratch themselves" (p. 182). He professed great ignorance about religious instruction. He had never given slavery a thought before he went out to Jamaica (p. 184).

Such is the evidence given by Sir John Keane, K.C.B., Commander in Chief of the forces, and Governor, for a time, of Jamaica! With such Commanders and Governors no one can wonder that slavery, as a system, should have been so little understood in this country; and that, with all its abuses, it should have lasted so long. But for the indignation such things excite, it would be truly ludicrous to listen to such dotages from public functionaries.

6. WILLIAM SHAND, ESQ.

This gentleman was examined at great length before the House of Commons, and a full abstract of his evidence will be found in our last number, p. 431, &c. In substance, it is so identical with that given before the Lords' Committee that it would be superfluous to abstract it again. We find, however, a very few novelties, to which we shall briefly advert.

Mr. Shand is explaining, philosophically, why the slaves eat little animal food. He says (p. 198), "a population little accustomed to eat animal food have no great desire for it. I believe, in many cases, the Highlanders of Scotland *cannot* eat animal food. There are people on my estate who have not tasted animal food, I should think, a hundred times in their lives. They are satisfied with potatoes or oatmeal."*

He had frequently seen the whip applied to women as well as men. Both worked equally in the field. He did not know to how many lashes a driver was now limited, as the law had been altered since he left Jamaica † (p. 204).

* The people on Mr. Shand's estates, whether in the West Indies or in the Highlands of Scotland, we presume, do not and cannot eat meat, precisely from the same cause in both cases, because they have it not to eat.

† There has been no change in the law in this respect. It was ten lashes in 1788. It is ten lashes in 1833.

Mr. Shand repeats (p. 206 and p. 208) the extravagant proposition that one day's labour might enable a slave to cultivate food enough for the whole year; and that he has no need to labour on Sunday (p. 207).

The proceedings in this country are now, says Mr. Shand, the chief occasion of punishments. Otherwise there would be few (p. 209).

“A slave is, in many respects, better off than if he were free. He no doubt would have more time if he *chose* to labour. Beggars swarm *here*. Mendicity is unknown in the colonies” (p. 209).

Mr. Shand affirms that no slaves have been branded since the slave trade ceased: a law was then passed to forbid it”* (p. 210).

The slaves do not generally use mattresses. They no more desire mattresses and bed-clothes than shoes. The Africans commonly prefer going naked: their clothing is light, very light (p. 217).

After much shuffling about night work, Mr. Shand admits that in crop-time he himself, as a book-keeper, was obliged to keep his eyes open 18 hours and a half out of the 24 (p. 282). The Negro, he admitted, had daily six hours of additional work in crop-time (p. 283).

7. SIR MICHAEL CLARE, M. D.

This physician of 30 years' experience in Jamaica never knew or even suspected an instance of a Negro being turned out to work when unfit for it. Sick slaves had boards to sleep on, and, if their limbs were broken, they were supplied with blankets (p. 264).

Suicide used formerly to prevail among Negroes. He could not tell why, but thought it was because they expected to get back to their country and friends on death. On one occasion, eleven slaves committed suicide. “One hung the other ten. He did it by persuasion, and in a species of mirth and gaiety, and then hung himself, and, the withes breaking twice, he hung himself the third time with a withe which did not break; and they were not discovered till all were perfectly dead”† (p. 266).

Sir Michael scarcely recollected any slaves sent into the hospital in consequence of punishment. In that respect they were much better off than soldiers, who were always sent there (p. 267). He recollected one instance of a white man of the name of Lee, punished with fine and imprisonment, and the freedom of his slave, a female, to whom he was made to pay £10 a year, and whom after flogging he had stamped on the breast with a heated stamping iron. And yet her crime was one for which she would have been hanged in England; running away and stealing. She was a domestic. He did not recollect one act of cruelty on estates, either in the hospital or out of the hospital (p. 268). He had known sores indeed the effect of punishment, when Negroes having been punished kept out of the way. The sores became fly-blown (i. e. full of maggots). The custom is to confine the Negro who is punished in the stocks till he gets well, but he never saw one so punished as, if so confined, to make medical aid necessary. If allowed

* The first law on that subject was in 1831.

† The sapient physician did not explain how he came to know all this, none remaining to tell the tale.

to walk about, bad sores may follow (p. 269). The sores are on the back and buttocks. But he never had to treat a slave medically merely for having 39 lashes, except there were sores. He remembered two or three cases of injuries inflicted on Negroes by persons acting under the impulse of violent passion;—one where the Chief Justice, a gouty and passionate man, knocked out the teeth of his domestic, and injured his own hand, and lost two of his own fingers, and nearly died in consequence. He was not tried for the assault; as the Negro made no complaint. He was a very good master, and never struck his domestic with that hand again (p. 269, 270).

The Negroes are liable to sores from brushwood and other things. They will not, however, wear shoes at their work; but only when in full dress. He never knew an instance of debility from overworking or insufficiency of food (p. 273). He kept the children on estates healthy by dosing them every Monday morning with salt water to carry off worms. The deficiency of breeding women was very striking, and the perpetration of abortion common (p. 274, 275).

Negro parents are very severe, very harsh and tyrannical in punishing their children. They do it with ebony rods on the buttocks. It is a cruel and painful infliction: and he had heard, too, though he had never seen it, of their pickling them afterwards with brine; that is, applying salt over the raw part: but he never knew or heard of such things on the part of masters, but only of parents (p. 275, 276). He had seen it, however, in the army (p. 278).

The morals of the Negroes were improved in appearance, but not in reality. They were all very licentious; and proprietors, he thought, had no power, and made no attempt to stop it, or to prevent wealthy Negroes from engrossing several women. He saw no remedy but removing the children wholly from their parents. Parents, however, disliked this, as it deprived them of the aid of their children, whom they wished to work for them while they sat still. They are more polished, but not at all mended in reality as to morals; and emancipation would aggravate their vices, and lead to the indulgence of every vice without restriction—(p. 277, 278).

In the same vague, gossipping, and unsatisfactory style, this learned physician proceeds to talk upon a variety of topics, as abortion, polygamy, marriage, religious instruction, progress of population, medical treatment, day and night labour: but with respect to none of them had he ever once heard of any thing to the disadvantage of the system, and with respect to none of them had he ever even heard of any thing occurring discreditable to it. He had never even heard of an instance of the whip being used to stimulate labour, or of any insufficiency of food, or of any waste of life by overworking or underfeeding. The slave, at the same time, will never work if he can help it, and his only idea of freedom is to sit down and do nothing (p. 279—287). No Negro, if freed, will ever hold a hoe—will ever touch it; with much to the same effect (p. 288—290). And all this is sworn to by Sir Michael Clare, M. D. !*

* It is worth while to contrast this account with the evidence of Dr. Williamson, a contemporary of Dr. Clare, who lived on Lord Harewood's estate. See our Vol. ii. p. 249 and 317, and the pamphlet "Negro Slavery."

8. ADMIRAL SIR LAWRENCE HALSTED, K. C. B.

By this witness's account, nothing could surpass the comfort of the slaves. They did not want to be free; their comfort was studied to the utmost. He never saw such nice arrangements for the sick as in the hospital of Mr. Archdeckne's estates, in St. Thomas in the East. He saw no stocks, and never saw a Negro in them; he never saw a hand lifted against a Negro, or a Negro scolded by his master. The slaves show no signs of being ill used, hard worked, or badly fed. His conversations with Sally Adams, his housekeeper and cook, which he details very minutely, proved to him the general comfort prevailing among them; and, instead of any undue means being used to make women submit to licentious desires, the gentlemen of that country were most respectable and virtuous in their ideas and habits. He never saw a dejected countenance among slaves; they all appeared cheerful, some hard at work and some idle, for they are indolent and required some one to stimulate them; and without that he did not think they would work at all. Their houses were very comfortable, with decanters, tumblers, glasses, wine and spirits. They were not a bit jealous of his going into their houses (p. 291—294).

He had seen an excellent school in Kingston attended by slave children.—He was much opposed to having protectors for the slaves. They would do harm and no good. He never knew but one or two instances of cruelty; and, from the general disposition of the community, the injured slave was sure of redress (p. 296, 297). He always considered the slave as completely happy and contented: they were better off than the peasantry in this country. Many Englishmen would be exceedingly happy to be in their situation; not, indeed, to become slaves, for he did not think the system of slavery would be a good thing for Old England: but still he should like to see the labouring population here as well off as they (p. 298, 299). He would not plead for making Englishmen slaves; but he never saw any cruelty, never heard any harsh language used to them. They had no complaints, and abounded in comforts. He never saw them driven at their work; indeed he never was in the field when they were at work: but he knew there was a driver with them with a sort of whip. He had never seen ploughs at work, but he believed there were ploughs. A whip being shown to him, he said that was a most horrible thing, and had he seen that, he should have enquired more about it, for he could not conceive it to be used where people had any feeling (p. 300—302). He did not know about their hours of labour, or their night work. If free, they were so indolent he thought they would not work without some law to compel them; and yet those who supplied the markets must be industrious. Concubinage was not more common, he thought, in Jamaica than in England (p. 304).

9. COLONEL ALEXANDER MACDONALD.

This officer was in Jamaica two months at one time, and three at another, and had been in the habit of visiting sugar estates. He had never known any acts of cruelty committed towards slaves, nor ever

saw any punishments of field slaves. He had known a slave express an opinion that he was better off in a state of slavery than he should be in one of freedom (p. 305).

He had invariably seen the slaves in Jamaica both happy and contented; and he had known instances of slaves refusing their freedom, for this reason—that, if they were old and could not work, there was no one to take care of them; but, by the slave laws, masters were obliged to clothe and feed them. The service required is not half of what was required in this country. He had never in his life known what he called cruelty (p. 306). In Honduras, the only labour was cutting mahogany: it is not severe labour. He never saw people better treated in any country. Their food is very good. He never saw any punishment inflicted on slaves there. Being Governor there, he never permitted it. Their religious instruction was much attended to, and all the slaves were in the habit of attending church. There was a school attended by children, both slaves and free. Offences were tried by magistrates chosen by the settlers of property, whether white or coloured. Some of the coloured people were magistrates. They had been treated ill by his predecessors; but Sir George Murray had approved of his appointing them to the magistracy. The slaves make money by cutting logwood on their own account. There are Wesleyan and Baptist missionaries there, who have done much good. The male population exceeds the female, which is a great disadvantage. The habits of the slaves are naturally licentious; and, if free, it would be morally impossible to keep them in order.* They are now kept in order by knowing they are subject to the will of their masters; but, if left to themselves, they would not work at all. They are trusted with arms without any apprehension of danger. They are well clothed. They do not care for freedom; and, in many instances, will not take it† (p. 307—320).

10. THE REV. JAMES CURTIN.

Mr. Curtin had resided 30 years in Antigua, to which he went in 1799 as a missionary of the Conversion Society, and in 1819 took charge also of the parish of St. Mary. The only religion he found among the Negroes on going there had been imparted to them by the Moravians and Methodists, chiefly by the former. Religious instruction had made great progress since that time. The slaves were then generally very ignorant, except those who attended the Methodists and Moravians. There were six parish churches; but the clergy did not then consider it a part of their duty to instruct the Negroes. There was one Moravian and one Methodist meeting-house. There are now the same six parish churches and five chapels of the Church of England, also five Moravian and five Methodist establishments. The improve-

* And yet the number of emancipated people is very considerable, and they are respectable and wealthy, by Colonel Macdonald's own admission.

† And yet, by looking at the returns from Honduras, it will be found that a larger proportion of the slaves purchase their freedom there than in any colony in the West Indies. See *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. i., No. 19.

ment had been great before the Bishop went out in 1825, and many could read the Scriptures well. He had baptized considerable numbers, and married 150 couples up to 1824.* He instructed them according to the catechism of the Church, and the test of their being sufficiently instructed was, their taking pains to learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, as he could not enter into their natural habits and know what their state of life was.† He kept himself quite aloof from the sectarians, and minded his own business; he could not tell, therefore, how they went on; but he was on terms of courtesy with all religious parties, except sometimes the clergy. He got, however, on one occasion, into a quarrel with the President of the island, about some money matter, and was sharply rebuked for it by the Bishop of London; but he had been irritated by being prevented by the President from adding to his small income of £200 a year (having a wife and family). He did not however lose in the end, as he afterwards got the charge, in addition to his salary as missionary, of one of the island livings (p. 345—348).

He was generally well received by proprietors, with one or two exceptions. "I *always* found," he says, "the slaves on plantations very comfortably situated, *generally speaking*, and very rarely making complaints; they *always* looked well, cheerful, and happy." "I have never known them grumble on the plantations with respect to their allowances. Perhaps there may be an exception or two, and very partial, by a few of the slaves." He had free access to plantations; but he *never* did any thing clandestinely, and *always* sent word to the manager when he was coming. He had not known of any acts of cruelty. He recollected once to have heard of a cruel thing, many years ago, by a coloured man to his slave, and the coloured man was put into prison for it. He did not think there were any severe and unnecessary punishments. His general impression, *latterly*, was, that the planters were very loth to punish their slaves, if they could help it; they had a great deal of feeling for them, and this feeling was much stronger before he left the island (p. 349, 350).

* We find from the parliamentary returns, No. 204, of 1828, p. 18, that Mr. Curtin, in his capacity of missionary, had married only 21 couple of slaves, and, in his capacity of rector of St. Mary, 2 couple, from January 1, 1821, to December 31, 1825; and he was the only clergyman by whom any were married in those years. This return is accompanied by a letter from Mr. Lane, the Colonial Secretary and Clerk of the Crown of May, 1827, to the Governor's Secretary, stating that there was then no law in Antigua making marriage between slaves either a civil or religious contract, or for preventing the separation of husband and wife; so that the surprise is that Mr. Curtin should have married so many even as 23. He alone indeed at that time married any.

† And yet what is the business of a minister of the gospel but to turn men from their "natural habits," and to lead them to alter their "state of life?" "But," says Mr. Curtin, "I could not enter" into that. Mr. Curtin, we find, from his evidence, had been a Catholic priest before he became a Church of England missionary. He seems to have adhered, in this case, to the doctrine of the sufficiency of the mere *opus operatum*. He baptized them, and taught them to repeat the Creed and the Pater-noster, not entering into the question of their life and habits.

His mission was put an end to by the bishop in 1827. Prior to that he had had at his mission chapel 306 communicants. Only some of the clergy co-operated with him; but others looked to the emoluments—meaning, we presume, the baptismal fees; for he had no claim, he says, on that score: he baptized free. The slaves were not buried in the church yards, but in places appropriated for them. He heard one or two instances of complaints from slaves of hardship or cruelty, but the evidence was *ex parte*, and he did not choose to act upon it. The magistrates, too, were always ready to give relief, and he advised their going to the magistrate rather than coming to him (p. 350, 351).

Before marriages were so frequent as now, Negroes in many instances lived together as man and wife, though not married. But now their marriages are legalized and celebrated by banns, and the children are now taken better care of. Almost all in Antigua are now baptized. The Sunday is now well observed in Antigua, better than in some parts of England. The slaves go to church, carrying their prayer books, joining in the responses, and in the psalms and hymns. He has seen them with the Bible and prayer book on their own little tables, with decent chairs to sit on. A great number of them can read. The Methodist and Moravian slaves are generally very regular, good, well-behaved people. The slaves sometimes say they would prefer the church if they could have the regular clergy to attend to them, as it would be some saving of expense. Instruction has made the slaves, in every respect, better. He never had any idea of insurrection among them, and should not now but for excitement. The service is attended by white and black, but these sit separately. Formerly they did not communicate at the same sacrament table. The prejudice is lessening, and the blacks are modest and do not press forward. He does not know that there is any jealousy between the church and the sectarians. He never disputed with them, or aided them, but was always civil to them. The Moravians had the greatest number of slaves, the Methodists the greatest number of the free people (p. 352—354).

The slaves in Antigua were partly fed by a regular allowance from their masters, and some of them had grounds. They had their noon time to labour in their grounds; and superannuated slaves and pregnant women could also go to the provision grounds when they pleased. He had seen them working in their grounds, too, on Sunday: but not so much now; they now go to church very much; still they work habitually in their grounds on that day. The planters do not interfere to prevent this, and no steps had been taken by the legislature or by individuals to prevent Sunday labour for themselves; they do not work for their masters on that day unless voluntarily, and when paid for it, except in picking grass for the cattle, which used to be done formerly, and, for aught he knows, may still be done out of church hours (p. 354, 355).

Mr. Curtin never visited a slave property on any account without the leave of the master or manager; he never attended the slaves privately unknown to him (*ibid*).

When slaves complained to him he advised them to go to the magistrates. He only recollected one instance of his mentioning the matter

to the master. He once applied to the master to forgive a slave for running away. He refused, and the slave was punished (p. 356).

The Sunday market has recently been abolished by law, but the slaves were averse to it, because they wished to go in their fine clothes, with their fruit, &c., to market on that day, and there was an insurrection about it. They need not have broken the Sabbath, but they did it that they might get another day, and they have got that other day since; the Saturday, he understood, was now allowed (p. 356, 357).

The excitement among the slaves to which he alluded arose from their reading publications stating slavery to be a crime and a sin, and that no man has a right to hold another man as his property. The slaves would be more contented if left quiet. He was not for the perpetuity of slavery, but for an *imperceptible*, gradual abolition of it; and the best thinking slaves themselves would be more contented to let things go on quietly, and gain their freedom, than to have a complete extinction of it. The control of an owner over his slaves is so checked by law and magistrates that, if ill disposed, he cannot behave ill to his slaves. If a driver or manager punishes a slave arbitrarily he may be called to account for it. He does not think the driver has now authority to flog a slave to a certain and limited extent. He had seen the custom of carrying a whip in the field cease in many cases. It is now carried in very few cases indeed; and the Negroes know that so many eyes watch the driver that he does not use his whip, and he thinks it is not now applied to the person of the slave. In short, slavery is merely nominal in Antigua: it is no longer absolute power over the slave. The master is watched by the clergyman and the medical man; and the Governor cites the master to his bar, so that he is bound down by law (p. 358).

We shall have some remarks to make on much of the above abstract of a part of this reverend gentleman's evidence before we have done with him. In the mean time, the following part of his examination is so striking a proof of his dexterity in evading inquiry, that we shall give it in his own words:—

“Suppose a slave, when called upon to go into the field with the gang, refuses to go, what means are employed to make him go? He must allege the cause for which he refuses; he must give a reason.—Supposing it is an inadequate reason? Then a complaint must be made to the owner or manager.—Is the whip employed to force him to go? I do not think it is employed at these times.—Is he liable to be forced by the whip to go to his work? If the driver's use of the whip is not abolished; I do not know whether that is or not.—Do you believe, if not prohibited, that he would be liable to be coerced? With that part of the business I was not so much engaged in; mine was religious; all I had to do when I visited them was to see that they were contented.—Do you believe that if the slave was coerced and punished, either for refusing to work or not working with sufficient diligence, any slaves being of your congregation would have stated to you the facts of the case? Yes, I believe they would.—Have you ever heard such complaint? I have scarcely ever heard of one complaint.—Have you heard such complaint? Yes, some years ago; not of late.—How lately have you heard such complaints? Perhaps not since 1812 or 1813.—Is the slave in Antigua compelled to work by his apprehensions of the whip? No, I do not think they are compelled to work; I think they go voluntarily. The religiously educated Negroes will go to work from

principle, as they conceive it is their duty to do. They must work.—Do you know how many hours they work? That is another part of the business I never heard of any excess of labour.—That has a good deal to do with voluntary labour? The times that I thought the Negroes' appearance looked better was in crop time. When they laboured most they always appeared better in health and more cheerful than when they were not so employed.—Is it to the increase of labour you attribute their improved appearance? No; they receive more nourishment from the juice of the sugar cane, for they eat plentifully of it in the field; I believe they were not restricted.—Do you think that the sugar cane, nutritious as it is, would improve the condition of yourself or any other man who was fed at another time? I do not know; but I believe it is nutritious.—If it had this effect on the slave, and it would not have the same effect upon a well-fed man at another time, what inference is to be derived from the fact: is it not a fair inference that his food had not been so ample previously? I think they are generally well fed.—Are they over-fed in crop time? I never knew them to be under-fed; and I apprehend that at that time and at all times they have provision sufficient out of their own grounds to carry to market to dispose of, to buy them any thing they want.—You have been in the habit of seeing great brewers' draymen going about town? I have seen a great many draymen.—Do you think they get fatter when they drink a great deal of porter? I think that the draymen here work much harder than they do; I never see them drag such loads as they do here.—If they refused to draw such loads in Antigua, what would be done to those slaves? But they never did require it.—What would be the consequence to the slaves if they did refuse? The only instances I have seen of drawing is tanks from the ships.—What would be the consequences to a slave of refusing to do the work his master ordered him? would the slave be liable to corporal punishment for that rejection? He would be liable to confinement or something.—Would he or not be liable to corporal punishment? I suppose he may be liable to corporal punishment.—Do you consider the coercion to labour, as regards the slaves in Antigua, as severe as that used in our navy and army? I do not think it is. I have seen sailors on board ships as I passed through, and I think they are treated with greater harshness than the slaves by their masters. On board merchant ships I have seen them treated with much more harshness by captains or owners than I ever saw a slave treated in Antigua.—If they are ill-treated, is that any reason why the Negroes should be ill-treated? No: but I believe the proprietor of the slave treats him with more kindness, looking to him for his labour.—Do you conceive the sailors or soldiers are liable to the infliction of corporal punishment at the will of their superior? I have seen them get lashes without any order but the master's wish; I have seen the cabin boy knocked about by the captain.—Have you ever seen an instance of a soldier or sailor flogged at the arbitrary will of his superior? I have not been in the army. I can speak of what I have read in different papers about the flogging them.—As an Englishman, do you not know that it would be contrary to law to inflict corporal punishment on any one without an order of some court? It would be considered an assault for even a master to strike a servant, I conceive.—Would it be so in the case of a slave? The slave could call his master before the justice for it; he could go and take his complaint before the next justice, and the magistrate would immediately order an investigation.—In going to make his complaint, would he not be liable to be apprehended as a runaway unless he possessed a pass? No; I do not know that he would be liable to be apprehended as a runaway: and there is another circumstance; if the Negro slaves, whether male or female, considered themselves to be aggrieved or harshly treated by their owners, or felt it unpleasant to belong to such a man, they apply to the Governor, and he instantly listens to their remonstrance, and their owner is summoned before him, and he is desired to give that person a ticket to provide himself with another owner, and the slave is at liberty to look out for another owner; he is not obliged to live with a person that he does not wish to serve; if he says he is hardly treated by

such a person,—‘He is very severe to us, and we wish to belong to another owner,’ the magistrate says, ‘You must give him a ticket to get another owner.’—Does he say, ‘You must,’ or ‘I advise you?’ The owner in general would wish it, because he does not wish to possess an unwilling slave; he had rather give him the ticket to get rid of him.—How many instances have you known of such a case as that? I have heard two or three instances.—Have the goodness to name them? I cannot name them now. There is a general impression upon my mind, but I can remember one instance. I have been very frequently called upon to go to the slaves to visit them in their sickness and in the hour of their distress; I have been called upon to visit them in gaol, and when they were under sentence of death. In the year 1817, I think, there were two slaves condemned to die that belonged to the Treasurer of the island; they were condemned for breaking open the bureau and getting money out of it. I was called to visit them, and administer baptism to one of them under sentence of death. When they were to be carried out to execution, I desired the black man—one was a fair-coloured man and the other black,—‘Speak to your friends every thing that is in your heart, and give them some advice, as you are going to leave the world, to show your regret and sorrow for robbing your master.’ He told them that he was led into temptation, having free access to his master’s keys, and that they took the keys out of the chest and robbed their master, and dissipated the money; ‘But,’ said he, ‘I will tell you—I will tell it as a dying man—I wish it to be known to all the Negroes (this was at the place of execution), I wish it to be known to all bystanders, that if whites are to be attended, I would not advise them to be attended by Negroes, for whites are the properest persons to attend on white persons, for we are not willingly domestics or agriculturists to the white people.’ This man said so on the place of execution. Now, said I, observe this, and I minuted it down, and I took notes. In the course of my ministry I always found an unwillingness in the Negroes who became free to become domestics and agriculturists; they will frequently reproach one another, and say, ‘You mēnal’” (p. 357—360).

