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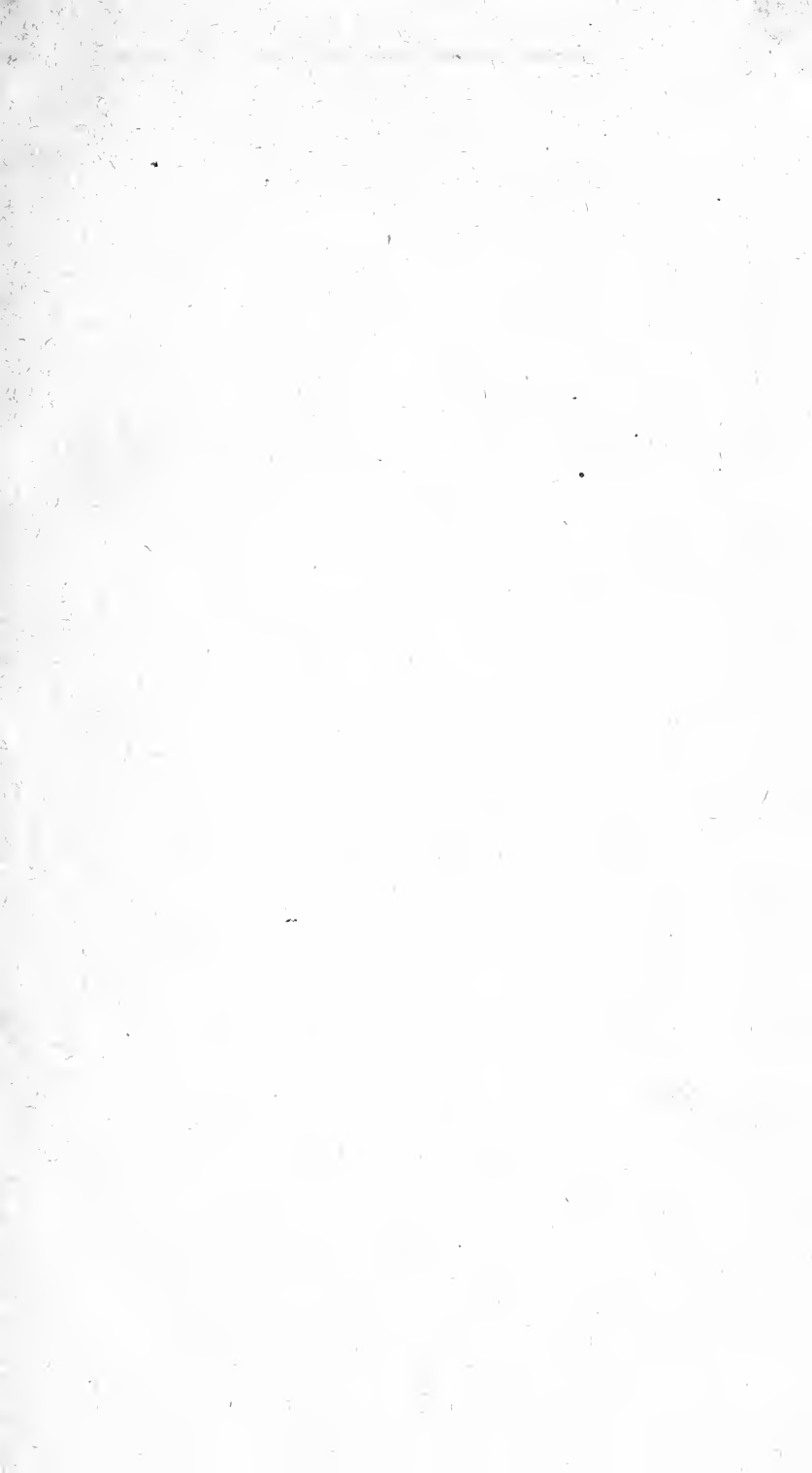
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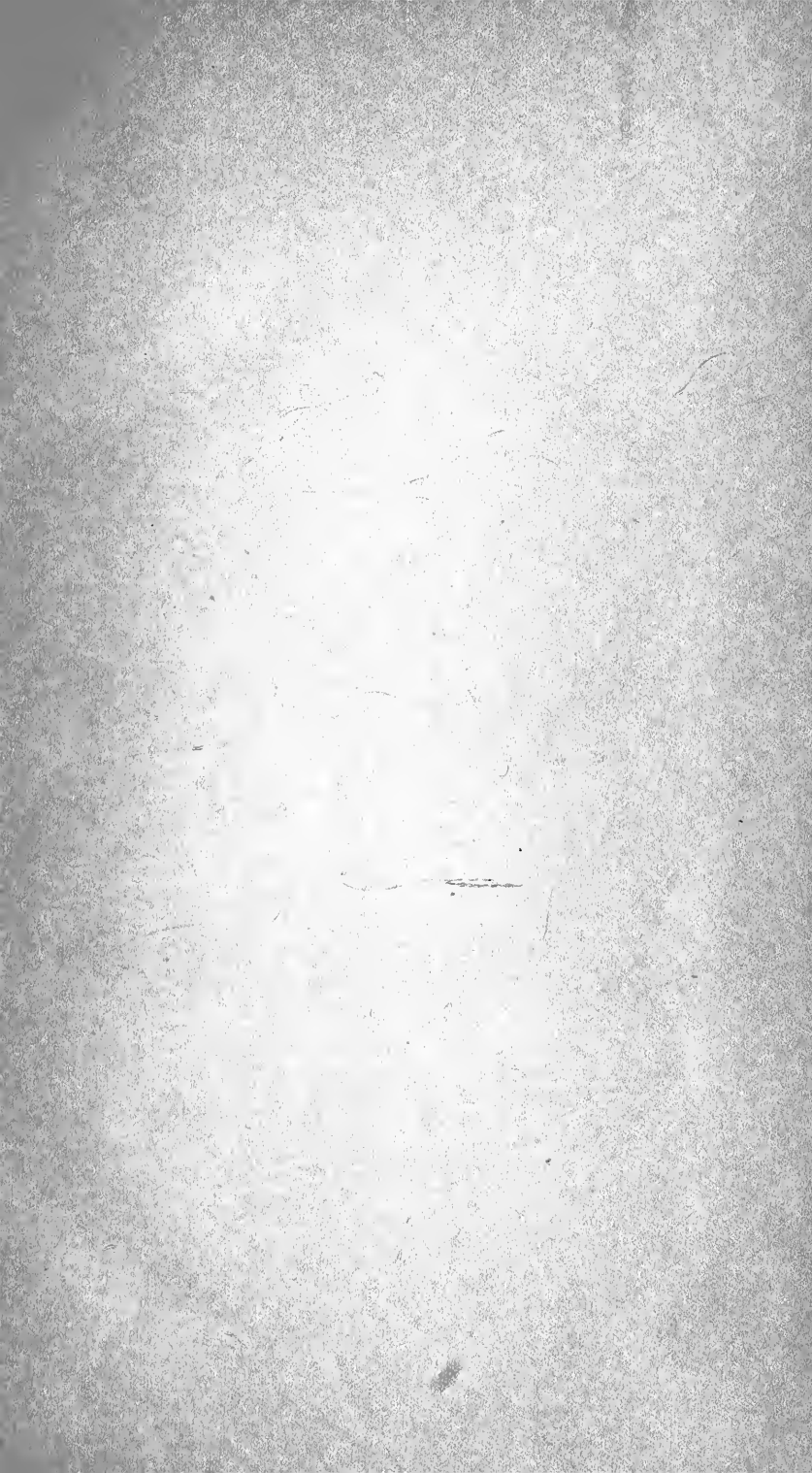
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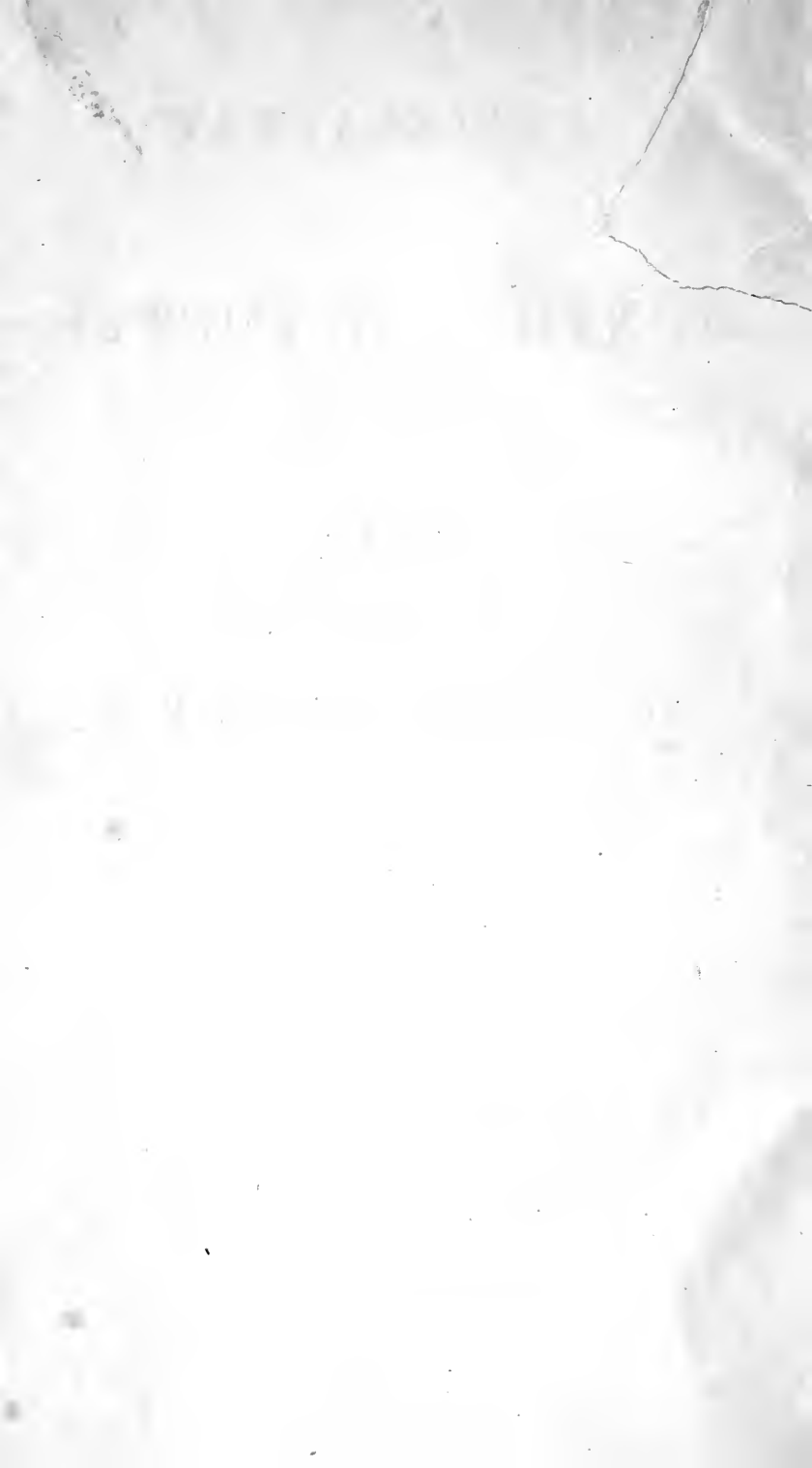




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ANTI-SLAVERY
MONTHLY REPORTER.

VOL. IV.



ANTI-SLAVERY

MONTHLY REPORTER.

VOLUME IV.

Commencing January 1831, and ending December 1831.

LONDON :

PRINTED FOR THE LONDON SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY
THROUGHOUT THE BRITISH DOMINIONS.

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

M.DCCC.XXXII.

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Wendell Phillips

July 22, 1882

LONDON:

PRINTED BY SAMUEL BAGSTER, JUN.

14, Bartholomew Close.

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NOTICE

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THE
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 73.]

JANUARY 1, 1831.

[Vol. iv. No. 1.

FARTHER CORRESPONDENCE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, SIR GEORGE MURRAY, WITH THE GOVERNORS OF THE SLAVE COLONIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, viz:—1. *Jamaica*; 2. *Bahamas*; 3. *St. Christophers*; 4. *St. Vincent*; 5. *Tobago*; 6. *Crown Colonies generally*; 7. *Mauritius*.

WE have already referred in No. 71 (p. 496), and No. 72 (p. 505), to a volume laid on the table of the House of Commons by Sir George Murray, on the 16th July, 1830, numbered 676, but which has been only recently made public. It is entitled “Papers presented to Parliament by his Majesty’s Command, in explanation of the Measures adopted by his Majesty’s Government, for the Melioration of the Condition of the Slave Population in his Majesty’s Possessions in the West Indies, on the Continent of South America, and at the Mauritius, in continuation of the Papers presented in the year 1829, No. 333.” We proceed to give an abstract of them in the order in which they stand.

1. *Jamaica*.

A letter from Lord Belmore, dated 20th Dec. 1829, transmits a copy of the new Jamaica Slave Code, to which his Lordship, contrary, it seems, to his instructions, had given his assent, without appearing to have been conscious that in doing so he was guilty of a dereliction of his public duty. He laments, indeed, one clause in the Bill, and one only, which he says creates an invidious distinction between sectarians and ministers of the established church; but he seems to have entirely forgotten that he had been absolutely prohibited from assenting to any law already disallowed by his Majesty, or from passing any persecuting enactment whatever without a suspending clause. Now this act of 1829 was nearly the same act, and it embodied the same persecuting clauses contained in that of 1826, which had been disallowed by Mr. Huskisson, and in that of 1827, to which, under the express orders of the Government, Sir John Keane, then Governor, had refused his assent. “As the bill,” his Lordship says, “upon the whole, is certainly more favourable to the Slave than that of 1826, I could not feel myself justified in refusing my assent to it.”

We have carefully collated the two acts, and we venture to say, that it would greatly puzzle Lord Belmore to state a single substantial amelioration in that of 1829, as compared with that of 1826, while we could specify more than one deterioration. But both laws being defunct, we need not waste time in analyzing them; and as to the course pursued by the Noble Lord, the necessity of any remark of ours upon his conduct, is precluded by the masterly despatch of Sir G. Murray, which exhibits a perfect model of calm, firm, and dignified reproof.

“ In referring,” he says, “ to your Lordship’s general instructions under the signet and sign manual, accompanying your commission under the great seal, you will perceive that, in the article numbered 12, you are required not to re-enact any law to which his Majesty’s assent has once been refused, without express leave for that purpose first obtained. In the instructions addressed by the Earl of Liverpool to the Duke of Manchester, of the 19th March, 1810, and in Mr. Huskisson’s instructions to Sir John Keane, of the 22d Sept. 1827, and the 22d March, 1828, it was required, that all laws restraining the liberty of religious worship should be passed with a suspending clause. In the present case, the second of these rules has not been strictly observed; and *the first has been disregarded altogether*. Although the Ministers of the Crown have not thought it right to advise his Majesty to decide upon an act of so much importance as the present, with reference to any consideration foreign to the real merits of the law itself; yet I cannot omit to observe, that the standing instructions under which you act will, in general, be your best and most secure guide in the administration of the government of Jamaica.”

After referring to the correspondence which had already passed on the part of Mr. Huskisson, and afterwards of himself, with the Colonial Government, he expresses the extent of his disappointment and regret to find the obnoxious clauses of the act of 1826 renewed. In the act of 1829, he says, “ I have found one amendment, the value of which I am happy to acknowledge. It consists in the rejection of the preamble to the clause respecting the contribution of Slaves for religious objects. The legislature have obviously felt, and have wisely though tacitly acknowledged, the inexpediency of giving the weight of their authority to imputations affecting indiscriminately the character of the whole body of dissenting teachers in the island.”* “ The same comparison, however, has disclosed the fact, that the restrictions of the present law are in no respect less rigorous, and that, in one important particular, they are decidedly more severe than that of the act which has already been disallowed. Under the act of 1826, members of the Presbyterian Kirk, or licensed ministers, were permitted to perform divine worship at any time before the hour of eight o’clock in the evening, at any licensed place of worship; and the religious worship of the Roman Catholics and Jews was not restricted by any limitation as to the time of the day at which it might take place. The act of 1829 would entirely abolish these privileges.”†

* The words omitted are the following: “ And whereas under pretence of offerings and contributions, large sums of money and other chattels have been extorted by designing men professing to be teachers of religion, practising on the ignorance and superstition of the Negroes in this Island, to their great loss and impoverishment,” &c. But though this calumnious preamble is omitted, the enactment itself, prohibiting all such contributions, stands in undiminished vigour. And this is the single *amendment* which Sir George Murray has specified as having been noted by him on the collation of this act with that of 1826.

† The act of 1829 enacts, that all assembling of Slaves or other persons for religious purposes “ between sunset and sunrise, shall be held and deemed unlawful, and any minister or other person professing to be a teacher of religion,

“The question upon which the Ministers of the Crown have been called to advise his Majesty is, whether enactments will now be assented to, which, little more than two years ago, his Majesty was pleased to disallow, these enactments having now acquired additional rigour, and being therefore more distinctly within the reach of the same objections. In considering the question, it has not been thought an immaterial circumstance, that a bill, exactly corresponding with the first act, was passed by the Council and Assembly in 1827, and was rejected by the officer administering the government of the Colony, *whose conduct in that respect was entirely approved. The present is therefore the third attempt which has been made in the course of three years to introduce the law respecting religious worship in opposition to the most distinct and repeated expression of his Majesty's disapprobation of the principles on which it proceeds.*”—If this be not contumacy, we know not what can be so designated. “It would be impossible,” adds the Secretary of State, “without a total sacrifice of consistency, to sanction the measure under such circumstances!!” The act is therefore disallowed.*

Some soothing and complimentary expressions follow respecting the benefits that would have accrued to the Slaves from other provisions of the disallowed act; which, nevertheless, it is remarked, do, “in many important respects, fall short of the measures which his Majesty has introduced into the Colonies which are subject to his legislative authority in his Privy Council.” What the benefits here spoken of are, we confess ourselves utterly at a loss to discover. The variations in that act from the act of 1816, may be demonstrated to be improvements in appearance only, and not in reality.

Before we quit Jamaica, however, we must advert to a curious episode to the main action of the drama. Lord Belmore informs Sir G. Murray, that the following extract of a letter from the Island agent, Mr. George Hibbert, dated 4th Feb. 1829, had been read in the Assembly during the discussion on the persecuting clauses, and decided the members to pass those clauses: “Sir George Murray declared to me his great concern and disappointment, that after exerting his utmost endeavours to open the door to a settlement (without any painful sacrifice to either party,) of existing differences between the Government at home and our Jamaica Legislature, he should have been met by our Assembly with such an unbending spirit, as to be satisfied with nothing less than a submission on the part of Government too dis-

ministers of the established church excepted,” acting contrary to this act, shall forfeit not less than £20 or more than £50, for each offence, or in default of payment, be imprisoned in the common gaol for one month.

* The reasons given by the Privy Council for the disallowance of this act are, that “it contains certain provisions respecting religious worship, and respecting contributions made by Slaves,” which were contained in a former act, that of 1826, formerly disallowed, and because the Governor, “by the instructions accompanying his commission under the great seal of 20th Nov. 1828, is required not to re-enact any law to which the Royal assent had been refused, without express leave for that purpose first obtained, on a full representation of the reasons and necessity of re-enacting such law.”

graceful to be borne. A very slight amendment of the Slave Bill would (he said) have been quite sufficient, and have served rather as a pretext for passing it than as a removal of all that has been objected to against the act of 1826."

In reply to this extraordinary communication, Sir G. Murray, in a letter dated 8th April 1830, observes, "It can scarcely be necessary that I should disavow the use of any such expressions as Mr. Hibbert has attributed to me. My respect for that gentleman's character compels me to believe that he made the statement under the influence of no improper motive, although under a total and extraordinary misconception of what I really said. I cannot forbear to express my regret and surprise that any gentleman in the House of Assembly at Jamaica should have attached the slightest credit to such a report, or should have thought me capable of contradicting, in a private conversation with the Island Agent, the tenor of my public despatches to your Lordship. It cannot be too distinctly explained that the views of His Majesty's Government, on questions connected with the interests of Jamaica, are to be learnt through no other channel than that of the Governor of the Colony. The importance of firmly maintaining this distinction, could not be more strongly illustrated by any case than the present, in which (through some strange misunderstanding of my expressions,) I have been represented by Mr. Hibbert as desiring to compromise the great and immutable principles of religious toleration, by having recourse to some subtle and insignificant verbal distinction. Such a subterfuge would ill become any one whom His Majesty had been pleased to call to a share in his councils."

This is a strain of upright and manly sentiment which will not be very intelligible to those who have long breathed the moral atmosphere of Jamaica.

2. *Bahamas.*

We have from the Bahamas a new slave code, dated in January 1830, which is really nothing more than the renewal, in a somewhat diversified order, of the wordy and worthless enactments of 1824 and 1826, the barbarousness and inefficiency of which we have already exposed.* No exposure, however, could be more effectual than that contained in a despatch of Mr. Huskisson to the Governor, dated 5th March 1828. The legislature was at length driven, by that despatch, to correct a few of the more barbarous of the former provisions, especially in what related to free persons of colour, whom former acts had degraded almost to the level of the slave. The Governor, Sir J. C. Smyth, also states, that the new act has removed *many* of the former restrictions on slave evidence. But we cannot find that more than two or three trifling changes of no moment are introduced. The remaining restrictions are quite sufficient to justify the application of Mr. Huskis-

* See Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 4—11. Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 6, p. 50; No. 11, p. 151; No. 21, p. 307; No. 28, p. 80; No. 31, p. 150; and No. 43, p. 345.

son's former opinion in his despatch of March 5th, 1828, to the present law: "On the subject of evidence, the general principle *seems* to be recognised that the servile condition of a witness does not prevent the admission of his testimony. But the rule would appear to be *almost wholly lost* in the variety of the subsequent exceptions." It is, in fact, *wholly* lost.

The Governor, as is usual in the speeches of Governors, praises the legislature for what they have done, though that is next to nothing; and holds out hopes that in a session or two something will be done more effectual. His despatch, however, betrays an important secret of colonial misrepresentation, which is chiefly of use in establishing, by further evidence, the fallacy of those tales of accumulations of property by slaves, by which the British public have been long deluded. He states that the new act has done away with the commission it had proposed to charge on the money of slaves lodged in Savings' banks, and to grant them interest upon it at the rate of 6 per cent., in compliance with Mr. Huskisson's suggestion. (They are ready enough to comply, where nothing is gained to the slave by compliance.) But the Governor, not well aware of what he was doing, and what a fabric of falsehood he was destroying,* tells the Secretary of State, "On this head it is proper that I should explain that both the former charge of commission and the present interest are *equally imaginary*. A saving bank is established by law, but not one farthing has ever been paid into it. What *little* money" (little indeed!) "is possessed by slaves, is invariably laid out again in fowls and vegetables, which they sell again to the shipping. The saving bank may *hereafter* be useful, but as more money is to be made by the little traffic I have explained, the saving bank, whether charging or granting interest, has hitherto been equally neglected." Whence this farce of a saving bank for slaves first sprung it is not easy to imagine. It doubtless arose from those mendacious tales of the wealth of slaves which, for forty years, colonial witnesses have been repeating in the face of all truth and all probability. Slaves, it is true, have sometimes amassed a little money, but it has only been in the case of head slaves, either drivers or mechanics, or of women earning the wages of prostitution, and saving wherewith to redeem themselves; and seldom, if ever, in the case of field slaves who form the mass of the slave population.