“Have the goodness to state what makes the essential difference between the Negro and the rest of mankind so great that he would not be actuated by the same stimulus to labour that the rest of mankind, being free, are actuated by? I believe the climate has a great deal to do with it.—You are aware that there are free persons who labour in climates as hot as that at Antigua? Yes; I suppose there may.—Why should the Negro be unwilling to work for wages, when wages will induce others in a similar climate to labour? I only know this, that I believe the wants of the Negroes are so few that they would not expend much time at their work to have those wants supplied. They would require little clothing and little food. In those tropical climates they can do with much less food and clothing than in these northern climates. The Negroes are naturally inclined to indolence; they would rather go a fishing, and so on, than give themselves up to agricultural labour. When they are made free they take trades, such as shop-keepers and dealers, and so on, to avoid being under any authority of any kind. They frequently go off to other islands seeking their fortune, and come back, not succeeding in other places, and go living among the Negro slaves on the plantations if they can.—You mean that the slaves in those hot climates would prefer fishing to cane-hole-digging? Yes; if they were free.—From that you infer that the slave would not labour for his own subsistence if free? They would labour in fishing or something of that kind, but they would not at other occupations.—Not even to save themselves and their families from starvation? I have no great opinion of their foresight; I think they generally look to the present time.—You have stated that they have, in many instances, acquired considerable property? They have acquired property, some of them.—By what means did they acquire this property? By raising vegetables and fruit and stock.—Is not that done by the exertions of their own industry? Yes; but there are exceptions to general rules; there are a few exceptions.—How can you reconcile with the fact that

the slaves labour on their provision grounds during the portion of time which is their own, the great portion of it being devoted to the service of their master, the supposition that if made free they would not labour for their own subsistence, having the command of all their time? I think I can reconcile that by showing that those slaves I allude to are in superior circumstances to some of the other Negroes, as there are in all gradations of society persons of superior talent; and by the perquisites those superior Negroes receive, by saving some of those perquisites they have, they are able to lay up something; and then, by having a power over other slaves, they can make up this deficiency.—You mean to say that the possession of property is confined to the superior class of slaves, such as head men, drivers, and artificers? The possession of considerable property.—You know no instance of field Negroes possessing such property? Yes; there are field Negroes I have seen very comfortable too.—You would not call the field Negroes a superior class? The field Negroes frequently appear to be such. They have a good deal of stock. I have bought stock from them myself, and fruit.—Have you ever known an instance of a free man returning to labour in the field? Never.—You say many of the slaves possess horses: are they allowed to possess horses? I believe there is no law now against it; I have seen them come to church and driving about with their horses on Sunday.—Do you speak of common field Negroes keeping horses? No, not the common field Negroes: the head men on the estates. There was another instance I knew;—a boat was carried away with some slaves from the island by a storm; it was carried to another part of the country; and I have known an instance of them returning to their owners rather than remain free; I knew a man, and I spoke to him one day; I said, ‘You have returned?’ He said, ‘Yes, massa; I have returned in preference, to live on massa’s property.’—You are aware that there are on the island of Antigua several hundred free Negroes, under the name of liberated Africans? Yes.—They are persons who have been captured in consequence of the abolition of the slave trade, and as such are free? Yes; there are, I believe, a few hundreds, not very many, perhaps two or three hundred. I have baptized and administered the Sacraments to some of them as African apprentices; they were never considered as slaves.—Do you know any thing of the mode in which they maintain themselves? They were maintained for a time by the Custom House.—How long has that ceased? I know it has ceased, and that they were directed to be freed, and that they went about as jobbers, in the town, as porters, and things like that; but I did not see any of them go to agricultural labour.—How long is it since you were in the island? A year and ten months ago. I had two of these African apprentices myself. I will tell an instance regarding one of those men. I got one of them apprenticed to me in the year 1811.—As what? He was apprenticed to me. It was thought advisable to put them to some trade. I had a Negro a tailor, and I bound him to that tailor to learn that trade: he was with me from the year 1811 to nearly the time I left. There was an order sent from Government to make them free; this man came and said, ‘I have an order, Sir, to be free.’ I said, ‘You have been free these three years, why do not you accept it?’—‘Oh massa, I had rather remain with you.’ I said, ‘You may remain as you are.’ He remained there for a few months, but some free person put it into his head that he ought to get more wages from me. He came and applied for more wages; I said, ‘No; you said you were contented to remain; if any body puts it into your head, go where you can better yourself;’ and he went from me, kept away for about six weeks, and then returned about three months before I left the island, and he said, ‘Massa, they make me fool.’ He had been to persons to work for them, but he said he had worked harder, and had rather come back.—Do you know whether those free persons maintain themselves in the island by their own industry and by the wages of labour, or by what means? I believe some of them maintain themselves by their own industry; but I believe some of them live on the plantations among the Negro slaves, and work for the Negro slaves on the plantations;

whether they are connected by having wives, or women having husbands, and so that they live with those people, I cannot say: they will not go to agriculture willingly.—Do you or not know that those persons actually do maintain themselves by the produce of their own industry? I do not know that they do.—Did you not say that they worked about the town? Some of them.—And some you say you saw on different estates? Yes.—Those persons you describe as going and living among the slaves are persons who have within a very few years been brought to the island from Africa? Yes.—They are not Creoles? No.—Have you known any instance, of your own knowledge, of those native Africans who have spoken no English at all going and living among the slaves on any plantation? Not the newly-arrived Africans; they have been some time on the island as apprentices to people; then when they become liberated they have liberty to go on the plantations.—Their numbers have been increasing year by year? I do not think there are more than three or four hundred altogether.—Do you know, of your own knowledge, that any of those persons had gone and lived among the slaves on the plantation doing nothing? I do not mean to say doing nothing; they work with the slaves.—Who pays them? The master of the estate does not pay them.—They are supported out of a portion of that which the master gives to support the slave? Yes; or they may perhaps work to help the slave to keep house or to mind his stock.—Were those captured Africans in any instance among the proprietors of Antigua as apprentices; were they desirous of obtaining them? Yes; they were desirous of obtaining them when they first arrived; I did not hear of any latterly coming there.—Did they continue in general satisfied with the services of those apprenticed Africans? Yes, generally; there have been complaints.—Do you know the Governor of Antigua? Yes, perfectly well.—He is not liable to misrepresent any thing? Not at all.—If he were to represent that they were remarkably well conducted, very industrious, and supporting themselves by the produce of their own industry, with very few complaints against them for misconduct, should not you suppose that to be conclusive evidence that those persons were not precluded, either by their habits or dispositions, from supporting themselves by honesty and industry? If the Governor gave that testimony positively and decidedly, after proper inquiry and investigation, I should begin to hesitate; but from my own knowledge—I do not speak of the Governor's knowledge, and I think I have as much right to know as the Governor about those Negroes—I have known of several complaints on estates of their trespassing on the properties, and I have known them to be idle in the towns, and taken before the magistrates. I do not think it is so much in the Governor's way to know of these sort of things as a person who is living as I am among the Negroes.—Supposing the Governor's account of the condition of those Negroes should have been given lately, you having been absent a year and ten months? Then there must have been a great change since I was there.—Have the goodness to state some instance of the trespass you refer to? I recollect no instances; I have had a general impression upon my mind they are on Sir Henry Martin's, and on an estate on another part of the island, towards the old road.—When did this take place? It took place before my leaving the island.—How long before? Perhaps a year or two before I left the island.—How do you know that those trespasses were committed by the liberated Africans? I know the Africans to be living upon the estates, and I have heard it from the managers.—Do you mean to say that a trespass took place on the property? They lived upon the estate. I do not know whether it is to be called a trespass.—You stated that they had been guilty of trespassing? I do not know that they had been guilty. They were living among the Negroes on the estates.—What do you mean by the word trespass? Living on other person's estates.—Against their will? Perhaps without their consent.—You do not mean to represent that they had been guilty of any crime? No; I cannot say as to crime. If they had been guilty of crime, they would have been amenable to the laws.—In whose houses did they live? In the Negro houses.—The houses of the plan-

tation grounds? Yes. They helped the Negroes where they had husbands and wives.—Did you ever hear of an instance of one of those Africans going to field labour? No, I never did. I had one of them, called an African apprentice, and he would not work in the garden if I sent him.—What wages did they get? Half a dollar a week, besides any clothes they wanted—Were those board wages? Yes; they had wages and board wages, and clothes whenever they wanted them.—Was that half dollar a week board wages, or did you feed them besides? They got that to feed themselves, and they were frequently fed off the table.—Did they get nothing but the half dollar a week? They got clothes besides, and occasionally something from the table.—Did they get that every day? When they wanted it.—You have been asked about a slave having made money by his industry, his labour consisting of rearing poultry and small stock; is that at all to be compared to field labour? No, certainly not; but those men frequently got perquisites.—Is it your opinion that the attendance of the Negroes on divine worship would be increased or diminished by their emancipation? That is a question I should wish to take time to consider.—Do you think the attendance of the Negroes at divine service would be increased or diminished if they were emancipated? May I ask whether the question refers to their being let loose without restraint?—If their manumission took place, would their attendance on divine worship be increased or diminished thereby? I do not know what to say to that question; I think they act as well now as they would do when emancipated.—Do you think they would attend as well? I think they attend as well now as they would then.—Do you think, if they were freed from all restraint, they would attend as well? I do not think they would attend as well if they were free from all restraint.—Do you believe that in the same situation in which emancipated Negroes now are, they would attend as well? I do not think they would. Do you know any instance of emancipated slaves attending a place of worship now? Yes.—What reason have you to think that the slaves who might be emancipated hereafter would not attend church as regularly and as willingly as slaves who have been manumitted? The reason I think so is, that the slaves who have been manumitted have been gradually brought up and inured to attending church; but that with immediate extinction of slavery, that would throw things into such a state of confusion that I cannot tell what they would do.—You assume that which is not intended in the question, namely, that upon emancipation the slaves are to be freed from all restraint whatever; whereas the question supposes the slaves being manumitted, and legal restraint substituted for absolute power, proper means of instruction being afforded them, and every sort of means used to secure good order and proper conduct among them? I will answer that question in this manner:—if any sudden change took place in the system at present, they would not draw that distinction your Lordship does; but they will say, ‘If we are to be free, we will do what we please, and go where we please.’ The Negroes would not take that into consideration; they would imagine themselves to be a free people.—Do you mean the freedom from the whip? I mean that freedom being given them, or any change of this kind, would upset their ideas altogether, and that they would not know what they were about; they would say, ‘The law is a sufficient protection for us;’ though I conceive the laws could not sufficiently protect him.—Do you apprehend that emancipation, in the opinion of the slave, means freedom from restraint of the law? I conceive that emancipation, in their opinion, is exemption from any kind of control whatever; not merely from legal restraint. I conceive that any slaves would immediately conceive they were exempt from any control.—Do you conceive that they would consider it as exemption from the municipal law as the law exists? I do not know; they do not enquire about the municipal law; they will say, ‘We are free, and we will be free.’—They know the difference between restraint and slavery? I think they are satisfied as they are at present.—Would they not think it an exchange between present slavery and a proposed state of restraint? I do not think they would.—You think their notion of emancipation is entire exemption from all labour?

From all control.—Do you think that they understand it also as an exemption from labour? Some of them do.—Have any pains been taken to correct that erroneous opinion? Some pains have been, and some are content enough to labour; but if they are to be exempted, who is to give them land, and what is to become of their old and their young people?—Where they have been convinced of their error, you do not mean to say that the slaves do understand emancipation to be freedom from control? It is a very delicate subject; the more I think of it the more I think it is hazardous to touch upon it. There have been great improvements lately. I am for amelioration, and progressive amelioration, and that by *episcopal control*; and that gradual amelioration has taken place in a wonderful degree.—In how many years do you think that the slaves might possibly arrive to a fit state, in your opinion, to be emancipated? Perhaps it may take half a century; but I will mention one circumstance that will lead to conclusions. Out of 5560 slaves I baptized as slaves, nearly one-fifth part of them became free by the voluntary consent of their owners, so that they were become fit subjects for freedom, and no doubt many others will become fit subjects for freedom.—You think that the emancipation should take place gradually? Yes.—Those persons have conducted themselves well since? Yes; I have seen their children and grandchildren; but the generality of new slaves would not do at all to be freed.—Did those persons remain in the island after they had been freed? Yes, some of them have.—You have spoken of persons trespassing; you do not mean as a crime, but that they had lived with others, and obtained a livelihood in that way? Yes. I cannot tell what has happened since I left.—Do you mean by trespass that they were living in those houses without the knowledge of the master or manager? I do not wish to use the word ‘trespass;’ but perhaps the master does not choose, for kindness to his own slave, to interfere with them if they have a husband or wife there.—In a part of your evidence respecting the punishment of slaves in going to the field, you have stated there was no necessity for punishment, as they went out voluntarily to labour; explain that word ‘voluntarily;’ do you mean by voluntary labour that their habits were such as to induce them to go into the field without compulsion? or did you mean what others understand by it, with a reference to labouring or doing nothing? I mean that the slaves, when they are going to work, go as a matter of course, as they know it is their duty; and therefore they willingly do what they know to be their duty.—Do they not know that they would be flogged if they omitted it? They know that they might be confined or flogged, but they do not go under fear of the whip.—You *know* that? I know that they may go reluctantly; but there are very few cases in which they are reluctant; but very few” (p. 360—366).

“Is there any regulation in Antigua that they shall have one day to themselves in every fortnight? Since I left it I understand there has been; it was in some places when I left.—Have they plenty of time to cultivate their own provision grounds, without working on Sunday, if so disposed? No; I think they must intrench upon the Sunday for their plantation grounds before this allowance lately made to them was made.—Are the free people considered in general to live by industry, or are they charged with encouraging plunder on estates? With regard to the free people of Antigua, I know many of them are in a very respectable class; some are not respectable, and some are trespassers—the lower orders of them.—Is it a matter of complaint amongst the proprietors that the free people are often harboured upon their plantations without their knowledge, and that plunder is encouraged by them? I have heard that complaints are made, and very serious complaints too; I have heard of free people taking boats and taking people’s slaves off the island, and I have heard them complain that their stores have been robbed by the free people.—Is it not possible that many of those liberated Africans subsist by the plunder of the plantations on which they reside, where they are harboured in the Negro houses? I suppose they are like other free people; some of them are very good characters, educated men; but many are otherwise” (p. 367).

“You say you occasionally heard complaints; that you discouraged *ex parte* statements, and you recommended them to go to the magistrates. You were asked whether you could bring to mind any case, and you could not recollect any instance? I could not bring to my recollection any instance when asked yesterday. I think I recollect one case—the case of an estate called Miller’s. A white man came to me to make complaint that the manager of Miller’s estate had used a woman very ill, and he brought the woman with him. She was a woman that he kept; he was an overseer on the estate. That being out of my line I did not feel it right to make any interference in these sort of things. I sent one of our old nurses, a slave woman, to look at this woman, to see what infliction of punishment there had been upon her, and she made a report that she was punished, and I immediately sent for the man. I said, ‘I shall not take upon myself to look at this punishment, it does not belong to me as a minister, but you will go directly to a magistrate and show this woman, and make a report.’ He did not go as I directed, but he waited three or four days before he went; then he was obliged to undergo a trial, and I believe was imprisoned for a false accusation. I consulted Mr. Burke, the Attorney-General, and he said I did very properly in not interfering; that it was a malicious charge against the manager.—The complainant in that case, when you did interfere, was punished for interfering? He could not make out the case.—How was he punished? I think he was put in prison. There was an action for slander, or something to that effect, brought against him.—The fact was that the woman was flogged? Yes; but not with that severity that the man described. She was flogged on the back. It was a woman that he cohabited with; and the man himself turned out no great things afterwards.—Do you recollect the name of the woman that was flogged? I do not; perhaps it may be on my minutes; but the name of the manager against whom the charge was made was ——, a Scotch gentleman. I think that was about the year 1807. I said there were exceptions to the general good conduct, and that was one of the exceptions.—Are you acquainted with the estate of the Honourable Mr. ——, called Orange Valley? Yes, I am very well acquainted with it.—Is not Mr. —— a magistrate and a member of His Majesty’s Council? He was a member of His Majesty’s Council. I have been told lately that he is not now.—What was the treatment of the slaves on that plantation; was it not humane and indulgent? Taking it upon the whole he was a good man. He kept his slaves well clothed and well fed. Taking it upon the whole, it was reported he worked them hard; but I did not observe much about that.—You considered Mr. —— to be a kind master? Taking the man altogether he was a good master. He had little freaks and oddities of his own, but not cruel.—Was he not generally respected in the island? He was in the first class in the island; I used to meet him at the Governor’s myself. He was not considered a cruel man by any means; he had enemies, I know. I used to find myself a little rough language from him. From the nature of the business I was employed in I was looked upon with a sort of suspicious eye. I was called a friend to the slaves; and now I am here I am said to be a friend to the planters. Mr. —— would say, ‘Oh, you are an emancipator.’—Have you been so called here? I was called so by a clergyman of Bristol. I was visiting, and met with clergymen who are of the Anti-Slavery party; they asked me a number of questions, and in return I demanded of them what they thought of my opinions; they said, ‘We cannot contradict you, for we have not been there; but we think you are a friend of the planters, and a practical minister to the slaves.’—Did you not know the late James ——, a magistrate? Yes; but never as a magistrate.—Did you know Mr. ——, the magistrate? I never knew him as a magistrate. I have been told since I came here that Mr. —— has been put into the commission.—You knew them as gentlemen? Mr. —— was a gentlemanly man.—Was not ——? Mild, with a rude character.—Were not they persons of respectability and good character? —— was not a bad character.—Were they religious men? I do not know much

about —— religion; I know he was a freemason.—Have you not heard of Mr. —— shooting one of his boys? Yes, I heard a report of it. It happened long before I got into the parish where he was; it was when I was a missionary.—You were in Antigua at the time? Yes.—Can you state the circumstances under which it took place? I know no more about it than what I observed in the island at the time; I only heard the report.—Did you hear of Mr. —— killing another Negro, and burying him in a pond?—I never heard of his killing a Negro, but I heard of his burying a white matross in the sand; but that was only hearsay. I only heard of it from persons, perhaps, that were not his friends. With regard to shooting the Negro, he went and gave himself up for that, and I believe he was acquitted, or the coroner's inquest brought in a verdict of accidental death. There was some sort of trial, but I believe there was a great deal said about it that probably he did not deserve; I think so.—Was he tried for it? I think he was; he gave himself up to the Attorney General for the time. I am not clear about it. I asked him the question about it once; he said it was some accidental thing; he was shooting out in a part near his own house, and that this was a favourite slave, and that the gun went off when he did not intend it, and some one gave it out that it was intended.—Was he tried? I believe he was.—Were you in the island at the time? Yes; but it did not come so much within my view; I was only a missionary.—You heard of his burying another slave? Yes; but that is no proof that he killed him.—Is not the nephew of Mr. —— now in this country? I heard somebody say that he was going out to Antigua. I know him well too" (p. 401, 402).

"Was not Mr. —— the manager of Rigby's estate? Yes, he was once.—Did not that estate belong to Mr. ——? Yes.—Was not that let to ——? Yes, as I have heard.—At the expiration of that lease did not Mr. ——, the father-in-law of Mr. ——, recover damages in an action at law from the lessees for injury done to the slave gang under Mr. —— management? I cannot speak to that any further than I heard there was an action at law; but I never heard it was for an injury to the slave gang; I heard it was for an injury to the property generally.—The slave gang would be a part of that property? Yes; I heard of the trial, but I was not in the court house.—Do you know the result of that trial? I know that the action was given in favour of Mr. ——; I believe he recovered damages.—Was not Mr. —— a member of your vestry at the Valley Church? Yes.—Have the goodness to state what conversation you have had with Mr. —— at any time respecting the stated cruelty of Mr. —— towards the slaves? I do not recollect any conversation with Mr. —— upon that business.—Are you sure you never had any? Never, that I know of, about the cruelties of Kearns" (p. 402).

"Have you ever heard of a Mustee slave, belonging to Mr. ——, of the name of Betsey White? Yes, I have.—Was she not confined by Mr. —— in his dungeon? I cannot from my own knowledge say any thing of that.—You have spoken of what you *heard* of the liberated Africans; do you or not believe this to have been the fact? I do not know to my own knowledge; I heard a report of it.—Did you believe the report? I think in the general way it is possible it may have been the case.—Was she not delivered of a child during the night in the dungeon? I do not know that; I heard talk of it.—Do you believe it? I did not give much attention to it; I do not think it was at the time I was rector of the parish, or I should have given more attention to it.—Was not the woman without assistance in that dungeon? I cannot tell.—Did you not hear it? I might have heard it, and not believed it.—Do you believe it, or not? I do not think I can believe it to the extent which will authenticate it, for I know that this gentleman had enemies.—Was it not discovered in the morning that the child had been devoured by rats during the night? That is a question I know nothing of from my own knowledge; people may say that.—Did you hear it? Yes, I heard such things.—Was not this slave subsequently sold, with the rest of her children, to Mr. George White, the Collector of the Customs? I think I

heard that too; but I do not think I knew it. I do not think that happened when I was rector of the parish.—Did not this sale take place by advice of the magistrates? I declare I do not know that either.—You do not know those facts? No; I might hear them, but I do not know them; and I did not know the woman.—You have no other knowledge of those circumstances but rumour? Yes; just so.—Was not the advice of the magistrates as to this sale given in consequence of Mr. Osborne's cruelty to the slave? I cannot say, indeed.—Did you ever hear of Rock Dungeon belonging to Mr. ———? This is the first time I ever heard of it.—Did you ever hear of any dungeon belonging to Mr. ———, in which he confined his slaves? I was never there; I never saw it.—Do you recollect having heard of a dungeon in which he confined his slaves? I really do not know. I heard nothing particular of his dungeon more than other people's dungeons.—You have heard of a good many people's dungeons? Yes; there are dungeons; and many persons considered it proper to have a dungeon, though they did not probably use it.—Will you state that you do not know any instance of a slave being confined in a dungeon? Yes; I believe there have been instances of slaves being confined in a dungeon.—Then they are not entirely for the purposes of terror? Not entirely; partly for terror, partly for punishment.—Have you ever seen one of those dungeons? Yes; I recollect having seen one some years ago; that was a stone building, with a proper door and a window, like the cages I have seen in Ireland.—Were they under ground? No; they were well ventilated. I saw one in Briggens, and the manager told me that he kept it for terror, for that the Negroes were more afraid of confinement on the Saturday evening than of any thing.—Were they subterranean? No.—Did you ever see a dungeon dug out of a solid rock, without any aperture except the front? No, never.—Did you ever hear of Mr. ——— confining a slave boy a whole year in his dungeon? No.—Nor for any considerable length of time? No.—Nor for any time at all? No. Mr. ——— is only just a friend of mine; I cannot say a friend, any more than a parishioner. I have been on the estate frequently, and I think if there was any cruelty among the Negroes upon that estate I should have heard of it one way or the other, and I never heard of that word, *rock* dungeon, upon his estate.—Did any of the Negroes ever complain to you of cruelty? No, no more than other people's Negroes; they always told me that they were well fed.—Was not Mr. ——— connected with an estate called Harvey's estate? Yes; he is of Harvey's.—Was he not prosecuted? I understood since I left the island that he was.—Will you state the offence for which he is said to have been prosecuted? I have seen some newspaper from Antigua.—Is the newspaper the only source of your information upon the subject? Yes; I have had no particular communication from any inhabitant upon the subject.—Have you not heard any thing from any friend as to the prosecution of Mr. ———? I have been conversing with the proprietor, a very old gentleman, Mr. ——— of Portland-place, who told me that they had been prosecuting his attorney.—Are you ignorant of the offence for which he was prosecuted? Quite ignorant.—You do not know that it was for cruelty—flogging some Negroes on Harvey's estate? No, I do not.—You have not heard that? Really I do not know whether I heard it was for cruelly flogging or not" (p. 403—405).

Having given these characteristic extracts, we now proceed with the abstract of what remains of Mr. Curtin's evidence.

He could not tell very clearly how many hours of the day the slaves worked in Antigua, but he believed from sunrise to sunset, with intervals of half an hour or an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner. If they are required to work during these intervals, they are paid for it. In crop time they are allowed every thing requisite (p. 366, 367).

A question arose with respect to the slaves in his congregation who were polygamists, which was referred to the Society at home. By their advice he required that every slave, previous to baptism, should renounce a plurality of wives, and he did not admit to it those who refused to select one wife of the two or more he had (p. 396, 397).

The living to which he was appointed in 1819 had a population of 4132, the slaves being 4000, and the plantations twenty-five. He was himself possessed of slaves by marriage, about eighteen or nineteen at one time. He had manumitted one of them, a female, for six joes. It was against her own wish; but he urged her, because he thought, as she had already three or four children free, she might as well be free with them. He had, it was true, given an opinion to the Committee, that slaves, if free, would not labour for their subsistence, being of indolent habits and disinclined to industry; and that therefore to give them their freedom would be any thing but kindness. He was still of that opinion generally, but there were exceptions as in this case. Some will work well when free. This woman would work: she was a very valuable woman, and made dresses, and net laces, and things of that kind. There are also exceptions of valuable men, who deserved to be made free, who yet lived content as slaves. He had tried to sell all his slaves since he came to England, but had not succeeded in his negociation; but he did not care about it. If he could have got rid of them, he and Mrs. Curtin were disposed to do so (p. 399).

He did not think the Methodist slaves were better than the Moravian. But he thought the Church of England best of all, and free from cant and hypocrisy. He had never made any calculation as to the more or less of crime among the different classes (p. 403).

The Sunday schools were open for slaves except during service. He has seen them there from morning to evening, as many at one time as at another, domestic slaves taking it, he supposed, by turns. The liberated African apprenticed to him was an inoffensive creature, but a man of small intelligence, and could scarcely learn his trade of a tailor (p. 407 and 408). The liberated Africans he thought inferior to the free Creoles, but superior to the slaves; but the slaves attended Church (we presume as contradistinguished from Methodist and Moravian places of worship) more than either the liberated Africans or the free (p. 407).

He had quitted the Catholic Church for the Church of England on conviction that the latter was the most scriptural (p. 406).

He had had a dispute with a gentleman, a lawyer in Antigua, in 1814, whom he had charged with being a coward, because he took advantage of his cloth to insult him by doubting his word, and giving him the lie. He did not choose to horsewhip the lawyer as it was before a magistrate; but, being very indignant, as they went down the steps of the magistrate's office, he took the lawyer by the ear, and the lawyer put his hand to his face and broke a pimple on his cheek which bled. It was not a boxing match: this was all. Neither struck the other any more. They were prevented by the crowd, and were both bound over by the magistrate to keep the peace (p. 406 and p. 409, 410).

Mr. Curtin was further examined about Betsy White, the Mustee slave. He knew nothing, he said, but by common report. He had heard, but could not tell, that she was confined by Mr. — in a dungeon, and had been delivered there without assistance, and that the child was devoured by rats; but the report was vague and he did not inquire into it, and did not believe it to be true. It made no impression on him; he knew the man had enemies. He did not believe it enough to think it worth while to make any inquiry into the subject.

We have thus given the evidence of Mr. Curtin very fully and fairly, and we have purposely avoided to break its continuity, however much we were tempted to do so, by any partial observations. But, now that we have brought it to a close, we must take the liberty of making upon its statements a few passing comments, which may possibly run to some length. The occasion, however, seems to require this; because in the whole host of pro-slavery witnesses, produced before the Lords' Committee, we have met with none more justly chargeable with a want of ingenuousness in the course of his examination, and whose answers are more dexterously calculated to mislead the ignorant and unwary, than those of this reverend gentleman. We proceed to make our charge good:

1. It is a regular plan with Mr. Curtin to guard his answers, as far as he can, from all awkward hazards of cross-examination, by reserving in most cases "an exception or two" from the generality of his praise of the humanity of the slave system and its administrators. But, in his account of the allowances of food to the slaves which the law prescribes, he entirely avoids stating the amount of those allowances, and how very scanty he knew them to be; for this would at once have revealed to the Committee the fact of their entire incompetency for the comfortable subsistence of a working slave. He says nothing therefore of quantity, but speaks of the absence of all grumbling about it on the part of the slaves, unless in a few excepted cases; and the inference he obviously meant should be drawn from his evidence is, that the provision for the slaves, generally speaking, was abundant. But what was the fact,—a fact that must have been perfectly well known to Mr. Curtin, because he had slaves of his own to whom he was bound to deal out the allowances prescribed by law? It was this; that the master was required (Act of 1798, sec. 1) to give weekly to each adult slave eight pints of flour and twenty ounces of herrings, or equivalent food; and half that quantity to children. Mr. Curtin knew very well that this was a miserably starving allowance; but he knew too, and the slaves knew, that it was fixed by law, and that complaint therefore was vain. But he suppresses the fact of the amount of the allowance, and he swears that the slaves were contented with it, and that few grumbled. What greater act of unkindness could any man have been guilty of towards the slaves of Antigua than so to state their case, under the sanction of his clerical character and the solemnity of an oath, as to lead Parliament to believe that the food allowed them is ample, though it was such as he himself, if confined to it, must have sunk under?

2. Let us take a review next of the way in which this clergyman treats

the important question of the Sabbath. He does not tell us frankly of the long and obstinate adherence of the planters of Antigua to the practice of Sunday markets, and of the injury thus done to religion. He does not tell us plainly of their refusing to give the slaves by law a single day in the year, except Sunday, for cultivating any little ground that might be allowed them, or for eking out in any other way their meagre weekly allowance; or when, in mere spite, they at length suppressed the Sunday market, of their refusing to grant them by law a single hour in lieu of Sunday for going to market. He suppresses or slurs over all this in the masters, and imputes to the slaves all the blame of the turbulence which the unjust suppression of the Sunday market, without any equivalent, had almost of necessity produced. He says they broke the Sabbath wilfully, without any necessity, merely to display their fine clothes and sell their fruit, &c.; while the masters, who suppressed the Sunday market without giving time for any other, are not censured. Will Mr. Curtin venture to affirm, on his oath, that with their miserable allowance of food, and without a single week-day allowed them *by law*, either for going to market or for cultivating their grounds, the slaves were not driven, by sheer, stern, necessity, to violate the Sabbath by doing both on that day?

3. But Mr. Curtin takes upon him to state, on his oath, that time on the Saturday, in lieu of Sunday, is now given to the Antigua slave by law, for marketing and working in his grounds. We challenge him to point out any such law. It is utterly untrue that any such law has been enacted.—In the same way, he insinuates that the driver cannot now by law stimulate or punish slaves by the whip, of his own authority. Again we say, No such law has passed in Antigua.

4. The extreme caution and reserve with which Mr. Curtin always adverts to the delinquencies of the white class, as contrasted with his confident assertions respecting the demerits of blacks and browns, clearly shows the effect of thirty long years of intercourse with colonial society, and the depth of his colonial prejudices. At first, for example, he cannot call to mind a single instance of cruelty that he had ever heard of in Antigua. Happily, however, for the colonial cause, he recollects one such act, perpetrated, not by a white (that of course could not be), but by a man of colour, who not only did the cruelty, but, what was still more impossible in the case of a white, was punished for it.—The tendency, in short, of all this clergyman's evidence, is to exalt all the whites, "with exceptions," and to vituperate all the browns and the blacks, "with exceptions" also. He seems to have forgotten that while the whites in Antigua amount scarcely to 2000, of whom more than one in ten are paupers, the free coloured and black inhabitants are upwards of 5000, of whom Archdeacon Parry distinctly reports, in July, 1827 (see paper No. 204 of 1828), that "there were no free coloured or black paupers provided for by the parish." The paupers receiving parish relief were all white; and yet Mr. Curtin scruples not to *insinuate*, for he does not venture to assert, that not only the liberated Africans, but many of the free black and coloured Creoles live by what he calls *trespass*; a slander for which there is no ground whatever, as the judicial records of Antigua will testify.

5. Mr. Curtin has, moreover, the hardihood to affirm that the magistracy of Antigua, if even they could be suspected of doing wrong and neglecting their high duties, are so watched and controlled by clergymen and medical practitioners that they would not dare to transgress. (What control, we should be glad to know, has Mr. Curtin exercised over them?) Nay, he even affirms that any man who acts ill is amenable to the Governor, and may be cited by him to his bar. This is melancholy!

6. In the same spirit, he assures us, that the harder the slave is worked the better off he is. Indolence being his besetting sin, the stimulus of long-continued toil, and night labour, and protracted sleeplessness, are essential to his well-being. Crop time is the hey-day of Negro enjoyment; the fattening cane juice then swells out his flaccid frame, and inspires him with unwonted vigour. Why did he not also tell the Committee, that so kindly considerate are the planters, and so fearful of surfeiting the luxurious slave with the superabundance of the good things then bestowed upon them, that, to prevent the evils of repletion, they have actually, in their parental tenderness, made a law to cut off, in crop time, one-fifth part of the usual allowances? Happy slaves to be thus anxiously cared for!

7. Mr. Curtin could not recollect any instances (with one or two exceptions) of cruel treatment of slaves in Antigua, during his thirty years' experience; but, being reminded of a certain dungeon of a friend of his own, in which certain atrocities had taken place, the Rev. gentleman, in his too eager desire to vindicate his friend, maintained that at least his dungeon was not worse than the dungeons of others, there being many such in Antigua. But then, whatever might pass in the interior of these dungeons, he was at least able to say that they had the advantages of light and ventilation, so as to obviate all imputation on the humanity of those who erected those places of torture, and who had filled them with their wretched inmates.

8. But if there be evils existing in Antigua, and if slavery is to be deemed one of them, Mr. Curtin would have them all reformed in due time. He, too, is for emancipation, but, to suit his taste, it must be very *gradual*, nay, *imperceptible*, in its progress. The slave must not have the even tenor of his destiny disturbed by idle but inciting declamations about whips, and chains, and dungeons, and freedom, and such stuff. The planters must be left to pursue their own projects of amelioration, and then he has no doubt that, some fifty years hence, the effect of their assiduous cares will be seen in some approach to fitness for that freedom which, if rashly dealt out to them by modern visionaries, Mr. Curtin would regard as a curse and not a blessing.

But we must now take our leave of Mr. Curtin, and, after this exposure of his evidence, leave him to his own reflections, and to the admiration of all who love to contemplate bright specimens of dexterous evasion.

11. THE LORD HOWARD DE WALDEN.

This Noble Lord's evidence is confined to a document which he had extracted from some papers relating to certain items of civil and

ecclesiastical expenditure in Jamaica, and a summary of which will be found in our last number, No. 104, p. 461.

12. REV. JONATHAN TYERS BARRETT, D. D.

This witness merely laid before the Committee an abstract of information taken from the reports of the Society for the Conversion of Negro Slaves, a great part of which will be found in our preceding volumes by referring to the Index. Those who have read our successive numbers, or who have attended to the evidence of Mr. Wildman, in our last number, p. 456, will not be surprised by the language the Bishop employs in his recent correspondence with this country.—“Our institutions,” he says, “are improving, and our chapels are building. These are measures much too slow for some persons. I confess I dread the consequences of precipitancy in a matter of such importance, and so materially affecting the *property* and *security* of His Majesty’s subjects.” In speaking of the insurrection, he is strongly impressed with the “atrocities attending it, and the “audacity of the slaves, as well as their duplicity and treachery towards their masters.” He adds, “Their huts are all consumed, and the hospitals and stores on every estate are no longer open to their necessities.” “The poor creatures are sullen and desponding, and, although they have returned to work, their behaviour is constrained and sulky, and they feel bitterly the effect of their own misdeeds.” He says little of the equally great atrocities of the white rebels, but only regrets “the ebullition of public feeling” in “the destruction of many Baptist chapels.” This is speaking lightly of such crimes as arson, and robbery, and murderous excesses, committed in open day even by magistrates. The bishop seems also to have yielded to the colonial prejudice against the missionaries. For what else does he mean by alluding to the mischief alleged to have arisen from “the perversion of Scripture, and the fatal effect produced thereby on the minds of the Negroes?” This evil he has been trying to counteract by printing extracts from the Homilies on rebellion, &c.

The bishop has under him in the whole diocese of Jamaica, including the Bahamas, 28 catechists.—But what are they among so many?

13. MR. EDMUND SHARP.

Mr. Sharp lived in Jamaica from 1811 to 1832, and had been a book-keeper two years, and an overseer afterwards on various estates, having on them from 150 to 600 slaves. He has no property there himself. He had observed the following improvements of late:—1st. Slave evidence was allowed against free persons, though, he admitted, so recently that no instance of its operation had come under his observation. 2nd. Marriage was allowed, but with the owner’s sanction. 3rd. The separation of families was forbidden.* Plantation labour commenced at sunrise and continued to sunset,† with intervals of two hours and a half. The hardest work is digging cane-holes, but it is not so hard

* This, however, is a mistake. The law is just in the same defective state as ever.

† The law says, from five in the morning till seven at night.

as coal-heaving; 70 cane-holes is a day's work for an able man or woman. When dug by task the slave saves time, sometimes two or three hours, with which he does what he pleases. The other work of an estate is comparatively light. In crop-time about 26 persons are employed about the works, so that 52 are required for keeping spell, dividing the night between them. Those who keep spell at night leave the field half an hour before the others. On strong-handed estates, affording three spells, the night labour is lighter, and one spell rests the whole of every alternate night. He considers 26 days in the year, with occasional reasonable additions, sufficient for cultivating their grounds; he does not say whether with or without Sunday labour. The slave seldom has to resort to his master's store for food if he properly employs his own time. His property is his own to sell, or will, as he pleases. Mr. Sharp's remarks on population partake of all the hackneyed and mistaken notions of the colonists on that subject, and may be fairly thrown aside as unsound both in fact and argument. Mr. Sharp finds it difficult to decide when the slave will be fit for emancipation; but he is quite sure he will not work when free beyond his own few immediate wants. The condition of the slaves is much improved, Mr. Sharp thinks, of late years; but here he blunders in confounding law with practice. Catechists are occasionally employed to teach the slaves, but he does not specify what is taught, or how much time is given to instruction. The slaves were improving in disposition, but they have been unhinged by late events. They now look to emancipation as leading to a life of idleness, free from all restraint. Emancipation in their present state would lead to all excess, and property and life would be insecure. The African dreads it as a subjection of the weak to the strong, and the old and young would become destitute;* and the property of the planters, without labourers, would become valueless.† Nine hours a day, prescribed by the Order in Council, is too limited for the manufacture of sugar.‡ Sending out two pair of shoes would be ruinous.§ The matter of food should be left to the kindly feelings of planters, who must be the best judges.|| Immediate emancipation would be the greatest misfortune that could befall the slaves (p. 779—781).

Mr. Sharp had known free men cultivate coffee, never sugar. The free man would not degrade himself by labouring with the slave. If all were free, still they would not labour in the field; and this he inferred from no free man ever having done it. On coffee plantations, free men, he says, work with *their own* slaves. Yet he does not believe the free would cultivate the ground for hire in any case. Free

* And yet nothing is more certain than that even now, in a state of slavery, the old and young are not maintained by the masters, but by the slaves.

† What, then, is to become of the labourers? Are they to die of freedom?

‡ Mr. Sharp makes the present labour out of crop to be only nine hours and a half, and the Order in Council does not forbid the planter to *hire* night labour.

§ Why send them out? Are there no hides in the island?

|| Unfortunately this is a bad dependence, as is proved by experience; witness the Leeward Islands (above, p. 514).

men sometimes cultivate sugar canes for their hogs. The lands of the Negroes are generally well cultivated. On good soil 26 days are enough; not on bad soil. Poor soils will not yield enough by 26 days' cultivation. Some cultivate on Sundays and at their dinner hours. The punishments he inflicted were rare, and with switches, not with the whip. The whip in the field, he thinks, may be abolished; he has done without it himself, and substituted solitary confinement, and the stocks, and switches which draw blood but do not leave marks; they are inflicted on the posteriors of men and women, and on both by the hands of men (p. 782—786).

The hogs of slaves were shot when they got into the cane pieces (p. 786).

Many free people lived about the estates he managed; some were mechanics, and some cultivated land, if they could get it, raising food for themselves, and growing cocoa, arrow-root, &c.; but he had never seen them acquire much property beyond that. Many slaves acquire property, not only by cultivation, but by raising hogs and poultry. A slave of Mr. Mitchell's, on Bushy Park, a mason, who built the works there, had slaves of his own, and possessed some houses in Spanish Town: he treated his own slaves kindly, as far as he knew (p. 787, 788).

Mr. Sharp admitted that slaves working at task-work were much more industrious, that they might gain time; but did not believe, notwithstanding this, that they would work for wages. The book-keepers and overseers are bound to inspect the Negro grounds, for they make a return on oath every three months. The return is made and sworn to, but the grounds are not always inspected. There are few proprietors in Jamaica; therefore the slaves cannot be attached to *them*: their attachment to an overseer depends on circumstances (p. 789, 790).

Mr. Sharp is, on the whole, the fairest colonial witness we have met with.

14. ANDREW GRAHAM DIGNUM, ESQ.

The evidence of this gentleman before the House of Commons will be found in our last number (104, at p. 440—442). That given before the House of Lords hardly differs from it, and need not be re-stated. He tells the same absurd story, with embellishments, of his going, at the head of an armed party, into a Negro village, and having a disclaimer from them of any wish for freedom. Mr. Dignum's credulity is the most absurd part of this absurd story and of the sweeping inference he draws from it. It may be useful to give Mr. Dignum's explanation to the slaves of what he meant by freedom, and which, doubtless, is the orthodox colonial doctrine on the subject. The following dialogue takes place between him and Timothy, the head driver, an intelligent man. There was a great number of slaves listening to it. "Timothy," said Mr. Dignum, "suppose your master says he will give you free to-morrow;—but this is not your land: you may take your hogs and poultry with you. But, if he makes you free, you must go and work some where for any body who will take you; and he must get some one in your place, and give him this house." He said,

“ Ah, you hear the word the Captain say !” Mr. Dignum continued, “ Your master says you are free, and you may go away, Timothy. You get on the road, and are very hungry, and have nothing to fill your belly. You know that Negroes do not like to see free people coming to their place to beg for food. You will be turned away like a dog, as you always turn away the free people when they come to beg of you here. You will be driven away in the same manner. Then you will get very sick on the road, and call for doctor. Now, Timothy, you must recollect master will not pay for doctor. When you are his servant, it is his interest to keep you in good health. Now you work for him, and you have a comfortable house according to your desert.” He said, “ You hear the good word the Captain say. I hope the Captain does not suspect any one of us. We are all good people: Massa, we no want for free;” meaning they had no wish to be emancipated.

What a driveller must Captain Dignum have appeared in the eyes of Timothy, if he regarded this conversation as serious ! And how much more surprised will he be if he should hear that the Captain had produced it on oath, before a Committee of the House of Lords, as a proof that neither he nor his fellows desired their freedom !—(p. 813.)

As for Mr. Dignum’s circumstantial details respecting the evidence taken in Manchioneal, which he says showed a connection of the late insurrection with St. Domingo and a general ramification throughout the island (all this being stated on mere hearsay),—together with the story of Mr. Panton’s slave having taken a letter from St. James to Manchioneal, and afterwards having killed himself,—there is not one syllable of it in the examinations taken by the Jamaica Assembly, and which have been laid on the table of Parliament. The whole, therefore, must be regarded as a fable, as the mere gossip of Mr. Dignum and his informants (p. 814—821).

Mr. Dignum understood that the sectarian chapels were destroyed by the militia, aided by the slaves belonging to the sectarian congregations ; but this he only knew from newspaper rumour. A slave of his own had belonged to a Methodist chapel, who told him he was not *obliged* to contribute money, but he nevertheless did do so. All he knew of the bad instruction given by the sectarian missionaries was from newspaper reports. He knew nothing of it himself (p. 818, 819). And as to free men being mendicants, he only knew of that too from hearsay, however confidently he had spoken of it (p. 820). He saw no jealousy on the part of the slaves to his entering their houses, though he went at the head of an armed party ; but still he thought they would be jealous of the visits of a protector. The appointment of a protector, moreover, would degrade the master’s authority in the eyes of the slaves, and would breed discontents and complaints, and do much evil (p. 824).

Mr. Dignum said that, in the late insurrection, great barbarities, amounting to murder and rape, had been committed by the slaves, in every instance where whites had fallen into their power, such as ripping open bowels, and scalping heads, and throwing children into the

fire. He had heard of trials proving these facts in St James but he had not been present at them himself* (p. 657).

Mr. Dignum did not believe there was any truth in what was said of the attachment of slaves to the missionaries, or their regret for the burning of the chapels; he thought it was quite the contrary. To prove this, he told one of his strange stories, as follows: "On my way to the assizes, in July last, I staid a day or two with Mr. Jobson, of Cotton Pen, in St. Ann. He told me it was very unpleasant to him—the constant singing during the night of psalms and hymns by the slaves; that he could not rest, and he thought it injurious to their health. But he did not like to prevent it; for rather than be troubled with questions from the Colonial Office, as Mr. Betty† was, he preferred the annoyance going on to interfering with it. On my visit to him in March last, on my way to the assizes, I heard the gomby and the slaves dancing to it; and, on my making the remark that the sounds were very different from those I heard last July, his answer was that he had been speaking to his head driver that morning and asking him how Methodism was going on; his answer was, 'Massa, I am very glad Methodism is all over, chapel down, and minister gone, for so long as the chapel was standing and minister there we were obliged to give our money, or we should be read out of the chapel, but now we have our fowls and our money, and do not spend our money as we did before, and we go to church.' While he was saying this, a man passed, and addressed him 'Daddy,' the name he was called among the Baptists, he being a Baptist; he said, 'Do not call me daddy now: call me father,' as you used to do.' Mr. Jobson added that since the chapel was destroyed the slaves were more cheerful, and had their amusements of dancing and gomby, and were attending church. He had heard complaints about losing rest by singing psalms at late hours, ever since the missionaries had been in the island (p. 958).

Mr. Dignum had never heard the slaves complain of the courts that tried them. The slaves were many of them very ignorant; but it was their feeling that they could obtain justice against acts of oppression, though the oppressor was their master. He does not believe that of late the slaves are disposed to suppress their complaints from a fear of not having redress; but frivolous complaints have of late been so much attended to by Government that complaints multiply: and this Mr. Dignum thought a strong argument against having protectors (p. 559). There is no bias which prevents a slave obtaining justice. He has seen, by the newspapers, of overseers being fined for misconduct. He has heard also of many frivolous complaints being dismissed. He had never heard of slaves being oppressed by overseers for having made frivolous complaints to magistrates, or of their having been punished for the evidence they may have given.

* This must also be untrue. We have seen the Jamaica newspapers and have met with no such trials.

† See Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. iii., No. 69, p. 431; and vol. iv., No. 76, p. 136; No. 77, p. 145.

15. JAMES SIMPSON, ESQ.

This gentleman's evidence was confined to one or two points, and did not go to the same extent as in the House of Commons. He seems to have been called chiefly to weaken, if he could, the powerful effect of Mr. Taylor's evidence, by representing him on his oath, to the Committee, as a weak and chimerical visionary, unworthy of attention: an attempt, we doubt not, in which he completely failed. And he took the occasion to declare also, on his oath, his belief that any overseer who should be mad and profligate enough to punish a woman for refusing to sleep with him would incur the risk of being driven from society and punished. This, however, is quite as true as that Mr. Taylor is a weak and chimerical visionary.

16. Mr. EDWARD JOHN WOLSEY.

Mr. Wolsey, a native of the United States, resided in Hayti six months as a merchant, collecting debts for his father. He had been on estates growing the sugar cane; but sugar is badly manufactured, from the ignorance of the Negroes who manage the estates. The labourers are indolent and do little, but are happy in their indolence. They grow a great deal of coffee, which does not require much labour, but not sugar. They trade much both with the United States and with England. Many of the population, both black and coloured, wear shoes. The blacks and browns do not seem to like each other. The trade, he thought, had fallen off from the very low price of produce, added to the indolence of the people. They were expecting there might be a French invasion, but had no fear of the result. He saw much of the blacks. Reading and writing are the chief branches of education, and music, of which they are fond, and play well. Pianofortes are very common among them. Music is taught by blacks. The religion is Catholic. The proportion of the married is small; but their manners are not dissolute, for they maintain a kind of matrimonial connection among all classes, high and low. They call it *placing* themselves, and, though no legal ceremony takes place, they raise and educate their children and treat them as if they were legally married (p. 1057—1060).