3. *St. Christophers.*

From this island there is nothing reported in the way of improvement. We have, however, a speech of the Governor's, lauding the steps taken by the legislature, the real character of which may be seen in our Reporter, No. 38; and expressing a hope that their future proceedings will give a triumphant refutation to the *calumnies* put forth against them. What then are those *calumnies* of which the Governor complains? Do they refer to the case of Lord Romney's slave, Betto Douglas? (No. 25.) Or do they refer to a passage in a former despatch of his, quoted by us, No. 29, p. 112, in which he laments that the legislature

* See Stephen's Delineation, vol. ii. p. 330, &c.

had refused to appoint a guardian of slaves; "as I feel convinced that without some provision of the kind the slaves will not have the protection and support to which their forlorn situation so justly entitles them?" Or if our review of their late act (see No. 38, p. 270—276,) be referred to, we should be glad to know wherein that review departs from the strictest truth. Will it be denied that the following cruel, oppressive, and barbarous enactments are still in force, viz. Act of 1711, § 4, 8, 9, 10; Act of 1722, § 6, 8, 13, 18; and Acts of 1759 and 1790; or that the miserable pittance of food and clothing assigned to the slave, and the severity of labour exacted from him, are still the same as fixed in the Act of 1798, § 1 and § 10? The calumny alluded to must have been gross to exceed the enormity of these and other enactments of this bepraised colony, the assembly of which, on the 22d October 1829, scruple not to tell their Governor, that "on the subject of the amelioration of the slave population" "they presume to think that no specific matter remains for their consideration."--- What, not although the allowance of food to working slaves in St. Christophers is not half of what is allowed to runaway slaves imprisoned in Jamaica; and although the quantity of labour the master may exact by law extends to fifteen or sixteen hours a day, on the average of the whole year? These facts will be found demonstrated beyond the possibility of denial in the second volume of Mr. Stephen's *Delimitation of Slavery*, just published, chapters iv. v. and viii. In the appendix to that work, p. 442, may also be found a dreadful case of murderous and unpunished cruelty, proceeding, for years, in St. Christophers, and only now dragged to light.

4. *St. Vincent.*

Sir G. Murray, in reference to the ninth clause of the Slave Code of this island, passed in December 1825, by which the Sunday markets were ordered to terminate at ten o'clock in the forenoon, says, he understands that this law is wholly disregarded, and in practice absolutely nugatory; and he requests the governor, Sir C. Brisbane, to inform him what the fact really is. The reply of Sir C. Brisbane is very instructive, and throws so much light on the real nature of pretended colonial reform, and on the colonial prejudice and partizanship of at least some colonial governors, that we shall give it entire. It is dated the 22d of May, 1829.

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, dated the 2nd of April, 1829, relating to the Sunday markets. It is certainly true that the efforts of the legislature have not been able hitherto to put down this irregular proceeding; and such are the inveterate habits of the negroes, arising from a long customary enjoyment (as it is estimated by them) of marketing on Sunday, that nothing but absolute force will remedy the evil at present complained of. The slaves consider the abolition of this privilege as one of the greatest hardships imposed on them; and I am of opinion that hitherto no moral improvement, or more strict observance of the Sabbath has taken place in consequence. The prices of provisions also are increased to the great injury of domestic and other slaves in Kingstown, who rely upon the market for subsistence. Until the negroes shall have ac-

quired a sufficient degree of religion to induce them to observe the Sabbath from a principle of morality, they will not give up their habits of trafficking on Sundays. I have, however, endeavoured to remedy the evil as far as I can by issuing most peremptory orders to the clerk of the market, the chief constable, and all others under him, to carry the law into complete effect."

On several occasions we have dwelt at great length on the unjust and oppressive policy pursued by the colonial legislatures respecting Sunday markets, a policy for which they have too ready a sanction in the unaccountable course adopted on the same subject, in the Orders in Council for the Crown colonies. We will repeat now what we said in the Reporter, No. 52, p. 67, when treating of the Act of Grenada, to prevent holding markets on Sunday. It contains no provision whatever by which the act can be made to contribute in the very slightest degree to the amelioration of the condition of the slaves. They can no longer attend Sunday markets; but no legal provision is made for their being able to attend them on any other day. No other day is given to them; nor are they on any other day protected by law from being seized and sold for their master's debts, which would inevitably follow, in a great majority of cases, from travelling to market on any day but Sunday. To the slave, therefore, without some law which shall appropriate a certain day to his use, and which shall protect him on that day from arrest for his master's debts, the pretended amelioration of either abolishing or restricting Sunday markets is a positive injury instead of a benefit. It is an act of cruel oppression superadded to all his other wrongs.

This truth has been repeated in the pages of the Reporter, whenever the same unjust course has been pursued in the legislation either of the crown or of the chartered colonies. It is impossible therefore that it should not have attracted notice, and that all parties concerned should not be fully aware that the only effectual remedy which can be applied to the evil of a public market on Sunday is not only to fix, by law, another day for it, but, by law also, to give that day to the slave, and to protect him, during its course, from being seized and sold for his master's debts.

The legislature of St. Vincents was perfectly aware of this, and yet they affect to abolish Sunday markets without a single provision to render such abolition practicable. Doubtless the slaves consider this a great hardship, and so it is. And Sir Charles Brisbane though equally aware of the fact, insults the common sense of Parliament and of the Secretary of State, by saying "*that nothing but absolute force will remedy the evil at present complained of.*" What is this but a complete misapprehension, at least, of the real nature of the case? Is not then the remedy we have proposed practicable? Has it ever been tried and found to fail? Has the slightest rational attempt been made by this governor, or by the St. Vincent legislature, to facilitate their own professed intention to abolish Sunday markets? And yet Sir C. Brisbane, offering his counsel on this subject to the Crown, to whom he is bound to give faithful counsel, tells the Secretary of State that "**NOTHING** but absolute force will remedy the evil at present complained of;" al-

though he might know that a better and more effectual remedy, one too in perfect accordance with the views of his sovereign and of parliament, and one unattended with oppression and cruelty to the slave, is in the power of the legislature over which he presides; and on this he is nevertheless not only silent in his intercourse with that legislature; but, in his communications to the minister of the crown, virtually denies that any such remedy is to be found. It would be difficult for us adequately to convey our impression of such conduct.

But this is not the only complaint we have to make of Sir C. Brisbane as to the discharge of his high functions. He now informs the Secretary of State of the impossibility which has been experienced of preserving the sabbath from desecration by the slaves. But in a letter of his dated only six months earlier, viz. 26th November 1828, he makes to Sir G. Murray the following statement, a statement which we scrupled not at the time to affirm to be wholly at war with fact, (See No. 52, p. 75.) “In St. Vincent, I can *testify*, and *truly declare*, that Sunday is, in the fullest sense of the expression, a day of rest, and that the slaves are as completely exempt as they can be from compulsory labour on that day. No such thing is known, nor do the masters so rigidly exact the labour of the slaves on the other six days as to render labour, on their part, necessary for affording the means of subsistence.” In the passage above referred to, (No. 52,) we produced decisive proof that this statement was incorrect. Accordingly, when Sir G. Murray, who appears to have learnt from some other quarter the real state of the case, in his letter of the 2nd April, 1829, calls on the governor for a specific report on the subject, the Governor is forced to give a flat contradiction to his former statement, by shewing that the slaves were compelled to traffic on Sunday, no other time being given them; and he paints the desecration of the Sunday, as an evil incurable except by absolute force, in as vivid colours as he formerly described its repose. Contrast his two letters with each other. Both cannot be true. In fact neither is true. He seems in the first case to deny the fact of the desecration of Sunday, lest it should be supposed the planters did not give full time to the slaves both to go to market, and to labour for their subsistence during the week. And when the real facts came to Sir G. Murray’s knowledge, and he is questioned upon them, then he admits what he before denied, and throws all the blame on the slaves, whose inveterate attachment to Sunday markets prevents the pious wishes of the planters from being carried into effect; whereas he should have pointed out to the displeasure of the crown and of the country, the irreligious, sordid, and contumacious spirit of the planters which had refused to appropriate to the slaves any other time for marketing than the Sunday, of which they had been deprived. The Rev. Mr. Holberton, then officiating as a clergyman in St. Vincent, complains that he cannot obtain an attendance of the slaves on Sunday, until “their obligation to cultivate their lands on the sabbath ceases,” which obligation he affirms to exist on all but one or two estates, where a day in lieu of Sunday is given. Now whom are we to believe; Mr. Holberton who makes this statement; or Sir C. Brisbane, who having first “*testified and truly declared*”

that Sunday in St. Vincent was “*in the fullest sense of the expression a day of rest,*” shortly after stultifies his own testimony, by admitting its constant and notorious desecration, even in the chief town of the island, attributing it entirely to the irreligion and immorality of the slaves, when he might have known that it was absolutely forced upon them by the irreligion, immorality, and cupidity of their masters?

We are sorry to detain our readers with these details and reasonings. They are essential to the right understanding of the enormities of this slave system, which is bottomed in crime and injustice, and can only be supported by delusive representations on the part of those who live by it. The artful disguises which are used to veil this mass of iniquity from the public view must be stripped off, and it can only be done effectually by such minute examinations as we have now instituted.

There is, also, in these papers, a letter of Sir George Murray, dated 3d September, 1829, disallowing an act of the legislature of St. Vincent, on Slave Evidence. We can only infer the nature of that act from the just and able comments of the Right Honourable Secretary. The law, he says, has been disallowed, “because it introduces a distinction between the competency of (slave) witnesses, with reference to the free or servile condition of the person upon the trial of whom their evidence may be tendered. If the party accused be a freeman, then the certificate of a religious teacher, that the slave is adequately instructed to understand the nature and obligation of an oath is required; but if the accused party be a slave, then this condition is dispensed with. There is, however, no valid ground for this distinction. If the legislature should deem it right to dispense with certificates of this nature in all cases, his Majesty will be advised to sanction a law of that nature, but the rule which creates the necessity of producing such certificates must either be maintained in all cases, or abolished in all.” What an impression of the unfitness of the planters for the office of legislators does such a circumstance convey! The slaves seem far more fit for freedom than the masters are for legislation.

5. Tobago.

The Governor of this island, Colonel Blackwell,* has transmitted a new slave act, passed in August 1829, in a letter dated the 23rd of that month, in which he says, “This Act, I have much satisfaction in thinking, embraces nearly all the principal points recommended by his Majesty’s Government—and in as far as unrestricted slave evidence; trial by jury, under every circumstance of a criminal nature, similar to persons of free condition; with the full means of acquiring every kind of property, or disposing of it, has surpassed them. The *only* clause of any consequence, differing from the draft of the Bill I had the honour to forward to you on the 30th May last, which has been thrown out, is that of carrying the whip into the field; and here I have to observe, that I may assure you even this measure will be completely neutralized, since I have the pledge of two gentlemen, who are the attorneys of the greater part of the estates in this island, that it is their intention immediately to order a discontinuance of the practice upon

* See No. 29, p. 113.

all the estates over which they hold a charge; and from the influence which these gentlemen possess throughout the island, I can have little hesitation in giving it as my opinion, that the period is not far distant when the whip in the field will fall into total disuse.”—“ I am bound to represent the extremely liberal feeling which very generally exists throughout the island in favour of the slave population, and which has been further called into action from the uniform, peaceable, respectful, and orderly conduct of the slaves themselves. Indeed, crime of any magnitude is seldom heard of; and that cruelty or *unnecessary* oppression does not exist, can be better proved from the circumstance of having laid myself out to listen to the complaints of all slaves conceiving themselves to be aggrieved; and that no one instance of complaint has come before me for the last six or eight months.”

Now it is really too large a demand on the credulity, either of Sir George Murray, or the British public, for this gentleman to substitute the pledge of intention on the part of two planting attorneys, for the provisions of a law duly sanctioned, as a security for the backs of 13,000 of his Majesty's subjects from the driving-whip; and to desire us to believe that though those two men could not obtain a law, from twelve or fourteen of the most intelligent men in the island, prohibiting the whip in the field, their influence will obtain, from the whole community of planters, the disuse of it without the intervention of law. What a strange estimate must he have formed of Sir George Murray's understanding, or of that of the public at large; or how strangely blinded must he be by colonial prejudice, gravely to bring forward so feeble a pretext for acquiescing in the pertinacious refusal of the Tobago planters to put down the driving-whip by law!

But let us examine the correctness of the Governor's statement. He says, “This act, I have much satisfaction in thinking, embraces nearly all the principal points recommended by his Majesty's Government,” and in some, he adds, it even surpasses them.

Now let us first notice the points of that recommendation entirely omitted in this act.

The first is the appointment of an independent Protector, who having no interest in slave property, shall watch over the interests of the slave. The high expediency of such an appointment is fully admitted, even by the Council of Tobago, in their report of February 12, 1827. “ They can see no good or valid objection to the appointment of such an officer. Whatever rules may be framed for the protection of the slave population, it is obvious that they will require some person to look after their enforcement, as it can never be reasonably expected that an unpaid magistracy will take upon themselves, voluntarily, the obnoxious character of informers. If, therefore, laws are to be made for the protection of the slaves, there should be a sworn and salaried officer to watch over their observance.”

Fully concurring in these sentiments of the *Council* of Tobago, we can see, in so much of this new act as pretends to amelioration, nothing which is not rendered nugatory by the want of this executory principle.

2. On the subject of Sunday markets and Sunday labour, we should only have to repeat what is said above, under the head of St. Vincent.

3. The driving-whip is not prohibited by this act.

4. Females may still be flogged, but *improper* exposure in flogging is forbidden.

5. No record of arbitrary punishment is required by it.

6. The provisions for facilitating manumission are wholly rejected.

7. It does not punish cruelty to a slave by authorizing his liberation.

8. The marriage of slaves is subjected to grievous restrictions, and can only be solemnized by a clergyman. No slave marriage, as far as we are yet informed, has ever taken place in Tobago. The latest return that we have seen is *Nil*.

9. But though there is not one married slave in Tobago, and though the legislature, by its restrictions, would seem determined to prevent marriage in all time to come, yet it refuses, in its wisdom, to forbid the separation by sale of families by *repute*, as is done in the Crown Colonies, and confines the prohibition, on an island where there is not a married slave, to slaves *legally married*—and this, say the planters, lest by doing so, they should encourage licentiousness! They have encouraged licentiousness hitherto by their own example. They have never taken a step to sanction the marriage of slaves, or to induce them to marry till the present act was framed, which act throws nearly insuperable impediments in its way; and yet they refuse to recognize, for the merciful purpose of non-separation, those ties which alone they have encouraged! Such is West India legislation! And such Colonel Blackwell's estimate of what is in conformity with the views of the British Government! This act, he says, embraces nearly all the points which that Government has recommended!

Then as to the only two points which the act even affects to embrace; one, though adopted in terms, we mean the law of property, is rendered inoperative by the want of a protector, or of any authorized channel for vindicating the slave's rights of property. The other, that of slave evidence, we trust will be of use, as the provisions on this head seem to be at least as unexceptionable as those in the Order of Council, (still remembering that there is here no protector to enforce them) and therefore the Tobago legislature must have full credit for them. But still how very far does all this fall short of the representations of the governor!

But, besides those most important omissions which we have mentioned, we have other complaints to prefer against this new slave code, of which the governor thinks so highly.

The 41st clause of the Act of August 1823, allowed to the slave for the purpose of cultivating his provision grounds, one day in every week from the 1st day of May to the 31st day of December in each year. (See Papers by command of 1824, p. 101.) This gave to the slave thirty-five days in the year for his provision grounds. The legislators of Tobago appear to have repented of this liberality; for in the 9th clause of the Act of August 1829, the grant of a day in the week is limited to the period between the 1st of May and the 1st, not the 31st, of December, thus cutting off from the slave four days at least, if not five; besides which, the owner or manager is permitted to mulct the slaves four days more, at his discretion, by way of commutation for corporal chastisement, thus reducing the grant to twenty-six days. Nay, it is even declared by this new and improved law, that if the gang shall

misbehave, or if any owner or manager *shall not be able to discover the perpetrator* “of any larceny or depredation or other offence,” it shall and may be lawful for him “to deprive such gang” (the whole gang) “or such part thereof as he may deem fit, of one or more of the days hereby allowed, or of one or more allowances of food, or to defer serving out of the clothing, &c., as a punishment for the misbehaviour, or until the perpetrator shall be discovered.” And this new and most iniquitous principle of law, the punishment of the innocent with a view to the detection of the guilty, is introduced, as an ameliorating provision, into a slave Act of 1829, and, we fear, may even have received the sanction of the crown.—Again; in the Act of 1823, § 34, owners, &c., are required to give their slaves sufficient food and clothing (not specifying quantity) under a penalty of ten pounds for every slave not sufficiently fed, and ten pounds more for every slave not sufficiently clothed. The present Act, § 9, also requires in the same vague terms, that every owner shall provide all his slaves “with comfortable lodging, sufficient food, and decent clothing,” and every person who shall wilfully neglect or refuse to do so “shall forfeit and pay the sum of *forty shillings* sterling for every slave not by him provided with food and clothing.” The food and clothing of a slave must cost little if forty shillings be an adequate penalty to deter men from neglecting to supply them, being also so very much less than was thought expedient in 1823. The penalty too is the same whether the scanty supply of food and clothing be for a day, or a month, or a year.—What value can we affix to such senseless enactments?

But we are enabled, by the succeeding clause of the Act, § 10, to estimate what the legislature of Tobago regards as sufficient food and clothing: for even when a body of complaining slaves shall have satisfactorily proved their allowance to be insufficient, and the magistrate interposes; what is the rule given for his guidance; in other words, what is the maximum of food and clothing allowed by law to the slave? It is, in the case of food, five quarts of flour weekly for an adult working slave; the allowance in Jamaica for a slave confined in gaol being ten quarts and a half; with the addition of some salt fish in both cases. The prison allowance of Jamaica is thus more than double the allowance of the working field slave in Tobago; and even this scanty allowance, which the magistrates have no power given them to enlarge, they are armed with a power of abridging at their discretion. They are empowered to give the specified allowance, or “so much or such parts thereof as to the justices in their discretion shall seem meet.” A similar discretion is given as to the annual allowance of clothing, the maximum of which, to plantation slaves, is six yards of pennistone, six yards of osnaburgh, and a hat, a blanket being added once in three years; making the annual value of the whole, including a third of the blanket, from fifteen to eighteen shillings. To other than plantation slaves the maximum of the weekly allowance for subsistence is “money, or provisions, equivalent to *two shillings sterling*,” (nearly three-pence halfpenny a day,) and “an annual allowance of one suit of clothing.”* We may conceive to what a state this one suit of flimsy clothing must

* Here we have in fact the slave's maximum of wages in Tobago!

be reduced before the year has gone its round. And this is the slave code of Tobago in 1829 ! of that island where the estates of Mr. Keith Douglas, the champion of West Indian interests, are situated, and of the humanity of whose legislation he has so often and so loudly boasted in the House of Commons!

Then we have one clause about religious instruction unaccompanied by any penalty, or sanction, or any allotment of time or means ; and another, about restraining the number of stripes to twenty by an owner or manager (called overseer in Jamaica,) and six by an overseer (called book-keeper in Jamaica,) without any *specific* penalty attached ; while it leaves the owner or manager at liberty, *in cases not cognizable by law*, that is, in cases of mere plantation discipline, where he thinks twenty lashes too little for the offence, to apply to a magistrate who shall have power to increase the twenty to thirty-nine.—The new Act continues to sanction that terrible principle of colonial law which makes a black skin presumptive evidence of slavery ; so that every black man who is not claimed by any owner, and cannot produce legal proof of his freedom, may be sold into interminable bondage for the benefit of the island treasury.

We have deemed it right, at this time, to shew the public the exact progress which colonial reform has made in the year 1829, as exemplified by this act, bearing date in that year, and held forth by a British governor of one of our colonies, as satisfying almost every requirement of humanity. If *he* is satisfied, he will find that England will not be satisfied with such outrages under the pretence of amelioration ; but will only feel the more strongly the necessity of sweeping away such a system root and branch.

But, says the governor, in proof of the lenity of the Tobago system, “ I have laid myself out to listen to complaints of slaves, and no instance of complaint has come before me for the last six or eight months.” In what capacity it is that the governor of Tobago acts in listening to and redressing the complaints of slaves, he does not inform us ; but we know that in this very new Act of which he boasts, and under a system which he applauds as so lenient, there is a clause, § 23, that if the complaint of a slave to the justices be found frivolous and vexatious, such slave so complaining shall be punished by their order, with stripes not exceeding thirty-nine, or by commitment to hard labour for a month ; and this not after a trial for the specific crime, or after being duly arraigned, with time to prepare witnesses, &c. ; but, on the instant, if the complainant shall not have proved his complaint, these magistrates not only may, but *shall* punish such slave as above : We need not wonder that there are no complaining slaves in Tobago.

But still it may be alleged, that there is in Tobago no fair ground of complaint. So seems to think the governor Colonel Blackwell. There, he tells us, there exists generally “ an extremely liberal feeling in favour of the slave population,” and that “ cruelty or unnecessary oppression” actually have no existence there.—The utter fallacy of this statement, as it respects the Slave law in Tobago, has already been shewn. Let us now look, for a further and decisive confutation of such delusive and injurious, because groundless, representations, to the practical effects of the system on the slave population,—“the peaceable,

respectful, and orderly" slave population, as he terms them, of this island. Now did it ever occur to him to inquire what proofs were to be found, in the progressive increase or decrease of that well conducted and meritorious class of persons, of the lenity and kindness with which they are treated: of the abundance of their food, or of the mildness of their toil. As he has omitted to do it, we will now apply this decisive test, both of the treatment of the slaves of Tobago, and of its governor's capacity to pronounce upon it.

In Tobago, the proportion of the sexes is now, and has long been, such as is favourable to the increase of population. In 1829, the males by the Registry were 5,996, and the females 6,757, and this proportion has little varied for many years. In ordinary circumstances, therefore, no one would have doubted that a population so circumstanced must have increased. But what is the fact? The return of 1825 gives a population of 13,683 slaves, that of 1829, of 12,723, exhibiting a decrease of 960 in four years, being very nearly 2 per cent. per annum. If we go back for ten years, the result will be at least equally unfavourable. In 1819, the population was 15,470, in 1829, 12,723, being a decrease of 2,747 in that time. Here then we have an appalling waste and destruction of human life among this happy, uncomplaining peasantry, which may well lead us to question the correctness of Governor Blackwell's evidence. But when we compare this result with that of *free* blacks in every other part of the world, and even with slaves in some parts of the world, not devoted to sugar culture, we shall find that the population of 1819, instead of having dwindled in ten years to 12,700, ought to have grown to nearly 20,000, the difference constituting a waste of human lives, in this petty possession of Great Britain, arising from the deathful and murderous system to which we cling with such affection, amounting to upwards of 7,000.* Can we with our eyes open persist in such a course? It is impossible. If we do, the displeasure of the Almighty, the avenger of the oppressed and desolate, must light upon us. And how know we that it has not already begun its inflictions? Are the signs of the times so illegible? Are the evils already inflicted, and under which we are even now suffering, no calls to penitence? Are the plagues of Egypt pregnant with no warning; are they no ensample to us? And do not ours proclaim as loudly, "Let the people go"—"undo the heavy burden; let the oppressed go free."

6. *The Crown Colonies.*

These papers contain a circular letter of Sir George Murray, dated the 4th February, 1830, addressed to the Governors of Trinidad, Berbice, Demerara, St. Lucia, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Mauritius, transmitting a copy of the Order in Council of the 2d February, 1830, consolidating into one all the former orders issued in Trinidad, and elsewhere, on the subject of Slavery. The substance of this order has been already given, and its provisions commented upon, in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 58, to which we must refer our readers. This order extends, as they are aware, not only to Trinidad, but to the

* The manumissions, if we knew them, would make some slight abatement, but they have not been returned from Tobago.

other five Crown Colonies, some regulations of detail being left to be filled up by the respective Governors of those colonies, according to their varying local circumstances. It is to the manner of framing these regulations that this despatch of Sir G. Murray chiefly refers.

1. The Governor is empowered by § 5, to permit the Protector to hire domestic *slaves*, only if it be found impossible to hire free domestics; and Sir George is so impressed with the importance of rescuing this officer from every temptation to fail in executing the duties of his office, that he directs the Governor not to dispense with the rule except in case of *evident necessity*, and to no greater extent than may be *clearly unavoidable*.*

2. In filling up any temporary vacancy of Protector, the Governor will appoint no one who is himself an owner of slaves, unless there be found an absolute impracticability of appointing one who is not.