Mr. Wolsey lived on a plantation which grew cane, the juice of which was boiled into thick syrup and made into rum. The labourers worked but little, though they were partners in the estate, every one receiving his share. All the cultivators were partners in the produce of the estate, but he did not know the proportions. He has, however, seen beautiful sugar made in Hayti; but in general they use syrup instead of sugar, and the syrup is so thick that it does not ferment. He has not seen any of them work hard. A few hours' labour in the day is enough for their wants. He never knew any instance of coercion but one, where a man was brought back to the estate, having quitted it, but he was not flogged (p. 1061, 1062).

Mr. Wolsey was also on a cotton estate belonging to an Englishman, worked by slaves, in South Carolina. He never saw the whip used there, though they worked indolently. Rice and tobacco are

also grown by slaves. He believed very little of either would be grown if the blacks were made free. The blacks were lazy, but it was possible the whites might be equally lazy, if they were placed in the same situation in that hot climate. The climate enervates the system; he found it so himself (p. 1062, 1063).

The public works and roads in Hayti are very good,—beautiful. The French, he believes, made them. He saw the Haytian troops; they are not in a bad state; they looked very well. He understood there were 45,000 of them. The Hayti tobacco is very good. Coffee, mahogany, and logwood are their chief exports. He had no fear of insecurity in Hayti. A man may safely avow himself a Protestant there. The missionaries are chiefly in towns (p. 1064, 1065).

17. THOMAS WILLIAMS, ESQ.

Mr. Williams resided 15 years in Berbice as a planter, and left it in May, 1832: A body of slaves, called the Winkels, chiefly artificers belonging to Government, were emancipated lately: their number is about 300. A great many are men of very good character, well disposed; some are vagrants. Most of them were educated, particular attention having been bestowed on them by Mr. Wray, a missionary. This, therefore, Mr. Williams thinks, is no fair experiment. These men too are artificers. It does not follow that emancipated persons will work as agricultural labourers for hire. He offered a free man a dollar a day to cut canes, but he refused with disdain (p. 1066, 1063).

Mr. Williams had 370 slaves, and his estate made 500 hogsheads of sugar. They work by task. The plough is not used: it does not answer. No whip is carried in the field in Berbice, and having tasks assigned it may be dispensed with. The hours of labour are from six to six, with intervals of three hours. There are two missionaries in Berbice, and in some places education is beginning (p. 1068, 1069).

Being asked if the Winkels had become a burden to the colony, he said, Not so much as they will be. Freedom is a novelty to them at present, and many of them have it in view to procure fine clothes and luxuries, but, having obtained these, many will become indolent. He thought only one-fourth of them would work industriously.—That is saying, in fact, though reluctantly, that they are *not* burdens on the colony, and are industrious (p. 1070).

Mr. Williams has known £500 paid for a valuable slave, a boiler, and for a good field slave £300; but their price would now be not more than a third.

18. WILLIAM BURGE, ESQ.

We come now to the last remaining witness who was examined on the pro-slavery side in the House of Lords, Mr. Burge, the late Attorney-General of Jamaica, and now the salaried agent of that colony. Much of this gentleman's evidence, if evidence it can be called, more resembles the *ex parte* pleading of an advocate than the testimony of a sworn witness deposing to the facts of a case; indeed, it is avowedly a *defence* of his constituents as well as of himself personally, and was

evidently prepared and arranged with considerable care. But we are willing to accept it even on these terms; for we are far from thinking that it has had any very great effect in bolstering up the sinking cause of slavery, but rather has aided in its subversion.

Mr. Burge was 20 years resident in Jamaica, and is owner, by right of his wife, of a coffee plantation in Manchester, with about 130 slaves upon it.

Mr. Burge first produces a statement to the Committee the object of which is to show that the property in slaves had been created by this country. This statement contains the following heads:—

A. Origin and foundation of the African trade, and proceedings of Government and Parliament relative thereto.*

B. Respects laws and other proceedings for the melioration of the lave population.

C. Laws for the melioration of the free people of colour.

D. Papers relative to certain instances of maltreatment of slaves, and proceedings thereupon.

E. Papers relating to the late rebellion in Jamaica.

F. Miscellaneous papers.

All of these, with the exception of that part of the last head which relates to the condition, in 1825, of three estates belonging to Lord Seaford, and the list of manumissions granted in Jamaica between 1817 and Dec. 1830, are a mere transcript of papers already on the table, and in the hands of every member, of Parliament; and, with respect to the exceptions, they are papers destitute of any adequate authentication, the agent of Lord Seaford, whoever he may be, being alone answerable for the one, and no responsible officer of the Crown being answerable for the correctness of the other, as has always been the case in every return of the same nature from other colonies. The Jamaica returns come to us in this instance from the Assembly through Mr. Burge, instead of coming through the Governor to the Secretary of State, under the official signature of the proper officer, who, we believe, is the Secretary of the island. The omission of this necessary formality, in the case of Jamaica alone, renders the accuracy of the document an object of some suspicion, especially as there are variations, in the different returns which have been received from Jamaica respecting manumissions, which cannot be reconciled except by explanations which the proper officer is alone competent to give; and in the case of bequests of freedom especially, dependent on conditions, no distinct information is given as to the fulfilment of such bequests. See papers of 1823, No. 347, and of 1826, No. 353, &c., compared with the document now furnished by Mr. Burge.

* A part of these papers relates to the transactions of the Jamaica Assembly in 1774, on the subject of a duty which they levied on slaves imported, but which was disapproved by the then Board of Trade. The whole turns out to be a mere financial operation, an easy mode of replenishing the Jamaica treasury, which the Government at home disallowed, but which had not the slightest mixture of any philanthropic desire to lessen the horrors of that trade, or to deprive Jamaica of what were supposed to be the advantages of its importations. It is downright hypocrisy to refer to it in that view.

We have so often exposed the defence again set up by Mr. Burge for the conduct adopted by the Assembly of Jamaica, in regard to the pretended amelioration of their slave laws, and generally of their intolerant enactments in respect to religion, that we should only be repeating what we have already said over and over again, even to satiety. All we think it necessary to do, therefore, is to refer to our former pages, viz. vol. ii., No. 29, p. 103—111; No. 33, p. 177—182; and No. 38, p. 261—270; vol. iii., No. 65, p. 349—361; vol. iv., No. 82; and vol. v., No. 93. Mr. Burge admitted that, officially, he had never known of any pecuniary contributions to the mission fund which were not perfectly voluntary, free-will offerings on the part of the slaves, or that any inconvenience to the police and good government of the island had arisen from the nightly meetings of sectarian congregations (p. 968, 969).

Mr. Burge states that “the two particular clauses which caused the act of 1826 to be rejected by his Majesty are not contained in the act of 1831.” He is then asked, “Are there clauses of a similar nature in the law of 1831?” His reply is, “I will beg to refer your Lordships to the clause itself. By the 84th clause, the practice of nightly and other meetings is declared unlawful, and punishment inflicted on persons attending them.” Now this clause 84 in the act of 1831 corresponds, verbatim et literatim, with clause 88 of the act of 1826, and has no relation whatever to the *three*—(not *two*, as Mr. Burge asserts)—particular clauses which have been expunged from the act of 1831, viz. clauses 85, 86, and 87 of the act of 1826. Does Mr. Burge, then, mean to say that the clause 88 of the act of 1826, which is retained and now forms clause 84 of the act of 1831, was directed by a side wind against religious meetings? If so, then the proceedings of the Assembly are still more insidious than we were disposed to believe. Both these clauses are directed against the practice of nightly and other *private* meetings of slaves. Was it meant that in the term *private* meetings were to be comprehended meetings for *public* religious worship with open doors? If not, then the object of his reference is not very obvious; because this cannot be said to be a law of “a similar nature” to the rejected clauses, which were directed exclusively to religion. But if he does mean that the term is to be understood as comprehending nightly *public* meetings for *religious* worship, then we should be at a loss for words to designate as it deserves such atrocious obliquity of legislation, such a fraud on the government, and parliament, and people of England. Mr. Burge, we conceive, is bound to clear up this ambiguity, if it were only for the sake of his constituents.

Mr. Burge very dexterously suggests to their Lordships, as an apology for the existing slave legislation of Jamaica, viz. the law of 1831, the consideration that, “if they looked merely at the written laws which regard the condition of the slaves, they would do great injustice; they must enquire, not only for the written law, but the usage” (p. 970).

Now we do not deny that, if we were contemplating an enactment which, being of ancient date, had become obsolete, and being superseded by usage, like the old laws against witchcraft in this country, had fallen into total desuetude, the argument of Mr. Burge might be a very

fair and legitimate argument. But what would the parliament or public of England say to a grave proposal to re-enact the statutes against witchcraft in the year 1831? The charge against the Assembly of Jamaica is not that they had formerly enacted bad laws; but that being called to repeal bad laws, and having professed to employ themselves in a thorough revision of their slave code, they had deliberately, and in direct opposition to the urgent representations of the King's government and the unanimous voice of the British nation, determined to re-enact them. The very apology of Mr. Burge candidly admits the badness of the former enactments; and yet the Assembly adhere to them as to their very life's blood; and are ready to dare the omnipotence of the British parliament, in order to retain them entire on their statute book. The laws which Mr. Burge ventures to defend—(we commiserate the necessity he is under of doing so),—such as the law respecting slave evidence and bequests to slaves, as well as that respecting Sunday markets, are instances in point. They are a solemn mockery of legislation; and Mr. Burge must be convinced that they are so. Let the reader look especially at those laws which he represents as the masterpieces of improved Jamaica legislation, the law on evidence, and that on property, as they stand at p. 446 of No. 104, and above at p. 490, and he will be satisfied on this point. They are not laws—they are frauds in the shape of laws. So the provision for “abolishing” Sunday markets is, in fact, a provision for legalizing them during a moiety of the Sunday; and the law for *securing*—(see the margin of clause 15 of the act of 1831)—bequests to slaves contains the proviso “that nothing therein contained shall be deemed to authorize the institution of any action or suit at law or in equity for the recovery of such legacy, or to make it necessary to make any slave a defendant to a suit in equity;” and that even if the legatee's owner should institute a suit for his benefit he shall first give “security for costs.”

In the same spirit Mr. Burge holds high the justice and liberality of the Jamaica planters for not molesting their slaves in the possession of their grounds and of any peculium they may thence raise. We are not disposed to dispute the fact that proprietors in general, nay, we may say almost universally, are disposed to encourage and protect their slaves, in cultivating land and raising provisions for their own use and that of their families, and that the very first and most essential means of attaining this object is a reasonable degree of security to the slave that he shall not be disturbed in the enjoyment of what he may raise. Without this the slave would have no motive to cultivate his allotment, and the master would in that case be forced to supply him with food, or suffer him and his family to perish from absolute want. The master gives him land, therefore, and time to cultivate it, not from any feeling of humanity, but on the pure principle of commercial economy. The clear obligation of the master is to feed the slaves. He frees himself entirely from this indispensable and onerous obligation, by throwing the whole burden of it upon them, substituting land and time for the food that must otherwise be supplied to them. To abridge them of either, or of any part of the produce they raise by

means of them, would be an act not only of the most atrocious pillage, but of the most egregious folly. It would be as if a master, having given to a slave the daily loaf he deemed adequate to his subsistence, were then to rob him of half and apply it to his own use. We can conceive no human beings so utterly destitute of all feeling of right as to act on any such system. Thus far, therefore, the disclaimer of Mr. Burge was wholly uncalled for, and he might have spared it. But is the property of the slave therefore secure, in point either of law or of fact? In point of law it obviously is not. He is debarred from all right of suit or action on account of it, not only against his master or manager, but against any other person whatever, unless by his master's direct intervention. But, besides this, he may at any time be seized and incarcerated for an indefinite time, and finally sold for his master's debts, without the power of revisiting his domicile, or taking a single step to realize it, or to preserve it from ruin. Nay, what does Mr. Sharp, one of Mr. Burge's own witnesses, tell us (see his evidence, p. 786)? When a slave's hog, he says, gets into a cane piece, "the usual practice is that the watchman kills it." And in Berbice, before the law of slave property was altered, as it ought to have been altered in Jamaica, we read of a case of a manager, Mr. Luyken, who admitted that he had killed ten hogs belonging to one slave, named Leander, and then put him in the stocks for complaining. The Fiscal dismissed the case as one violating no law (see our vol. i. No. 5, p. 41, and No. 16, p. 236). Numberless other cases might be stated, where, without any direct spoliation, the property of a slave is liable to be completely destroyed by the conduct of a manager. See the evidence of Mr. Duncan, as it was given before this Committee. Take for example also the instance of the wanton and cruel outrage committed by Mr. Betty, the magistrate of St. Ann, on the person of Henry Williams, not only in punishing him, but sending him, by his own authority, and without trial or even the allegation of crime, to a distant work-house, and there confining him for months under its torturing discipline, and all this with perfect impunity to the perpetrator beyond the expression of Lord Goderich's displeasure. Let this one case be duly considered, and we shall at once be enabled to appreciate the insecurity of slave property in a state of the law such as that which Mr. Burge so warmly eulogizes. The spoliation of the property of Henry Williams, we admit, was not Mr. Betty's direct object, but that property was as effectually injured as if Mr. Betty had robbed him of it with his own hand (see *Anti-slavery Reporter*, vol. iii. p. 356 and 431).

Mr. Burge's statement on oath, therefore, of the effect of the 14th clause of the Jamaica Act of 1831, as giving a legal right of property to the slaves, is a gross misconstruction of its plain and obvious tenor.

The invidious remarks about the Colonial Office, by whomsoever suggested, are wholly beneath notice (p. 975).

Mr. Burge takes immense pains to establish a communication between the Colonial Office and the insurgent Negroes in Jamaica—between Mr. Stephen, we presume, and the rebel Gardiner; for he infers, from the confession of a man of that name, that he was acquainted with the intention of Lord Goderich to recal Lord Belmore six weeks before the despatch was sent from this country. And all this

mighty structure he finds on these words in Gardiner's confession. Mr. Burge is evidently ashamed to quote them, he only refers to them. "We did not think," says Gardiner, "that the king's soldiers or sailors would fight against us. I even heard that the king had taken away the Governor some weeks ago, and that the country was left to ourselves; and that Colonel Williams, who is master of plenty of slaves, was joining in keeping back our freedom, and to get himself made the Governor down this side. I also thought that other gentlemen who were in other parts, and had plenty of slaves, were doing as Colonel Williams was trying to do" (p. 1352). Now all this wretched drivelling would really be below contempt but for the dark insinuation grounded upon it in a grave and solemn tone by Mr. Burge. It shows at least to what extremities his perverse ingenuity has reduced him in order to fix some traitor in the Colonial Office with the guilt of originating the Jamaica conspiracy, and of conveying, to some one from whom Gardiner hears it, that Lord Belmore was to be taken away, and Colonel Williams (who is he?) named as his successor. The whole affair is really too ridiculous for any purpose but to show that there exist minds capable of the fatuity of drawing such inferences from such premises.

Mr. Burge also seems to have altogether forgotten that, supposing the confession of Gardiner to contain any allusion to Lord Belmore's recal, there were in the course of that and the preceding year abundant grounds for such a rumour. The sharpness of the rebukes Lord B. had received in regard to his supineness in the affair of Mr. Betty and Henry Williams, all of which were published in Jamaica, was sufficient of itself to produce such an impression and such a rumour. But the most extraordinary part of the case is that Mr. Burge should think of bringing such nonsense, passing verbally through so many different unknown channels, as evidence to be adduced on oath before the Committee of the House of Lords. It is importing the laughable looseness of Jamaica examinations into England. It reminds us of the evidence in the St. Mary's plot, to which we have adverted above.

And as for the belief of the slaves that the British Government desired their freedom, and that the planters did not, but were violently opposed to it, what was this but the truth?—a truth which the planters, by the violence and exaggeration of their speeches and resolutions, during the months immediately preceding the insurrection, did all they could (as if it had been their interest thus to delude the slaves) to impress upon their minds, and that to an extent far beyond the truth. This delusion was their own proper work. The fact that it was so, is written as with a sunbeam in the pages of all the Jamaica journals during the months of July, August, September, and October, 1831.

Mr. Burge further labours to convey to the Committee the impression that the violent conduct of the planters of Jamaica was reasonably excited against the government in 1823 and 1824, by the belief that the abolitionists then enjoyed the confidence, and guided the counsels, of his Majesty's ministers. Never was any statement more untrue than that which would represent Mr. Canning and Lord Bathurst, and Mr.

Huskinson and Mr. Wilmot Horton, as swayed by the abolitionists. No confidence existed between them whatever. Neither in parliament nor out of parliament was there any concord, but much disagreement. The abolitionists disapproved entirely of the policy of that administration in leaving the work of legislation to the colonies; and even the very measures proposed to their adoption were suggested to ministers by the colonial club; and so Lord Bathurst openly avowed. In confirmation of this fact it is certain that any dissent from the ministerial measures of 1823 and 1824 expressed in Parliament, was not by the West Indians, but by the abolitionists; and almost the last act of Mr. Wilberforce's parliamentary life, which gave great umbrage to Mr. Canning, and excited from him a reply of some asperity, was to declare his utter hopelessness of any beneficial result from the plan pursued by ministers. Mr. Canning's habits of familiar intercourse lay with West Indians; for example, with Lord Seaford and Lord Dudley. Lord Bathurst's speech in the House of Lords, in 1824, was almost dictated by Major Moody; and Mr. Wilmot Horton's pamphlets and reviews were put into active circulation by the colonial club, and by them dispersed throughout the colonies. Is it not, under these circumstances, something too much for Mr. Burge to come before the Committee to swear to such a mis-statement?—(p. 982, 983.)

Mr. Burge gets a question put to him about his own appointment, which gives him the opportunity of highly praising his official conduct, as Attorney-General, and holding it up as a model of zeal and vigilance on behalf of the slaves. When he became Attorney-General, he became, he says, *emphatically*, the protector of the blacks. We pretend not to say what Mr. Burge may have done privately, in the use of his powers, for the redress of individual cases of cruelty. He may, for aught we know to the contrary, have been as active, and watchful, and liberal, as he asserts himself to have been. But we *do* know that he was the adviser of the Duke of Manchester in 1823 and 1824, during which time more acts of unrighteous oppression (and for these we refer to the records of parliament) took place, than it were easy to enumerate. And among them were the trials and executions in St. Mary, in which revolting case the Duke of Manchester distinctly says he acted on Mr. Burge's advice. There were also the cases of trials and executions in St. George, in Hanover, and in St. James, all marked with the same traits of illegality, injustice, and oppression, as those of St. Mary. There were also the cases of Lecesne, Escoffery, and Gonville, in which Mr. Burge was a principal actor, but in which he was so signally worsted. Of *all* these cases Mr. Burge was cognizant. In *some* of them he took a prominent part. In all of them he was the Duke of Manchester's law adviser; and we feel perfectly persuaded that against his advice the Duke would not have acted. Certainly we find nothing in these transactions which manifests the deep interest he professes to have taken in protecting slaves from oppression.

All the cruelties detailed in anti-slavery publications, he says, have taken place since he quitted the island. But he had not quitted either office or the island in 1823 and 1824. All the atrocities that have occurred since do not equal those of that period. The St. Mary's affair alone

would stamp an age with cruelty and injustice, to say nothing of the others. All that Mr. Burge, therefore, states, on his oath, in praise of his administration of the law, must give way before the broad, the immovable facts of those cases, the evidence on all of which Mr. Burge had seen before they were transmitted to England; for he was the Attorney-General at the time (p. 982, 986).

Mr. Burge proceeds to praise the magistracy of Jamaica, as persons who would be most unjustly described as men of hardened feelings. He thought favourably of *them*, as well as of the general tone of moral and religious feeling in Jamaica (p. 986, 987). We do not admit the competency of any man, who took the part that Mr. Burge took in the St. Mary's trials and executions, and in the other transactions of 1823 and 1824, including Lecesne's affair, to be a witness in a matter not of fact, but of feeling.

He swears that he believes the assembly and planters of Jamaica are not anxious to perpetuate slavery: they only desire the Negro's fitness for freedom.—Mr. Taylor's views he, of course, considers as visionary and impracticable (p. 988).

He labours hard to prove that the law of Jamaica may punish an overseer who is not able to show that he had good ground for inflicting thirty-nine lashes, or any smaller number, on any slave, male or female, subject to him. The attempt, with all Mr. Burge's special pleading, is an utter failure. It is true that clauses 29, 30, 31, and 32, of the last Act, do provide that owners or managers, *mutilating or dismembering, or wantonly or cruelly whipping, maltreating, beating, bruising, wounding, or imprisoning or confining without sufficient support, or branding, any slave, shall be liable to be indicted for such offence, and upon conviction may be punished by fine, not exceeding £100 currency [about £70 sterling; of course the fine may be one farthing, for there is no minimum], or imprisonment not exceeding twelve months, or both, for each slave so treated, with a power to the court, in atrocious cases, if the court thinks it necessary, to declare the slave free, and to assign to the slave when free an annuity of £10; and further empowering the slave so treated to apply to any justice of the peace, and, if the justice is satisfied of the truth of the complaint, he shall certify the matter to the Custos, who shall convene a special sessions to make further enquiry; and, if they find the complaint well-founded, they shall certify the same to the clerk of the peace with a view to the prosecution of the offender, and bind over the offender and the witnesses to appear; and the said special sessions shall constitute a council of protection to prosecute to effect such offender, the parish paying the expense, if the offender cannot.* Now all this process is cumbersome enough. However, if it were effective to its object, its defect in this respect might be forgiven. But then, that there may be no mistake as to such an enactment being intended to interfere with the *moderate and customary* exercise of plantation discipline, these four clauses are immediately followed by another, the 33d, which is intended, most plainly and obviously, to set masters and managers completely at rest as to any apprehension, that they shall be liable to the penalties of the former clauses, if they do but

restrain themselves within certain prescribed limits, viz. drivers within ten lashes, and owners, managers, or their delegates, within thirty-nine lashes, at one time and for one offence, and shall not inflict the same twice in one day, or until the delinquent shall have recovered from the effects of his former ten or thirty-nine lashes. And the violation of these restrictions may be visited summarily, on conviction before three magistrates, by a fine of not less than £10 currency, or more than £20, or commitment to prison for not more than ten days.

We have been thus precise, in order to show the utter fallacy of Mr. Burge's law on this subject. The clause which restricts masters or managers to thirty-nine lashes, and drivers to ten, does not say one word of the offences, on the part of the slave, which must be pleaded in justification of these licensed inflictions. He must be *proved* to have exceeded the legal limit as to the number of lashes, or to have inflicted them twice in one day, or before former stripes were healed; otherwise the penalty does not attach. Mr. Burge knows as well as any man that penal statutes must be construed strictly; and here there is not one word, no not a single letter, which can affect any owner or overseer, or any delegate of such, who shall (he being present) inflict, or cause to be inflicted, with or without one reason proved or even assigned; for any offence, or for no offence; 39 lashes of the cart-whip, or of the driver's whip, if Mr. Burge is too squeamish to endure the former term. We may, therefore, leave Mr. Burge to his ingenious special pleading on the subject, throwing in Mr. Dignum to aid him in making out his argument. It is really too bad to have our common sense insulted by such Tom-fooleries, under the name of law. Even Boyden's case, we venture to say, is not correctly represented by Mr. Burge. For there (we speak from recollection) not only was circumstantial evidence of the strongest kind adduced against him, but there was one free witness who directly testified to the outrage (p. 989).

Mr. Burge's opinion, which he enforces certainly with great ingenuity as well as force, as to the unfitness of the slaves in Jamaica for immediate emancipation, is of course just such an opinion as was to be expected from Mr. Burge. He has done his best for his clients. But all his efforts, if they were multiplied tenfold, will not explain, consistently with his reasoning, the appalling and damnatory fact that his constituents should have renewed, in 1831, with scarcely any material improvement, the slave law of 1816; even the *seeming* improvements being no better than studied evasions (p. 990—993).