3. The Governor, on the entire abolition of Sunday markets, is authorised to name another day for the weekly market, and the hours at which it shall be holden. "On this subject," he says, "you will consult as far as possible the convenience of the proprietors, and make such arrangements as you shall think best calculated to induce them to sanction the resort of their slaves to market." This is really doing nothing but trifling with the whole of this important subject. It is repeating and sanctioning all the inconvenience and even oppression to the slave, which we have already so fully adverted to in this number, (see above, p. 7,) in the case of St. Vincent; and which we have remarked upon also at large in treating of this subject, in No. 58, p. 134. Nothing has surprised us more than the course which the different Secretaries of State have pursued on this point. Their practical measures seem irreconcilable with their professed principles.

4. The next direction of Sir George Murray we shall give entire, as it will call for some observations.

"The general prohibition of the labour of slaves on Sunday, is followed by a clause, § 21, which exempts from the rule works of 'necessity.' It is obvious, however, that a general principle, laid down in terms thus comprehensive, would afford occasions for continual evasions of the law, unless some method were taken to give an authoritative and more definite interpretation to these expressions. It is therefore referred to you to define with all possible precision every work of necessity in which slaves may be employed on Sunday, and to restrict such employment by such conditions as you may think just. Such a necessity may arise either from unforeseen accidents, such as conflagrations, or hurricanes; or from exigencies of habitual recurrence. Of course, there can be no good reason why slaves should be exempted from the obligation, incumbent upon all other members of society, of labouring on a Sunday to prevent or to arrest the progress of accidental calamities. But in those cases in which the demand for their labour grows out of a course of husbandry or manufacture, which systematically encroaches on the day of rest, the subject must be regarded in a different light. A necessity which is thus deliberately

*And yet, in the Chartered Colonies, the only legal protectors of the slaves are all slave holders.

created by the proprietor, gives him no valid claim on the services of the slave. The rural and manufacturing economy, however, of sugar colonies, is not, I fear, at present compatible with an entire cessation of all such labour on that day; nor can I hope that the habits of the cultivator will, in this respect, undergo an immediate change. For the present, therefore, you will, in the exercise of the power committed to you, sanction the performance of those agricultural or manufacturing processes, the neglect of which might be attended with serious and irreparable injury. But, in authorising any such relaxation of the general rule, you will remember and act upon the principle that these habitual encroachments on the repose of Sunday, are parts of the colonial system which cannot too soon be abandoned altogether; that services of this nature cannot even now be demanded, except with the free consent of the slave; and that for every such deduction from the time secured to him for repose, by the law of religion, the slave is entitled to some just compensation from the owner to whom his services are rendered."

It is added, that in all proclamations on this subject, the use of general and vague language is to be avoided, so as to prevent any fraudulent evasion of the law; and if such evasions are practised they must be met by additional and more explicit proclamations.

Now we fully admit that fires and floods and hurricanes, when they occur on Sundays, may require the utmost exertions of every individual to prevent or avert their disastrous effects; and we do not absolutely deny that occasions *may* occur in all countries, in which it may be necessary to make extraordinary efforts to preserve some valuable fruits of the earth from destruction. But we do deny that there is, or has been, in the rural and manufacturing processes of sugar colonies, any thing at all incompatible with the same observance of the rest of Sunday, which attends the agricultural processes of this or of any other country. And we challenge West Indians to shew wherein the incompatibility exists. We deny its existence altogether. We are aware that West Indians have often confidently affirmed this incompatibility, and they seem to have succeeded in persuading Sir G. Murray and his predecessors, that there is truth in their representations; but we know them to be groundless, and we defy them to specify a single agricultural or manufacturing process which requires any peculiar encroachment on the rest of the Sunday beyond what is required in England or any other country. The cows of a farmer must be milked on Sunday as well as on Saturday, and coffee may require, in certain states of the drying process, to be turned on Sunday, but even this last trivial exception can only be very occasional. But in the processes of growing and manufacturing sugar there can arise no necessity for Sunday labour, which is not created by the improvidence or the cupidity of the owner or manager of the plantation. Such necessity can only arise from one cause, namely, the not stopping the cutting and the grinding of canes in time to allow the cane juice to be boiled into sugar, and removed into casks before Sunday arrives. The time which this process takes is so accurately known, that not the slightest difficulty could occur, if only managers were disposed to prevent the necessity of Sunday labour, by making the arrangements

requisite to that end; and which might be done without the slightest inconvenience, except that of somewhat abridging the quantity of sugar made in a week. If on the present plan of encroaching on the Sunday an estate makes twenty hogsheads of sugar in a week, it might, it is true, if Sunday be not encroached upon, make only nineteen, or nineteen and a half, and this would be the utmost extent of the inconvenience. But if this is to be made a reason for encroaching at all on the Sunday, it would be an equally valid reason for taking the whole of Sunday in order to swell the number of weekly hogsheads to twenty-one or twenty-two. Fortunately for the slave, the fires must be all extinguished once in every week. Now whether that be done at six on Sunday morning, or at six on Saturday evening, or at a still earlier hour on that day, can make no difference in point of convenience to the master, beyond the lessened amount of his weekly manufacture; while it obviously makes an immense difference to the slave.

It will appear hence that no ground whatever for the alleged necessity of Sunday labour exists in sugar colonies, which would not equally operate in this country on the farmer and the miller, and the manufacturer of every description. In fact, the whole is founded in that insatiable appetite for the exaction of negro labour which forms the characteristic feature of the West India system, and more especially of sugar planting; and not in any circumstances which are not common to all other countries in all other parts of the world. Had Sir G. Murray, therefore, been truly informed of the facts of the case, and not been deluded by plausible and unfounded statements, much of what he has said on this subject, might have been spared, which will now be taken advantage of by the planters.

5. The punishments to be substituted for flogging in the case of females are left to the governor; only his "object must be to select such modes of correction as may impair as little as possible the sense of self respect, and may operate rather on the moral feelings than on the bodily sensations of the sufferer. Every precaution must be taken to determine the nature and extent of these punishments, so as to prevent their being made the source of abuse." Sir G. alludes to the frequent punishment of the offences of women by imprisoning them on Sunday, by which they are made to suffer severely, losing the advantages and gratifications of that day, without any deduction of the labour of the estate; and which ought not therefore to be permitted by the master's own domestic authority.

6. All regulations adopted for executing this and every other part of the order must be punctually transmitted for His Majesty's approbation.

7. The Protector's half yearly reports are to be made in forms which are prescribed and annexed to this despatch, and from which forms no deviation can be permitted. The forms, we think, are admirably framed.

8. Proof of the delivery of such reports, with their necessary adjuncts, must precede the payment of the Protector's salary, and will be required as necessary vouchers by the auditors of public accounts.

'I am well aware,' observes Sir G. Murray in conclusion 'that

there are some topics connected with the condition of slavery which are omitted in this order, although superior in importance to some of those which it embraces, among which I may particularly mention the duration of the daily labour of plantation slaves, their food and clothing, and above all their religious instruction. If it had been the design of His Majesty's ministers to frame a complete code for the government of the slaves, a prominent place must have been assigned to topics of this nature: but for the present, nothing further has been contemplated than to consolidate the order in council of the 10th of March, 1824, and the most valuable of the provisions which have been engrafted upon it by supplementary enactments, either in Trinidad or in other separate Crown colonies."

In reference to this last sentence, Sir G. Murray, in a subsequent circular despatch of the 18th February, 1830, addressed to governors of Crown colonies, thus directs their attention more distinctly to some of the objects it embraces.

"With respect to the degree of labour exacted from slaves employed in agriculture or manufactures, His Majesty's government are not in possession of such full information as would be requisite to enable them to make the necessary legislative provisions on the subject. It has indeed been very generally and confidently maintained in popular discussion, that the slaves, employed in the culture of sugar, are engaged either at the field or at the works of the estate, for so large a part of the day and night, as to have no sufficient period for natural rest. I cannot of course give credit to statements which appear in print, and which represent that the slaves on a sugar estate in full cultivation are habitually employed for fourteen hours, and occasionally sixteen or even eighteen hours out of the twenty-four. But however exaggerated statements of this nature may be, it is impossible to doubt that some legislative provision is necessary for the prevention of abuses in exacting excessive labour from slaves.*

"Enactments conducing to this object have recently been passed in the colonies possessing legislative assemblies; † and in the absence

* Well might the humane and liberal mind of Sir George Murray refuse to believe such statements, and regard them as wild and wanton exaggerations. He could neither have had access to that body of conclusive and irrefragable evidence by which, from the mouths of the planters themselves, Mr. Stephen in the 2nd volume of his "Delineation" has demonstrated the truth of such of those statements as might seem the most extravagant and appalling. The matter is now placed beyond all further question by the appearance of that extraordinary work. See chapters iv, v, vi, and vii.

† These very enactments establish the excessive exaction of labour which Sir G. Murray deems so incredible. That of Jamaica, which is a fair specimen of the others, makes it lawful to exact labour *in the field* for fourteen hours of the day with intervals of two hours and a half, making *eleven hours and a half of field labour* each day, exclusive of the labour of afterwards collecting and carrying home fodder for the cattle; and of the night work of crop, being an addition of five hours more in the twenty-four, for four or five months in the year; and all this over and above the time for getting up and repairing to the field morning and noontide, and for returning thence at noon and at night; for preparing food and for other domestic offices; all which must be performed during the intervals of labour, women and men being equally engaged in field labour during the day and in collecting and carrying fodder for the cattle, and in night work during

of positive law, a necessitous owner might often be tempted to make an improper use of his unlimited authority. The nature of the climate in which the labour of the slave is to be performed; the constitutional indisposition to continuous exertion, which so peculiarly characterises the negro race; and the difficulty which all men experience in the steady performance of any labour without the stimulus of wages; must concur to endanger the health of a plantation slave when subjected to improper exertions.*

crop. These various points will be found ably and luminously and conclusively established in the work of Mr. Stephen just referred to. It would have been sufficient, however, to have referred to the law of Jamaica on this point, and to Mr. Huskisson's comment on that law. (See Papers by command, for 1828, p. 5, and Jamaica Act of 1826, § 27, in Papers for 1827,—and Reporter, No. 33, p. 180.)

*The very circumstances, however, which to the humane mind of Sir G. Murray form grounds for guarding against the excessive exaction of compulsory labour, serve in the minds of the planters as the very reasons for employing brute force to stimulate the labourer far beyond his inclination, and to extract from him the maximum of toil of which he is capable. We mean the intense and exhausting heat of the climate, the constitutional indisposition to severe and continuous labour necessarily produced thereby, and the total absence of the cheering stimulus of wages. Sir G. Murray seems to think that this indisposition to continuous labour under a vertical sun, "*peculiarly characterises the negro race*;" but we conceive that Sir George would find it somewhat difficult to state any race whom it does not characterise, nor any whom it does not characterise in a still greater degree than the negro race. What can more strongly prove the mystifying influence of the jargon of the new school, of "the philosophy of labour" established by Major Moody, than that the clear, upright and unsophisticated mind of Sir G. Murray should be drawn, for one moment, within its sphere, and should sanction the perfectly groundless dogma that the negro race are *peculiarly* characterised by indisposition to continuous exertion under a tropical sun, when all other races are at least equally, if not more, indisposed to it, and when no other race does or can encounter it with half the endurance with which it is borne by them.

We are happy to embrace this opportunity of noticing this subject, on account of our having just seen a pamphlet from the pen of John Gladstone, Esq., entitled, by some strange misnomer, "a statement of *facts*," in which an unusual share of ingenuity is employed to varnish the crime of keeping men in slavery, and to make the worse appear the better reason. While this writer, who avows himself to be a considerable slave-holder, seems to agree fully with Sir G. Murray in holding the indisposedness of the negro race to continuous labour in the sun, yet he has found a salvo for the consciences of Christian slave-holders in the singular discovery, that "*Where it is the duty of the Slaves to work in the field, such is their disposition and sense of that duty, that the labour is cheerfully performed without injury to their health or comforts.*" (p. 7.) Every syllable in this extraordinary sentence would furnish comments to fill far more than our vacant space; but we must dwell upon it for a few seconds. When then is it that it becomes the *duty* of the Negro race to work in the field? It must be, we presume, whenever Mr. Gladstone or any other planter chooses, for his own profit, to send them there. And then the moment this is done, what a wonderful transformation is effected in their nature and disposition! The indisposition of the Negro race to continuous labour under a vertical sun (which we are told was previously peculiarly characteristic) vanishes; nay, is so changed, that they are now cordially disposed to that which they would otherwise as cordially have detested. The moving impulse, Mr. Gladstone tells us, is a *sense of duty*: a most exalted and disinterested sense of duty it must be, which excites them so cheer-

“ You will therefore direct the Protector of slaves to institute a careful inquiry into the facts respecting the amount of labour usually performed by plantation slaves. You will especially direct him to ascertain at what hour of the morning the daily task is usually commenced, and at what hour in the evening it is usually finished; what is the ordinary length of the interval of rest allowed during the day; whether the rest is generally complete, or whether any duties are then to be performed for the owner, or for the more immediate advantage of the slave himself; to what extent labour is required by night; how many nights or parts of nights in the week the same slave is usually

fully to work hard under a tropical sun, without wages, to swell the wealth and minister to the enjoyments of Mr. Gladstone and his brother planters. Nay, such is the wonderful operation of this motive, that now they labour cheerfully without injury to either health or comfort, in despite of all the strongest propensities of their nature, and under the pressure of the most painful and debasing coercion! Such are the delusions by which men of sense, and men too who have some feeling of conscience, try to blind their own eyes and steel their own hearts against the impressions of truth, justice, and humanity, and by which they hope to induce such men as Sir R. Peel, to whom the letter is addressed, to tolerate for a few years longer this intolerable mass of iniquity, oppression, and cruelty.

Mr. Gladstone writes his pamphlet in Liverpool, at the distance of 4000 miles from his Slaves, not one of whom he has probably ever seen. He is far removed from the sight of their sufferings, whatever those sufferings may be, and he is evidently wholly without power to control the conduct of his distant agents. Now if he had come forward to give us an authentic detail from the Registry of Demerara, and from his own plantation books, of the changes which have taken place among his Slaves from the time he became possessed of them to the present hour—of their increase and decrease, and of their daily tasks and allowances, and hours of day and night labour, and punishments, &c. &c.—he would have done more to throw light on the subject than by twenty such pamphlets as this. This pamphlet, we confess, has served to excite our curiosity on these points, for it has led us to look back to the memorable period of the Missionary Smith. That truly excellent Minister of the Gospel, writing, on the 30th of August, 1817, in his journal given in evidence on his trial, of Mr. Gladstone's estate Success, says, “ The Negroes of Success have complained to me lately of excessive labour and very severe treatment. I told one of the overseers, they would work their people to death.” Another Missionary, in a letter dated 24th May, 1824, and which was given to the public in the same year, in the preface to the debate on the trial of Smith in the House of Commons, says of this same estate, with which he himself also, it seems, was personally acquainted, in allusion to the passage of Mr. Smith's journal just quoted; “ It (Success) is next above the chapel, and could be seen from Mr. Smith's house. Ever since it has been put in sugar, the Negroes have complained of hard and late work.” It was formerly in coffee.

Mr. Gladstone may, doubtless, dispute the truth of these statements; but he was not there himself, and cannot tell that they are false; but true or false, he could have no means of preventing them, or of protecting his Slaves from any treatment to which his stipendiary agent, under whose absolute dominion he had placed them, might subject them. But if we had never before heard of Mr. Gladstone or his estates, or of the illustrations which they furnish, the real nature of Slavery would have been what it is, and would have no less stood in direct contradiction and falsification of the absurd position in the pamphlet of Mr. Gladstone, which has given occasion to these remarks, and by which and other similar statements, that gentleman has laboured to reconcile Sir R. Peel and the British public to the continuance of that system by which £00,000 of our fellow-men and fellow-subjects are reduced to the state of brute beasts, to add to the gains of a few individuals.

employed; and during what period of the year nocturnal labour is in use: you will direct the Protector to report to you the result of these inquiries, with as much minuteness of detail as may be practicable; and you will ascertain whether in the opinion of the most skilful medical practitioners in the colony, there is reason to conclude that the labour usually exacted of plantation slaves is unfriendly to their health. In reporting to me the result of these inquiries, you will communicate to me your opinion by what regulations any abuses on the part of the colonial system would be most effectually checked or prevented.

“With respect to the food of slaves which is a general subject of legislation in the colonies possessing legislative assemblies, you will also direct the Protector to inquire what is the average nature, amount, weight, and quality of the food allowed to plantation slaves, male and female, adults and children respectively, and you will also procure the opinion of the best medical advisers within your reach, how far the food so supplied is sufficient to sustain the health and strength of the labourer.* You will report to me the result of these inquiries with any such suggestions as may occur to you for the improvement of the law on this subject.

“You will transmit to me similar information respecting the articles of clothing usually supplied to plantation slaves, their number and quality, and their usual cost price; and upon this subject you will consider and report to me whether there be any, and if any, what improvements required in the law.”†

7. *Mauritius.*

It now only remains to give some view of the correspondence with the Mauritius; and if we had wanted any proof of the terrific nature and effects of the state of Slavery existing in that Island, it would be abundantly supplied by the papers before us. It is scarcely possible to paint, or even to conceive the alarm, the indignation, the rage, which seems to have been excited in the breast of every planter, and indeed every inhabitant of the Island, by the promulgation of the new Slave Code contained in the Order in Council; not the latest consolidated Order, but a former and inferior enactment. The clamour excited in our Western Slave Colonies by the first movements of our Government in 1823 and 1824, was sufficiently loud and senseless; but that of the Mauritius is so much more violent and unreasonable as to justify the belief, that bad as Slavery is in the West Indies, the state which it is here sought to reform is far worse. And that this is really the case, we cannot entertain a doubt, not only when we weigh the evidence already before the public, with much that is still to be produced; but consider the firmly combined resistance by which all classes have set themselves in determined array against every attempt to investigate or repress either the crimes of the Slave-trade, or the cruelties of Slavery. The resistance could not be greater or more resolute if the attempt of the British Government were, not merely to relax the reins of their domestic despotism, but to subject themselves, their wives

* See on this head Mr. Stephen's conclusive proofs in the 2d volume of his *Delineation*, chap. viii. and above, p. 13.

† See Mr. Stephen's 2d volume, chap. ix. and above, p. 13.

and children, to Slavery, with all its abominations. It would seem as if all their ideas of wrong, and injustice, and inhumanity, were comprized in the abridgement of their power of inflicting on their fellow-subjects stripes, fetters, unsparing labour, imprisonment, and torture, if not death. If they still persist in their declared purpose of prosecuting the Anti-Slavery Reporter, for having calumniated that beautiful order of things which assimilates, as they tell us, the state of Slavery in Mauritius to some state of superhuman felicity, they ought at least to have withheld the revelations which are made in the present papers, until after the issue had been fairly tried between us. They have themselves furnished our ample justification, without reducing us to the necessity of citing any one of our 300 witnesses.

But what has led to all this extraordinary commotion in the Mauritius? It is the promulgation of an Order in Council containing certain obnoxious, wicked, and destructive innovations. That they are innovations, however, is of itself the condemnation of the system which it is proposed to amend; and before any British tribunal no further proof of its guiltiness could be needed. Such was the resistance excited by these innovations, that even the gallant general, Sir Charles Colville, whose courage had been tried in many a hard fought field, was driven from his purpose, and led, in the face of his instructions, to concede some essential points of reform. In his letter of the 21st Feb. 1829, he tells Sir G. Murray, that he had fondly hoped that the delay which had taken place in promulgating the Order, would have led many of the Proprietors to anticipate the chief improvements in it, especially as he felt himself led, by a memorial from many of them "possessing the best dispositions," to recede in some degree from the express tenor of his instructions. "Thus, for instance," he observes, "we altogether omit that article which forbids the use of the cart-whip in the field;" "an article fraught with danger in the eyes of the Planters," though "the practice had become almost obsolete from a compact between the Governor and the inhabitants of the Island." Where is that compact; what are its terms; by whom was it signed; what are its sanctions and its penalties? This is a second version of the absurd view taken by Colonel Blackwell in Tobago, though under still less excusable circumstances, Sir C. Colville possessing powers which the other did not possess. "And now," says he, "we have gone further, in making altogether illegal the use of the cart-whip as an instrument of punishment, liable to the most serious abuse, *as it most certainly was.*" Now the words of Sir Charles Colville's act (§ 17) are, that men may be punished "with a whip or rattan, or any other instrument of the kind, excepting always the chabouk or cart-whip, the use of which as an instrument of punishment is expressly and altogether prohibited." And yet this same formidable chabouk is still left by law to be the chosen instrument for stimulating labour in the field, where men and women remain equally subject to its infliction. And, even in respect to regular punishments, we doubt much whether the ingenuity of despotism will suffer much to be gained to humanity, while a whip of some form or other is still allowed, and while the split bamboo may be increased to any degree of thickness, and its edges sharpened to any capacity of laceration. We cannot, we say, flatter humanity with

having gained much by allowing those to retain, for the daily and hourly discipline of the field, (nine strokes of it, as we shall see, being permitted by law on the instant,) the instrument which Sir C. Colville looks upon it as some compensation to have withdrawn from more regular punishments. What a state of society do such negociations indicate both in governors and governed? Yet such a state of society is the result of Negro Slavery in the Mauritius!

Again, Sir C. Colville has dispensed with the necessity of requiring a return of punishments arbitrarily inflicted on plantations. He requires, he says, that a record of them should be kept, but not that any return should be made of that record. But this is to frustrate the whole intention of the Order. And what is the reason assigned for this most extraordinary deviation from his instructions? It is that "*in the present state of the Island, it would be a measure productive not only of the greatest discontent, but of positive impracticability, liable to vexatious prosecutions without end.*" Now, destroy all the other evidence we have of the enormities of Mauritius Slavery, and let this one sentence remain, and we say, it is utterly impossible to exaggerate its horrors. The Planters, it seems, are either so low in attainments as to be incapable of keeping and making returns of the records of their own arbitrary inflictions; or they are so wedded to the uncontrolled exercise of their own despotic powers, as to be unwilling to permit light to dawn on its exercise; or they are so conscious of their own inability to restrain their passions within the rules of law, as to be certain of exposing themselves, by a true record of their proceedings, to endless and vexatious prosecutions. And yet these are the men, thus sunk in ignorance, or intoxicated by power, or infuriated by passion, who are to be permitted to proceed, without any record of their acts, and consequently without any means of inspection, detection, or control, in their accustomed discretionary use of the chabouk, the whip, the rattan, the split bamboo, the chain, the fetter, the pronged collar, the brand, and all the other abominations of this den of darkness; until generations of their wretched Slaves shall have been swept into untimely graves, to be replaced by fresh illicit importations from the shores of Madagascar or Mosambique.

Once more, the law had allowed only three stripes to be given to a slave at the moment of committing an offence, in the field for instance. Sir C. Colville was induced, by the importunity of his respectable memorialists, to extend the *three* to *nine*, and the reason given for this indulgence is as instructive as is the impatience felt by the planter of the restraint which the law professed to impose on sudden ebullitions of passion. "In this we have acted," says the governor, "upon the conviction of the futility of the smaller, either as a reparation of ill conduct in the individual, or as a check to himself, or example to others; besides that to prevent the infliction of more than three stripes at the moment, would be to increase to a *certainly* the punishment of the slave by twenty-four hours of expectation of it, and probably confinement too, in the naturally entertained apprehension of running away; while it is too much to expect from our frail nature, that the master, irritated by the loss of his slave's labour for so many hours, would not add a few lashes to those he would originally have ordered him. I have been assured by *respectable planters* that the allowance

of nine stripes will make the infliction of a larger number of rate occurrence."

That planters should have thus talked and thus counselled was only *en regle*; but that a British general, the governor of a British colony, the representative of a British monarch, should have listened to such counsel, and sanctioned such views, is indeed astonishing and most deplorable. We are ashamed to read such passages as these, and to know that men capable of assenting to them, and of pleading for them without a blush, are British functionaries of the highest class; and that the country which can degrade itself by tolerating a state of things requiring such opprobrious discussions is Great Britain. This state of things cannot be much longer endured. Every principle we profess as Christians; every sentiment we are taught to cherish as Britons; and every feeling which belongs to humanity itself, rise up in arms against it, and seal its doom. The decree has gone forth, and must be obeyed. On this point the voice of the British nation will be heard; and will be found irresistible. And let us remember that these are not dubious details of controverted facts; they are recorded proofs, official documents, undeniably establishing, beyond the reach of controversy or refutation, all we have ever asserted of this vile, and vicious, nay, diabolical system.

Besides this letter of Sir C. Colville on which we have been compelled so largely to comment, there is another from the same officer dated the 11th of April, 1829, confessing that all his delays, and concessions, and modifications, had been of no avail in conciliating the planters. He could not suppose (though such is the fact) that his modified order would have been met, "in the spirit of forced misrepresentation and ill will which the remonstrances of *all* the quarters of the island exhibit;" several of them, "indecorous enough," and one calling upon him "to rescind the ordinance and suspend the Protector." The planters are particularly enraged with the Protector for having undertaken a duty, which the governor says "they were conscious of having themselves neglected, namely, the instruction of the slaves in the new laws respecting them."

Many of the remarks which these communications would necessarily have called forth from Sir G. Murray are entirely superseded by the transmission in his despatch of the 5th of April, 1830, of the consolidated order of the 2nd of February, 1830, which would place the whole subject on an entire new footing, and leave no room for further debate or resistance. The greatest length of time to which the promulgation of this law can be postponed, after its arrival in the colony, is six weeks, and beyond that time its execution is, on no account, to be suspended. We must wait therefore for farther intelligence to judge of its effect. In the mean time we must defer adverting to some of the extraordinary statements and remonstrances presented to the governor by the planters of the Mauritius, and in which their contest for the continuance of the cart-whip is carried on with a zeal, and perseverance, and talent too, which are worthy of a better cause.

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 74.]

JANUARY 5, 1831.

[Vol. iv. No. 2.

I. RECENT MEETINGS FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY:—

1. EDINBURGH—*Mr. Jeffrey—Dr. A. Thomson.*—2. SECOND MEETING AT EDINBURGH.—3. PERTH.—4. KELSO.—5. ABERDEEN.—6. PAISLEY.—7. GLASGOW—*Dr. Wardlaw—Dr. M^rFarlane.*—8. SCOTTISH SYNODS AND PRESBYTERIES.—9. BRADFORD—*Rev. Mr. Hudson.*—10. MELKSHAM.—11. TRURO.—12. KINGSTON.—13. FALMOUTH—*Rev. Mr. Davies.*—14. SOUTHAMPTON.—15. HUDDERSFIELD—*Mr. Watt.*—16. HANLEY AND SHELTON.—17. KENDAL—*Rev. D. Jones.*—18. HADLEIGH.—19. PENZANCE.—20. WELINGBOROUGH.—21. PORTSEA.—22. STOWMARKET.—23. READING—*Capt. Browne.*—24. LISKEARD.—25. PLYMOUTH.—26. BATH—*Bishop of Bath and Wells—Mr. Wilberforce.*—27. BRISTOL—*West India Partizans.*—28. SECOND MEETING AT BRISTOL—*Mr. Claxton.*—29. DERBY.—30. CHELMSFORD.—31. BIRMINGHAM.—32. RUTLAND—*Mr. G. Stephen.*—33. DURHAM.—34. HALIFAX.—*Rev. R. L. Lusher.*—35. CHESTERFIELD.—36. SALISBURY—*Dean Pearson.*—37. CALNE.—38. WATFORD.—39. LINCOLN.—40. BRIGHTON.—41. BURY ST. EDMUNDS—*Mr. Phillips—Mr. Saintsbury—Rev. Mr. Orton.*

II. ANTI-SLAVERY PETITIONS TO PARLIAMENT.

III. DONATIONS AND REMITTANCES.

I.—NOTICES OF ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS.

THE public Meetings that have been held throughout the kingdom during the last two or three months, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament for the Abolition of Slavery, have been numerous and important beyond all former example. We propose to take in the present Number a general survey of these interesting assemblies; and although it is not possible to detail, with any degree of minuteness, the proceedings of any one of them, or even to attempt an abstract of the topics discussed, we think it will nevertheless be highly satisfactory to our readers to see a connected, though very cursory review of the simultaneous exertions made by our fellow-subjects in aid of our great cause, at this eventful conjuncture.

EDINBURGH.

On the 8th of October, a numerous and highly respectable meeting of the friends of Abolition was held at Edinburgh, in the Great Assembly Room, George Street. The Lord Provost, W. Allan, Esq. having taken the chair, and opened the meeting with a short address, the celebrated Mr. Francis Jeffrey (now Lord Advocate of Scotland,) moved certain resolutions which had been prepared by the Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Society, expressive of their sense of the evils and miseries necessarily attendant on the system of Negro Slavery, and their con-

viction that there ought to be no further delay in taking measures for its final and total abolition ; and that, in the meantime, such means ought to be adopted for mitigating its evils, and for such instruction and improvement in the condition of the Slaves, as might be best calculated ultimately to fit them for the blessings of freedom. Mr. Jeffrey entered into a long and luminous review of the various efforts that had been made in this country for the abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery, from the earliest agitation of these great questions to the present period ; but this historical summary, though distinguished by comprehensive views and accuracy of detail, we must necessarily pass over. After adverting to the insolent contumacy of the Chartered Colonies, in rejecting the Parliamentary Resolutions of 1823, and the unsatisfactory character even of the reforms that had been introduced into the Crown Colonies, so that generally speaking the Slaves in the West Indies were not a whit better in their condition than in 1792, he clearly demonstrated that, except by the authoritative interposition of the British Parliament, there was no hope whatever of the abolition of Negro bondage, or even of any material mitigation of its worst horrors. Now then, he urged, was the time to appeal to this authority, when we were in the beginning of a new reign, and with the prospect of the immediate convocation of a new Parliament, with a number of new members fresh from the contact of their constituents, and to ask if a case had not been made out calling for its interference. If the friends of abolition were earnest, they had been at least long suffering ; and now was the time to come forward and express their opinions, and not to slacken in their efforts until they should obtain the ultimate triumph—the extinction of Slavery itself—(Applause.) Mr. Jeffrey then adverted to the various pretexts which had been urged by those who still resisted the abolition of the foul system of slavery, and ridiculed the threats of revolt made by some of the colonists, whose throats, he said, were only preserved from the knives of the bondmen driven to desperation, by the bayonets which we paid for, and which assisted them to uphold a monopoly to our prejudice. They defied and insulted the Parliament of Great Britain, when they pretended that it had no right to look into their affairs ; and they blasphemously quoted Scripture texts as an authority for slavery. They offered two arguments against emancipation :—First, that the slaves were their own property, and they might do with them what they liked ; and secondly, that they had treated them well ; and that they were contented and happy, and better off than if they were free. If they could fairly make out the first position, then he would agree that they should be reimbursed for their property ; but he did not think that they could make out a fair claim of property in them. He then referred to various decisions in the Courts both of England and Scotland, where it had been ruled that man had no right of property in man. God had given man a right of property over the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air ; but had he given him a right of property over his fellow men ?—(Applause.) If the slave was the property of his master, why did the property not continue when he brought him to this country ? If he was his property, like other live stock, then, why might he not kill him

and eat him? If he was his property at all, he must be so out and out. But the master, it seems, holds a right of property in every thing but his life; and therefore the principle failed in practice by this one admission. This right of property was all for the benefit of the one and the injury of the other, since all that rendered life worthy of keeping was extorted by the one and lost by the other—(Cheers.) But the masters said their slaves were happy and comfortable as they were; and that to liberate would be to injure and not to benefit them. If this were true, no one had a right to interfere. He accepted the proposition, but defied them to the proof. His answer was, if that be true, they, the slaveholders, had no interest in maintaining slavery. They said they were better fed, better lodged, and better taught than the lower classes in this country or any country in the world. It might be so, but the unhappy bondmen did not think so; and why would their masters persist in conferring benefits on them which they did not prize? Why lavish benefits on so thankless a generation?—(Hear, hear.) But how could all this be reconciled with the anxiety to keep them in a state of bondage? The reason was, that by doing so they got, as they imagined, more work out of them than they could get from free labourers. There were two infallible tests to refer to in proof of the evils of slavery; the one was the continued decrease in the slave population of the West Indies, and the other the amount of punishments for crime among them. The slave population, within the last thirty or forty years, had decreased in an alarming proportion, while the free blacks had gone on multiplying, and had nearly doubled their numbers in less than forty years. The increase of crime, too, was to be ascribed to the abject misery of the slave population. From the records in these islands, it appeared that, in ninety-nine cases of crime out of a hundred, it was to be ascribed to the evils of slavery alone. The learned Gentleman then combated the argument, that the slave in the West Indies was better off than the labourers of this country, and enumerated the various advantages possessed by the latter over the former. The slave, he observed, had no power of choosing his master or his work, or changing either of them. He was at the absolute command of his master, and must do the work appointed by him. He had no power even to keep his master if he liked him, for he was liable to be sold to a strange master, who might alter his course of work at pleasure. He had no voice in the matter. He was even liable to be sold to pay his master's debts—to be separated from the members of his own family—he might be sent away, and was in fact, frequently separated, from his child, or from his wife. The work required of them too was far more oppressive than any that was voluntarily performed by the poorest manufacturer in Lancashire labouring for his own offspring—(Cheers.) Their average hours of labour were 15 or 16 out of the 24. And in addition to this, when they considered the fact that they were *driven* at their work by the lash of the cart-whip, a single application of which cut through the skin, and if repeated, lacerated the flesh, what audacity was it to tell us that they were contented and happy, and better off than the common labourers of this country!—(Loud applause.) Yet this terrible lash was the

necessary accompaniment of their field work, to which they were driven by it; the power of the master or overseer in inflicting it (blasphemously parodying the Scripture,) being limited to thirty-nine lashes;—and these forty stripes save one, the master or overseer might inflict at his own pleasure, and without challenge. It was impossible to suppose that human nature was proof against the temptation to abuse a power like this. In this country, again, for the poorest classes a school was open where they might be taught letters and morality, and for every soul of them a minister was provided at the public expense, to instruct them in religion. Were the negroes better off in this respect?—No! It had been the policy of their masters to keep them in brutal ignorance. They had studiously endeavoured to exclude Christian missionaries from the colonies; chapels and meeting-houses had been pulled down and razed, and even the persons of the ministers invaded and tortured to the death—(Applause.) As a proof that it was the set purpose of West India proprietors to put down all attempts to instruct the negroes, he referred to their refusal to appoint any other day than Sunday for holding their markets. In consequence of another recent enactment, no negro was allowed to attend worship at all, between the setting and rising of the sun; and as they must work from the rising to the setting of that luminary, it was evident that they had no time for worship at all,—for on Sunday they must cultivate their provision grounds. It was the duty of every man who had been taught to look his fellow-creature in the face to exert himself to put an end to this hapless slavery; and he trusted he had said enough to satisfy all who heard him that slavery was an abominable curse and crime, and that the only cure for the evils which he had enumerated was emancipation. He contended that every pretence which had been made for perpetuating slavery was false and groundless. They were told that if they emancipated the slaves, they would cut their masters' throats, and would cut each others' throats. He would answer the slaveholders by saying—'They have been in your hands since 1806, and if they were then brutally ignorant, you have left them so. If they are vicious or immoral, have not you permitted or encouraged it by your remissness or your example? If they are revengeful, have not you excited the feeling by the wrongs you have done them? If they are unwilling to work, who but yourselves have taught them to associate industry with feelings of degradation?'—(Loud applause.) He contended that any danger from emancipation was almost or entirely obviated since the abolition of the slave trade; as there were now no fresh importations of men smarting under the feelings of being torn from their friends, or the remembrance of the happy scenes of their youth. The West India slaves were now all trained to painful industry, and even accustomed to do some work voluntarily for their own behoof. What danger or difficulty would there be, in now doing what the Government of this country had, thirty-eight years ago, by the mouth of Lord Melville, declared might be accomplished in eight years from that date?—(Hear! hear! hear!) What paltry sophistry could be brought forward against a resolution, that from the 1st of January 1831, all negro children born in the West Indies should be free?—(Loud cheers.) The young

race would then every year afford a strong pledge for the good conduct of their parents; and he believed that eventually the loss to the masters would be nothing.—Mr. Jeffrey concluded a speech of more than two hours in delivery, (of the impressive eloquence of which this slight abstract can convey but a faint idea,) by moving a series of resolutions, on which it was proposed to found a petition to Parliament, praying for the abolition of negro slavery at the earliest practicable period; and that all negro children born after the 1st of January 1831, should be free. The learned Dean* sat down amid loud cheering.

The Rev. Dr. John Ritchie seconded the resolutions, and in the course of an energetic speech, mentioned that he had recently had the high honour of putting his hand to a similar petition, as representative of a court consisting of 300 ministers, conveying to Parliament the sentiments of the church with which he was connected, and of all its members, in this great and good cause. †

The Rev. Dr. A. Thomson next addressed the meeting in a very powerful speech. He praised the proposed resolutions as excellent, so far as they went, but objected to them as not going far enough. He thought the word "*immediately*" ought to be inserted in lieu of "*the earliest practicable period*,"—the latter being, in his opinion, an expression which the enemies of emancipation would eagerly grasp at, in order to delay abolition to an indefinite future period; for with them the *earliest practicable period* would always be in the future tense. The word "*immediately*" was, therefore, he contended, absolutely necessary. He would beg this assembly to look to the history of this question. What had it been, in regard to the philanthropists of this country, but a history of vain and abortive, though generous, attempts to put down slavery? What, in regard to the Government, but a history of affected or mistaken confidence in Colonial Legislatures and West India planters—a confidence which had been abused as often as reposed in them? What in respect to the Christian people of this country, but a history of sad disappointment and delusion?—What as regarded the West India legislators, but a history of hollow professions, deceitful promises, rebellious doings, principles and maxims which, if adopted, would go to put off altogether, and for ever, the consummation so devoutly to be wished, the deliverance of 800,000 individuals from all the evils and miseries of West Indian bondage?—(Loud applause.) Without entering into the details of that history, he trusted all present would be convinced, that if they did not go farther than was proposed by the resolutions, they would be compromising the eternal principles of justice, and putting in their place maxims of expediency, arrangements of pounds, shillings, and pence, and imaginary

* Mr. Jeffrey was then Dean of the Faculty of Advocates.

† Dr. Ritchie presided as Moderator of the Synod of the Associate Secession Church, at its last meeting in September, when a petition to Parliament for the early and total abolition of Slavery was unanimously agreed upon by that venerable body, in their collective capacity; and congregational petitions were, at the same time, urgently recommended to be sent up by all the churches under their charge.

apprehensions, in opposition to the claims of religion and justice, and the dearest rights of men—(Applause). If they argued about expediency, that was a point on which the slaveholders would willingly meet them. They would be glad to divert them from the principle, and battle with them about expediency. He trusted the country would not tolerate this for one moment. The slaveholders endeavoured to divert us from the idea of immediate abolition by expatiating on the evil consequences of such a measure. They talked of the bloodshed and massacre which would ensue, and the brutal treatment they might expect from their emancipated slaves; and yet they tell us that their slaves are as comfortable and happy as the people of this country. If that be the case, let us take them at their word, and where will be the danger of emancipation? Were the slaves to resent injuries they had never suffered, or revenge wrongs that had never been inflicted? The argument, in fact, was a mere bugbear. They were afraid, they pretended, of the risk of bloodshed. He would deprecate as much as any man the shedding of blood; but he would rather that some blood was shed, *if necessary*, than that 800,000 individuals should remain for ever in the hopeless bondage of West India slavery, which was an infinitely greater evil than all that could be suffered by their opponents. There was no comparison between the two evils, if we must have one—(Great applause.) But then, we were told that the slaves were *not prepared* for immediate emancipation. If this was the case, he would say, with the Learned Dean of Faculty, the fault was their masters'. They had known for a long series of years the feelings of the British nation, and the intention of the legislature; and why were they not prepared? Just because they defied the legislature, and did not wish them prepared. If any evils were really to be apprehended, it was a duty of the legislature to enact such other contemporaneous measures as would provide against these evils, and accomplish the security of both masters and slaves. He held that at whatever period the legislature should enact the abolition of slavery, their duty would only be half done, if they did not, as far as in them lay, do every thing to promote the temporal welfare as well as the spiritual and eternal interest of the slaves whom they emancipated. Nothing would be more easy than to make such provisions, and to guard against evils which might arise from the enactment. It was the opinion of every man that religious instruction was the best mode of preparing the slaves for freedom; but he would ask what had been done in this respect? The slaveholders professed to allow religious instruction, but their arrangements made it physically impossible for the slave to get what they pretended to give; and the inference he drew from this was, that they were unwilling that the slaves should be prepared for emancipation. Dr. T. objected to another point in the resolutions—that which proposed to secure emancipation by declaring all the negro children, after a certain date, to be born free. He thought it was indirectly sanctioning the principle that those born before that period were lawfully kept in bondage. He suggested other objections also at some length to this proposition. On the whole view of the case, he thought the meeting would not do justice to their own feelings—to the slaves, or to the country—unless they went forward

and told the legislature that they must have *immediate* emancipation. They were a free and enlightened christian people, and could judge of a case like this as well as any legislature on the face of the earth—(Loud cheers). He would not recommend any violation of the constitution, or advocate the cause of anarchy; but he would say that they ought to tell the legislature plainly and strongly, that no man had a title to property in man; and that there were 800,000 individuals sighing in bondage under the intolerable evils of West India slavery, who had as good a title to be free as they had; that they *ought* to be free, and that they *must* be made free—(Loud cheering). He was satisfied that, if they went forward with a petition of this kind, they would let not only the legislature see, but the West India interest (which he was sorry to say was a great deal too strong) see that they were no more to be bamboozled or put off any longer in this great claim of humanity and justice—(Cheers.) The Rev. Doctor concluded by saying that he did not wish to divide the meeting by proposing any amendment to the resolutions; but merely rose to state his sentiments on the subject. There was a loud cry, however, in different quarters of ‘move, move,’ and Dr. Thomson accordingly moved as an amendment, that the word *immediately* should be inserted, and the proposition regarding children, expunged.

This amendment having been seconded, an animated discussion ensued, in which Mr. James Simpson, advocate, Mr. Wilson, a planter from Trinidad, and the Lord Provost, warmly opposed Dr. Thomson. Dr. T. stoutly defended his positions; and the gentleman who had seconded his amendment supported him in a speech, which he concluded with the well-known Latin adage, ‘*Fiat justitia ruat cælum,*’ ‘Let us do justice, be the consequence what it may.’ Upon this, the Lord Provost arose, and left the chair, declaring that he could not, in his capacity of chief magistrate of Edinburgh, countenance a meeting where such sentiments were applauded.

This abrupt and uncalled for abandonment of the chair, which no one present could be induced to occupy in his stead, and some discrepancy of sentiment on the question of gradual or immediate emancipation, between a certain portion of the managing committee and the majority who sided with Dr. T., led necessarily to an adjournment of the meeting. A vote of thanks to the Anti-Slavery Committee and a unanimous declaration that no discourtesy was intended towards the Lord Provost, were however first unanimously adopted; and a resolution passed by acclamation, that another meeting should be speedily held in the same place, to support an energetic petition to Parliament for the total and immediate abolition of Negro Slavery.

2. SECOND MEETING AT EDINBURGH.

On the 19th of October, a second meeting of the friends of Negro emancipation was held at Edinburgh. An able and well-conducted newspaper (*The Scotsman*,) describes it as being one of the largest and most respectable meetings ever assembled in that intellectual city. The Great Assembly Room, in which it was held, was crowded to overflowing. The audience, consisting almost exclusively of the well-

educated and most intelligent ranks of society, amounted to not less than 1,200 persons. A petition to the legislature, on the principles of *immediate emancipation*, was moved by Dr. Thomson, "and supported" (says the Scotsman,) "by an address, which for clearness of statement, bold and masterly argument, and an eloquence that kept the feelings engaged in the conclusions arrived at by the judgment, we have never heard surpassed." As this able speech has been since printed, and may be had on application at 18, Aldermanbury, we need not here attempt any analysis of it. It deserves, and we trust will obtain, a very extensive circulation throughout the country.

At this meeting, which was conducted with the most perfect decorum and unanimity of sentiment, the chair was occupied (in the absence of Lord Moncrief, the president,) by John More, Esq. advocate; and the principal speakers, besides Dr. Thomson, were the Rev. James Buchannan, Rev. Mr. M'Lean, of Leith, Dr. John Ritchie, Rev. J. Haldane, Dr. Grenville, and Mr. William Ritchie. At the close of the proceedings, the formation of a Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, (the first, we believe, in Scotland,) was announced, comprising amongst its members many ladies eminent in rank, and distinguished for intelligence and active benevolence.

The petition adopted at this meeting was subsequently signed by upwards of 22,000 respectable inhabitants; and has been since forwarded for presentation to the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor Brougham, and to the Commons by Sir T. Denman. The substance of its prayer is comprised in the following clauses:—

"That the voice of a disappointed and impatient nation now calls loudly for some prompt and comprehensive measure to redress the bondman's wrongs; and that your petitioners, as a part of that nation, can now no longer repress the full and earnest expression of their conviction, that man cannot hold property in man; that slavery is a violation of the principles of natural right, and of the laws of revealed religion; that it involves severities on the part of the slaveholder, and sufferings on the part of the slave, which no laws can prevent; that to keep up by taxation a system so essentially iniquitous, ought to be felt as an intolerable burden, both by the legislature and the people; that all attempts at palliative and preparatory measures, while the unjust and immoral principle of the system remains, must be delusive, and have hitherto only mocked the sufferings of the slave, riveted the prejudices, and consolidated the opposition of the slaveholder, and left upon the nation the unmitigated guilt of these flagrant wrongs; and that nothing less can satisfy the demands of eternal justice, than the full and absolute termination of the evil.

"That your petitioners therefore do approach your most Honourable House, not only with a deep feeling of compassion for 800,000 oppressed and suffering slaves, but under the heavier pressure of a conscience burdened with the guilt of participation in the iniquitous oppression; and with all the energy with which a petitioning people can respectfully urge a representative legislature, do implore your most Honourable House in its wisdom to adopt effectual measures for the immediate and total abolition of Slavery throughout the Colonies of the Empire.

"And that, at the same time, your petitioners, equally anxious for the safety and improvement of the black population, and for the securing to the white inhabitants the uninjured and peaceful enjoyment of their legitimate possessions; do also petition your most Honourable House, contemporaneously with the decree for the abolition of Slavery, to make such provisional enactments as shall be necessary or expedient, for protecting the white population, if their safety shall

appear to be endangered—for promoting the temporal welfare and moral improvement of the negroes, and in general for securing the interests of all parties who may be affected by the great measure of emancipation.”

3. PERTH.

We shall notice the other principal Anti-Slavery meetings that have recently taken place in Scotland, before we turn to the other quarters of the United Kingdom.