Mr. Burge evidently dislikes the missionaries. He swears that he has not and has never had any feeling of intolerance, but he thinks it better that religious instruction should be given by clergymen (the Bishop to wit, and Archdeacon Pope, with his 700 slaves, and Mr. Bridges, the master of Kitty Hilton, and Mr. Girod, &c. &c.) But one great fault he has to find with the missionaries is their not having mixed with the general society of the whites, and with the bar at the assizes. What kind of missionaries must they have been to have done so? How many houses could they have entered where the vice of concubinage did not obtrude itself upon them with brazen front? And as for a missionary taking part in *grand night*, at a Kingston or Cornwall assize, it would have been not a little incongruous with his character. It was for Mr. B.,

and such as he, to have sought out these humble and retiring servants of Christ, and to have given them countenance and protection. He was struck, it seems, with the feelings of irritation that some of them had manifested in the course of their examination in the Committee, and he supposes it might have been modified by the turtle and Madeira in which the prejudices of the whites had excluded them from participating. We know the potency which West Indians ascribe to good dinners, and their fatal influence on many a member of Parliament in relation to this question. But Mr. Burge mistakes his men. He is not to suppose because Mr. Barry, and Mr. Duncan, and Mr. Knibb have astonished him and their Lordships, by their manly bearing, by their dauntless self-possession, by their powers of intelligence and observation, and shown themselves fully equal to any association even with the noble, that it was the object of their low ambition to covet the favour and convivial intimacy of their superiors. Their ambition took a loftier flight. They were intent on pursuing their high and holy calling. They had a mighty task committed to their trust;—to rescue the perishing souls of thousands from sin and eternal death;—to break the spiritual fetters which bound them in a still bitterer bondage than that of the stocks and the cart-whip;—and to raise them from the slavery of Satan to the liberty of the sons of God. And they have done much; and they have already had their rich reward: and He, whose they are, and whom they serve—He who can form a more correct judgment of their conduct and their motives than Mr. Burge, will one day say to them, “Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you” (p. 997, 998).

Mr. Burge, while he disclaimed getting up a case for the House of Lords, frankly and candidly admitted that he, aided by Mr. Markland, a solicitor, had been industrious in obtaining witnesses of information and experience to appear at their Lordship’s bar (p. 1000). His success has certainly not been signal.

He also frankly admitted that the funds of the West India Committee were employed in repelling calumnies and misrepresentations by the publication of suitable works (p. 1001). It cannot be said that these, though they have been costly, have been very influential.

Mr. Burge very properly, as we conceive, declined to enter on the case of Leecesne and Escoffery (p. 1003).

He professed to take his estimate of the effects of emancipation from the confessions of the slaves lately executed for partaking in the insurrection; and expressed his belief, on oath, that immediate emancipation would be attended with inevitable destruction to the colony. We trust, for the sake of Mr. Burge himself, and of his 130 slaves, that he will prove in this a false prophet (p. 1003, 1004).

Mr. Burge affirmed also on his oath that it is certainly a fact that there is a rooted inveteracy on the part of the slaves towards the coloured population (p. 1004).

Speaking of the Jamaica press, he alluded to the Watchman newspaper, which he said, but without one word of truth in the statement, had been set on foot by the Anti-Slavery Society. Had he been Attorney General, he would have put it down. “My firm persuasion is,” says Mr. Burge, and certainly never was a more gross untruth

uttered, either with an oath or without one, “my firm persuasion is that the Anti-Slavery people in this country have been in the habit of making communications to certain agents of theirs in the island of Jamaica, and this information has been circulated among the slaves. The mischief is done by the communication which takes place, to the slaves themselves, from hence” (p. 1005). Again we say that this is as gross an untruth as was ever uttered, and is totally destitute of even the shadow of a fact on which to rest.—He seemed to think, indeed, that they employed the leaders of the sectaries to facilitate their communications, as far more excitement had existed since missionaries had gone out. And did he ever suppose that knowledge could be communicated without excitement? He must have been a very careless observer of what has been passing, if he indulged that day-dream. No, no; knowledge is power in Jamaica as well as in England, and that Mr. Burge and his constituents will know ere long. They are not the men to arrest its march. They must consult their own safety by yielding in time to its resistless progress.

Mr. Burge himself had been very discreet, and employed, with *his* slaves, no men who professed “to preach the whole word,” and who held slavery to be incompatible with Christianity. His slaves went to church, and were instructed by the curate, and a better-disposed and more orderly set was nowhere to be found. They continued their work while the overseer was on militia duty. The effects of their instruction thus proved its beneficial tendency. He believed it possible to make them moral and religious—good subjects, good slaves, and good Christians, without producing that abhorrence of slavery which, *it is said*, they must feel, if they are *properly* instructed (p. 1006).

Now this is all very sound and orthodox doctrine, and we perfectly concur in it. There fortunately was no disturbance in any part of Manchester. Had the slaves of Mr. Burge been exposed to the trial, we trust his care, in having them educated, would have been amply rewarded by their peaceable and submissive demeanour. That is quite the natural effect of religion in such circumstances; and such was its effect, as is abundantly proved by the evidence before the Committee, in the case of all the slaves who were really converted by the Methodist and Baptist missionaries, as he may see by the incontestible proofs to that effect adduced by the missionaries. Numerous instances are given by the missionaries, in their evidence, of religious slaves, in the very heart of the disturbed districts, pursuing the very same course, under circumstances of infinitely greater difficulty, which his own slaves are stated by him to have pursued in Manchester. And this is as it ought to be. But ought no credit to be given, for this result, to the instruction of the Methodists and Baptists, as well as to that of the curate of Manchester? But let him not suppose that the best-instructed pupils of either school will decline their freedom when it is placed fairly within their reach. If they are men and Christians, they must have learned to appreciate the blessings of freedom. Moreover, to what, even in the disturbed districts, is to be ascribed the little white blood that has been shed, but to the influence of those very instructions of sectarian missionaries which Mr. Burge and his constituents, in their thorough ignorance of the characters and motives of the men, are disposed to view with so much suspicion?

Mr. Burge has great objections to compulsory manumission. But we need not follow him in his reasonings upon it: they are happily effete (p. 1006). He is also against abolishing female flogging. He wishes women *to be liable* to be flogged a little longer; but he objects to a direct law on the subject. In point of fact, female flogging exists to a small extent, and it must be allowed to wear out. But how does Mr. Burge know this? Can he swear that 100 women were not flogged yesterday, and 100 the day before? Or can he tell how many? To female flogging Mr. Burge does not seem very sensitive; but still, to propitiate English feeling, not to spare the bared bodies of women from laceration, it might be desirable to make the experiment of abolishing it by an express law.—Neither does he think the whip in the field can be safely abolished.—Neither would it be safe to substitute the magistrate for the master in inflicting corporal punishment.—In short, like a dutiful agent, he is quite of the mind of his employers on all points of improvement (p. 1007). With them, also, he thinks ill of Hayti, and the Code Rural, and stipendiary magistrates. The planter-magistrates are every thing that can be wished. The slaves confide in them (p. 1008, 1009).

Mr. Burge then exhibits a statement of the wealth and resources of Jamaica, which would make it appear that his constituents are the richest, while they cry out lustily that they are the poorest, people on earth. But all this is *en règle*. He then gives tables, which may be fairly passed by, making Jamaica worth 58 millions, and the whole West Indies worth 101 millions sterling (p. 1015—1034).

He then goes on to state the case of West India distress, in the approved style of perennial wailing, and enlarges on the absurd hypothesis that the happiness of the slave is intimately linked with the prosperity of the master; when the very reverse, as every body knows, is the fact (p. 1036, 1037).

Mr. Burge is certain that no overseer who has been guilty of cruelty would find employment in Jamaica. (Cruelty, of course, is a relative, not a positive term. Mr. Burge, for example, could tolerate a little female flogging, while there are some so squeamish as to condemn it altogether.)—There are no cruel overseers in Jamaica, at least according to Mr. Burge's standard (p. 1038, 1039).

Mr. Burge is quite sure, in common with his constituents, although almost every set of parochial resolutions passed, in 1837, by those constituents, proves the contrary, that the apprehension of being transferred to America never occurred to the Negroes, or had any influence upon them (p. 1039).

He labours also to assure their Lordships, notwithstanding the complete exposure of his views on that subject by Lord Howick in the House of Commons, that the practice of separating families in Jamaica has no foundation in law or in fact; but all his renewed special pleadings on that subject serve, as it appears to us, only to confute his own positions (p. 1040).

Mr. Burge concludes the whole of his harangue (for be it known to our readers that Mr. Burge was not catechised like an ordinary witness, but had the privileges of an *ex parte* pleader allowed him), he winds up, we say, the whole with a pathetic peroration, appealing

to the commiseration of their Lordships, and supplicating for delay; till they shall hear what certain delegates, then on their passage to England, have to say to their Lordships; and lest also, by their precipitancy, they shall produce a recurrence of the dreadful scenes we have already witnessed.

We have alluded to the peculiarity of what is called the *evidence* of Mr. Burge, in its being neither more nor less than the speech of an able advocate broken by a few questions. Our mode of treating it has therefore differed from the course we have thought it right to pursue with other witnesses. We are not conscious, however, of having misstated a single sentiment of his address, though we believe we have not left any of his positions altogether unshaken. He is certainly a formidable opponent; but we are, nevertheless, so well satisfied with the issue of this first encounter, that we look forward to a second meeting without the slightest fear of the result.

We have now paid our respects to all the pro-slavery witnesses whom Mr. Burge marshalled under his standard; and we trust that our readers will have been able to form a tolerably just appreciation of their respective claims to credit. Our remaining task will be comparatively easy, while we pass in review the Anti-Slavery array which appeared before the Committee.

ANTI-SLAVERY WITNESSES.

Of these no less than eight were likewise examined by the Committee of the House of Commons, and their evidence has been already analysed in our last number, viz.—Mr. Barry, Admiral Fleming, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Duncan, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Knibb, and Mr. Thorpe. The evidence given by these gentlemen in both cases being substantially the same, it would be a useless waste of time and labour to do more than supply any additional matter which the course of examination may have elicited in the Lords' Committee, and which may not have been drawn out by the more limited enquiry in that of the House of Commons. Our present abstract, therefore, will be confined to what may be *new* in their evidence.

1. THE REV. JOHN BARRY.

This gentleman's evidence occupies from p. 341 to 352 of our former number.

Mr. Barry was travelling, in the public coach between Kingston and Spanish Town, with a member of the House of Assembly, who in the course of conversation stated that he hated England, on account of the efforts making there to deprive the colonists of their property. Mr. Barry observed that the colonists had much cause to blame themselves for the part England had taken; as they had misrepresented facts. They had stated, for example, that the use of the cart-whip had been abolished in Jamaica, while they all must know that it was as much used at this day as it was forty years ago. The honourable member admitted this, but added, "They tell lies upon us, and we are justified in telling lies too by way of defence" (p. 431).

The drivers often inflicted punishment on the slaves in the absence of the overseer. He once, in travelling, was arrested by the shrieks of a woman who was undergoing a punishment with the cat. She was extended on the ground. She was raised up and sent to her work on his coming up; but she was unable to stand upright, so severely had she been punished. He was shown a whip, and he pronounced it to be what is called the cart-whip, the instrument commonly used. He had seen hundreds of them (p. 433). He believed the driver's whip to be still used on all estates except a very few where it has been abolished. He had many and many a time seen the slaves struck, in the field, with such a whip as that now shown to him (p. 440).

Mr. Barry produced a copy of the instructions given by the Society at home to all their missionaries (p. 456). These warn the missionaries generally to avoid meddling with political parties or secular disputes, and to enforce, by precept and example, a cheerful obedience to lawful authority. The West Indian missionaries are particularly enjoined to exclude from the Society all who relapse into polygamy and adultery, and all who are idle and disorderly, or disobedient to their owners, or who shall steal or act in any other way immorally or irreligiously. Their only business being to promote the moral and religious improvement of the slaves, they are not, in the least degree, in public or in private, to interfere with their civil condition; and they are diligently to enforce on the slaves the apostolical injunctions—Ephes. vi. 5—8, and Coloss. iii. 22—25. No person living in polygamy, or in concubinage, or in promiscuous intercourse, is to be admitted into the Society. The missionaries must take no part in civil disputes or local politics, and they are to keep at the remotest distance from all temptation to a secular or mercenary temper. No missionary can raise contributions for himself, or be allowed to receive donations, except for the mission (p. 467). A very interesting sketch is given of the state of the Wesleyan missions in the West Indies in 1830 (p. 461—466).

While Mr. Barry resided in St. Thomas in the Vale, he was surrounded by coffee plantations, and he was in the habit of hearing, almost incessantly, the sound of the whip, from morning till night. He could not mistake the sound of the driver's whip inflicting punishment for that of the mule driver. The regular and measured sound of the former was not to be mistaken. No man familiar with slave properties could mistake it. The crack of the whip is so loud that it can be heard at an immense distance. This use of the whip was so frequent that it ceased to surprise him (p. 470, 471).

It is well known in Jamaica, Mr. Barry observed, one of those facts indeed that every body knows, that in many cases overseers conceal from the inspection of surgeons severe inflictions of punishment. After the infliction, slaves are sometimes locked up for days in a state of solitary confinement. He fully understood this to be the case, though he could not prove it (p. 473).

Mr. Barry believed that, among the planters of Jamaica, humanity was the exception, not the rule.

He also believed that the slave population decreases, and this from causes connected with slavery. The maroons increase, and the

free black and coloured population increase; the decrease of the slaves must be ascribed to causes connected with their condition. One of these he believes to be excessive punishment. The punishments are so severe sometimes as to occasion death. The late hours at which they are obliged to labour, and their licentiousness, are also causes (p. 476).

Mr. Barry does not think that any laws which have been passed will restrain men from inflicting severe and unnecessary punishment, or secure the slaves any adequate means of redress. In very few cases, he is convinced, will the Negroes be willing to run the hazard of incurring a proprietor's or overseer's displeasure by applying for redress. The practice of inflicting corporal punishment hardens the sensibilities of the human heart, and magistrates who are themselves slave-holders are deeply interested in upholding the system, and feel also the strong influence of prejudice. He detailed several cases of oppression arising out of the power possessed by masters and overseers to oblige female slaves to submit to their desires, as well as cases of excessive punishment for other causes (p. 414, 415, 469, 475, 488). Another at p. 479 seems hardly credible, and, as the papers relating to it were lost, it would have been better to withhold the details entirely.

Mr. Barry communicated a letter which he had received from Jamaica from a brother missionary, Mr. Bleby, dated Montego Bay, 24th April, 1832, proving the violent excitement still existing against the missionaries, though they had been declared innocent by the highest authorities. Mr. Bleby writes as follows:—

“You will have heard through other channels of the proceedings on the north side about the time of your leaving Jamaica. The acquittal of the Baptist missionaries was a complete triumph, and disclosed such a scene of villany and corruption as will for ever stamp this country with disgrace and infamy. The suborning false evidence against Mr. Burchell, and the attempt to assassinate him after his acquittal,—the miserable mockery of justice in the cases of Gardiner and Knibb, and all the other acts of violence and injustice perpetrated by the infuriated colonists,—will tend only to unfold more fully the direful influence of slavery on the human mind, and subvert the wretched system they are intended to support.

“The people in Trelawney seem to have become as bad as in that hot-bed of oppression, violence, and infidelity, St. Ann's; and a foul attempt was made there to murder me a short time since, from which I was only delivered by the merciful interposition of Providence” (p. 488).

“On the 6th of April a letter was brought to me which had been taken up in the enclosure in the front of the house, evidently written in a disguised hand by some person who can write well, threatening me with tar and feathers, and the demolition of the house, unless I left the town. The letter was signed ‘Mob.’ This I did not think necessary to take notice of, further than to request several of our people to sleep in the lower part of the house as a guard the following night. The next evening (Saturday the 7th) we had just sat down to tea, when a band of white ruffians forced an entrance into the house, and came up stairs into the room where we were sitting. They were nearly all armed with bludgeons. Thinking they had the appearance of constables, I addressed myself to the two first, and enquired what was their business with me; they answered, they were come to take tea with us. A number of them then seized me, and with much abusive language, cursing me as a preaching villain, &c., forced me backwards to the other side of the room, one of them striking me a heavy blow on the head. One of them having brought a keg of tar into the room, several of them held me

fast against the window frame, while others covered my head, face, and breast with tar. In the meanwhile another of the ruffians took the candle from the table and attempted to set me on fire by applying it to my pantaloons; but, being frustrated in this attempt, he attempted, by putting the candle to the tar on my breast and neckcloth, to effect my destruction; but Mrs. Bleby, seeing his design, dashed the candle from his hand on the floor, by which means it was extinguished. By this time an alarm had been given, and several people came to my assistance;—the ruffians who were up stairs, hearing the scuffle below, left me and went down stairs, and ultimately succeeded in making their escape. It appears that in the dark several of the ruffians were mistaken by their fellows for me and Mr. Whitehorne, the Baptist missionary, whom they expected to find with me, and so severely beaten with their bludgeons, that one is not expected to recover; another has his skull fractured, one his collar-bone broken, and another his thumb disjointed. Mrs. Bleby twice thrust herself between the assailants and me; the first time one of them seized her, and threw her with violence on the floor, from which she is still suffering; the second time she interfered two of the ruffians dragged her away, and attempted to lock her up in the pantry, but could not succeed, as she clung to them, and got out with them. The child was lying on the sofa asleep; but being disturbed by the noise, and beginning to cry, one of the fellows called out, ‘Throw the child through the window,’ which Mrs. Bleby prevented by snatching it up in her arms. When they were gone down stairs, she succeeded in getting away through the back door with the child, without a bonnet, and with only one shoe, having been pretty well covered with tar in her efforts to prevent them from injuring me.

“Having made my way down into the yard, the same man who attempted to set me on fire rushed on me, and aimed a violent blow at my head, which I avoided by stooping. I again ran up stairs, and one of them struck at me on the stairs with a bludgeon: but the blow, falling short of me, fell with a tremendous noise on the stairs. I finally succeeded in making my escape over the fence at the back of the house, and took refuge in the house of a person of colour who offered me shelter and protection” (p. 489).

Mr. Barry was asked whether he would not have been perfectly justified in interfering on behalf of the suffering slaves, when he witnessed marked violations of the law. He replied,—

“Your Lordships must see the very delicate situation in which we were placed; a very strong feeling of prejudice existed against our mission, and it was our desire to meet that prejudice as far as we could, and this was also the wish of our managing Committee; if we had interfered in any degree in the circumstances to which the question alludes, the cry would immediately have been raised by the planters, ‘Here are these missionaries interfering between the relative duties of master and slave;’ and that would greatly add to the effect of the often-raised though unfounded report, that we were agents to the Anti-Slavery Society at home. We certainly have very frequently, under those circumstances, done violence to our own feelings; but we were restrained entirely by these prudential motives” (p. 494).

The following is Mr. Barry’s view of the general circumstances of the men who fill the situation of overseers in Jamaica:—

“The men who go to Jamaica for the purpose of being overseers are generally adventurers, who hope to improve their secular interests by that change; they are generally men of humble character in life—men who possessed little or no influence in their own country. Any man acquainted with the general feelings and principles of human nature must admit that there is a strong desire to govern in the human mind—a strong tendency to the possession of authority. These men, when introduced to properties, are, in the first instance, to a very great extent,

debarred from all the advantages of religion and religious worship : it is not necessary for me to go into particulars to prove this ; it is well known that such is the case throughout the whole island of Jamaica ; and of course whatever elevating impulse or principle they might have previously possessed must, under those circumstances, very soon become deteriorated ; independently of this, they have the example of their attorneys and overseers before their eyes living in a constant state of demoralization. While inferior officers upon the properties, they are invested with authority over the slaves, and that authority may be improperly exercised, from a variety of causes ; some of these, I have stated, may be excited by a refusal of the Negress to satisfy the impure desires of the person placed over her, and also the influence of passion and prejudice in those men ; and I believe it will hardly be denied, that in the same proportion in which they become inured to the infliction of corporal punishment the feelings of humanity become benumbed and deadened. That benumbing and deadening influence will increase in an increased proportion of the infliction of punishment, and the co-operation of these causes I do generally assign as the reason why we see so little humanity among the overseers generally. There may be other causes which will operate, but these I believe to be the principal" (p. 501, 502).

The planters, Mr. Barry admitted, speak a great deal about the amelioration of slavery, but he did not believe that they, including the legislature, were willing to effect it. They might be more willing if a state of amelioration did not include the information of the Negro mind, and thus militate against the perpetuation of the system ; for he was convinced they would ever be opposed to whatever was calculated to make inroads on the continuance of slavery. He believed the planters and the legislature to be most decidedly anxious for the perpetuation of slavery, and they have publicly declared their purpose to maintain it (p. 509). The punishment of the whip is frequently aggravated by inflicting further licks with the ebony bush, which contains a number of small but sharp prickles (p. 512).

An overseer, Mr. Barry thinks, has the power of inflicting great personal suffering on slaves without violating the letter of the law. He may confine a slave ; he may inflict tremendous punishment within the legal limit of 39 lashes ; and even if he violates the law he runs no great risk of detection, slaves being prevented by the dread of subsequent punishment and ill treatment from preferring complaints. (p. 531.)

"An old lady in Spanish Town, a proprietress of slaves, was one day visited by one of our female subordinate teachers, a most intelligent woman ; she had previously spoken to a slave belonging to this old lady on the subject of religion ; however, she did not think it would be prudent to allow this slave to meet in religious society without the consent of the owner : she waited upon the owner, and told her that she had spoken to this woman on the subject of religion, and that she hoped she (the owner) would throw no obstacles in the way ; she said, 'I certainly cannot allow her to pray (which is the general expression for religion in Jamaica) ; she is a young woman, and I must keep her to breed ;' and that was the sole objection which the lady had to her meeting in religious society (p. 531).

Mr. Barry states that the law does not recognize the separation of families ; but he is inaccurate in this statement, for there is no law which prohibits either separation by private sales, or separate levies

in execution, though if families are levied upon together, which is not necessarily the case, they must be sold together. He adds,—

“A lady, a member of our society in Kingston, of the name of Miss Barrett, unfortunately became indebted; the child of a female slave was seized, I think by the marshal; after the seizure the woman herself came to my house. I lived immediately opposite, and was well acquainted with the mistress, and she told Mrs. Barry that such an act had taken place, and she hoped that the minister would interfere. I was not at home, and knew nothing of it until afterwards; the child was sold, and I knew that woman in consequence to die of a broken heart.—I knew another instance of the same kind in Spanish Town, though not followed by the same effects; it was a young man, the son of a slave woman, who was sold from her, not by consent of the mother; she was totally averse to it; she lived near our chapel yard, and was engaged in cleaning the chapel; and I have frequently seen her weeping bitterly on account of her loss, though the boy was not removed to any great distance” (p. 535).

2. VICE-ADMIRAL C. E. FLEMING.

This officer's evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons will be found in our last number, p. 378—392. In his evidence before the present Committee, he makes a mistake in supposing that the use of the whip in the field was forbidden by the disallowed act of 1826. There was no clause to that effect in that act; a motion indeed was made to substitute the cat for the driving whip, but it was rejected. A whip being exhibited to him, he allows that that is the whip generally used for punishing slaves. He had seen it applied both to men and women when lagging behind (p. 550).

Were any one to tell him the whip was not used as a stimulus to labour he would not believe him. He had never heard it denied (p. 552). In other points his evidence is much the same as in the Commons.

3. WILLIAM TAYLOR, ESQ.

Mr. Taylor's evidence before the House of Commons will be found in our last number, p. 319—341.

Mr. Taylor repeated his belief that overseers have the power of inflicting a very great degree of personal suffering on slaves without violating the letter of the law.

“I have known,” he says, “eighteen lashes cause a degree of suffering that was dreadful, and called for notice; but, the law having allowed thirty-nine lashes, the parties who sought redress were completely baffled. The case was one of a young girl of eighteen who received eighteen lashes; it was one on which many men felt deeply, and the chief magistrate of the parish took it up very warmly, and the official people of the parish took it up very warmly, but the overseer set them all at defiance by simply pointing to the statute. It was in October 1830. The chief magistrate was Mr. Custos Maize of St. Andrew's; the public prosecutor of the parish was Mr. Clement; the person offended against was a girl, Jane, of Temple Hall; the perpetrator was Martin, the overseer of Temple Hall. They carried the thing as far as they could do; it went before the Attorney General” (p. 570).

In this instance, Mr. Taylor thinks that if the overseer had violated the letter of the law, he would have been punished. The cause assigned for the punishment was insolence. The cause *she* gave was a very different one, and that was believed. He had heard many

instances of barbarous floggings; and in mixing in West India society you hear particular men pointed out as kind, or as savage as brutes. A man of a harsh temper indulges his temper, and the law gives him abundant scope to do so.

“I remember,” he added, “a poor creature came to complain, thinking I could do something for him. He stated himself to have been barbarously flogged; and on being stripped, which I caused him to be, his body did present a most dreadful aspect. He was suffering at the time from disease; he was weak in body; he was perfectly unfit to be punished, however flagitious his conduct might have been. I told him what the law was; that he might go before the magistrate and exhibit his person, which of itself was abundant evidence, and called for a council of protection; but the man said there was no use in doing that; that it would end in his getting another lashing, and that he would rather let it pass unless I would go with him, which I could not, for I was about to embark for England. This was on Prospect Hill in St. Andrew’s. I had him inspected by old Negroes, who had witnessed these things themselves and had suffered them, and they told me it was a dreadful punishment he had got. I am sure he got no redress, for he determined to go home. I should doubt whether he was alive, for he seemed in bad health; I think he must have died some months after. I do not mean to say that the flogging killed the man; he seemed as if he would not long live, he was in such a state of health. He was certainly not in a condition to receive such punishment” (p. 570, 571).

“I have met with many instances of very cruel treatment, but on examining into them there was no law to meet them, and therefore it was impossible to do any thing. There was another case of a girl of nineteen; the only redress her friends had was to get her manumitted; an individual applied for her manumission; her owner, a cruel woman, I suppose did not wish to get into any altercation with this person, and she consented to sell her, and she is now free. She was severely flogged in the St. Andrew’s workhouse, worked in the chain, and flogged after. There was no redress for it; I could only tell them that the mistress had a legal right to do so” (p. 571).

This girl was confined to the workhouse by her mistress’s sole authority. This was allowed by law, and therefore the way to redress was barred. Women and men were equally liable to be flogged, and were constantly flogged in the St. Andrew’s workhouse. Mr. Taylor saw four or five women flogged; they were of all ages; one of sixteen, another of twenty-two, another of thirty-five, and an old woman of sixty, a grey-headed woman; that was the only female punishment he ever witnessed, and he never wished to witness it again. It was very dreadful. They were made fast by means of a block and tackle they had in the workhouse, which not only confined them, but stretched them—they were flogged with a cat-o’-nine-tails. He did not mean to say that the stretching was done to add to the torture, but it did so unavoidably. He spoke to two Negroes who were punished in that workhouse, and they told him it was the severest part of the punishments; their expression was, that “they were stretched till their backs cracked” (p. 571, 572).

“On one occasion,” says Mr. Taylor, “I saw two women flogged; I would not call it severe flogging, for it was nothing compared to the flogging I have described in the first part of my examination; but, riding in a remote part of the island, I came upon the spot, and saw the punishment. I did interfere, but it was useless, for it was legal. The individual who was employed in flogging told me, very firmly but

very respectfully, that he could not help it—he was a slave himself—he was obliged to do it, and was acting under his orders, and those orders were perfectly legal. I was myself a magistrate of the neighbouring district, but I could not interfere. If one had been his mother, and the other his sister, he would have been equally obliged to flog them. The law makes no reservation” (p. 578).

He had heard slaves state that they were deterred from marriage by their repugnance to seeing their wives flogged. It is the custom to flog women as well as men in the home-yard or in the field, where their nearest relatives may be; and their relatives may be employed to flog them. A driver is compelled to flog any one he is told to flog: he has no choice (p. 581).

Mr. Taylor was asked, “Did you ever know an instance of a hole being dug to enable the driver to place a Negro woman that was pregnant in the hole to flog her?” He replied, “Yes; I was told that by the head driver of Papine, a man that I have every reason to believe was respectable, a man I had very little to do with. I had been told those stories about flogging pregnant women. My attention being called to the subject, I was exceedingly anxious to arrive at the truth by asking other people, and I was determined to ask the Negroes and overseers and book-keepers. Among others I asked this head driver of Papine, a decent man, as I thought him, and he told me one instance in which he had himself inflicted the punishment. The woman was pregnant, and he told his story very clearly. This woman had been punished in that way. What made me believe it was,—this was a woman who had carried some complaint to Mr. Wildman; she complained of her being punished and losing her children in the womb; and afterwards she brought forth her children.” His impression was, that the loss of the fœtus was in consequence of this. The driver told him there was an excavation made, and she was placed in it, and he flogged her with a whip, and afterwards, Mr. Taylor thought, with the ebony switch, After giving them the thirty-nine, they switch them. There was another respectable Negro upon the estate whom I examined separately. He had not been present, but he said he believed the thing did happen, and that during his residence on the estate those things had often happened; that pregnant women were often flogged; and he believed every woman upon the estate had been flogged over and over again. This was before Mr. Wildman went out to Jamaica (p. 592).

Mr. Taylor admitted that much exaggeration had taken place at public meetings held for Anti-Slavery purposes. He was asked whether he believed it to be true, as had been said at one of those meetings, “that a person had been scourged to the borders of the grave for no other crime than worshipping his God?” He answered, “I do believe in Jamaica there are instances of Negroes who have been severely and repeatedly flogged for no other reason than worshipping their God; I would not say to the borders of the grave; it does not consist with my knowledge that they have been scourged to the borders of the grave, I do not know that they have died, in consequence of *that*” (p. 594).

Again—

“If you had heard it stated that the Church Union Society was organized for

two distinct objects—the demolition of places of worship and the banishment or murder of the missionaries, would you consider that a gross exaggeration?

“No; from what I have heard of the proceedings in Jamaica, I should not consider it at all an exaggeration, for I think it is borne out by facts. It was organized since I left the country; with the exception of one man, I do not know any of them, and I would believe that man capable of any wickedness. I am asked about a society of which I know nothing; I only know the proceedings of the society from certain imputations in the Jamaica newspapers; it was organized since I left the country. I have read of gross outrages committed upon the persons of missionaries, which certain documents and newspapers have said were perpetrated by members of the Colonial Church Union; I have no other information. Assuming that for truth, the inference is by no means a gross exaggeration; but your Lordships will observe, I only gather that from the public prints”—(p. 525).

Mr. Taylor was asked whether the newspaper called the *Watchman* was not supported by the Anti-Slavery Society's principal agent there. His reply was, “I do not know any agent of the Society there; I never knew any. I have often enquired for the Anti-Slavery Reporters there, and could not procure them” (p. 609).

4. THE REV. PETER DUNCAN.

The evidence of Mr. Duncan before the House of Commons Committee will be found in No. 104, p. 352—365. Mr. Duncan stated to the Committee the following facts, though he himself had not often been in situations to witness the inflictions of punishment:—

“I have seen myself instances of very great strictness respecting the punctuality of Negroes attending at the hours of labour; and I have also seen instances of severity used when they happened to be a few minutes behind the hour. Perhaps your Lordships will allow me to refer to one particular case: I remember once sitting in my lodgings in Manchioneal Bay, when I saw about a dozen of females that came into the field five or ten minutes too late, and each received a number of lashes from the driver. I have witnessed similar cases” (p. 637).

“In the year 1823 I knew of a slave driver having to flog his mother. In the year 1827 or 1828 I knew of a married Negress having been flogged in the presence of her fellow slaves, and I believe her husband too, for it was her husband and herself and other slaves who told me the circumstances. Merely because this Negress would not submit to satisfy the lust of her overseer, he had flogged and confined her for several days in the stocks. I was then in St. Thomas in the Vale. Connected with that station, we had two places of worship, one in the St. Andrew's mountains, but just on the boundaries of St. Thomas in the Vale and St. Mary's; a considerable number of Negroes from St. Mary's attended at that place of worship; among others there was one of the name of _____, from _____ . I was always particularly struck with her regularity in attending divine service; I observed her absence on one or two sabbaths, and I asked a lady what had kept her away. She said she believed Ann had got into trouble again, poor thing; that she had been punished by the overseer, whose name was _____. The name of the lady was Mrs. Lawrence; she told me that Ann had been often punished for coming to the chapel by her former overseer, whose name was _____; but that she believed she was coming the next sabbath, and I should hear her statement. The next sabbath a considerable number of Negroes from that property came to me, and among others Ann and her husband. I asked her what had kept her from the chapel. She said she had been severely flogged; she looked very ill; she was scarcely able to walk. I said, ‘What have you done?’ She said she had done nothing, but her overseer had

wished her to come and sleep with him. She said, 'No, Massa; I am a married woman, and I was married in the Church of England on the Parade at Kingston, and I cannot do any thing of the kind.' Other Negroes told me that they were present at a part of this conversation, and saw Ann flogged, avowedly for that reason, and among the rest her husband; she was very severely flogged; I was told she got about fifty lashes, and was then put into the stocks. After she had remained in the stocks two or three days, the overseer asked her whether she would come and sleep with him yet. She said, No; she was ready to do her master's duty, but could not do any thing of that sort. He brought three or four others, and pointed her out by way of scorn, and said, 'This is a holy woman—this is a married woman; she cannot come and sleep with me because she is a Methodist, and has been married in the Church of England.' There were a considerable number of Negroes with her at the time I saw her, who were witnesses to the whole or part of these facts. The woman was in a very poor state, hardly able to walk, in consequence of the very severe flogging she had got, and for the reason stated. Though I do not at present recollect any other such flagrant instance of cruelty as that, it was no uncommon thing to me to hear that the young female slaves had been flogged because they would not comply with those wishes of their overseers" (p. 641, 642).

The Negroes had been described by one witness as happy and cheerful. Mr. Duncan's opinion of that statement being asked, he said, "I have seen some apparently happy enough; but I do not conceive they are all cheerful and happy, or that cheerfulness and happiness are very common among the slaves. As it regards punishments, I have already observed they are generally inflicted in such a way and at such a place that strangers have seldom the opportunity of beholding those punishments in the act of infliction; but I have seen some punished myself; I have seen Negroes who have been punished scarcely able to move; I have also seen one or two others with their flesh most shockingly torn. I cannot conceive how it is possible *they* can be cheerful and happy" (p. 643).

The property of the slaves was generally respected; but he had known instances to the contrary.

"I have known Negroes complaining at least, in my hearing, in different parts of the island, that their provision grounds had been taken from them by the overseer, and that they had got in lieu of them uncultivated grounds, and had to begin all their work again; and I have heard frequently of managers or owners injuring the property of a slave, by shooting his hogs or poultry, without the possibility of their obtaining redress" (p. 645).

The means of redress to the slaves, for injuries or harsh treatment, he believed to be extremely difficult; and he stated the following as *one* instance in proof of it:—

"When I resided at Montego Bay, in 1829, there was a very painful case brought to my knowledge,—an estate, either Flint River or Tryall—I think the former; they are just contiguous; on which estate we have a number of Negroes connected with our societies. I was informed that they had no day for several months allowed them to work their provision grounds; that they went to their overseer, and he had promised them Saturday, but when the Saturday came he ordered them to finish the remainder of the cane piece; they refused, and went in a body to Lucea, either on Sunday or Monday, and complained to the magistrates that they had not had a day so long, and that their overseer had deprived them of this Saturday. I believe they were nearly all flogged; the matter was perfectly notorious; the flogging began, as the person who was a

spectator informed me, about two o'clock, and continued till about five; men and women stripped, exposed, and flogged in the market-place: the whole of this case is fresh in my recollection. According to the rules of our society, by which we act in Jamaica, we are bound to censure such slaves as may disobey their masters. There were two of the Negroes in company with those slaves who went away to Lucea; and according to that rule, though a painful circumstance to my own mind, I was compelled to expel them from our society. The matter was public, and therefore quite well known. It was not, I believe, denied that the slaves had been refused their Saturday, nor was it ever called in question that they had no day of their own for weeks, and perhaps months; but because they came away on Monday they were all flogged" (p. 646).

The cases of Henry Williams and Kitty Hilton were then largely referred to. We will merely quote a passage from the conclusion of it. Henry Williams had himself told Mr. Duncan that the sufferings he had endured from the flogging he had received from Mr. Betty, and his subsequent treatment in the workhouse for attending the Methodist chapel, had broken his constitution. He feared he never should be strong again. It was not by the magistrates that he was flogged, but by the arbitrary will of his master, Mr. Betty; and by the same arbitrary will he was sent to the St. Thomas in the Vale workhouse, and that workhouse has the worst public character for severity of any in the whole island. The treatment in the St. Thomas in the Vale workhouse is considered to be much more rigid and severe than in any other in Jamaica. This workhouse was not in the parish to which he belonged; he was in St. Ann's parish; but he was sent to a much greater distance, to this workhouse in St. Thomas in the Vale. "I believe also the Rev. Mr. Bridges sent some of his Negroes to that workhouse, and he stated it was because the discipline was more rigid in that workhouse than in that in the parish of St. Ann. The word discipline, as referring to slaves in Jamaica, means simply punishment" (p. 651).

In neither of the cases, neither that of Henry Williams nor that of Kitty Hilton, whom the Rev. Mr. Bridges flogged and treated so cruelly, was any redress obtained (*ibid*).

The barrenness of the women in Jamaica he considered to be attributable both to the severity of their labour and the looseness of their morals (p. 652).

The whole of the parochial resolutions published in Jamaica in 1831 conveyed to the Negroes the information, in clear and unqualified terms, that the government of Great Britain wished to make them free, and that the planters were opposed to it. Mr. Duncan added,

"His Majesty has not in his dominions a people more loyal and devoted to his person and government than the religious slaves. They revere the name of his Majesty and of his government too; and, as the inhabitants of Jamaica have published to the world that His Majesty and His Majesty's government wished to give the Negroes their freedom, this brought the matter before the Negroes in this way: Here are the King and his government wishing to make us free; here are our masters will not allow it: and I am well aware, should there be a question between the King and their masters respecting the Negroes, which side they (the Negroes) will go to."

"I consider that the principal cause of the late insurrection has been the hasty

and intemperate proceedings of the colonists themselves, and the violent manner in which they have opposed the wishes of His Majesty's government from year to year; the violent language which has been used, both in the legislature and out of it. I cannot conceive it possible that such language could have led to any other result. I have already intimated to your lordships the natural impression made upon the minds of the slaves would be this: His Majesty's government wish to ameliorate our condition, and ultimately to make us free, but that every measure tending to this has been most violently opposed by the colonists, both in and out of the legislature."

Mr. Duncan entered into considerable details respecting the persecutions that had been endured by the missionaries. We need not follow him in these details. They are sufficiently known, and are not questioned. He enters into many details, also, to show that the opposition of the planters is not to the sectarian missionaries alone, but to religion itself; and as much to clergymen of the established church as to Wesleyans or Baptists (p. 672, 673).

He produced also some important documents in proof of his statements, as to the persecution of missionaries (p. 681—685).

Exorbitant sums are often asked for the manumission of slaves, as much as £300. A planter told him that a man of the name of James Walker, on Holland estate, offered a very large sum for his freedom to Mr. ———, whose answer was, "Ah, James, if you were free, you would go to the devil.—Go to your work"—(p. 690).

Mr. Duncan has known fifty lashes avowedly given to a slave, with a whip nearly resembling that now shown him, and equally efficient.

"A Negro was laid down to be flogged almost under my window, when I resided at Morant Bay—at least at no great distance. His master went to the workhouse; he came back with the supervisor, and four workhouse Negroes came along with the master and supervisor; two of them had whips. The Negro man was laid down; two of the Negroes held him down, one at the feet, and the other by the hands; and the Negroes who had the whips went one to each side of the man thus laid down and stripped. I counted either thirty-nine or forty lashes; that was with a cart-whip—I mean what is called a cart-whip." This was in 1821. "The Negro man received thirty-nine or forty lashes with the whip. I observed that they still kept him down, while the two men, the Negroes who had been flogging him, went some little distance, and came back with tamarind switches—they are hard and flexible almost as wire—and then they began upon him again, to flog him with those tamarind switches. I did not count the strokes they gave with the switches; but to the best of my knowledge they were as many as had been given before. I observed, when the former lashes were inflicted, the slave never uttered any thing more than a deep groan; but, when he came to be flogged with the tamarind switches, he shrieked most dismally. His flesh was first lacerated with the whip, and then those small switches gave him great pain. I would observe this is a very common course in Jamaica; after they have received thirty-nine or forty lashes with the whip, then to use the tamarind switches; the common expression is, 'beating out the bruised blood.'"

"I have seen many cases of flogging (but not very near where I happened to be), when travelling through the country, especially on the sugar estates. When I went first to the island, my attention was often arrested by the sound of the whip, a sound very well known to those who have resided any time in Jamaica. I have looked in the direction, and seen persons subject to punishment, and have

counted more lashes than the law allowed. When residing at Morant Bay, the workhouse punishments I knew particularly; at that time they generally employed two Negroes for flogging; I never knew that on estates; and I have known them to exceed thirty-nine lashes, or even fifty lashes, without intermission; I did not see them punishing, but I know that so many have been inflicted without intermission. From the particular sound, I could judge of the instrument—a whip something like that produced to me” (p. 696).

“I recollect, in St. Thomas in the East, a man of the name of Phelp or Philp; he was flogged; he told me it was for attending a meeting for prayer. After a week or two, he came up to see me, and I desired him to sit down in the balcony of my house; he was not able to sit, but he leaned against a post. He afterwards went up to the curate of the established church; the curate told me he had examined him, and he was most dreadfully cut up. This, I think, was about 1824. I recollect again another case, of a coloured slave, belonging to Rhine estate; he was a tradesman; he had been flogged. I know it was many weeks before he got over it. He used to walk about with his stick: he was unable to do any thing. He told me that he got fifty lashes, and that each lash cut him. About the same year, I recollect another case, in St. Thomas in the East, in which I was at a property for change of air—myself with my family; the property belonged to a distant relation of my own. I recollect the overseer one night threatening to flog a young Negro woman (a woman about eighteen or twenty years of age), and I merely asked him what she had done. He told me she said there was no pleasing Buckra; but it was not for that, but because she had said Aha! (a very common mode of expression), that he would flog her” (p. 697).

“I remember another case, of a young woman coming from the workhouse at Morant Bay; she was coming over with one of her fellow slaves, who had been sent to the workhouse with her. I did not see her flogged, but she had on an Osnaburgh petticoat, and it was literally saturated with blood, which had been dropping on the ground all the way along. That was during my residence in St. Thomas in the East. After I went to Kingston, I saw persons who had been flogged looking very ill indeed. I do not know that I can now particularise any of them. I have seen flogging in St. Thomas in the Vale; I have seen children of from ten to twelve and fifteen laid down and flogged in 1827 or 1828. From that station I went in 1829 and 1830 to St. James, and I saw other slaves, who had been flogged. I have heard of others; I have heard, from a number of slaves that came, about one young woman particularly; her flesh was almost torn from her body, because, as I was told, she would not sleep with the overseer” (p. 697).

“There is one estate, a coffee property, situate next to my house in St. Thomas in the Vale, Mount Concord. That property is very much embarrassed. The Negroes belonging to it have a very excellent character given them; indeed they bore an excellent character for many years; but, in consequence of severe labour, a number of those who had been the most steady, excellent, and valuable people upon the estate actually ran away. I found two of the Negroes, members of our society, had run away; those people, much against my personal feeling, I was obliged to exclude. I was well acquainted with the gentleman who was the overseer of that property. His name was ———. The overseer informed me that the case was this: that the debt of the property must be paid off, and therefore a considerable number of Negroes were sent out to job. I believe the distance was between twenty and thirty miles. Mr. ——— told me himself it was a great hardship upon the Negroes, and the Negroes were determined they would not put up with it any longer, and for these reasons: in the first place, they had harder work; then, they were a week or a fortnight away from their families at a time, and never saw them but on Sunday; that they had no opportunity of returning to the property to which they belonged; that their provision grounds were at that time uncultivated; and their allowance nothing like a compensation for losing their provisions; that they had nothing like a comfortable

house—nothing but temporary booths covered with cocoa-nut branches, on the sides of the road, instead of their comparatively comfortable huts on their own properties; therefore, as they were harder wrought, and taken away from their families, they were determined to put up with it no longer, and ran away to the woods. The overseer told me it was very hard, and he felt it so, but that the property was so involved; and he thought he could clear £500 a year by this kind of jobbing. I have known much individual suffering from slaves being taken to gaol, where they were confined for the debt of their master. I have seen the Deputy Marshal (or, as he is called, the Marshal's Dog), arrest Negroes, and drag them away for miles; and I have seen them crying and tearing themselves in the most violent manner. I remember once a young woman, who was arrested in a house where I happened to be at the time, on account of some debt owing to a gentleman by her owner. This young woman was about fifteen when she was arrested by the Deputy Marshal; the lady in whose house she was was very much affected, and appeared very indignant. I asked what was the matter; she said she had heard the Negro state there would be a fine prize at night for the gaol. 'Now,' says she, mentioning the name, 'this is a girl, though she does not belong to me, whom I have brought up as my own child; she has been religiously instructed, and can read the Scriptures; she is going at night to get into the fangs of one of those villains that belong to the gaol, and he will make her his temporary wife; that is a common case with the young Negro women about her age, when they are cast into gaol for the debts of their owners.' I was present at the time, and if I had not assisted to redeem the girl, she would have been taken to the gaol. There was another case, of a young lad, about fifteen years of age I should suppose; he belonged to a property which was very considerably involved; he was a very decent young man; there was also the mother of this lad, with about seven children; they were a very comfortable family, and religiously instructed and well taken care of: this lad was seized and was taken to gaol, and kept there for some time; then sold and separated thirty or forty miles from where he had been brought up, and where the other branches of his family were. This I state from personal knowledge, that he was removed from his mother and brothers and sisters. I have also, in visiting the gaols, seen respectable Negroes, or at least apparently respectable quiet-looking people; I have asked what they were there for: I was told for their master's debt. They had been confined a longer or a shorter time" (p. 700, 701).

5. THE REV. THOMAS MORGAN.

The evidence of this missionary before the Committee of the House of Commons will be found at pages 391 and 392 of No. 104.

Mr. Morgan is asked, "Have you heard or known of an instance of Negroes being addicted to vindictiveness and cruelty?" His reply is, "When I was in Antigua, there was a member of our society executed for murdering his overseer, but it was in consequence of the overseer debauching his wife." He knew of none in Jamaica (p. 712). He thought the slaves remarkable for their attachment to those who treated them kindly. He believed that, in regard to missionaries, the Negroes were disposed to lay down life for them; and he had witnessed many instances in regard to their owners also, when treated with any thing like kindness (*ibid*).

He considered the distress of the planter to arise mainly from slavery itself. It was founded on wrong. It was an iniquity calling for judgment of heaven (pp. 713, 714).

If slaves were emancipated, he believed the parents would be eager

to have their children instructed, and would pay for their instruction. On plantations children go to work at five years of age (p. 715).

He has seen the slaves beaten in the field with the cart-whip, the same kind of whip now shown, only the handle not quite so long (p. 717).

If the slaves were emancipated, there would still be law, of course, to restrain them; and in proportion as religious influence extended among them there would be peace and order (p. 718).

He always commended the slaves for attending to religious worship, and where there was any failure of attendance urged them to it. He considered neither himself nor them as breaking any law in pressing this duty upon them, whatever the wish of their masters might be (p. 720).

6. THE REV. WILLIAM KNIBB.

The evidence of this missionary before the House of Commons' Committee is contained at pages 392—405 of No. 104.

Our readers will recollect how roughly Mr. Knibb was handled in that Committee, and particularly how it was attempted to falsify his testimony as to the confidence reposed in him by Mr. Miller, the custos, in respect to the examination of the Negro insurgents, who were under sentence of death, particularly in the evidence of Mr. Baker and Mr. Dignum (see *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 104, pp. 339, 341). He now produced a letter from this identical Mr. Miller (who was the attorney of Mr. Hankey's estates, and also of Lord Seaford's), addressed to Mr. Knibb on the eve of his absentsing himself, for a few months, from Jamaica, on account of his health, and to which island he returned just after the Baptist chapels had been destroyed, in February 1832. It is dated Falmouth, 12th June, 1831, and is as follows:—

“Dear Sir,

“I am sorry to find from your letter that your ministry at Rio Bueno and Arcadia is about to cease, particularly as you have acquired the respect and esteem of the white persons residing at Arcadia, as well as of the slaves.

“I send enclosed a note for Mr. Whitehouse, requesting him to attend at Arcadia in your stead, which you will oblige me by conveying to him.