On the 13th of October a numerous meeting of the inhabitants of Perth was held in one of the churches of that city. The chair was taken by J. Meliss Nairne, Esq. of Dunsinane; and the meeting was successively addressed by the Rev. W. A. Thomson, Rev. Dr. Pringle, Rev. Messrs. Young, Newlands, Jamieson, R. Thomson, Mr. James M'Laren, and by Mr. Alston, a native of the West Indies, now resident in Perth. Several of the speeches were very impressive, and all of them evinced much acquaintance with the history and effects of slavery. “West Indian slavery,” said the Rev. Robert Thomson, “is a system which gives to one man arbitrary power over the person and goods and family of his fellow and his brother;—it is that which degrades an immortal being to a level with his beast of burden, and ignominiously associates a living spirit with his goods and chattels;—it is that which denounces, denies, or obstructs the sacred rite of matrimony; or, where this blessed union has been effected, assumes to itself the right of cutting the knot which God’s own finger had tied, and unceremoniously and barbarously separates the wife from the husband, and even the mother from her child;—it is that which places the person of the slave entirely under the absolute control of vicious masters, or their agents; which control is often used for the corrupting of the young, and the polluting of the most hallowed relations of life;—it is that which refuses to man the day of rest, which God designed for the very beast;—it is that which sanctions the use of the cart-whip, and the flogging of females *indecently*;—it is that which allows to be perpetrated with impunity enormities too odious and obscene even to be named. And this complicated system of black iniquity and intolerable oppression is supported, and defended, and continued from generation to generation, by this free and Christian nation,—darkening our history and degrading our character, and weighing us down with the guilt of blood, until ‘earth is sick and heaven is weary’ of our national wickedness.”

The resolutions passed at this meeting expressed “their unalterable determination to leave no lawful means unattempted for bringing about, by parliamentary enactment, and at the earliest possible period, the entire abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions.”

4. KELSO.

On the 21st of October an Anti-Slavery meeting was held at Kelso; the Rev. R. Lundie in the chair. The Rev. Messrs. Bates, Renton, M’Cheyne, Hall, and Mr. James Simpson, Advocate, addressed the assembly; and a petition to parliament was adopted, praying the legislature to adopt effectual means “for paving the way for the reception of the blessings of freedom; and to fix a specific time beyond which slavery should cease to exist in any part of the British empire.”

5. ABERDEEN.

On the 27th of October a meeting of the friends of Negro emancipation was held at Aberdeen, a city that has long distinguished itself by zealous exertion in the Anti-Slavery cause. The Hall in Union Street, where the assembly met, though capable of containing upwards of a thousand persons, was crowded to excess, and many hundreds of respectable inhabitants, including some of those who were to have addressed the meeting, found it impossible to gain admittance. The chair was occupied by the Rev. Dr. Morrison, of Banchory, who, in an opening address, deplored the removal by death, since their last meeting in 1828, of not fewer than seven of the best supporters of the cause, and, among others, of their late venerable chairman, Dr. Robert Hamilton, distinguished not less by his ardent zeal in the cause of humanity than by his eminence in literature and political science.

The meeting was successively addressed by several gentlemen, in animated speeches, evincing in many cases an intimate acquaintance with the practical details and bearings of the question, not less than ardour in the high moral and political principles on which, as freemen and Christians, we are bound to consider it.

The following Ministers of the town and environs were the principal speakers: Rev. Messrs. Foote, Leith, Spence, Thorburn, Simpson, Angus, Penman, Cocking, Clowes, and Principal Jack, of the University. A petition was agreed upon, "urgently imploring parliament to proceed forthwith to devise and enact the wisest and best measures for insuring the early and final abolition of slavery."

6. PAISLEY.

An Anti-Slavery meeting was held at Paisley, in the Court Hall, on the 1st of November; James Carlile, Esq. in the chair. It was numerously attended. The subject was discussed with great ability by the following speakers: J. M. Bell, Esq. Advocate, Rev. Dr. Burns, Rev. Messrs. M^cDiarmid, M^cNair, Baird, Smart, and Kennedy. The speech of Dr. Burns has since been published in a separate form, and is well worth the attention of our readers.*

7. GLASGOW.

On the 11th of November, a public meeting of the friends of negro emancipation was held at Glasgow, with a view to petition Parliament. The chair was occupied by Anthony Wigham, Esq. who opened the proceedings by an animated address. The Rev. Dr. Wardlaw followed, in a speech distinguished for high argumentative eloquence. We extract the following specimen:

"From the defenders of slavery, we hear a great deal about exaggeration. They allege that some of the facts adduced to impress the public mind are false, and that others are greatly aggravated. When they discover one of this description, they make the most of it; and would fain adopt, and persuade others to adopt the maxim, '*Ex uno disce omnes.*' And not a few are in danger of applying the maxim, and of having their sentiment of condemnation thus weakened; so that

* Copies may be had at 18, Aldermanbury.

they report the counter-statements they have heard, with minds unsettled, and almost reduced to neutrality. They hear the printed journal of the atrocities of slavery traduced as a parcel of lies, the inventions and exaggerations of malice; they have specimens adduced, in which the falsehood or the aggravation, they cannot but think, is fairly made out; and their antipathies to slavery are brought almost to a mere negation. That exaggerated accounts have been occasionally circulated we may readily admit: it were almost a miracle that it should be otherwise. But I cannot allow such a charge as that of any thing like frequent mis-statement to be brought against the printed record to which I have alluded. The Anti-Slavery Reporter is compiled under the full assurance that there is an eye of vigilant jealousy which will closely scrutinise every article, and every particular of every article that appears there, and will drag to light, and expose to public obloquy, every thing that can be detected in the form of mis-statement. Even with this knowledge, strong as is the pledge of veracity and careful inquiry afforded by it, it would be wonderful that there never had been a slip. And yet, taking the whole average mass of its monthly contents for a series of years, the Editors might adopt the language of the angry patriarch, and say to their keenest and most virulent inquisitor, 'whereas thou hast searched all my stuff, what hast thou found?' But Sir, I will give the objector the benefit of a large allowance. The facts themselves are so multiplied, that we can easily afford it. I ask, what is the inference? Our principle is, that *Slavery is a bad thing, and ought to be abolished*. How stands the counter-argument? 'You say that Slavery is a bad thing; but some of the alleged facts in support of your position have been found exaggerated or groundless; so that?'—So that what? what is the conclusion? that *Slavery is a good thing, and ought to be continued*? Unless the premises carry to this, they are nothing to the purpose. But, alas, for the Logic! How would it do in application to some other subjects? Suppose we take Persecution. There can be little doubt, that occasionally there have been false and exaggerated representations of particular facts in the history of persecution. Individuals may have been represented as killed, when they were only tortured; as tortured, when they were only banished; as banished, when they were only imprisoned; as having lost both eyes, when they only lost one; as having been put upon the rack, when they were only thumb-screwed; or as having received fifty lashes, when it was only forty-nine, or even, if you will, none at all; and a thousand may have been stated as massacred, when there were only nine hundred. We can conceive an endless variety of ways in which there may have been greater or slighter mis-statements. What is the inference? That persecution is a good thing? or that it should not be condemned and reprobated so strongly, in the principle or the practice of it, or branded with quite so deep a stigma of infamy, as, in these happy times of liberty of conscience, we have learned to affix to it? I shall only say, that the one inference would be as good as the other. Both are unsound and worthless.

"In the same spirit, Sir, we are many a time assured, that the idea

we have of the condition of the slaves is a very false one:—that they are well fed, and well seen to; that they are on the average better off than many of the working classes of our own country; that they do not feel their slavery, but, if only let alone by officious intermeddlers, would be merry and happy. But, Sir, keeping to general principles, I would first of all ask,—looking at the simple fact of 800,000 slaves, portioned out amongst I know not how many owners and superintendants,—and taking into account the natural and ascertained tendencies of slavery to degrade on the one side and to harden on the other,—whether it be in the nature of things, whether it be within the range of moral possibilities, that there should not exist an incalculable accumulation of wrong and outrage? We are, *a priori*, prepared to expect it. On the averages of human nature, we feel satisfied that it cannot be otherwise; and that there is a previous verisimilitude in any tale of horror that comes to us as the product of such a system; although such tales there have been, possessing features of atrocity so hideous, that but for their thorough authentication, they must have stunned us into incredulity. Keeping to general principles, I ask farther—slaves being regarded in general simply as so much farm stock, and estimated by the quantum of bone and muscle, and physical capability,—am I not right when I say, that similar principles of treatment are applied to them with those applied to any other animal machine, in the shape of horse or ox? Now there are here two systems of solution for the same practical problem. The problem is, how to bring the greatest amount of product from the animal's labour, whether brute or human. The first system is, exacting as much labour as possible in a short time. The other is, exacting less labour, and making the animal last the longer. The one method wearing out the physical powers quickly, but making them the more productive while they last; the other, wearing them out more slowly, and gaining in time what is deficient in toil. Now, the man who knows his own interest, must know, as a general principle, that whichever of these plans be followed, good feeding and careful treatment are necessary to its efficiency. But in the case of the slave, as well as of the brute, it is, in nine cases out of ten, a calculation of interest. And alas! in how many thousands and tens of thousands of cases do the hasty, the capricious, or the malignant tempers, which are either natural, or produced by the very tendencies of absolute domination, miserably overcome the principles of mercenary calculation, and make the victims of that domination feel the yoke to be cruelly galling? And even their good treatment, Sir, what is it? It is just the good treatment of their fellow-labourers, the horse, the ox, and the mule! And where is the British peasant, or the British mechanic, from John o'Groat's to the Land's End, who would, for such feeding and such treatment, relinquish his freedom, sell himself at a valuation, become a part of the goods and chattels of another, his absolute property, one of his live stock, a human brute, to be tasked at his mercy, and disposed of at his pleasure? Where is the man who would not prefer to such a condition the free sweat of his brow, were it compensated by no more than his crust of bread and his mouthful of water? Think not,

O think not, that I speak lightly of the sufferings of my fellow-countrymen at home. If the man is to be found who would make such a choice, he is deeply to be pitied. He has been rendered abject by the pressure of his condition. But here again, what is the inference? That because the mere physical condition of *some* of the negro slaves is superior (admitting for the sake of argument the assertions of the West Indians to be true,) to the physical condition of *some* of our labourers at home, we should therefore let the slaves alone, and that all our talk about them is the mere cant and whining of sentimentalism; and all our zeal, and all our petitioning, and all our efforts, the drivelling of a hypocritical enthusiasm, that is careless of distress at our door, and 'will be meddling' with what is none of its concerns? No, Sir, the legitimate inference is, not that we should give up caring for the negro, but that we should care more than ever for the suffering poor amongst ourselves. Sir, from the bottom of my heart, I sigh over the thought, that there should exist any ground for the degrading comparison. And sure I am, that if any measures can be brought into legitimate operation for lifting the burden of poverty and its attendant evils, from any class of our countrymen on whom it heavily presses, there is not a man on this platform who would not lend heart and hand to its promotion, who would not be ready to show, that the friend of the Negro slave is the friend of the British peasant, the friend of mankind."

The Rev. Messrs. Heugh, Greville Ewing, and Beattie, likewise delivered long and able addresses; and the Rev. Dr. Patrick M'Farlane, in moving one of the resolutions, adverted to an attack from the Glasgow Courier, in the following terms: "At the last meeting of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, a petition to Parliament for the abolition of slavery was agreed to. A Journal, the organ of the West India interest in this city, has since animadverted on the conduct of the Synod, observing, that the Ministers of Glasgow derived their stipends from the prosperity of the West India interest; and if they effected the abolition of slavery, they must have their stipends reduced one-half—as much as to say: Take care, you are nursed by the West India interest; and you had better keep in amity with that powerful body. He came there that day to resist the attack made on the independence of himself and colleagues. He would tell that Journalist that no influence should deter him from the right of thinking and acting for himself; and he would pledge himself for the Ministers of Glasgow, that they were of the same mind. They held it as their indefeasible right to act and think for themselves, on all subjects; and they would not be frowned down by the most wealthy or powerful body, or by any influence whatever, from exercising their undoubted privilege. The writer attempts to alarm them by a reference to pecuniary considerations, but he rejected with disdain the foul insinuation that they were guided by pecuniary motives. He cast from himself and brethren, with the utmost scorn and indignation, such an imputation; his colleagues had acted honestly and independently, and they would continue to do so. (Applause.) The letter in question was signed D.C., (which he interpreted, Defender of the Colonies,) South Welling-

ton Place. (A laugh.) This redoubtable journalist*—this pampered and well paid supporter of the West India interest—this declaimer against the rights of 800,000 black men, and as had been shown, of white men too—(a laugh)—knew too well that his sophistry would not do with men of education; and he therefore attacks what he supposes to be the weak side of the Ministers of Glasgow; and he says, in effect, ‘Gentlemen, take care of your interests!’ It must be a bad cause indeed which required such support. If the cause was a good one, if it was consistent with humanity, why did its supporters not appeal to a public meeting? It would be curious to see an advertisement in the Courier for instance calling a meeting in the Assembly Rooms on such a day and at such an hour to take into consideration the best means of perpetuating the ineffable blessing of slavery, not only in the West Indies, but to extend it over all the nations of the earth! † (Laughter.)”

* The well known Mr. Macqueen is alluded to.

† The *Pro-Slavery* party in Glasgow have not ventured to call a public meeting; but they are now assiduously promoting a petition to Parliament, praying for *gradual emancipation*. And assuredly, as in the hands of the Planters even amelioration has been during the last 23 years so gradual as to be in many points actually retrogressive, we may look for emancipation, under such auspices, at the millennium—and not till then. We subjoin two of the clauses of this petition, as illustrative of the tone the West India party have recently assumed, for the obvious purpose of baffling the aims of the Abolitionists now, as they succeeded in baffling them for 20 years in the question of the Slave Trade,—by plausible pretexts for indefinite delay. Who, with a knowledge of the actual facts, can read without scorn and indignation their delusive and mendacious assertions about the pretended “efforts dictated by a just zeal” “being made to instruct him (the slave) in the principles of a holy religion and pure morality,” “under the protection and encouragement of his owner”!! And this they have the matchless effrontery to state, while they are persecuting (as we still find them doing by the very latest arrivals from Jamaica) both Missionaries and slaves, even to death, for communicating and receiving religious instruction! Marking merely a few of the hypocritical phrases of the following extract in Italics, we leave our readers to compare such professions with the general and unvarying treatment of the Slaves, as unveiled in our previous pages, and in Mr. Stephen’s invaluable and unanswerable “Delineation of Slavery.”

“That the *humanity* of resisting the slave’s immediate enfranchisement, is rendered still more evident by the fact, that meanwhile, *under the protection and encouragement of his owner, every effort dictated by a just zeal, and warranted by a prudent regard to circumstances, is being made to instruct him in the principles of a holy religion and pure morality*; and thus, by elevating him in the scale of civilization, to fit him for ultimately enjoying in a right spirit that freedom, which at present he values only as holding out a prospect of total exemption from labour, and unrestrained indulgence of those low appetites that always predominate in the savage character.—That, by allowing *the accessories to civilization thus already at work*, to operate their natural results in a gradual and peaceable manner, the Slave will at length become ready to enter on the enjoyment of entire freedom, without any shock being given to society, or *any risk encountered as to his own future destiny*: and therefore, since in no other way it is possible to reconcile the interests of all parties, and avoid either the robbery of the Colonists, the imposition of an insufferably large compensation-tax on this already over-taxed country, or *a direct violation of the humanity due to the Slave himself*,—it is demanded by right feeling, as well as by sound policy, that a deaf ear should

A series of resolutions were unanimously adopted, from which we extract the following :—

“That granting the desirableness, so incessantly pleaded by the slave-holders, and the advocates of their system, of preparing the slaves, by a previous process of mental culture, and especially of moral and religious instruction, for appreciating, enjoying, and rightly using their proposed freedom,—it is as lamentable as it is notorious, that by those who urge this plea, no general and efficient measures have yet been adopted for imparting the necessary preparation, so that were their intentions to be judged by their conduct, it would seem, with some honourable and praiseworthy exceptions, as if instead of being in earnest for the attainment of the ultimate design, they were rather desirous to retain the convenient plea, in undiminished force, for an indefinite futurity.

“That the system having grown to such an extent, and involving in it so great a variety of conflicting interests, it is not reasonably to be expected that any devisable scheme of emancipation should be unencumbered with difficulties; that those measures are entitled to preference which most effectually combine the two commands to ‘do justly’ and to ‘love mercy;’ that desirous as we are of the immediate extinction of all slavery, as a violation of the birthright of fellow-men, and a foul stain on our country’s character and honour, we shall rejoice, if, on mature consideration of claims and consequences, the British legislature shall find itself in a condition to restore the right, and to wipe off the stain by one glorious act of instant liberation; but should the case still appear as requiring measures of more gradual operation, it is in our judgment indispensable, that the salutary proposals which have already been approved by Parliament, instead of being any longer left, in any case, to the discretionary adoption of the colonial authorities, shall all be rendered imperative by express enactment, and their strict observance be penally enforced; so that the country may no longer be befooled by unexecuted orders and illusory promises.”

8. SCOTTISH SYNODS AND PRESBYTERIES.

Before leaving Scotland for the present, we have to add, with great satisfaction, that this cause has been advocated by the ministers of religion, in that country, both of the established church and other denominations, with peculiar zeal and ability. Keeping the question of slavery, as it ought to be kept, distinct from all reference to party politics, the clergy of Scotland, generally, have justly viewed it to be their high duty and privilege to come forward prominently at this important conjuncture, to instruct and arouse the people under their charge to petition the legislature. They have also, in several cases, sent in their own solemn appeal for the abolition of Slavery in a collective capacity. The Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, as was stated by Dr. M’Farlane, have done so unanimously; and the Synods of Merse and Teviotdale, and of Lothian and Tweeddale, by overwhelming majorities. The Presbyteries of Edinburgh, Paisley, Selkirk, and, we believe, several others, have adopted the same meritorious course; and numerous parochial and congregational petitions, promoted by the clergy, have been presented to Parliament. It is but justice to notice, that

be turned to those who, guided only by abstract notions of philanthropy, and overlooking all considerations of practical wisdom, would precipitate at once a crisis, which cannot come upon us safely but as the effect of an adequate degree of civilization, produced by humanizing causes operating through a sufficient length of years.”

the United Synod of the Scottish Secession Church, representing upwards of three hundred congregations, led the way, as a religious body, in this work of justice and mercy.

9. BRADFORD.

On the 4th of October, a numerous meeting of the inhabitants of Bradford and its vicinity was held, with a view to address the Throne, and petition Parliament for the "speedy extinction" of negro slavery. The Rev. Henry Heap, Vicar of Bradford, was called to the chair; and the meeting was successively addressed by the Rev. G. S. Bull, Rev. Dr. Stedman, Rev. Messrs. Hudson, Morgan, Godwin,* and Fish, in very impressive speeches. The Rev. Mr. Hudson, who is a Baptist minister, and was formerly a missionary in Jamaica, observed that the colonists talked much of the evils and perils which might be apprehended to result from the abolition of slavery in the West Indies; but that in his opinion, formed after three years' residence there, these apprehensions were groundless. After discussing and illustrating this part of the question at some length, and demonstrating the futility of the threats of the colonists to rebel and throw themselves into the hands of the Americans, should abolition be carried in parliament, Mr. Hudson detailed some facts of which he had been a witness, illustrative of the inhumanity with which the slaves were frequently treated. Among other cruelties, he had himself seen a boy laid down to be flogged, and his mother compelled to hold him whilst his brother administered fifty-two lashes; and, during the castigation, the master took the whip from the brother's hand, and flogged *him* for not flogging hard enough. It was, he added, common to see women flogged by the drivers with the cart-whip, a terrible instrument from five to seven feet long. Notwithstanding the law which forbids working between seven o'clock on Saturday night and seven on Monday morning, he had frequently seen mills and carts at work on Sunday. And who was to inform against the practice? Self-interest operated through every heart, from one end of the country to the other, and therefore it could never be expected that the colonists would abolish the system by which they were supported. The statement that it would be impossible to evangelize the negroes was false, because it was founded on the principle that they were not men but brutes. Indeed he had seen a letter in the Montego Bay Gazette, published in 1828, in which the writer held that negroes were neither men nor brutes, but a certain mixed species!"

10. MELKSHAM.

Early in October an Anti-Slavery meeting was held at Melksham, when several energetic resolutions were passed, and petitions to both Houses of Parliament agreed upon. The Rev. Messrs. Hume, Newton, Johnson, Rogers, Elliot, Honywill, Keene, and Parry; and Messrs. Withy, Fowler, Awdry, and Hulbert, respectively addressed the assembly with great effect. Mr. Withy, in a speech of considerable

* Author of "Lectures on Slavery."

length, delineated the evils and miseries of slavery, as he had personally witnessed them a few years ago in the southern states of America. He had there seen the slaves driven by the whip on the public roads, from place to place, like droves of cattle. He had seen men, women, and children of all ages, exposed for sale in the public markets, in the same manner precisely as cattle are exposed in the fairs and markets of this country; and, on these occasions, every regard to decency was set at defiance. That the negroes were endowed with the same intellectual powers as Europeans, had been, he said, demonstrated to his perfect satisfaction, on his personal observation of schools in America for black and coloured children, where he had seen them pass their examinations in the different branches of literature with ability quite equal to what he had ever witnessed in our schools at home.

11. TRURO.

On the 8th of October, the Annual Meeting of the Truro Anti-Slavery Society was held in the Assembly Room of that town. Wm. Tweedy, Esq. was called to the chair; and the meeting was successively addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Clarke, Martin, Trist, Moore, and by Messrs. W. M. Tweedy and W. T. Blair. Several of the speeches were very able; but the necessity which our limits impose of restricting our extracts within narrow boundaries, compels us to pass over this meeting, like many others, without giving even an outline of the proceedings. The meeting separated under a deep impression of the duty of uniting in every legal means of putting an early and total end to the criminal and degrading system.

12. KINGSTON-ON-THAMES.

On the same day, (October 8th,) a public meeting to petition Parliament for the extinction of slavery, and to establish an Anti-Slavery Association, was held at Kingston-on-Thames. J. I. Briscoe, Esq. M. P. was called to the chair, and introduced the business by an appropriate address. He was well supported by Mr. H. Pownall, in a long and impressive speech; and also by the Hon. and Rev. Gerard Noel, Mr. Joseph Wilson, of Clapham, Rev. A. Churchill, Messrs. Phillips, Strachan, Palmer, Chalk, &c. An energetic petition was adopted.

13. FALMOUTH.

On the 11th of October, a meeting was held at Falmouth, with the view of forming an Anti-Slavery Association, and promoting petitions to Parliament. The chair was occupied by J. Cornish, Esq. Mayor; and the meeting was addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Harding, Davies, Clarke, Muscut; and by Messrs. Blair, Bond, Budd, and Dr. Boase. We must confine ourselves to a brief notice of the valuable testimony of the Rev. Mr. Davies, respecting West India slavery. Having been recently a missionary in the West Indies, he gives his evidence as an eye-witness.

He came forward, he said, to give his voluntary testimony against West India slavery, as a system unsanctioned by the word of God, re-

pugnant to the rights of mankind, and opposed to every good principle in human nature. Admitting that some facts may have been mis-stated, some acts of cruelty unintentionally exaggerated, the colonists had little cause to complain; for were every thing fairly adjusted—every inaccuracy corrected, and exaggeration retracted, and, on the other side, the manifold atrocities brought to light which are now unknown, the case of the planters would appear much worse than it does at present. There were, it is true, *some* planters who treat their slaves with humanity—who are careful to restrict the unmeasured use of the whip—who make provision for their wants—shew them considerable attention when sick—and even provide for their religious instruction; but such treatment, said Mr. D. is the exception, not the general rule, in the West Indies: by far the greater proportion of the planters are criminal in the sight of God and man.—He maintained that there is no analogy between the slavery allowed among the Jews and that which prevails in our colonies, either in origin or practice. A man who should acquire a slave under the Jewish law, by robbery, as our negro slaves were acquired, was liable to be put to death. The Jews held a slave in bondage six years, and then allowed him to go free, with a provision for his immediate wants. An individual might, indeed, voluntarily relinquish his right to liberty, and remain in a state of bondage; but the Jubilee terminated even contracts of that kind. Was there any thing of the mildness and mercifulness of this species of servitude to be found in West India slavery? Again, under the old dispensation, the Jewish master was directed to give his bondman a reasonable support, and to treat him with kindness and humanity; and no ignominious punishment was to be inflicted upon him, lest he should appear vile in the estimation of his brethren. But how different was the case in our colonies! The planters, no doubt, asserted that the slaves were well provided for. But it is not the case. A poor slave, on one occasion, told him (Mr. Davies) that he wished to attend the sacrament, but was afraid to come, because he was compelled to sell and buy on the Sabbath-day. Three herrings and a half per week for himself, and a herring and a half for each child, was not sufficient, he said, to keep them, and one suit of clothes was not enough for the year; and so they were obliged to go to market and thus obtain support. This was the testimony of an individual making no complaint, and who was, in fact, a great deal better off than many of his brethren. One poor man who had been most shamefully treated, after telling Mr. Davies his piteous tale, remarked—“Me cannot stand all this for religion.” And these were not solitary instances.—The planters see no evil in slavery. Their blindness to its evils was one of its most deplorable effects. Men may see so much and live so long as to lose the natural sensibilities of humanity, and even come at last to “put darkness for light, and evil for good.” This is the judicial curse of slavery upon its abettors. Under the old dispensation, so often referred to by the advocates of slavery, the bondman was respected as a being accountable to God; and the master was bound and encouraged to stimulate him to attend religious worship, and participate in the common privileges of the dispensation. All the great festivals were days

of delight to the slave as well as to the master ; while in the sabbatical year the produce of the fields was given to the slave equally with the other poor of the land. But the very circumstances under which the West India slaves are compelled to procure their subsistence necessarily occasioned the desecration of the Sabbath.