“Soon after my arrival in England I shall call on Mr. Hankey, when he will no doubt be particular in his enquiries respecting the progress his slaves are making in religious instruction, and in every matter which relates to their welfare.

“Please accept my best thanks for your kind wishes on my behalf; and wishing you the enjoyment of health and happiness,” &c. (p. 738.)

Instantly on his return to Jamaica (in February, 1832, as mentioned above), Mr. Custos Miller sent for Mr. Knibb, and had a conversation with him for two hours, in which he stated his sorrow for the demolition of the chapels, and said the island was ruined by it (p. 738).

Lord Belmore issued a proclamation about the destruction of the chapels, which was nugatory. No attempt was made to prosecute the offenders, some of them magistrates, though the missionaries in their memorial gave him the names of the whole of the magistrates and officers of militia, whom they said they could prove to have been engaged in the demolition of the chapels (p. 739).

Mr. Knibb produced to the Committee Jamaica newspapers stating

the formation of the Colonial Church Union, framed for expelling dissenters and screening the destroyers of their chapels, stating the day of meeting, the proceedings and objects of the society, and the persons, magistrates and others, by whom it was formed. Among the resolutions of one of these meetings, held at Falmouth, in Trelawney, on the 24th March 1832, and signed by the custos, James Macdonald, who was in the chair, are the following:—

“ 1st. That the representatives of this parish be instructed to support every measure that may be brought forward in the house of assembly for preventing the sectarians any longer being permitted to disseminate their dangerous tenets amongst our slave population.

“ 2d. That it appears from a mass of moral evidence, that the sect called Baptists has been most instrumental in misleading our slave population by the inculcation of doctrines teaching disobedience to their masters. As Sectarianism leads to revolution both in church and state, it behoves us to adopt means to prevent any other than duly authorised ministers of the established churches of England and Scotland from imparting religious instruction to the slaves; and in furtherance of this measure we call upon all proprietors of estates, or their attorneys, to put down all sectarian meetings on their respective properties.

“ 3d. That our magistracy should be most strongly urged to withhold, for the future, their license to sectarian ministers and their places of worship.

“ 6th. That this meeting pledges itself to operate with the other parishes in this island in the general Colonial Church Union, for the purpose of protecting our interests from the diabolical machinations of the anti-slavery party in England, and their emissaries the sectarian preachers in this island” (p. 740).

As to pulling down the chapels, the *Cornwall Courier*, edited by Mr. Dyer, a magistrate, contains the following passage:—

“ The war now may be considered at an end. The deluded victims of sectarian treachery have tried their strength, and are satisfied of their utter incapacity for warlike operations. The ease and celerity with which they have been subdued, and appalling examples, have struck a terror which will not be got the better of; and we might anticipate a long series of peace, were it not for the portentous events with which the political horizon of the parent state is overcharged. There we are to expect nothing but what the most rancorous animosity, backed by power, may inflict; but we are happy to observe that a feeling and spirit is aroused throughout the island which will enable the injured and insulted inhabitants to withstand and repel the assaults of their enemies. This has been manifested in the destruction of those dens of sedition and hypocrisy, the sectarian chapels.

“ Retribution has been inflicted in the most speedy manner, and it has been inflicted by those who had a full right to do so. Society has its rights as well as legislature. The prerogative of society is undeniable; it is at all times greater than that of legislature, which is dependent on it. Here is one of those instances where the representatives were powerless, and the people have taken it in their own hands. When we say the people, we do not mean a mob—a gang of thieves and pickpockets, such as the happy politics of England now acknowledge as their liege lords; but we mean the magistrates, vestrymen, and freeholders of the island, who have been in arms to preserve their property, and who have in open day done this thing in self-defence” (p. 741).

The *Jamaica Courant* of the 1st March, 1832, a paper universally circulated in the island, contains the following denial of the slaves owing allegiance to the crown, but only to their masters.

“ On an attentive reperusal of the governor’s opening speech to the legislature,

we are sorry to remark, that his Excellency persists in his allusions to ‘the machinations which have been employed to seduce the slaves into rebellion;’ and to talk of their *allegiance!!* and the *duty* they owe to their masters. The Earl of Belmore has been long enough in Jamaica to know that the slaves owe no allegiance, and that the contract between their owners and the government of the mother country provides only for their obedience to their masters; and we deprecate the idea of inculcating upon the Negro mind the bare supposition that the king has any control whatever over him; and we have no doubt that to the frequency with which such doctrines have been held out by the sectarians is mainly to be attributed the cause of the late rebellion” (p. 741).

Mr. Knibb had heard of instances of torture being used to extort evidence from slaves against the missionaries.

“I have,” he said, “the history of one man as he wrote it down as soon as he had been flogged, and I can produce that. I have heard of other cases; and a female told me, Miss M’Clellan, when she was taken up, she was shown the gallows, and told, if she did not tell all that Parson —— had told her, she would be hung there; and she was asked how she would like it. I do not mean to say that I have every word, but I have the substance of what she said.

“During our endeavours to collect witnesses, William —— came to a brother missionary, and told him he was smoked with fire and brimstone a long time in the gaol, because he would not implicate Mr. —— . This I was told by the attorney who was employed to obtain evidence for our defence. I know William —— ; I was in the house when he told it, but I had my own witnesses to examine” (p. 742).

He had known also an instance of a slave being flogged by his master for refusing to assist in demolishing the chapels. The man had been Mr. Knibb’s own servant for two years.

“He told me that his master requested him to go and assist to pull down the Baptist chapel; his master lives just opposite to it; that he beat him very unmercifully; that he took away fifteen flag stones, with some timber, and that these were then in his master’s kitchen. He came to beg my pardon for doing it, and I said it was not his fault. He said he was unmercifully beaten for refusing to pull down the chapel; he said this to me when I returned; he had been a servant of mine; I was rather attached to the lad, and I was desirous to purchase his freedom if I could have done it. I had heard that the boy had been there and had taken a part in it, and he came to beg my pardon, and stated that his master had made him do it.”

The following is the statement that was enclosed in the further memorial of the Baptist missionaries to Lord Belmore, dated 18th April, 1832, and which they pledged themselves to substantiate:—

“During martial law the following property in which the Baptist missionaries were entrusted was destroyed by the militia:

“A new chapel called Salter’s Hill, in St. James, just completed, was set on fire by a party of the St. James militia, under the command of F. B. Gibbs, Esq. and Captain George Gordon.

“A private house in St. James, called Pultney, rented as a place of worship, and a residence called Wellington, in Hanover, the property of Mr. Burchell, were severally burnt by the militia; and a house in Hanover, called Shepherd’s Hall, hired as a place of worship, was entered by the militia, and the pews, furniture, and pulpit therein, belonging to Mr. Burchell, were taken out and burnt.

“On the 8th of February last the Baptist chapel at Montego Bay was pulled down at noon-day, by a large mob, among whom were the following magistrates and officers of militia, most of whom were actually engaged:—

“ *Lieutenant-Colonel* William Charles Morris, *Major* John Coates, *Captains* Geo. Gordon, Wm. Mitchell Carr, John Cleghorne, Joseph Bowen, Benjamin Hampton Thorpe, *Magistrates.* *Captains* Wm. Nettleton Balme, John Thaisfe, Edmund Evans. *Lieutenants* James Gordon, Joseph Tray, Wm. Plummer, Thomas Watson, Charles Wallace Ogle, John Henry Morris, George M'Farquhar Lawson, Jun. *Adjutant*, Henry Hunter. *Ensigns* William Fowle Holt, James Coates, Wm. Gordon, Joseph Gill Jump. Alexander Campbell, Esq., Charles O'Conner, Esq., Wm. Keith, Esq., *Magistrates.* Wm. B. Popkins, *Head Constable.*

“ This outrage occurred within two hours after the *custos*, and G. M. Lawson, colonel of the St. James regiment, and a magistrate also, had been informed that it was about to take place, yet the parties met with no interruption in their proceedings.

“ The perpetrators of this act are well known at Montego Bay ; and no difficulties whatever exist in discovering the authors of the outrage.

“ The governor's proclamation of the 13th February was posted about the town of Montego Bay, but within an hour after it was torn down.

“ On the 14th of March the lodgings of Mr. Burchell, a Baptist missionary (the indictment against whom had been that day ignored), was approached by a mob, composed chiefly of white persons, for the purpose, as they said, of doing him some bodily injury ; and but for the voluntary opposition offered by private persons, all their purposes would have been effected before a magistrate came to the spot, and during the time occupied by some of the authorities in procuring affidavits of Mr. Burchell's danger, which they required, though they saw him surrounded by the mob, before they would call in a military guard. Mr. Burchell was obliged to quit the island for the preservation of his life.

“ On the night of the 12th of February the Baptist chapel at Rio Bueno was attacked and partially destroyed by the grenadier company of the Trelawney regiment, dressed in their regimentals, which was stationed at Bryan Castle estate, near that place ; and on the evening of the 18th it was burnt down.

“ On the — February the chapel at Stewart Town in Trelawney was partially pulled down by some persons, also connected with the militia.

“ The Baptist chapel at Falmouth had been occupied during martial law as barracks by the St. Ann's regiment. On the 7th of February, when that corps was about to quit the town, Mr. Isher, Mr. Gaiver, a magistrate and ensign, and Adjutant Samuel Tucker, commanded the men to break down the chapel, and themselves set the example, saying those were the orders they had received. It was completely demolished.

“ While the work of destruction was proceeding information was given to Lieutenant Thomas Tennison, of the Trelawney regiment, the officer on guard in the town. His reply was, ‘ that it was no matter whether they broke it or not ; he supposed they would set it on fire.’

“ Mr. Knibb, one of the missionaries, paid a visit to Falmouth early in March. For three successive nights his lodgings were stoned ; and he was cautioned by two respectable gentlemen against venturing out in the evening, as a party had clubbed together to tar and feather him.

“ After martial law was discontinued the horses of Mr. Knibb were taken from Falmouth by Major-General Hilton, who has till very recently retained possession of them.

“ At Lucea, on the 6th of January, Lieutenant-Colonel John Edward Payne, and Major Richard Chambers, magistrates, and Mr. Heath, the rector, went to Mr. Abbott, the Baptist missionary's residence, and stated that he had run away. Mr. Payne asked if he had any letters from Burchell, and said, ‘ the Baptists had tried to ruin them ; but, instead of that, the Baptists would be ruined themselves.’

“ Mr. Chambers opened Mrs. Abbott's desk with a false key, though he was told it was hers, and searched her letters. They locked, nailed, and sealed up

the doors and windows of the house, and used a great deal of abusive language to Miss Dixon, who had charge of his house. Mr. Heath took away Mr. Abbott's church books, which have never been returned.

"On Thursday, February 9th, in the morning, the Baptist chapel at Lucea was destroyed. The following parties were among the perpetrators of the outrage:—John B. Heath, *Rector*, D. A. Binns, Charles Younge, *Constable*.

"Mr. Alex. Campbell; of Lucea, a magistrate, was present, and did not attempt to prevent it. Mr. Heath, the rector, asked a gentleman to go with him and destroy the d—d Baptist chapel.

"Mr. Richard Chambers, on the evening of the same day, refused to exercise his authority as a magistrate when Mr. Abbott's dwelling house was violently entered by D. Binns and others, armed with hatchets, &c., for the purpose of destroying his furniture. On this occasion a respectable female, attempting to protect Mr. Abbott's property, was struck with a horsewhip by D. Binns, who threatened to push her down the steps if she did not go.

"Several dozens of wine were destroyed; and several of Mr. Abbott's books and clothes stolen.

"On Friday night, February 10th, at about ten o'clock, a number of men rushed into the chapel at St. Ann's Bay, and violently destroyed the windows, with part of the pews and benches, causing great alarm to the missionary and his wife, who were residing under the same roof. The next day that missionary brought this outrage before two of the magistrates, Messrs. Thomas Raffington and W. S. Harker, who examined several witnesses, but afforded no adequate protection. In consequence of being left without protection by those who had the military force under their command, the missionary, his wife, and infant child, were compelled to flee from their home for safety; and on the following Tuesday, in the forenoon, the whole building, comprising the chapel and residence, was pulled down, and the materials stolen. Among the parties engaged in this act were Dr. George R. Stennett, and Lieutenant Henry Cox, junior, magistrates, Captain Samuel Drake, and the head constable.

"We are informed that, on the last-mentioned day, some magistrates sent for the boxes of the missionary to the court-house, searched them, and took out sundry papers and others of their contents.

"On the 24th of February Ebenvy chapel, at Hayes Savanna, in Vere, was wilfully destroyed by fire. A day or two before, Mr. Heath, Mr. Lean Wood, a magistrate, with another person, went and broke some of the windows of the chapel, and took away the key.

"On Friday, the 6th of April, about ten o'clock at night, a mob of white men, armed with swords, pistols, muskets, and bayonets, went to Mount Charles chapel, in St. Andrews. In the way from the gate of the premises to the house they met with a poor old man (a free negro), unarmed, and fell upon him with their swords, cutting him severely in several places on his head and body, and one of them with a bayonet stabbed him in his side.

"When they got to the house they broke open the door, and fired in at it. Some of them broke the windows of the bed-room, forcing in the glass frames, and shutters with such violence that the bed on which Mrs. Baylis, (the missionary's wife) and her infant were lying was nearly covered with pieces of glass. They then fired in at each of the windows, and one of the ruffians applied a candle to one side of the room, for the purpose of setting it on fire, but it was put out. They proceeded to break the hall window, swearing the house should be down that night. Seeing the candle was out, one of them broke open the door of an outhouse, saying he wanted fire, and that he would burn down the house; but, the alarm being given, they made off.

"The chapels and places of worship at the following places have also been destroyed:—Savanna-la-Mar and Fullersfield, Westmoreland; Green Island, a hired house; Brown's Town, and Ocho Rios, St. Ann's.

"On the 10th of January nine dozens of Madeira wine, which were being

sent from Mr. Burchell's residence in Montego Bay to him on board the ship *Garland Cume*, were taken possession of by Lieutenant John Henry Morris, and have never since been restored. On the 12th the same person returned, accompanied by Mr. James Gordon, a magistrate, who said that, by order of Sir Willoughby Cotton, he came to see what quantity of wine was remaining. They went into the store, counted the wine, locked up the store, and took the key away. The key was not returned so late as the 5th of April.

"Besides the particular instances mentioned, much more of the private property of the missionaries has been destroyed or injured during and since.

"The loss of property sustained by the mission amounts to upwards of 20,000*l.* currency.

"The *Jamaica Courant* (understood to be the newspaper most extensively circulated in this island) has endeavoured, and still endeavours, with impunity, to excite the inhabitants to the commission of every species of outrage on the missionaries, recommending destruction of property, and even threatening life if they remain in the island. This paper is generally (and from the almost universal support it receives is properly) considered as the organ of the colony. Concurring in opinion with the *Jamaica Courant* and other newspapers, many of the inhabitants of this island have connected themselves in an association, under the designation of 'the Colonial Church Union,' the predominant object whereof is to procure the expulsion of all the missionaries from the island—an endeavour, in fact. 'Englishmen have the right to abide in their own country as long as they please, and not to be driven from it, unless by the sentence of the law;' and they submit that an association for such a purpose is illegal, and at variance with the whole spirit of the British constitution.

"The first place at which this Union was set on foot was St. Ann's Bay, where, on the 15th of February, after the demolition of several chapels, and the promulgation of the proclamation, the following among other resolutions was passed:

"6th. That it is expected from every member of this Union that he will lend his influence and support on all occasions to those patriots who, in behalf of the paramount laws of society, have hazarded their personal responsibility for our preservation from the murderous machinations of our enemies."

"The presidents of this meeting publicly announced are—Honourable Henry Cox, Custos of St. Ann's, major-general of the militia, and member of the House of Assembly, and James Laurence Hilton, Esquire, a magistrate of that parish, and also a major-general,—two of the authorities who are required by the proclamation to prosecute the offenders and prevent further outrages in that parish.

"In Spanish Town the Colonial Church Union for the county of Middlesex was held on the 21st of March, and the resolutions of all the parochial meetings seem to have been then recognized and amalgamated. The Honourable John Lunan, a judge of the Supreme Court of the island, custos of the precinct of St. Catherine, and member of Assembly, was appointed president of this meeting.

"It would be an endless undertaking to enumerate all the law preservers and justices of the peace who are members of this illegal and peace-disturbing Society; but the missionaries cannot omit to notice that the custodes of the several parishes of Trelawney, Manchester, and Vere have accepted the office of president in their respective parishes. In the parish of Trelawney, one magistrate, Mr. W. Dyer, publishes a newspaper called the '*Cornwall Courier*,' in which he has repeatedly urged that the missionaries should be tarred and feathered. An attempt was made, on the 7th of April, to practise this on the Wesleyan missionary at Falmouth; and in the next number of that paper this act was spoken of with approbation. Our eyes cannot be shut to the fact that William Dyer, editor, and Mr. Dyer, magistrate, are one and the same person; and it seems a little too much to expect from human nature, that what the editor recommends and applauds the magistrate will very rigidly judge or severely punish.

"Another magistrate, Joseph Hodgson, who resided within a few doors of the place where this disturbance occurred, was applied to for assistance; his reply to

the applicant was, that ‘she had better go home, they would not hurt the minister.’ These instances of the degree of sanction which some magistrates give to the acts of violence committed on the missionaries were adverted to in a letter addressed to His Excellency’s Secretary on the 14th instant” (p. 750—753).

The correspondence also which took place between the Baptist missionaries and Commodore Farquhar, who was on the Montego Bay station, was also given in evidence by Mr. Knibb. This officer had thought proper, in an address to the inhabitants of St. James, to say to them, “Gentlemen, I rejoice and do most sincerely congratulate you that this most unnatural rebellion (raised in a great measure by the fanatical preaching and teaching of the sect called Baptists) is now at an end.” The missionaries wrote to him demanding an explanation. He did not deign to reply to them. A second letter was written to him renewing the demand, and intimating that the correspondence would be laid before the Admiral and the Lords of the Admiralty. To this he replied by his secretary, that he did not hold himself responsible for any letter in the public prints which he had not ordered to be inserted; he had nothing to do with the steps the missionaries might take; and he declined all further correspondence with them (p. 757—760).

We trust the Lords of the Admiralty will teach this commodore a lesson he has not yet learnt; that even missionaries have rights as British subjects which he is bound to respect, and not to outrage, as he has most unwarrantably done.

Mr. Knibb gave further, in evidence, copies of the confessions made to him by the Negro convicts, in compliance with the request made to him by Mr. Custos Miller; and of the striking testimony in his favour by Mr. Samuel Moulton Barrett,* the brother of the Jamaica delegate to this country (p. 760—764).

There are in Jamaica many religionists among the slaves who call themselves Baptists, but who are in no degree connected with the Baptist missionaries, and whom it was not impossible that overseers, or any other ignorant persons, might confound with the missionaries and the slaves of their congregations. Mr. Knibb said he himself had a congregation of about 3000, whose contributions amounted in the year to about £600, half of that sum being contributed by free persons, and half by slaves. The contributions were quite voluntary, and were quite unconnected with admission or rejection (p. 767, 768).

Mr. Knibb was not aware that reports of cruelties to slaves were circulated in his congregation against the planters. He very seldom heard of them.

“The slaves are by no means desirous of telling acts of cruelty; they will conceal them. They feel the degradation of being flogged so much, that it is with the greatest difficulty they will tell when they have been flogged.”

He therefore thinks there were a great many such cases which he had not heard of. “Flogging is as common on the estates as eating,” p. 768.

He was led to believe that the condition of the slaves was rendered worse by the insurrection.

“In the disturbed districts they were obliged to work harder, at least as I was

* See a copy of this letter in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 101, p. 282.

informed ; I left that part of the island, for safety, as soon as I could ; but so much being destroyed, I was credibly informed that all were obliged to work harder, which is rather the natural result after so much property had been destroyed. I consider that being made to work harder is severe treatment. I was told that they were obliged to work all the Lord's day, but I did not see that" (p. 770).

The following is a copy of the affidavit of Mr. Reaburn, a magistrate, respecting one Stennett, who was suborned to inform against Mr. Burchell, and who offered, before two Montego Bay magistrates, Messrs. Reaburn and Manderson, to swear that the information he had given was false, and that he had been bribed to give it. They (the magistrates) declined receiving it, and Stennett has been committed to take his trial for the perjury.

" Personally appeared before me Thomas Reaburn, who, being duly sworn, maketh oath and saith, that he was the non-commissioned officer on guard at the court house on Wednesday the 22d instant ; that he was called upon by J. Manderson, Esquire, a justice of the peace, and requested to accompany him to the room in which Samuel Stennett and a number of prisoners were confined, as he, the said John Manderson, wished me to hear some confession that the said S. Stennett was anxious to make. That this deponent together with J. M. and S. S. went into a separate apartment, when the said S.S. was told by Mr. M. to relate what he had to say ; he then stated that he had done wrong in swearing against the Baptist parsons, as the statement therein contained was false and unjust. That this deponent then asked him what motive he could have to make this declaration, as he must be aware he would place himself in a very strange situation. He said he could not help it ; he wished to appease his conscience, or words to that effect. This deponent asked him if he had made the affidavit against Burchell and Gardner when under the influence of fear. He said no, he was induced to do so from a promise of reward, as four gentlemen (naming them) had assured him that he would be well thought of by the gentlemen, that he would be allowed ten pounds a year from the country, and that one of the said gentlemen would make the sum fifty. The said S. Stennett further stated, that he never joined the Baptist Society, as a member, until Mr. B. had left the country ; that he knew nothing of the missionaries Burchell and Gardner, and expressed his willingness to make oath to what he then stated. This deponent further saith, that he never before had any conversation with the said Samuel Stennett. So help me God. (Signed) T. Reaburn. Sworn before me this 24th February 1832. (Signed) William Ewart" (p. 771).

Mr. Knibb also delivered in a statement of all their baptized, in other words, of all their communicants ; for the baptized and communicants are identical in the Baptist churches ; amounting, at 24 different stations, to 10,838. This of course does not include enquirers (about 17,000 in number), nor persons excluded for misconduct. The number of these was 111, of whom 69 had been restored.

Mr. Knibb further stated, that on first hearing of the rebellion, he had felt the strongest desire, and made the very utmost efforts to quiet it.

" I instantly warned some of our congregation. We had a chapel to open the day before the rebellion broke out ; I rode between thirty and forty miles, and had a free person with me, of the name of Vaughan, and went among them, and stated that I understood they were going to refuse to work, and assured them they were totally mistaken about a free paper ; and I gave an address to all the people I had with me, and I sent my deacons to more than fifty properties ; and not on one single estate where I sent was there any insurrection" (p. 773).

A report having reached Falmouth, on the 4th of January, 1832, that Mr. Knibb was to be shot, the following letter was sent to him to Montego Bay by express, signed by Mr. Barrett, a proprietor of two estates, and a member of the Church of England, and two Presbyterian ministers, viz.—

“ My dear Sir,

Falmouth, 4th January, 1832.

“ It was only when we returned from Cinnamon Hill last night, that we heard of your accusation and arrest. We deeply sympathize with you and your brethren in your present trouble. We have heard this morning of apprehensions being entertained for your safety, and use the utmost haste to assure you that we are convinced you have not been either intentionally or directly guilty of creating the present insurrection. We are prepared to repair to Montego Bay and witness to this effect, and, as far as our knowledge goes, to your peaceable character as a Christian and a minister.

“ We are, dear Sir,

With most sincere feeling for your affliction,

To the Rev. William Knibb,
Montego Bay.

H. M. WADDELL.
S. M. BARRETT.
GEORGE BLYTH.”

(p. 773.)

Mr. Knibb further swore that he made it a conscientious rule never to talk with the slaves about emancipation, and being asked how he reconciled that with his feeling of the impropriety of his holding language in England which he would have thought wrong in the West Indies, he replied—

“ My duty in the West Indies was to instruct the slaves in religious matters; when in England, I am speaking to free people. It is my firm opinion that Christianity and slavery are entirely incompatible. I consider myself, when in England, justified in using any language which I consider consistent with truth, and that I am not responsible for where my language may go. In point of fact, I do consider that Christianity and slavery cannot possibly be co-existent; that is my firm conviction.”

It will be allowed by every candid reader, that the missionaries, Mr. Barry, Mr. Duncan, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Knibb, have done themselves the very highest honour by their examination in the Committees of both Houses.

7. THE REV. THOMAS COOPER.

This gentleman's evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons stands at page 365—367 of No. 104.

When Mr. Cooper was in Jamaica, prior to 1821, he did not know that there was any school of any kind in the parish of Hanover. There was, it is true, a charity school in that parish, of which the Rev. Mr. Rose, the rector, was the master, and received the salary; but during upwards of three years that Mr. Cooper lived in that parish, it was of no use to any one person in the world, but to Mr. Rose. One free brown boy may have attended the school, but not a slave. The salary was paid from the Jamaica treasury. He knew Mr. Rose

very well, and assisted him in teaching his own children, and two or three others (p. 791, 792).

All slaves not above forty are desirous of freedom, and if made free, he believes they would be a happy and useful peasantry. He never knew any other stimulus applied to obtain labour from them but coercion. All in Jamaica, planters, clergymen, and others, all conceived nothing was to be done but by the whip. The free people are industrious and make money. He had heard of money-making among the slaves only as a miracle, not as a general rule. If *masters* resisted emancipation, danger might follow, not otherwise. He had never heard of free people requiring parish relief. He considered the peasantry of this country as princes compared with the slaves (p. 795).

Planters resident in this country, he believed, knew very little of the real condition of their slaves, or they would be the first to make them free. He considered the supply of food to the slaves very inadequate (p. 796).

“The field Negro received seven or eight salt herrings in the week; at Christmas, a small supply of salt fish, by way of present; he was allowed to cultivate land on the back parts of the estate, and I believe he was not restricted with regard to the quantity of land; he had to cultivate that land on a Sunday, and on the days allowed by law, amounting to twenty-six, I think, in the year.”

The Sunday too was his own, and with that employed they might obtain enough. He did not say that they suffered in health from want of food, but they dwindled from 410 to 393 while he was there. The treatment was not more harsh than on other estates. There was no cruelty for cruelty's sake. The harshness he complained of was the every day practice. He remembered sitting at breakfast and hearing the whip going at a distance. After breakfast, a young woman came up to him and told him to look at her. She turned round, and all across she was cut in a dreadful manner, and the blood running. They were removing dung, and she could not keep up with the rest. She had no idea the driver did it out of spite; he might or he might not (p. 799).

Mr. Robert Hibbert was the owner of that estate. On Mr. C.'s return to England he paid Mr. H. a visit at his seat in the country, and reported to him the state of his Negroes. He told Mr. Hibbert that he had been invited to publish his observations on the state of slavery, and Mr. Hibbert encouraged him to do so. His mission was so far successful as to satisfy himself that slavery must give way before Christian instruction, and this he wrote to Mr. Hibbert before he left his estate. Mr. Hibbert wrote back to request him to remain on the estate, but prohibiting him from teaching the slaves to read. Finding he could be of no further use to the slaves, and that his situation had thus become a sinecure, he resigned it.

Those who wish to appreciate the value of Mr. Cooper's testimony may turn to the evidence which he gave upon it in the year 1822, soon after his return from Jamaica, and may be seen at length—and an invaluable document it is—in a pamphlet entitled “Negro Slavery; or a View of the more prominent Features of that State, and especially in Jamaica,”

fourth edition (printed for Hatchard), p. 36—55. That evidence produced a most powerful effect at the time; and was, in fact, the precursor of all the Anti-Slavery efforts which have since been made.

8. REV. JOHN THORP.

Mr. Thorp's evidence before the House of Commons' Committee may be seen at p. 370—372 of No. 104.

There were two estates in St. Thomas in the East where reading was taught to the slaves. These belonged to Sir George Rose. Letters were taught in the *Sunday* school; but the impediments were very great, as even the children had to attend their grounds on Sunday, and the same children could not attend more than once in two or three months. They had fresh slaves every Sunday. The slaves, at the same time, were very eager to receive instruction (p. 1044).

Mr. Thorp admitted it would be very desirable that ministers of the gospel should conciliate the esteem of the planters, only as far, however, as they could do so conscientiously. But the immoral lives of the planters would prevent such persons from forming any very intimate connexion with them. The connexion he formed with them was more from his situation as the curate than from any other circumstance. Were he to return to the colony again, he certainly should not visit them, even to the limited extent he did when there. His reason for entertaining that opinion was the decidedly immoral state of the planters, which he thought compromises the character of a Christian, especially of a Christian minister; they live in open and avowed concubinage. He knew of no exception on any estate whatever, except one, that of Sir Henry Fitzherbert. There was scarcely another instance of an attorney or overseer being married.

The slaves had sufficient *vegetable* food, but that is not enough for hard-working slaves. The slaves, he thinks, are overworked to the injury of health and the shortening of life, by their labour being protracted to too great length. The hours of labour by law are from five in the morning to seven at night, with intervals of two hours and a half, being eleven hours and a half of labour. The hours of labour are not from sunrise to sunset, but, by law, from five to seven; and to the night-work of crop there is no legal limit. It makes sixteen hours daily in some cases, and in others eighteen. The night labour of crop is not so laborious as cane-hole digging; but it requires not only constant attendance, but constant and brisk action, and must be very laborious. He had heard it said that the Negroes were best off in crop; but he could not say he had observed that. He thinks them overworked to the waste of life (p. 1047—1050).

The whip was always carried in the field; he never saw a gang without it. It was carried for the purpose of being used, and he has seen it used (p. 1050).

Mr. Thorp knew the case of a slave on Serge Island estate, who died, it was supposed, from excessive punishment. The coroner's jury brought in their verdict, "Died of erysipelas, accelerated by the punishment previously inflicted." The overseer, who had absconded, was indicted; but the grand jury ignored the bill.

The jurors on the coroner's inquest were neighbouring overseers (p. 1054).

Emancipation, he thought, would produce an advantageous change of system. Ploughs and cattle would be substituted for manual labour, and the establishment of whites on estates might be reduced. At present the plough was in very little use indeed (p. 1055).

He conceived there was no sort of artificer's work could be wanted in the colony to which the Negroes are not equal. Not only did the free people work in the neatest and handsomest manner, but he knew many slave carpenters who were equal to any thing, even making writing-desks and dressing-cases.

Mr. Thorp's belief was, that the slave population in Jamaica was decreasing, while the free black and coloured population were increasing.

9. THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, Esq. M. P.

Mr. Buxton was the only remaining witness on the Anti-Slavery side examined before the Committee of the House of Lords. His evidence was given at considerable length, and embraced all the variety of topics which might be supposed to have occupied the mind of so able a leader in this great cause—such as the moral debasement and the physical sufferings of the slaves; the frightful waste of human life produced by slavery; the impediments to religious instruction; the religious persecutions that had taken place; the causes and progress of the late insurrection; the cruelties of various kinds incident to slavery; the advantages of an early emancipation to masters as well as slaves, and the dangers of delaying it; together with a variety of proofs, drawn from history and experience, both of the perfect safety of such emancipation, and of the certainty of deriving, from free labour, an adequate supply of all the articles now grown by slave labour. It would be evidently impossible for us to follow Mr. Buxton over this wide field, nor is it necessary. He has it happily in his power to urge all these fruitful topics, in his place in parliament, with much more effect than we, by any abstract of ours, could impart to them. We therefore desist from the attempt, being satisfied, by the proof he has here given of his thorough mastery of the subject, that it is wholly unnecessary.

Mr. Buxton underwent a long cross-examination respecting his population tables and the inferences he had drawn from them; and it seemed clearly to appear in the result that his references were correct, and his reasonings and conclusions from the facts before him perfectly sound. This we hope, ere long, fully to establish.

In the mean time there are two observations we have to make. One is, that he has conceded too much to his opponents in admitting that the age of puberty in Negro females is as early as ten; whereas the fact is that it is not earlier than in Europe, namely, in general about fifteen. This is an extremely important fact to be kept in view in estimating the childbearing ages of the slave population.

Our second observation is this, that even if we were to admit

also, which we do not, that the partially selected returns which were made the ground of his cross-examination were fair and accurate—there would still remain one conclusive and overwhelming argument, which no ingenuity can by any possibility evade; and that is the argument drawn from the parallelism of the cases of the slave population of the United States of America and of that of the British West Indies, in that only respect on which the West Indians can for one moment rest the shadow of an apology for the destruction of human life attendant on their system. That argument we shall transcribe in the words in which it appeared in a preceding number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 100, p. 264.

“The slave trade ceased in the United States of America, and in the British West Indies, in the very same year, namely, 1808. The relative proportion of imported Africans, on which the West Indians lay so much stress as accounting for the decrease of their slaves, notwithstanding the boasted lenity of their treatment, must therefore have been nearly the same in the two cases. But have the results been the same?

“In one of our late numbers (No. 97, p. 102) we have shown that, in 1808, the slave population of the United States must have amounted to about 1,130,000, and that of the British West Indies to about 800,000.

“In 1830, after an interval of 22 years, the slaves of the United States amounted, by actual census, to 2,010,436; being an increase of 880,436, or about 80 per cent. in that time.

“It appears that, in 1830, the slaves in all the British West Indies could not exceed 695,000, being a decrease of at least 105,000 slaves in the same period of 22 years.

“Now, had the British slaves increased, during that time, at the same rate with the American slaves, their number, in 1830, instead of being only 695,000, would have been 1,423,317, making the enormous decrease, as compared with the progress of population in the United States, of 728,317, a waste of life exceeding, by nearly 5 per cent., the number of the existing population.

“A similar result would be produced by a comparison of the progress of population, among the slaves, with that of the free black and coloured classes inhabiting the same colonies. Had they even increased at the rate of the Maroons in Jamaica, the least favourably circumstanced of those classes, the 695,000 slaves of the West Indies would have grown, in 1830, to 1,240,000, or, if at the rate of the free classes in Trinidad, to 1,500,000.

“These facts constitute a charge against colonial slavery which no sophistry can elude. After every deduction which the most elaborate ingenuity can suggest, it will remain under the stigma of being one of the heaviest curses which afflicts humanity, and this independently of the unnumbered political, moral, and spiritual evils which directly flow from it. And yet here have we, with our Government, and our parliament, in this land of Christian light and liberty, been coolly deliberating for ten years (and still are deliberating) whether this curse,

inflicted by ourselves on our fellow subjects, shall be at once removed, or shall be permitted, for months or years longer, to oppress and desolate one of the fairest portions of the creation of God! How long shall we continue to endure this depressing load of conscious guilt? Let the electors, aye, let the legislators too, of the United Kingdom, see to it! THEY are now on their trial at the bar of the Most High!"

But one of the most important portions of Mr. Buxton's evidence remains still to be noticed—we mean the documentary part, which is so important that any member who shall overlook it will have made himself very imperfectly acquainted with the evidence adduced before the Lords' Committee. We must limit ourselves, however, at present, to a mere *catalogue raisonnée* of its contents,

1. A statement of the case of Hayti, from 1789 to the present time, with the causes and consequences of its revolution; drawn from authentic sources (p. 840—853).

2. Extracts from the minutes of the board of trade of Bengal, of the 7th of August, 1792, on the culture of sugar by free and slave labour (p. 856).

3. Extracts of a letter from William Fitzmaurice, Esq., on the same subject, dated Calcutta, 5th Feb. 1793 (p. 857).

4. Extracts from Dr. Roxburgh's account of the Hindoo method of cultivating the sugar cane, and of manufacturing sugar in the northern provinces of India (p. 857—860).

5. Extract from the History of Java, by Sir T. S. Raffles, published in 1817, on the culture of sugar by free labour in Java (p. 860).

6. Extracts from Remarks on the Husbandry and internal Commerce of Bengal, in 1806, relative to the Culture of Sugar (p. 861).

7. Extracts from Sir George Staunton's Account of Lord Macartney's Embassy to China in 1793, on the Culture of Sugar in Cochin China and China (p. 863).

8. Extracts from M. de Guigne's Voyages to Peking, Manilla, &c., 1784 to 1801, on the Culture of Sugar in China (p. 862).

9. Extracts from Mr. Abel's Narrative of a Journey in the interior of China in 1816 and 1817, on the Culture of Sugar in China (p. 862).

10. Extracts from Barrow's Travels in China, on the Culture of Sugar there (p. 863).

11. Extracts from Crawford's History of the Indian Archipelago in 1820, on the culture of sugar there by free labour (p. 865).

12. Extracts from Mr. Botham's evidence before the Privy Council in 1789, on the enquiry relative to the slave trade; being on the culture of sugar, both by free and by slave labour (p. 867).

13. Extracts from the evidence taken before a Committee of the House of Commons, engaged in enquiring into the trade of India, showing the state of the sugar trade at Calcutta in the years 1828 and 1829 (p. 869).

14. Statement by T. F. Buxton, Esq., of the decrease of the slave population of the sugar colonies, drawn from official returns (p. 872—881).

15. Reply to the West Indian explanations of the decrease of the slave population in the British sugar colonies (p. 891—893).

16. Correspondence of Viscount Goderich with the Bishop of Jamaica, and the Bishop's reply of the 29th August, 1831, on the state of religion in Jamaica and its dependencies (p. 896—900).

17. The case of Mr. Custos Jackson and his wife, respecting their treatment of two female slaves, as contained in a despatch of Viscount Goderich of the 1st November, 1831 (p. 905—908).

18. An account of the complete enfranchisement of the forfeited Africans, and of the slaves belonging to the Crown in all the colonies, as drawn from official and parliamentary documents (p. 921—924).

19. The history and the effects of emancipation in the case of Guadaloupe, as drawn from authentic sources, and accompanied by official documents (p. 924—929).

20. An account of the emancipation of slaves, and of the culture of sugar by free labour, in Mexico, drawn from the official correspondence of Mr. Ward, the Mexican envoy, with Mr. Canning, and from Mr. Ward's work on Mexico (p. 929, 930).

21. The case of the emancipation of slaves in Columbia, from authentic sources (p. 930, 931).

22. The case of the Maroons in Jamaica, with official statements of the progress of population among them, as compared with the surrounding slave population (p. 931—934).

23. The question of the tendency of emancipation to produce pauperism, as it appears in official West Indian returns, considered (p. 934—936).

24. Comparative view of the progress of the slave and of the free black and coloured population, in the island of Trinidad, as far as it can be ascertained from official documents (p. 936—938).

25. A view of the state of free labour and its advantages, in the Island of Trinidad, drawn from official returns (p. 938—940).

26. A view of the progress of the free coloured population in the colonies of Antigua, Barbadoes, Demerara, Grenada, St. Lucia, and Mauritius, drawn also from official returns (p. 940, 941).

27. An account of the receipts and disbursements of the Anti-Slavery Society from its commencement in 1823, to the end of 1831 (p. 949—956).

We have now finished our task of analysing the bulky volumes which contain the evidence on colonial slavery taken in the last session of parliament, by the committees of both houses. And, in bringing our labours to a close, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of again congratulating our friends, throughout the United Kingdom, on the results of the enquiry—results which we cannot but regard as most triumphant.

At the close of our last number we did not hesitate to express our entire conviction that the abolitionists had established their case in evidence. We do so

on the present occasion, if possible, with a still more undoubting confidence. It has been proved, with the clearness of demonstration, that colonial slavery may be abolished forthwith, to the unspeakable advantage of the suffering slave, and without danger either to the public peace or to the persons or property of the master. What motive, therefore, can exist for any further delay? What course can now remain for a Christian Government and a Christian Parliament to take, but to pronounce its immediate and entire extinction, accompanying the measure by such wise and just precautions as may obviate the alarms of the most timid?

We put these questions at the close of our last number. Since we uttered them, parliament has assembled, and our position is somewhat changed by what has taken place there. In reply to Mr. Buxton, who had given notice of a motion for abolishing slavery, unless government should take the matter into their own hands, Lord Althorp stated that it *was* their intention so to do, and that he should bring before the House, as soon as it was matured, a measure which he trusted would be both *SAFE* and *SATISFACTORY*.

Of the details of this measure we can of course know nothing; but we hail the announcement of it with unfeigned delight; and with heart-felt gratitude to the great Disposer of all events for this cheering indication of his favour.

It would argue an utter ignorance of the frank and manly character of Lord Althorp to entertain the smallest doubt as to the sincerity with which this pledge has been given, and as to its entire accordance with the purposes of His Majesty's government. We therefore await the fuller developement of the proposed plan with confidence, indeed, but yet with intense anxiety. And this we apprehend is the feeling of the whole nation. They are looking forward, in a state of breathless expectation, for the result; and we trust that they will not be disappointed of their hope. The opponents of emancipation, we are well aware, will not be inactive. They are skilled in the mechanism of unfounded alarms, and no artifice will be spared to create such alarms. Only therefore let us be vigilant, watching with calmness the course of events, but prepared at a moment's notice to act with energy and decision; and then we need not doubt that the irreversible decree shall ere long go forth, which shall for ever efface this stain from the national character, and give liberty to the now prostrate slave in every corner of His Majesty's dominions. May God Almighty fulfil that expectation!

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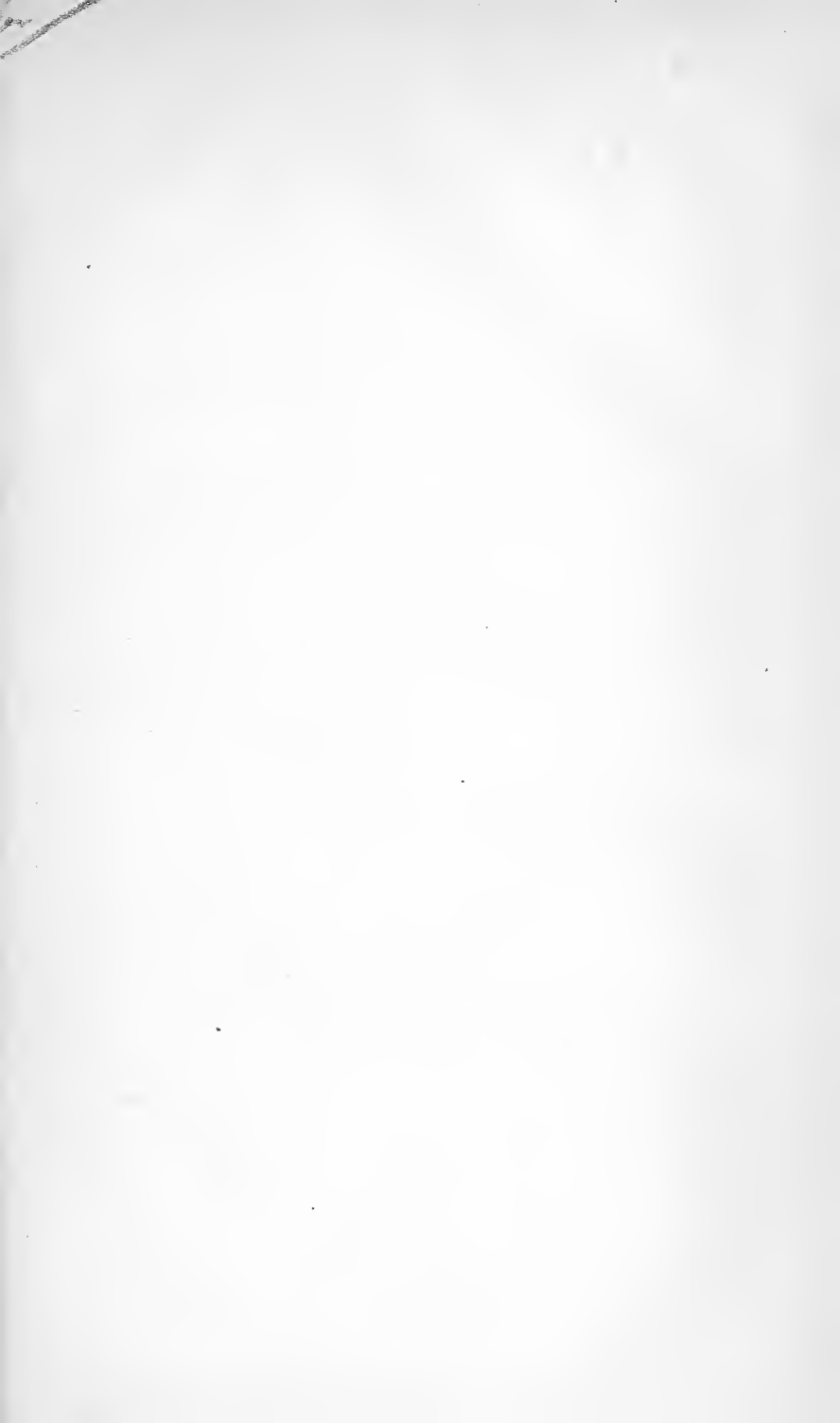
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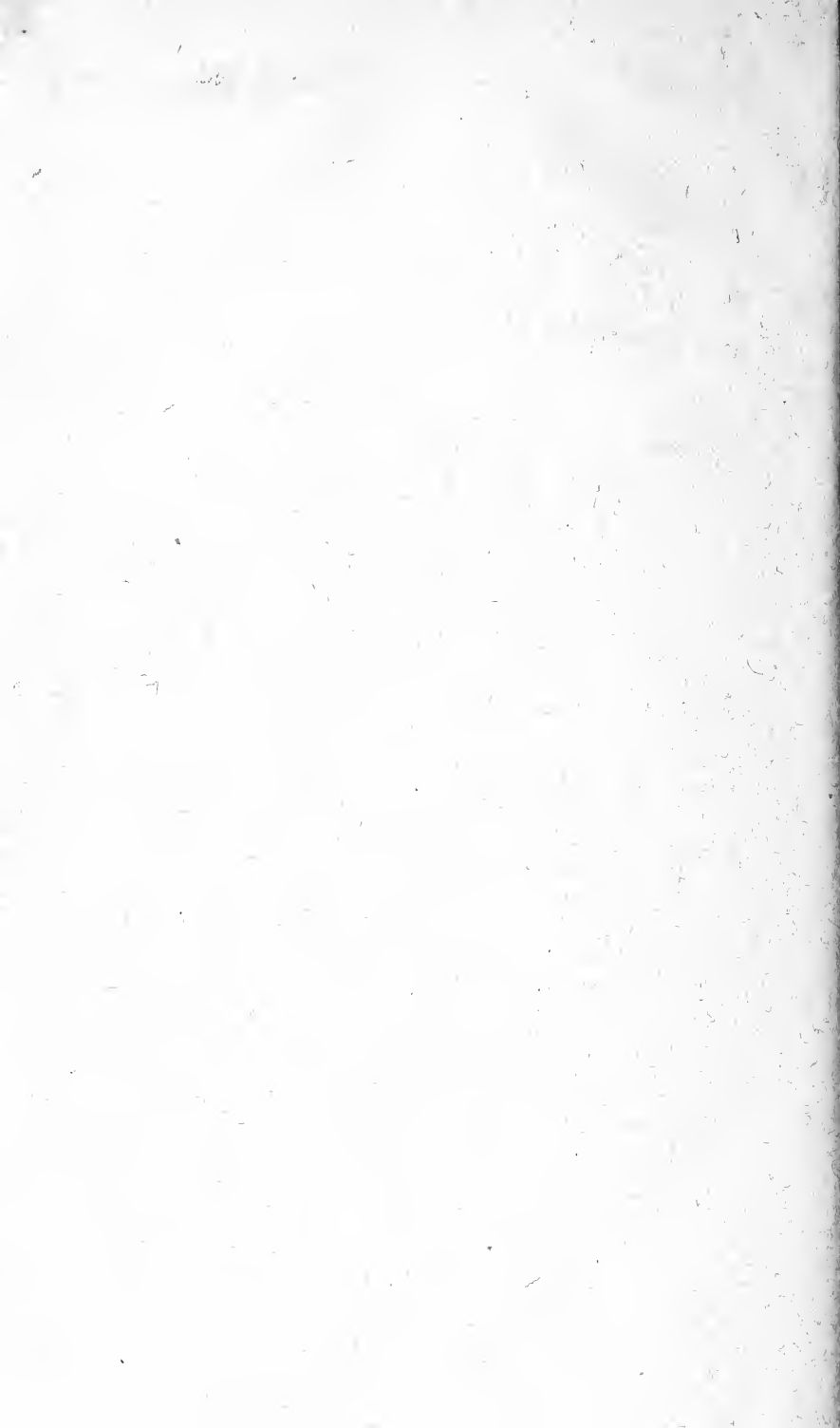
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