Mr. Bond, another speaker, said he had resided three years in a land of slavery, but had not seen enough of it to love it. He abhorred it under every form ; and from his own experience could refute the vile assertion, that the slave is better off than the poor of our own country. He denied that the slaves are, or can be, happy ; for he had witnessed the tender mercies of the slaveholders, that they are cruel. They did nothing for the slave beyond what self-interest imperatively exacted, and not even always that. Every thing else which justice and humanity claimed was left undone.

14. SOUTHAMPTON.

A numerous meeting was held at Southampton on the 11th of October, for the purpose of petitioning for the abolition of slavery. The chair was occupied by Dr. Nicoll ; and the evils of the system were fully and ably discussed by the Rev. Messrs. Maurice, Coleman, Crabb, Wilson, Bettridge, Adkins, Bromley, Genest, and Dr. Clarke. A petition for “the early and utter extinction of slavery” was agreed upon.

15. HUDDERSFIELD.

On the same day (Oct. 11) a numerous meeting of the inhabitants of Huddersfield and its vicinity, was held in the Court House of that town ; Mr. Beaumont in the chair. The slavery question was discussed in almost all its bearings, by the Rev. Messrs. Wyndham Maddan, Boothroyd, Haunch, Eagleton, Bunting, Farrar, Lynn ; and by Messrs. Sutcliffe, Cliff, Watt, Willans, Wilson, and Oldfield. Several very able speeches were delivered at this meeting, but we can only quote the following remarks from that of Mr. Watt, in the justice of which every one acquainted with the practical effects of slavery must fully acquiesce.—Speaking of the planters, he observed, “It is difficult to believe it possible that men endowed with the common feelings of humanity can be guilty of such atrocities towards their oppressed brethren, far less are we inclined readily to admit that ladies, losing the delicacy of their sex and the finer feelings of their nature, can witness these cruelties, and actually order inflictions which produce great bodily pain to the unhappy sufferers, and deaden the best sensibilities of their nature. It is difficult to believe such things, although their existence be undeniable, and therefore many are inclined to think that the same representations, the same arguments, and the same appeals that are successful when made to our feelings of mercy and our Christian principles, will operate in a powerful manner on the owners and superintendants of slaves, and produce an alteration of conduct. But it is not always remembered that man is in a great measure the creature of circumstances, and that very often the character is formed from the situation ; that the practices of one country, for which there may

be a complete toleration, would be considered as so many atrocities in another country; that what would revolt the public feeling in our own land, might attach no disgrace whatever to residents in some colonial settlement. If this be admitted as true, (and who is there that knows the world, and has studied human nature, but will admit the correctness of the description?) then I think it follows, that what would be revolting and abhorrent to our feelings in the conduct practised towards the slaves, and which we would term inhumanity, cruelty, and barbarity, may be viewed in a very different light, and called by very different names, by those who live in an atmosphere differing both naturally and morally from that which we have the inestimable privilege to enjoy. And this view of the subject will go a great way to explain how we cannot put faith in the owners and superintendants of slaves, and ought to determine us to rely upon their tender mercies no longer, but with united voices to send our last appeal to the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain,—telling them respectfully but firmly, that humanity, freedom, and Christianity require a speedy and utter extinction of colonial slavery.”

16. HANLEY AND SHELTON.

The same day (Oct. 11,) an anti-slavery meeting was held of the inhabitants of Hanley and Shelton, Staffordshire. The chief bailiff, W. Ridgway, Esq., occupied the chair; and the meeting was successively addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Edmonds, Smith, Shuttleworth, Newland, Davies, Waterhouse; and by Messrs. Josiah Wedgwood and Griffin. The speakers here, as at almost every similar meeting of which we have obtained a report, exhibited great knowledge of the subject. A petition to the legislature “for the immediate and utter extinction of slavery,” was adopted.

17. KENDAL.

On the 12th of October, a meeting to petition for “the early and utter abolition of slavery” was held at Kendal; Jonathan Hodgson, Esq., Mayor, in the chair. The assembly, says the ‘Westmoreland Gazette,’ was more numerous than was ever witnessed on any similar occasion. The speakers were the Rev. Messrs. Jones, Wilson, Rowland, Cousin; and Messrs. Crewdson, Moser, Marshall, and Benson. Mr. Crewdson introduced the business by a clear and succinct history of British colonial slavery, from its first introduction in the reign of Elizabeth to the present day; and the subject was subsequently elucidated in a very satisfactory manner by those who followed. The Rev. David Jones combated the allegation so often brought forward by the abettors of slavery, that it is a system countenanced by Scripture. After fully and successfully discussing this topic, he concluded an eloquent speech as follows:—“In the bay of Algiers, amid fire and smoke, and ruined works, and slaughtered men, England loudly and solemnly denounced the practice of slavery; and why should the same abominable practice be fostered and perpetuated in the British colonies? We have interfered on behalf of the Greeks to establish their liberties; and the Grand Sul-

tan of Turkey has been bound over to keep the peace by the great powers of Europe. And why should the injured sons of Africa be neglected? Is it because they cannot, like the Greeks, boast of classic story, and proudly refer to sages, orators, and heroes, like those of Marathon, Salamis, and Thermopylæ? Surely, as God has made the Negro of one blood with all other nations, he has an equal right of liberty with all. Let us then bestir ourselves in his cause. Let the British people arise in the greatness of their moral strength, and, devoted by Christian principles to the sacred cause of freedom, let them proclaim it aloud, not only that 'Britons never will be slaves,' but that 'Britons never will hold slaves!' (cheers.) Let them lift up their voices on high; our senators will attend to it, and in the islands far off in the sea, and in the lands across the deep, the slave and slave-holder shall catch and comprehend the mighty sound; and the fetters shall be broken, and the scourge shall be laid aside, and the badges of bondage shall be trampled under foot,—and the emancipated shall stand erect in the presence of God and of men, in the holy consciousness of his liberty, while his heart palpitates with gratitude for the arrival of the hour when he is recognised throughout the world as a man and a brother!"

18. HADLEIGH.

An anti-slavery meeting was held at this place on the 13th of October. The Rev. W. Edge, rector of Nedging presided, and opened the proceedings by a luminous speech on the anti-scriptural, unjust, and inhuman character of negro slavery. Several resolutions, condemnatory of the system, were passed, and a petition to parliament adopted, after addresses in a similar strain from the Rev. H. J. Rose, rector of Hadleigh,—Rev. Messrs. Wallace, Edwards, Speare,—and Messrs. Alston, Staines, Mudd, Pickess, and Mr. Morris, of Colchester.

19. PENZANCE.

On the same day, (Oct. 13) a public meeting for petitioning Parliament to abolish slavery was held in the Town Hall, Penzance. The chair was occupied by the Rev. N. Tonkin, and various resolutions were moved and supported by the Rev. Messrs. Le Grice, Harvey, Townsend, &c. An energetic petition was agreed upon.

20. WELLINGBOROUGH.

On the 14th of October a similar meeting was held in the Town Hall of Wellingborough. Charles Hill, Esq., was called to the chair; and the several resolutions proposed were supported by the Rev. Messrs. Robertson, Jacomb, Renals, and Sevier; and by Messrs. Keep, Wallis, Sharman, Marriott, Curtis, and Soames. The following is an extract from the petition adopted:

"Your petitioners, in their abhorrence of slavery, denounce it as unnatural, in violation of human rights, inconsistent with every sound system of national policy, in opposition to every principle of religion, replete with wrongs and cruelties to men, and offensive and insulting to God, who has made of one blood all the individuals of the human race, and with whom there is no respect of

persons; and your petitioners avow their conviction that to connive at its continuance, or to be silent so long as it shall be the reproach of a free and enlightened people that it is sanctioned by their laws, would subject them to the imputation of being insensible to the value of their own rights, and destitute of the feelings of humanity.

“That your petitioners, strong in the confidence that all unjust restrictions on the natural rights of mankind, and every denial of their essential claims, will finally be removed and redressed; and no less assured that the moral feelings of the people of the United Kingdom are opposed to the whole system of colonial bondage; are resolved, never to desist from the employment of all lawful means to obtain the erasure of the odious and detested name of slave from the statute book of their country, and to place those of their unoffending and deeply injured fellow-subjects to whom it is applied, in the possession of the blessings which the British Constitution recognizes as the birth-right of all within its pale.”

21. PORTSEA.

A meeting to petition parliament “for the entire and speedy abolition of slavery,” was held at Portsea, on the 15th of October. The Mayor, D. Howard, Esq. presided, and opened the proceedings; and the following gentlemen addressed the meeting:—The Rev. Dr. Inman, Rev. Messrs. C. B. Henville, Macconnell, Martin, Carruthers, Watts, Best; Messrs. Minchin, Hoskins, Snooke, Maurice, Elliott, and Jackson. The speeches evinced the same thorough acquaintance with the subject, which we have, with high satisfaction, observed to prevail at almost every similar meeting which has recently been held throughout the kingdom: a fact which we hail as an earnest of early and entire success for our great cause; for we are persuaded that whenever the true character and effects of negro slavery are *fully* appreciated by the British people, the national voice will make itself to be heard in parliament, in a manner not to be longer withstood. It is on such occasions, when the high moral principles of our nature vindicate their divine origin, and speak out loftily and loud with the irresistible energy of collective mind, that we recognize the truth of the ancient adage, *Vox populi—vox Dei*.

Of the tone and the talent with which the question was discussed at this meeting, we can admit only a very brief specimen. Mr. Minchin observed, that “they were not met to argue the question, whether man should be the slave of his fellow man—whether a man born of the same common parents, formed by the same great Creator, and redeemed by the blood of the same common Saviour, may become the goods and chattels of another. Slavery is not an offence to be tolerated; it is a foul, a wretched, and an abominable crime to be abolished. And although the legislature had voted for the abolition, and Orders in Council had been issued by his Majesty’s Government for the regulation of the colonies in respect to it, and for the amelioration and gradual emancipation of the slave, yet it was a lamentable fact, that every measure of Government had been opposed and thwarted, its endeavours frustrated, and its energy weakened, if not destroyed, by the policy and conduct of those in the colonies interested in its continuance; so that it became necessary for the Legislature again to interfere with its supreme authority. The voice of the

nation in abhorrence of it would now, no doubt, be expressed from one end of these islands to the other; and our representatives, who are in our stead in the great Council of the nation, as they are so chosen or at least ought to be, by us, are bound, if they do their duty, to listen to that voice, and vote for the utter abolition of a system which of itself is an abomination in the empire.”

Mr. Jackson, in discussing the objection of the West Indians, that the planter would suffer injury by emancipation, argued thus:—“Emancipation will enable the planter to produce at a cheaper rate by free than slave labour. This may be denied, but how stands the fact? Either the planter treats his slaves well or ill: if ill, then emancipation is necessary on that ground; but if he give them a sufficient supply of food, suitable lodging, and proper relaxation, then slave-labour is as expensive as free, nay more so, because emancipation will render unnecessary that capital which is now laid out in the detestable purchase of this ‘live stock.’ To come more to detail, if the purchase money is 10,000*l.*, and the wear and tear of human flesh and interest of money is (as has been asserted) 25 per cent., then there will be an annual saving of 2500*l.*, by using free instead of compelled labour; and this is independent of the additional work which would be performed by free men, and the saving of all the expensive machinery of slave-drivers, overseers, and cart-whips. Hence, doubtless, the reason of the cheaper produce of the East Indies over the West, so that the latter to compete with the former, requires a larger protecting duty.*”

* The point here adverted to is placed in a very striking light, in the following communication from a respected correspondent:—“One chief practical argument against emancipation which I hear in conversation, and read in West India petitions is, that the slaves will not work for hire in a state of freedom, as they do now by severity in a state of bondage; and that consequently property, so far as its worth depends upon forced labour, will be diminished by making labour free. The objection is usually answered by shewing that, in the end, free labour is more valuable than slave labour, which I fully believe; but I submit that it were better for the private and the parliamentary advocates of emancipation to meet the objection in its direct form. Let them say, ‘You tell us that you cannot get men to work by wages, by encouragements, by bribes, by voluntary contracts, however guaranteed by severe legal punishments for the breach of them, as they work now.’ We admit it; we believe it; by your own confession you exact a painful, exhausting, and, in the end, murderous quantum of labour, such as nothing but brutal severity, the constant terror or infliction of the impending cart-whip, could extort. Calculating on this exterminating extra toil, you have erected mills, and machinery, and cultivated land equivalent to it; while you pretended to the British public, when they urged that your system was too severe, that, so far from it, the slaves worked with pleasure, and only to an easy and reasonable extent; they had no more to do than they could do with comfort, with health, with longevity, and with an increase of population. Now take your choice of your own opposing arguments. If their labour is not unjust and intolerable, it can be secured as well by wages as by stripes; the slave must eat, and you may make your bargain with him to work to the extent of his wants, which liberty will increase, but beyond which you have no right to force him to toil. But you now admit, nay contend, that the necessary work is far too laborious, unremitted, and murderous to be effected by any means that can be applied to a free man. You

22. STOWMARKET.

At this place a numerous meeting to petition for the abolition of slavery, was held on the 20th of October. Mr. R. D. Alexander, of Ipswich, was called to the chair; and the assembly was addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Bull, Ward, Sprigg, J. Charlesworth, Rector of Flowton; and Messrs. Cobbald and Geo. Bayley. The speakers evinced the same remarkable knowledge of the slave system, and the same unanimity of sentiment in denouncing it, which we have already noticed, as distinguishing so many similar meetings at this crisis. An energetic petition was adopted.

23. READING.

On the 21st of October, a meeting to petition for the abolition of slavery was held at Reading, in the Town Hall. The Mayor, J. J. Blandy, Esq. was called to the chair; and the meeting was successively addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Hulme, Hinton, Langley, Sherman, Morris; and by C. F. Palmer, Esq. M. P. Messrs. Ring, Darvall, and Joseph Phillips, from Antigua. The sentiments of the above speakers were unanimous in support of the petition, which denounced British colonial slavery as "impolitic, cruel, and unjust," and prayed for its abolition "at the earliest possible period."

Mr. Phillips, who had been invited to attend the meeting by the Committee of the Reading Anti-Slavery Association, gave an account of his observations on slavery, during a residence of twenty-seven years in Antigua, and of his persecution and imprisonment for upwards of twelve months, by the Assembly of Antigua, for no other crime than having acted as secretary to a society of Quakers, who

have then deceived us, or attempted, at least, to do so. All you said of your easy yoke was fraudulent fiction; and now you turn round on us and ask us to indemnify you for your cruelty, to make up to you for the severe extra toil which you said you never exacted, and which, if we had not been deceived by your false statements of lenity, we would never have allowed to be extorted."

"I know of no argument so suicidal as this which the West Indian interest are now urging, and which, I understand, is to be their sheet anchor in adjusting the question of emancipation. Suppose that it were agreed, that a certain number of hours are as many as children in a cotton manufactory ought to work; that complaints were made that they were forced to work much longer; that the proprietors long and constantly denied this; that at length, to set the matter at rest, parliament humanely determined to fix the maximum of hours; and that then the proprietors turned round and complained that they should be ruined; that they had invested property in mills which would be deteriorated if the children might not work half as long again as all men agreed to be reasonable, but which they had been accustomed to do up to the present moment. Would parliament allow the plea? Would it not be reprobated as preposterous and insulting? I do not mean that the cases are parallel; for the children, in our mills, work for wages, and under the control of their parents who are interested in their welfare, and not as slaves under the lash of a stranger. But the case is *so far* parallel, that parliament would not allow the wrong doer to avail himself of his own falsehood and cruelty to enhance artificially the nominal value of his property beyond what it was worth without a violation of justice and humanity."

made him their agent to distribute money to relieve the necessities of superannuated slaves, deserted by their owners.*

The most remarkable circumstance, however, attending this meeting, was the speech of a Captain Browne, a Jamaica planter. This gentleman having arisen in the body of the hall, to reply to the statements of those who delineated the evils of slavery, was politely invited to mount the platform. He accordingly took his place there, and delivered a long speech, which was listened to by the meeting with the utmost attention, and without interruption to its close. As it affords a fair specimen of the veracity, candour, and modesty of the West Indians, in pleading their own cause before the British public, we shall extract from the Berkshire Chronicle of October 30th, (where a full report of this speech is given “by particular desire,”) the following passages,—forming as audacious a defence, or rather eulogy, of West India slavery as we have recently met with.

“In reply to Mr. Hulme, he denied the ill-treatment of the slaves in the British colonies. He contended that on the contrary they were treated with the greatest kindness and humanity, from the moment of their birth to the latest period of their lives. They were nursed, clothed, fed, and provided for in every way that could possibly contribute to their comfort and happiness. They had medical aid; they had spiritual aid; many of them were in possession of wealth and luxuries; and many who had more than sufficient to purchase their freedom, would not do so, well knowing that if they did, all the comforts they now enjoyed, and which they received from their present proprietors, they would have to provide for themselves, and that when assailed by old age or infirmity, they would be left destitute. He stated he had been in the colonies—he had witnessed the happiness of the slaves, and the humanity of the planters. He denied that they were refused the worship of God, as stated by the Rev. gentleman. He enlarged on the value of the West Indian colonies; also on the laws [what laws?] for bettering the condition of the negroes, as enacted by Parliament in Mr. Canning’s administration in 1823—and denied that they had not been obeyed by the colonies, except in one or two points, and in one or two instances, which no doubt was done, not with the view of treating the mother country with contempt, but in the belief that the putting them into execution would endanger those colonies. He contended that the slavery in the British colonies was but in name, and not in reality; and that if emancipation was declared in the colonies at twelve at noon, martial law must and would be proclaimed at eight at night, in order to prevent the massacre of every white person in the colonies. Such a measure would immediately undo all the humane endeavours of the government to better their condition, and also the benevolent exertions of the planters to instruct them in those moral obligations towards each other, which had so materially tended to their happiness.” In referring to the slave trade, “he also denied the horrors of the middle passage which the Rev. gentleman so forcibly dwelt upon.”

“In reply to the Rev. Mr. Langley, of Wallingford, who said

* See notices of the treatment of Mr. Phillips, in Nos. 52 and 53, *Anti-Slavery Reporter*; and in the present Number, p. 69.

Captain Browne had stated at Abingdon, that he had offered his negroes their freedom; he denied having said so: what he then said was, that such as had the means of purchasing it, were at full liberty to do so, but would not."

Instead of replying to the above unscrupulous assertions respecting the treatment and condition of the slaves, which are in fact too preposterously mendacious to be seriously replied to, we shall refer our readers to the facts detailed in every number of the Reporter illustrative of the actual character and effects of West India slavery, and especially to the testimony of the Rev. Mr. Thorpe, in No. 71, to that of the Rev. Messrs. Hudson, Davis, and Orton, and of Messrs. Stephen and Phillips, in the present Number, (see pp. 40, 41, 63, 69, 72,) and to numerous other recent witnesses of unquestionable character. Above all, if any reader finds himself too uninformed in details to repel such fallacious assertions, let him peruse Mr. Stephen's second volume, recently published. It ought to be familiar to every man who comes forward to support the Anti-Slavery cause.

24. LISKEARD.

A meeting to petition for the abolition of slavery was held in the Town Hall at Liskeard, on the 21st of October. The Rev. John Leske presided, and opened the proceedings by a long and interesting speech, which was suitably followed up by addresses from the Rev. Messrs. Radford, Callaway, Borlase, Dunn, Salter, Dorrington, and by Messrs. John Allen and W. Pearse.

25. PLYMOUTH.

A meeting was held at Plymouth on the 22nd of October. The chair was occupied by Mr. R. Bayley; and the meeting was addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Nicholson, Rowe, Usher, Hartley, and by Messrs. Woolcombe, Prideaux, Prance, and Derry.

26. BATH.

On the 22nd of October, a meeting was held in the Assembly Rooms, Bath, to petition for "the speedy and total abolition of slavery." It was very fully attended; and the Bishop of Bath and Wells presided. His Lordship opened the proceedings by an appropriate address, in which he maintained that slavery is opposed to the whole tenor and spirit of the Christian code; and that it is impolitic as well as unchristian, and ought to be totally abolished. His Lordship observed, however, that he was not an advocate for *instantaneous* emancipation; but thought some previous preparation and instruction necessary to render the slaves fit for the enjoyment of freedom. He was also favourable to some compensation being made to the slave owners, however defective in a moral point of view might be their title. It ought ever to be considered that *he* was the best friend of the slave who brought forward the most *practicable* system of emancipation. His Lordship concluded by expressing the satisfaction he should have in presenting the petition now proposed to the legislature, and by avowing his hope that the period was near at hand when the slave shall be prepared for freedom, and when the foul blot which now attaches to the character of this Christian people, shall be washed away by the full and final abolition of negro slavery.

The Rev. J. B. Jervoise, in proposing the first resolution, delivered an energetic address upon the degrading and destructive effects of slavery, and on the mockery of the West Indian legislatures professing to promote the instruction of the slaves in the principles of Christianity, while they kept them in a state of *physical* incapability to obey its precepts. What follows, we copy from the Bath and Cheltenham Gazette.

“During the address of Mr. Jervoisé, certain persons, who had fixed themselves on the sinister side of the platform, attempted to create a disturbance by interruptions, clamour, and hisses. The Rt. Rev. Chairman, by his mingled suavity and firmness, at length silenced these expressions of adverse feeling, and succeeded in establishing order. The motion being put to the vote, Mr. Caldecot, who appeared to take the lead in this opposition, gave in a paper to the Chair, containing some other propositions; but the persons who acted with him were each so desirous to be heard, that a scene of confusion ensued, the consequence of which was, that we could not gather two consecutive sentences delivered by any one of them. It was at length decided by the Chairman that the regular business of the meeting should proceed, and that he would, at the proper time, submit Mr. Caldecot’s amendment to the sense of the meeting.

“Mr. Wilberforce then came forward and spoke as follows:—‘My Lord, I am reminded but too forcibly, both by my bodily and mental infirmities, that, at my advanced period of life, it is time to retire from the public stage. But when I heard that your Lordship was to honour us by taking the chair on this occasion, how could I but wish once more to raise my feeble voice, and, however faintly, to advocate that good cause for which I have so often pleaded, and for the success of which my heart will never cease to feel deeply to the latest moment of rational existence! Surely, my Lord, you could have come forward on no occasion with more perfect propriety than on that for which we are now assembled. It is one in which you imitate the example, and act in the spirit of your Divine Master, exercising humanity at once to the bodies and souls of men—like Him who first fed the hungry, and then conferred on them the still greater blessings of his own divine instruction. To a Christian, my Lord, it must be regarded as an axiom, that an opportunity of doing good is tantamount to a command to undertake the service; and surely there never was a greater mass of misery to be terminated, or a greater amount of good to be conferred, than by the measure which we are now met together to support.—Many who have opposed our proceedings have appeared, mistakenly, to suppose that we rest the propriety of our interference chiefly on the ground of *individual* acts of cruelty committed on the bodies of the slaves. That such cruelties will exist wherever man, with all the various weaknesses and infirmities of his nature, is possessed of absolute power, is doubtless undeniable. No man is fit to be trusted with it, and no man who knows himself would wish to possess it: and but for my not wishing to give unnecessary pain to many who are here present, I could tell such tales of individual injury and suffering, as would cause the heart of any feeling man to bleed

within him. But it is the *system* that we wish to change. It has always been our charge that the slaves, generally speaking, are overworked and underfed. I know, and willingly confess, that there are many individual slave-holders who are men of as much humanity as any other of their fellow-creatures; and it is really true that the same island, Barbadoes, contains persons of our own colour, of the best and of the worst description of West Indians. But the evils of which I now complain, the underfeeding and overworking, arise necessarily out of the system. The greater part of the West Indian proprietors are resident in this country. However humane they may be, the slaves are far more affected by the disposition and temper of the individuals immediately over them—their book-keepers, and more especially their drivers and other servants on the estate. Nor is this all. The attorneys or managers naturally wish to render the receipts as great, and the outgoings as small, as can be effected: and as long ago as the time of Mr. Long, the Historian of Jamaica, it was stated by him that there were many managers who got great characters by raising great crops at a small comparative expense, who in a very few years stole away like a rat from a barn in flames (such was his own language), the gang of slaves who had been under such management having in a great degree perished; while the manager went to another part of the island, sure to obtain a service by the credit he had acquired in his former situation. I repeat it, therefore, there is always a necessary tendency to render the expenses of the estate, by far the greater part of which consists in the maintenance of the slaves, as little, and their produce, in other words their labour, as great as possible.

“ But there is another cause, of but too sure efficiency, which must have a tendency to produce the ill-usage and degradation of the Negro race. Their colour, their features, and other peculiarities, which it might be offensive to specify, infallibly tend to lessen our fellow feeling for them, and we all know that sympathy is the secret spring of humanity. I grant that in one of our greatest islands the situation of the slaves has been of late greatly improved in these particulars. I refer to the great island of Barbadoes. The slaves were there formerly supported by certain moderate allotments of imported food, and as the truly worthy agent of the island, and my good old friend, Mr. Braithwaite, I well remember, told me, when flour (American) was at a high price, it went hard with the poor slaves, in consequence. The mode of feeding them has been since changed—the slaves are supported by a sufficient quantity of land being worked for the growth of provisions enough for them all. And here, I must mention a decisive proof which this very case supplies of the justice of our position—that the mortality of the slaves arose from their being underfed in proportion to their work. While the old system prevailed, the slaves in Barbadoes being chiefly Creoles, and there being many resident owners, they did not decrease rapidly; but they barely kept up their number, which for many years was little less than 60,000. Yet now, when their quantity of food is increased—and how much more you may judge when you hear that it is nearly *two or three times* what is given to

many of the slaves, however hardly worked, in other settlements—they have increased so rapidly as now to amount to nearly 82,000. I beg this may be noticed, because it is one of the most important considerations in the whole enquiry.

“ But I am ashamed thus to dwell on the bodily grievances of the slave: great as they are, comparatively speaking, they are the least of his injuries. The Negroes are our fellow-creatures, immortal beings like ourselves. It is in this higher character that I am now contending for their rights. That they should be so long strangers to the institution of marriage, which they enjoyed even while in Africa—that they should be sunk into the lowest state of vice, and ignorance, and degradation—strangers to the ease and comfort of a Christian Sabbath—strangers to all the blessed hopes and prospects of Christianity—my Lord, it is too shocking to think of! and we should not lose an hour in endeavouring to do away these multiplied wrongs, by administering the only cure,—*their actual admission to that liberty to which the God of nature has entitled them, and which, in its consequences, would give them all the rest.* But, then, it is alleged that their admission to these rights and enjoyments would bring ruin on the West Indies. A moment’s reflection produced in my mind a strong presumption against the correctness of this position when it was first urged on me. I could not believe that the prosperity of one country or class of men could be grounded necessarily on the misery of another. Knowing, my Lord, the character given us in the Scripture of the Supreme Being—that He is emphatically declared to us to be best expressed by LOVE—I could not conceive it possible, that it could be requisite to retain any particular race of men in continued suffering and degradation, in order to provide for the affluence and for the improvement of the resources of another set of creatures of the same Almighty hand. I took courage, and proceeded; and soon I discovered, as I had confidently hoped, that the path of justice was also the path of true policy. My Lord, I well remember, that when a gracious Providence first led us to discover, and endeavour to put an end to, the manifold injuries inflicted on the negro race, it was then this argument was first used—“ that the abolition of the slave trade would ruin the West Indies.” Old men, your Lordship well knows, are stated by a great ancient author, with whom your Lordship is well acquainted, to be naturally prone to speak of the incidents of their younger years. It was, I have already said, when our proceedings first began for the abolition of the slave trade in (1788 or 9), that we were confronted by this assertion, that “ abolition of the slave trade would be ruin:” and I mention it the rather, because the case furnishes two most important arguments for our use at present. First, it will prove how little people are to be trusted when they are blinded by prejudice and self-interest: and still more, secondly, how false the most confident predictions of ruin from any intended measure of improvement really prove in the result. When the light of Heaven had first been shot into that den of darkness, the Slave Trade, in all its varieties of guilt and misery, I well remember the horror of the House of Commons, on hearing of that part of it which respects the situation

of the slaves, in what was called the Middle Passage, during their transportation from Africa to the West Indies. The House could not then wait the slow result of the inquiry concerning the cessation of the slave trade altogether, and resolved *immediately* to adopt measures for rendering the condition of the slaves more tolerable while on shipboard. No sooner did we begin to examine into that condition, than merchants of the greatest respectability—men of wealth and station in society—declared that all our ideas of the slaves being uncomfortable were totally erroneous; that though they might suffer at first from being taken from their country and their friends, their accommodations were all that could be desired; they were lodged in suitable apartments; their food was such as suited their peculiar tastes and habits; after their meals they engaged in games of chance; the song and the dance were promoted: in short, so happy were they, that the arrival of a Guinea-ship in the harbours of the West Indies was known by the sounds of the music and the merriment of her human cargo! My Lord, what was the fact? To express it in the emphatic language of Lord Grenville—"the slave-ship was found to contain a greater condensation of human suffering, than it had ever before been supposed possible to enclose within the same dimensions." But still more, said the slave-merchant, if you pass any of these regulations, the expenses of the voyage will be increased—the trade now hangs by a thread, and the ship-owner will infallibly be ruined. The Bill, however, *was* passed, and only a very short time had elapsed before it was universally acknowledged to have been one of the greatest benefits the merchants had ever received.

"Nor were the predictions of our opponents less completely falsified in the case of the abolition of the slave trade. They with one voice declared that it would be impossible to enforce the execution of the law, even by the whole fleet of England, such opportunities for smuggling were everywhere afforded. But if it could be possible, the ruin of the islands must inevitably follow. And this declaration was contained in a communication from the legislature of Jamaica, which actually crossed in its passage to Europe the vessel that was carrying out to the colonies the news of the abolition having actually taken place. Well, what was the consequence? In that instance also, but a few years past, and almost without a dissenting voice, it was acknowledged that the measure had been highly beneficial: and I have been lately reassured of the fact by the gentleman opposite to me, recently come from the West Indies, that it is now declared in common parlance that I have been the greatest friend of the West Indies. Why, then, may we not hope that their prediction of the ruin, which they say would follow from the emancipation of the slaves, may also be as erroneous?"

"Again, it was urged against us, strongly and repeatedly, that the abolition would inevitably occasion insurrections in the islands, and thereby the massacre of the whites. It really seems quite providential that there have been fewer insurrections of any real and serious amount, since the abolition took place, than almost ever before during an equal period. But let it not be supposed that all the dangers here

are on one side. The mortality among our troops might be dwelt upon, with too much cause. But I do not wish to dwell on this topic; though I must remark that it is *most unreasonable* (to give it the softest name) that we do not employ Black regiments, who, I have been assured by many general officers, are as good troops as could be employed. But, in truth, the dangers of the islands, from various causes connected with their neighbours in Hayti and the French colonies, are of immense amount. Our colonies appear to me like that scene of verdure and beauty which displays itself on the exterior of one of the volcanic mountains. All without is promising and smiling: but you can already hear low and fearful mutterings and growlings from the inward workings of the discordant elements; and while all appears to be security and comfort, they may break forth and waste all around with one irresistible course of havoc and desolation. Every motive therefore conspires to urge us to proceed resolutely in our present course, and it has become more clear than ever, that any idea of expecting that the Colonial Assemblies will take the matter honestly into their hands, is utterly absurd and monstrous. Can it be reasonable to expect that they will follow the course you prescribe to them, when they frankly tell you that every step they advance towards the ultimate point, is in itself an evil, and that their arrival at the intended close would be their utter ruin?

“But there is another recent event which proves this point, if possible, even still more clearly, and one which I must say reflects dishonour on many men of high rank and great influence. I allude to the chiefs of the West Indians in this country. When Mr. Canning brought forward, in the year 1823, his measures of amelioration,—in which, though not at all what we desired, there certainly were many excellent regulations which would have had a most beneficial effect in improving the condition of the slaves, and preparing the way for their ultimate enjoyment of liberty,—the chief West Indians both in and out of Parliament then joined him. His measures were unanimously passed by both Houses of Parliament; and the West Indians in this country recommended them to their friends on the other side of the Atlantic, as being highly conducive to the real well-being of the planters as well as to the comfort of the slaves. And now, could it be believed, that the Colonial Assemblies having all opposed Mr. Canning’s resolutions in almost every particular, in defiance of the urgent representations of their friends in England, those friends have now completely changed their language, and have joined the West Indian Assemblies in opposing the measures which they formerly had so strongly recommended to their support! After this, is it not undeniably manifest that we must take the matter into our own hands? The people of England must do this work of mercy. The voice of the country must be raised. It has been raised; and I trust that it will have its just effect on the Councils of the Nation, and will prevail on Parliament no longer to delay the striking off of the fetters of the slave, and bringing him to the enjoyment of the just rights of his nature. Much might be said on the opposition made to Mr. Canning’s proposed regulations. There was one especially to which he trusted no one could object—the disuse of the driving

whip for enforcing labour in the field, and still more for the punishment of the female sex. He had been made indeed to believe that it was only used as a badge of authority by the driver, like the Lord Mayor's sword, or the mace of the Speaker of the House of Commons, a relic of ancient times. So he had been assured by his West Indian friends and acquaintances; and it had been asserted confidently in the House of Commons. But no sooner did his recommendation to desist from its use reach the Colonies, than with one voice they declared they could not do without it, and more particularly they contended for continuing to use it upon the *females*. Shame! shame! to those who can so forget the claims of that better part of the human species. In truth, our present Secretary of State has had a very hopeless task in his correspondence with the West Indian Islands. But it is due both to Mr. Canning and to Mr. Huskisson to say, that though not acting up to the extent of our wishes or of their duty, they did in some cases resist the almost unnatural applications they received from the West Indians; more especially one for remitting the punishment of one of the most cruel and barbarous acts that ever was perpetrated by a human being, when such remission was earnestly desired by the Governor of the colony, who declared that the guilty parties were highly respectable people—that during their imprisonment, which he wished to be shortened, they were visited by the whole community, and were indeed very humane and well-disposed people. I allude to the case of the Mosses in the Bahamas: and I cannot conceive any document that can throw more light than that which is afforded by the account of this whole transaction, on the state of society in our colonial settlements, and on the feelings of even the better part of the people concerning the mutual rights of the masters and slaves.—The gentleman opposite to me has strongly enforced our obligation to give full compensation to those who may be injured by emancipation. I have never denied that their claims should be fairly considered, and that, after a full and fair examination into particulars, any losses fairly chargeable on the effects of the measures Parliament should adopt, in carrying into execution our principles, should be fairly made good to them. Yet much is to be said on this subject. I cannot think that those proprietors who, during even the latter period of this long contest, have been investing their property in the South American settlements, merely as a matter of gainful speculation—greatly to the injury of our own old colonies—that they should be considered as standing on the same ground with the inhabitants of our old islands that have gone with us through our long national contests, who possess their estates, many of them by old inheritance, and who therefore cannot be considered as in the same degree answerable for the support of the obnoxious system. But one reason why I have said less on this subject is, that the greater part of the West Indians are already almost insolvent—at least the depreciation of their property has been greater than any one could possibly conceive; and therefore to do real justice, all their claims should be accurately weighed, and then I grant that as the crime was common, so also should be the penalty.

Let us then proceed, my Lord, with renewed energy in carrying into execution one of the greatest acts of mercy that a people had

it ever in their power to perform. Above all, let us remember, it is thus only that we can communicate to the poor wretched slaves the greatest of all blessings, by introducing among them not only civilization and knowledge, but, through an acquaintance with their bibles, the blessed hopes which christianity holds out to all the sons of men. And I will indulge the hope that, as in the former instances I lately specified, we all may here also one day rejoice together in contemplating the happiness we may have been the blessed instruments of conferring on these poor degraded outcasts of society. But let us all remember that *we here have no option.* Our faculties are given to us, not as a property, but as a trust; and we are bound at our peril to forbear availing ourselves of the opportunities Providence may place within our reach of doing justice and shewing mercy,—of lessening the miseries and augmenting the happiness of our species. Let us only act with an earnestness and a perseverance worthy of the cause in which we are engaged. The blessing of Heaven will recompense us; and we shall have wiped away a stain justly to be regarded as the foulest blot that ever dishonoured the annals of a free and enlightened people.”

After Mr. Wilberforce had sat down, the meeting was successively addressed by the Rev. J. Davies, of Rodborough, the Rev. E. Wilson, the Rev. W. Elliot, of Devizes, and John Shepherd, Esq., of Frome.

The regular business of the meeting having been thus gone through, Mr. Caldecot, who had at intervals repeated his interruptions of the proceedings, now contended that his motion should be brought in as an amendment to the resolution. The paper was read from the chair, and Mr. Caldecot was proceeding with some further irrelevant remarks,—when the Rev. Archdeacon Moysey rose, and remarked that as the sense of several of the speakers was favourable to a remuneration for such losses as could be actually proved to arise from abolition; and as, moreover, the exact nature of that compensation, and the manner in which it could be effected, was not to be decided here, but in Parliament, it might perhaps be more expressive of the general feeling, and more consonant to sound policy, to add a clause to the petition itself, expressive of our confidence in the justice of Parliament, and our wish to protect as far as possible the established interests of individuals and property in our colonies. This proposal was acceded to; and Mr. Caldecot, and the other West Indian gentlemen present expressed their approbation of the principle of the petition, as thus amended, and declared that they would readily sign it.

The petition thus concurred in by the West India party at Bath, after expressing the deep disappointment of the petitioners at the results of previous attempts to mitigate slavery and promote its ultimate extinction—“results,” it is added, “which have clearly convinced the petitioners that no effectual means for the relief of the slave population are to be expected at the hands of the colonial legislatures,” concludes by praying the House “forthwith to adopt such measures as may secure the complete abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions at the earliest possible period,—consistently with the established rights of individuals and property in our colonies.”

27. BRISTOL.

While the Bath Anti-Slavery meeting was thus distinguished by an amicable compromise between the abolitionists and the West Indians, a very different scene was enacted on the same day at Bristol. A public meeting, convened by advertisement, for petitioning Parliament on this great question, was held on the 22d of October, in the Assembly Room of that city; and long before the hour announced for the chair to be taken, the large apartment was completely filled. A very considerable number of highly respectable ladies were present.

In explanation of the scene that ensued, it is necessary to notice, that on the preceding day a placard had been posted up throughout the city, calling upon "The Friends of the Trade of Bristol—of Order—of all Sacred Institutions—of the Laws—of the Church—of the State—and of Practical as well as Theoretical Emancipation, to attend the public Meeting;" and announcing that it was the intention of the subscriber to bring forward some measures, having for their object the accomplishment of the great end in view, "without injury to any party." This appeal, and a letter to the same effect, which was circulated principally among tradesmen employed by the West India interest, were signed "Christopher Claxton." This individual is the captain of a West India trader, and had rendered himself conspicuous as an active opponent of Mr. Protheroe, at the late contested election in Bristol. The announcement therefore of his purpose to oppose the views of the abolitionists had the intended effect of drawing together to the meeting a number of persons, who, from various motives, are inimical to the emancipation of the slaves. This party, among whom were several sailors, or persons dressed in sailors' clothes, having mustered in considerable strength, took possession of the benches in the body of the hall.

At twelve o'clock, the gentlemen who were to conduct the proceedings, having taken their station in front of the platform, which was crowded with persons of the first respectability, Richard Ash, Esq. was called to the chair. This gentleman introduced the business by an appropriate address—not however without considerable interruption from the uproar caused by the West India party. Mr. W. T. Blair* then rose to move the first resolution and address the

* This gentleman, a retired civil servant of the East India Company, and now residing in the vicinity of Bristol, has ably advocated the abolition of slavery, at several recent meetings in the south-west of England. He became practically acquainted with the evils of slavery during two years' residence at the Cape of Good Hope; a colony where, although the system is milder, especially as regards the exaction of labour, than in the British sugar colonies, it nevertheless produces its usual fruits of bitterness, in the demoralization of the white colonists and the degradation and wretchedness of the slaves. Mr. Blair is one of several very able and intelligent coadjutors who have spontaneously come forward at this eventful period to give their valuable testimony and efficient support to the cause of early and total abolition, and who have grudged neither personal exertion nor pecuniary expense in promoting the diffusion of correct information and right principles on this great question throughout the British empire.

meeting, but was rudely prevented by Mr. Claxton, who pertinaciously insisted on being heard first, in opposition to the decision of the chairman and the opinion of the great majority of the assembly. This insolent pretension was supported by his West India "gang" with the most outrageous violence and vociferation, the authority of the chair and all decent order being set at defiance. Mr. Blair, in order that the business might proceed, expressed his willingness to concede to Mr. Claxton the privilege of first addressing the meeting—but this concession instead of allaying the tumult, was vociferously hailed as a victory by the intrusive faction; and such was the uproar that Mr. Claxton himself, seeing the indignation of the meeting effectually roused against him and his partizans, entreated them, but in vain, to hear Mr. Blair. The disorder increased, and several personal conflicts taking place, the ladies became alarmed for their safety and rushed towards the platform, over which they were handed, and immediately hastened to quit the scene of disturbance. It being now apparent that the object of the West India party was to produce a tumult and prevent the business from going forward, the Chairman, by the advice of several gentlemen, quitted the chair, and announced that the meeting was dissolved. Several of the adverse party encouraged by the result of their opposition, now rushed forward and attempted to take possession of the platform, and being opposed, a serious scuffle was about to commence, when Mr. Claxton, apparently somewhat ashamed of the ruffian conduct of those he had called to support him, agreed to withdraw with the Chairman and the Committee.

Still, however, the meeting shewed no inclination to disperse, but rather, animated with high resentment by this audacious attempt of the West Indian party to disorganize and defeat their measures, appeared determined not to give way. At length Mr. Acland succeeded in allaying the tumult, and in persuading the audience to elect another chairman and proceed with the business for which they had assembled. This proposal was carried by acclamation, the West Indian faction were constrained to give way, and the Rev. Mr. Roaf was called to the chair. The meeting was then addressed successively by Messrs. Acland, Tripp, Hall, Howells, Fry, Lovell, Cossens, Dight, &c. and a series of energetic resolutions were drawn up on the spur of the moment, and passed by an immense majority, declaring, "that the period for the total extinction of slavery at the earliest possible period having now arrived, a petition be prepared, embodying the sentiments of this meeting, in order to its presentation to our Sovereign; praying his Majesty's most gracious direction to his ministers immediately to bring into the two houses of parliament a bill on this great question, which shall accord with the interests of humanity, the claims of justice, and the often expressed desires of the people of this country." The meeting then quietly separated.

"When we consider," says the Bristol Mercury, from which we have abridged the account of this meeting, "that the proceedings from the moment Mr. Roaf stepped into the chair, were conducted by individuals who, perhaps, with only one exception, attended without the remotest

intention of uttering their sentiments, and that the whole was an unpremeditated ebullition of feeling—we must say that the gentlemen are entitled to no inconsiderable degree of credit, for the ability they displayed, as well as for the readiness and firmness which they evinced on the occasion; and which, we should think, could only have resulted from a firm conviction that the cause they advocate is based on just principles.”

To this just observation we shall only add, that the striking contrast displayed in the behaviour of the abettors of slavery to that of the friends of abolition, at this and several other Anti-Slavery meetings where the former have intruded and attempted to interrupt the proceedings, can hardly fail to open the eyes of many persons who have too long allowed themselves to be deluded by the oft-refuted fallacies and fabrications of the West India partizans. The system of Slavery was founded in robbery and outrage; it has been built up through long years of cruel oppression; and now, top-heavy and tottering to its fall under the weight of its own iniquities, its unscrupulous abettors vainly strive to prop it up by the rotten supports that have heretofore befriended them, but which now begin to moulder among their fingers—namely, by systematic deception, and by a mendacious audacity in reviling their opponents, and in the reiteration of detected falsehood, unprecedented in the annals of controversy.

28. SECOND MEETING AT BRISTOL.

The friends of Abolition at Bristol, after the indecorous interruption of their proceedings on the 22d of October, determined that their constitutional privilege to petition the legislature should not thus be defeated; being convinced that with the exception of a small but interested party, the great body of their fellow-citizens entirely coincided with them in opinion on this important public question. Another Meeting was accordingly convened on the 9th of November, in the same place; and Richard Ash, Esq. the same gentleman who had formerly presided, was again called to the chair. Mr. Claxton, the West India champion, also, did not fail to attend, with his noisy retainers; who, though they did not succeed as before in totally interrupting and disarranging the proceedings, yet so far prevailed by tumult and uproar as to render the addresses of most of the speakers almost or altogether inaudible. The business of the meeting was, however, carried through, and a string of resolutions passed and a petition to Parliament voted by a large majority, praying for the utter extinction of Slavery. The meeting was successively addressed by Mr. Lunell, the Rev. John Leifchild, Messrs. Howells, Brydges, Blair, George, Herapath, Sanders, and Claxton; but such was the clamour kept up by the West Indians, except when their own chieftain, Claxton, was speaking, that scarcely two consecutive sentences uttered by any other person could be heard beyond the platform.

Mr. Claxton harangued the audience at great length, and it is said with considerable declamatory talent. He maintained that the condition of the Slaves was comfortable—that they were generally well treated—and that much had been done by the colonial legislatures in ameliorating

the severity of former laws. He quoted the opinions of the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Huskisson, and other statesmen in support of his assertions; and maintained that in Jamaica, Barbadoes, Demerara, St. Kitts, Nevis, &c. many beneficial enactments had been recently passed for abolishing Sunday markets, for promoting religious instruction, providing for age and sickness, and so forth. He contended that the Slaves were not yet qualified to receive freedom; but admitted that the Anti-Savery Society had done much towards their advancement in civilization. In fact, his speech, as reported in the Bristol papers, is a strange inconsistent farrago of candid admission, preposterous assertion, and dauntless denial; and it only deserves notice as another specimen of the tactics of that party of which this man is so zealous a partizan. After allowing that slavery *in the abstract* is contrary to the spirit of our national institutions—that its existence in the dominions of Great Britain is a blot in our escutcheon—nay more, “that the law that tolerates the absolute dominion of one man over another is an abominable and disgusting law,”—he instantly adds, “While mentioning these as my objections, let it not be understood that I question the planter’s right to his Slave, or his absolute control over him, any more than I question his humanity generally. Nor do I question the comfort of the Slaves themselves, or their perfectly contented condition, before you, through your missionaries, made a crusade across the Atlantic, and worried them into a different belief, and robbed them of much of their hard earnings for payments to love-feasts and to keep class, which rather than forfeit, they would commit robbery to support.”

To reply seriously to such stuff as this is of course out of the question: and yet this man is the recognized leader and champion of the West India party in Bristol!

He concluded by moving two resolutions, the first in favour of abolition, “with a fair and equitable regard to the rights of property involved;” the other containing a claim for “compensation for the value of the Slave before the agitation of this question reduced the same; and a security for the lands and works, in the event of free labour failing, provided the planter fairly tries the experiment, to be decided by constitutional authorities.” Of these resolutions the former was passed without opposition, being quite accordant with the principles of the meeting; the latter was thrown out by an amendment referring the subject of compensation to Parliament.

29. DERBY.

On the 23d of October, a Meeting to petition for the Abolition of Slavery, was held at Derby, in the Town-hall. W. Newton, Esq. late Mayor of the Borough, having been called to the chair, opened the proceedings by an impressive address. He was followed by W. Evans, Esq. who took a masterly review of the present state of the question, of the actual condition of the Slaves in our West India Colonies, of the failure of all attempts to obtain real mitigation of the system, and of the necessity of urging the legislature to adopt effectual measures for speedy abolition. The Rev. Messrs. J. Thorpe, R. Simpson, G. B. Blackley, Dr.

Forrester, and Messrs. Gawthorn, Longdon, and Strutt, also successively addressed the meeting.

30. CHELMSFORD.

On the same day (Oct. 23), a Meeting to petition for Abolition was held in the County-hall, Chelmsford; the Hon. J. J. Strutt, in the chair. The meeting was successively addressed by the Rev. J. Hunt, Rev. Jos. Grey, Dr. Forrester, Messrs. G. Stephen, Knox, Pownall, Candler, and Copland, in able and impressive speeches.

31. BIRMINGHAM.

On the 26th of October, a Meeting to petition for Abolition was held at Birmingham; the Rev. Edward Burn, in the chair. The meeting was successively addressed by the Rev. Archdeacon Hodson, the Rev. Messrs. Moseley, James, Marsh, Kennedy, Garbett, Mayers, Thompson, M'Donnell, East, Hutton, Morgan, and Crowther; and by Messrs. Smith, Turner, Cadbury, Corn, Sturge, and Harris. Many of the speeches were very able, and that of the Rev. Mr. Marsh embraced a most masterly and comprehensive review of the question in almost every point; but it is impossible to find room for an abstract of the arguments, and it admits not of partial quotation. The following are four of the seven resolutions unanimously adopted at this meeting, and which may afford a fair sample of the sentiments that pervaded it.

“That the obstacles which have been raised by the colonial assemblies generally, and by the planters individually, not only to the accomplishment of the recorded views and recommendations of the legislature, but to the endeavours made by various denominations of Christians to improve the moral and religious condition of the Slaves, have still further strengthened the conviction of this meeting, that actual emancipation must precede any successful efforts to raise the character of the negro population.

“That, impressed with this conviction, and believing it to be a duty to use our utmost exertions to put an end to a system which so flagrantly violates every social and religious obligation, this meeting deems it right to adopt the principle of immediate emancipation of the Slaves, accompanied by such temporary regulations alone, as the wisdom of Parliament may deem essential for their well being, and the preservation of social order.

“That this meeting feels the less hesitation in adopting this principle, inasmuch as it considers it to have been proved by experience, that, under such regulations, Slavery may be abolished with perfect safety.

“That, although this meeting is of opinion that no injury, with respect to property, will be ultimately sustained by the planters, yet, as the nation has so long tacitly sanctioned the continuance of this evil, this meeting is willing to recognize the principle of compensation for such losses as may be proved to have been necessarily caused by the measures adopted for changing the condition of the Slaves, and for which Parliament may consider the planters to have an equitable claim on this country.”

32. COUNTY OF RUTLAND.

On the 26th of October, a numerous County Meeting was held at Oakham, for the Abolition of Slavery; the Rev. C. Swann, of Riddlington, in the chair. After some appropriate introductory remarks from the chairman, Mr. George Stephen, of London, addressed the meeting

in a long and most impressive speech, in which he developed the system and effects of Slavery by numerous details of the misery and iniquity of which it is the unfailing source wherever it prevails. After relating many cases of cruelty and oppression in the West Indies, from recent authorities, the learned gentleman thus proceeded:—"It is often objected by our opponents, that we select every case of individual and peculiar guilt, as a ground of reproach to the West Indian community. But observe the difficulty under which we labour. We know cases sufficiently numerous to prove such guilt to be systematic and not individual. If, however, we divulge them, without declaring names, we are charged with falsehood: if we give up our authority, our informants are subjected to every persecution that malignity can devise, and others are deterred from speaking. Again, if we state facts upon information not official, we are threatened with indictments, actions at law, and all the array of legal prosecution. But I have it in my power, I might almost say by special providence, to communicate to you on authority that cannot be questioned, a history of the interior of a colonial plantation. It belongs to Mr. Wells, of Piercefield, Monmouthshire; and I mention his name without hesitation, because I am able at the same time to declare that he was not less ignorant than yourselves of the circumstances I am about to state. In the year 1812, he let his estate in St. Kitt's, with a gang of 140 negroes. In 1816, their numbers were reduced to 108, and in 1819, to 86, showing a loss in seven years of not less than 54 lives out of 140, not including births in the interim. (Expressions of horror.) It is indeed incredible; but I state the fact on the authority of the overseer himself. It is recorded in his own handwriting, in a book in my father's possession, the record being kept as the foundation of parochial returns. Have I not redeemed my pledge that I would prove the system of colonial treatment to be a system of *daily*, even *hourly*, murder? How, then, can we, without the guilt of murder, sanction or acquiesce in its continuance for a single hour? or by what right can we substitute a gradual for immediate emancipation?" (applause.) Mr. Stephen then proceeded to quote from the same book, several cases in which brutal, though not in colonial parlance, *illegal* punishment, had been inflicted by the lessee upon Mr. Wells's gang, and had led to this destruction of life. "But," he proceeded, "dreadful as this narrative is, I have yet a tale of horror to unfold, compared with which all that has been stated is insignificant,—a tale so dreadful that I would pardon you for disbelieving me if I stated it even on my own authority. What I have already said, related to the West India colonies: we have another colony where slavery obtains in a yet more aggravated form. The system is indeed the same; the characteristics of slavery, wherever it is found, are always the same. About four years ago, I was professionally employed by Mr. Buxton to examine the state of slavery in the Mauritius, with a view to a parliamentary enquiry. I conducted the examination under the sanction of government, and every fact that I state has been communicated by witnesses who were cautioned against exaggeration, informed that they might hereafter be called upon to confirm their statements on oath, and were required to subscribe their names to the statements. It is on this testimony that I give my

tale of horror. My witnesses are nearly 300 in number,—a number alone sufficient to prove, not cases of individual, but of systematic depravity.” Mr. Stephen proceeded to quote the words of several military men, all to the same effect, and tending to prove that the state of slavery was one of the lowest degradation and misery. He then gave details to show the accuracy of their general descriptions. “I am not,” said Mr. Stephen, “deputed by any society to address you. I speak as the advocate of a class who in *this* instance have no advocate but me,—no tribunal to which they can appeal but *you*. As their advocate I know no fastidious delicacy, no squeamishness of feeling that should deter me. It is a shame to speak even of those things which are done by them in secret; but if I do not mention them, how is the secret to be exposed, and how the evil to be remedied? They, not I, must bear the blame.” He then proceeded to detail numerous cases of atrocious cruelty perpetrated in the Mauritius; and in every instance mentioned the names of the witnesses, several of whom were commissioned officers. We cannot here give any of these details, but refer our readers to a condensed summary of this evidence in No. 44 of the Reporter. This speech, which occupied about two hours in the delivery, excited in the audience a very strong abhorrence of the evils of Slavery.

The meeting was subsequently addressed by the Rev. A. Jenour of Harringworth, the Rev. J. Wilson of Laxton, the Rev. Mr. Green, of Uppingham, and the Rev. J. Wing of Cottesmore. Strong resolutions were passed, and a petition agreed to “for the immediate abolition of slavery.”

33. DURHAM.

On the same day, (Oct. 26,) a meeting was held at Durham, in the Town Hall; the Mayor, T. Chipchase, Esq. in the chair. The subject was discussed by Dr. Fenwick, and Messrs. Shipperdson and Granger, in speeches of considerable length and great ability. The meeting was also addressed more briefly by the Rev. Messrs. Gilly, Matheson, Stratton, and Mr. Bramwell; and appropriate resolutions were unanimously passed.

34. HALIFAX.

On the 27th of October, a meeting to address the King and petition Parliament was held at Halifax; the Rev. Charles Musgrave, Vicar, in the chair. The business was opened by an admirable address from the Rev. chairman, which concluded with the following observations:—“Difficulties, I can well conceive, must await the final settlement of this question. But we ask for no wrong; we ask for no act of spoliation in our tenderness for the slave. If under the protection of existing laws interests have grown up which we hope soon to see expire, we are prepared to abide by such compensation as the wisdom of parliament may adjudge. But, while we speak of reparation, let us bear in mind ourselves, and respectfully but urgently press it on the remembrance of the legislature, that reparation is primarily due to the slave. (*loud cheers*.)—The slave we have deeply wronged. His wrongs we are bound to redress. And whatever may be the difficulties of the task, we are per-

sueded they admit of adjustment—a reasonable and righteous adjustment: indemnity, as far as such may be due to the master; and, at all costs, deliverance to the slave.” (*Long continued applause.*)

The meeting was successively addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Pridie, Farrar, Turner, and Lusher; and by Messrs. Browne, Swale, and Baldwin. Several of the speeches were very impressive; but we can only admit the following passage from the address of the Rev. R. L. Lusher, a Wesleyan minister:—“A distinction has been made between Slavery and the Slave Trade, and we have taken great praise to ourselves, as a nation, that at last the latter is abolished. But, sir, I hold with you, that the slave trade cannot properly be said to be abolished, while it exists in its present form in the West Indies. Is not the infernal traffic carried on there? Are not immortal beings still bought and sold like cattle? Look over a West India newspaper, for instance, and mark the advertisements you see there. Look at the incongruous mixture of human beings for sale with timber, cattle, fish, and other articles. First comes a cargo of cow hides, then three or four or half a dozen fine, healthy, young male negroes. Next, perhaps, is a tempting offer of a prime lot of Canadian horses or pigs, and then three or four young female negroes, followed by a lot of Nova Scotia dried fish. What a disgrace to the English nation are advertisements and proceedings like these! Well may this vile system be denounced, (as it has been this day,) as unchristian and inhuman. (*cheers.*) Passing over these points, where is its policy? What national interests are promoted by it? It is a system opposed to all sound principles of legislation—and it is inconsistent with the well-being of every state by which it is tolerated. Do our countrymen, or rather the colonists of our West India islands, complain of their drooping commercial interests? No wonder that they are smitten with blasting and mildew in this region of slavery, ‘which has become the dark habitation of horrid cruelty.’ The curses of millions rest on those islands; and the judgments of Him who is the Avenger of oppression, hang over them like a thunder cloud. I have never lived in that land of slavery; but I have had an opportunity of judging of the intellectual capacity of the blacks, from a residence of several years in North America; and I can state, in confirmation of the preceding speakers, that ‘give them liberty, and teach them religion, and you make them men.’ You make them better servants than ever they were slaves. I speak experimentally. (*hear, hear.*) I have had them in the domestic relations of life as nurses for my children, and in other situations, as well as under my pastoral care; and I repeat, give them liberty, and you make way for their moral and intellectual elevation;—give them liberty, lest just heaven should permit them to redress their own wrongs, or the Almighty Power, who has said ‘vengeance is mine, and I will repay it,’ should undertake their cause.—‘Give them liberty!’—this cry, I trust, finds a responsive echo in every heart in this assembly;—it has become the unanimous voice of the British nation; and, I trust, it will soon be the rallying cry in the British senate.—*Give them liberty!* let this prayer be laid at the foot of the British throne; but above all, let it ascend, in fervent aspirations, to the God of Britain, and who shall dare to say no?” (*Loud cheering.*)

35. CHESTERFIELD.

An Anti-Slavery meeting was held at Chesterfield, on the 28th of October, and was numerously attended; the Rev. T. Hill in the chair. The Rev. John Thorpe, of Wigginton, who had been invited to attend the meeting, in order to describe the present character of slavery in Jamaica, gave the result of his personal observations, in a detailed delineation of the practical effects of the system. We have already given a summary of his valuable testimony in No. 71. After some appropriate observations by the Rev. Messrs. Mudie and Wallace, and Messrs. Booker and Muggleston, a petition for the abolition of slavery, which the Mayor had already signed, was unanimously adopted.

36. SALISBURY.

On the same day, (October 28,) a very numerous meeting of the friends of Negro emancipation was held at Salisbury. The Very Rev. the Dean presided, and opened the proceedings by an excellent address. He expressed his deep regret that such meetings were necessary to arouse public attention to this most important subject. He joined in the feeling which was now excited through the country, and hailed it as an omen of ultimate and complete success. He declared that the venerable Bishop of the Diocese was as warmly interested in this question now, as when, several years ago, he stood forward as one of the first and ablest writers against slavery. There were difficulties connected with the subject, but not greater than those connected with all extended plans; the most formidable arose out of interest and prejudice, and it was the duty of every noble and generous mind, to disentangle itself from these—labouring after a clear and just view of the subject, and deliberating upon it with all that seriousness which the dearest interests of 800,000 of our fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects so justly demand. In condemning slavery he made no charge against individuals—he denounced the system itself, not merely on theory but as practically exhibited—as founded on a cruel invasion of natural rights—hostile to humanity, justice, and religion. The original crime of men-stealing was perpetuated in the claims which West Indians made to a property in their fellow-creatures, as mere chattels; buying and selling, and driving and punishing men and women also without any control. He could scarcely speak with any degree of moderation on the subject. He considered that every one should raise his voice against it, and declare that this power should be continued no longer. No such state as that of West Indian slavery had existed in any previous age of the world, and it only existed now because it was not fully known. It was a state opposed to the progress of christianity; for, though through the pious labours of Christian ministers of various denominations, not a few slaves had become partakers of the Gospel, this was *in spite* of the system of slavery, and not at all by its assistance—since all its effects were to degrade and brutalize both blacks and whites. The subject had now been discussed for several years; recommendations had been tried by parliament, but they had been scornfully rejected by the colonial assemblies. The question was, therefore, now thrown upon the country; and he had

no doubt that the government was well disposed to act with energy, provided it was supported by the voice of the country. He would leave the question of compensation to the decision of parliament, when the great act of substantive justice, the enfranchisement of the negro shall have been determined. We were called upon to do this as a duty to ourselves, as an example in the eyes of the rest of Europe, and to avert those calamities, which we may expect will otherwise follow us—being assured that on nations as well as on individuals the blessing of God can only rest where the obligations of justice and religion are fulfilled. He hoped therefore every one would do his duty; and if any gentleman present should differ in opinion from those who would address the meeting, he would readily hear their opinions, if expressed temperately, and to the point.

The address of Dean Pearson was followed up and supported by animated and argumentative speeches by the Rev. Messrs. Chatfield, Sleigh, Elliott, Johnson, Good, Saffery, Simmonds, Granger, and Radford; and by Messrs. Atkinson, Baldwin, and Phillips. Appropriate resolutions were passed and a petition agreed upon.

37. CALNE.

An Anti-Slavery Meeting was held at Calne, on the 1st of November. The Rev. W. Money was called to the chair, and opened the business by an appropriate address. He was followed in a long and eloquent speech by the Rev. C. Townsend, Rector of the parish, a devoted and indefatigable friend of emancipation. The Rev. W. Lisle Bowles, a magistrate of the county and a canon of the church, and eminent also as a literary man, delivered a most impressive address in aid of the good cause which he had supported with his pen in early youth. The other speakers at this meeting were the Rev. Messrs. Elliott and Duboulay, and Messrs. Blair and Baldwin. The two gentlemen last named had both been personal witnesses of the condition of the Slaves in our colonies. The following are two of the clauses of the petition adopted at this highly respectable and interesting meeting:—

“That your Petitioners feel assured no circumstances of pretended expediency or of policy, can for a moment justify, in the sight of God or man, the continuance of a state of society like that which obtains in the Slave Colonies of the British Empire;—a state of society in which human beings are goaded to labour, under a tropical sun, by the lashes of the cart-whip—in which they are exposed to dreadful lacerations and cruel tortures, at the arbitrary will of brutal drivers and overseers—in which the very women are subjected to indecent exposure and to public scourging—in which from the excess of labour required of them, the great body of the people are virtually deprived of the Sabbath, whether as a day of rest from their toil, or as one to be devoted by them to the duties and services of Religion;—a state of society, in which husbands and wives, parents and children, may be torn asunder for ever, without an option on their part, or a moment’s warning;—in short, a state of society so demoralized, that amongst its victims Christian rites and domestic ties are comparatively unknown—in which matrimony is the exception, licentiousness the rule! When your Petitioners contemplate such a state of society as this, they cannot but feel convinced, that it contains within itself no renovating principle—no elements of self-adjustment or improvement—but on the contrary, tends to corrupt and debase all who come in contact

with it, and that little hope can be indulged of any salutary changes being effected by those who participate in it and become blinded to its enormities.

“Your Petitioners therefore respectfully, but most earnestly pray your honourable House, without further delay, to make such enactments as shall at once and for ever put an end to British Colonial Slavery, and thereby effectually remove the evils they have enumerated; that they may no longer be partakers of a system which is a reproach to their character, both as Britons professing to value freedom, and as Christians professing to regard the doctrines and precepts of religion. And while your Petitioners once more decidedly deprecate any further appropriation of the public money to the upholding of Slavery as it now exists, either directly or indirectly, by means of drawbacks, bounties, or protecting duties; yet, after the desirable changes shall have taken place, they declare their readiness cheerfully to contribute their share to make good all losses necessarily consequent upon such changes, that may be sustained by individuals according to any arrangement that to the wisdom of Parliament shall seem equitable and just.”

38. WATFORD.

On the same day (Nov. 1st), a very numerous public meeting was held at Watford, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament for the abolition of Slavery; the Hon. Granville Ryder in the chair. Among the individuals who addressed the meeting were, Dr. Lushington, Mr. Serjeant Pell, the Rev. Messrs. Rosdew, Rector, and Blackmore, Curate of Bushy,—the Rev. John Edwards, of Watford, Josiah Conder, Esq.* — Chambers, Esq. of Harrow Weald, and other gentlemen from the immediate vicinity. The speech of Dr. Lushington was powerfully impressive; and the interest excited was unexampled in that town.

39. LINCOLN.

On the 10th of November, a numerous and most respectable meeting was held in the Guildhall, Lincoln, to petition for the abolition of Slavery. The Mayor, Thomas Winn, Esq. presided; and the meeting was successively addressed by the Hon. Mr. Melville, the Rev. Mr. Wayland, of Bassingham, the Rev. Messrs. Milner, Philp, Crapps, Clegg, Alderman Fowler, and Messrs. Cropper and Thorold.

On the same evening, another Meeting was held for establishing an Anti-Slavery Society in Lincoln, at which several of the clergy of the establishment and the principal dissenting ministers attended and took an active part.

40. BRIGHTON.

On the 16th of November, a public Meeting was held at Brighton, in order to petition the legislature for “the early and entire emancipation of the slaves in our Colonies,” and also for forming an Anti-Slavery Society and a Ladies’ Anti-Slavery Association. S. F. Milford, Esq. was called to the chair; and the meeting was addressed at considerable length and with much intelligence by that gentleman, by Sir Thomas Blomefield, the Rev. J. N. Goulty, Rev. Mr. Geaden; and by Messrs. Glaisyer, Young, Wigney, Bass, and Mr. F. Marten,

* Editor of the ‘Eclectic Review,’ and ‘The Modern Traveller;’ in both which highly respectable works Mr. Conder has ably and unweariedly advocated the cause of Negro Emancipation.

of Lewes. Sir Thomas Blomefield and Mr. Milford were elected Vice-Presidents of the new Anti-Slavery Society.

41. BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

On the 19th of November, an Anti-Slavery meeting was held in the Guildhall, Bury; "the most numerous public meeting," says the 'Bury and Norwich Post,' "which has taken place in this town for many years." The interest was not a little enhanced by local excitement, occasioned by the publication, a few days previously, of a scurrilous pamphlet, libellously assailing the characters of the chief persons who were expected to advocate at this meeting the cause of Negro emancipation, and more especially those of the Rev. J. Orton, Wesleyan missionary, and Mr. Joseph Phillips, of Antigua, who had been invited to assist in the discussion of the subject. This pamphlet was understood (and has been since avowed) to be the production of Mr. Benjamin Greene, a well-known pro-slavery champion in that place. The writer did not, however, appear in person, but sent his friend, Mr. George Saintsbury, another zealous controversialist of the same party, to defend the cause of the West India planters.

The proceedings commenced by an address from the chairman, Mr. R. Dalton, who animadverted with just severity on the vile spirit and slanderous insinuations of the West India pamphlet. He was seconded by the Rev. Messrs. Armstrong and Jeula, the latter of whom strongly advocated measures for immediate emancipation.

Mr. Joseph Phillips, in a speech of considerable length, detailed the circumstances of his own persecution in Antigua, and gave his testimony against the evils of slavery. He remarked that he appeared as a speaker at that meeting under peculiar feelings, as it was in consequence of a controversy between Mr. Clarkson and an inhabitant of this place, (Mr. Greene,) that he had suffered imprisonment for 375 days, and ruin,—not only immediate ruin, but, as far as his enemies could effect it, prospective ruin, by the blackening of his character, and by endeavouring to prevent his getting a mouthful of bread to support his starving wife and children. They had resolved to crush him because he advocated the cause of the unfortunate beings whose sufferings he had witnessed during a residence of twenty-seven years in the West Indies. In consequence of the sudden death of a Moravian missionary, who was secretary to a society established in England for relieving the deserted and diseased slaves of Antigua, he had filled the office for four years without fee or reward. The society had existed twenty-four years, and in that time, as was shewn in a memorial to the Governor and Sir G. Murray, it had expended 2500*l.* in relieving destitute and diseased slaves, deserted by their masters. The negroes were subject to a loathsome disease called the black scurvy, and, when attacked, were often cast out and allowed to beg about the streets. He had often been called upon as a jury-man to sit upon inquests on their bodies. The Rev. R. Holberton had established a society for the purpose of giving a daily meal to those poor creatures; and when he (Mr. P.) left the island there were about one hundred and ten of them on the list, sixty of whom were destitute, diseased, and deserted slaves, and these belonged to only one part

of the island. When brought before a committee of the House of Assembly, Mr. Lee, one of the members, asked why he would not give up his papers; to which he answered that he thought the committee had no right to demand them. Before Sir G. Murray's answer upon the case arrived, it was intimated that he would be discharged if he would apologize to the House of Assembly; but he refused to betray his trust, or to give encouragement to such inquisitorial proceedings. The demand was gradually reduced to the smallest description of apology. A Mr. Scotland was requested to speak to him; but he spurned the idea. At last they got a person to inform his wife that a mere note would satisfy them; but his answer was, that if a piece of waste paper would satisfy them, he would not give it as an apology; and he was sure there was not an Englishman in the room who would not be of the same opinion. As his character had been aspersed by an inhabitant of this town, he would request the chairman to read a few testimonials. [These were accordingly handed to the chair, and read to the meeting. The first, which was signed by some of those very men who had committed him to prison, declared his character to be upright and unimpeachable. The next, signed by two Members of the Assembly and the Collector of the Customs, was dated April, 1830, and described him as a pious, honest, and industrious man, who, they were convinced, had been wickedly and unjustly slandered. A third was from a Justice of the Peace, of the same date, and bore testimony to his strict probity, conscientious feelings, and lowliness of character. A fourth was from the Rev. Mr. Newby, a Moravian missionary.] After these testimonials he would leave his cause in the hands of the meeting. He proceeded to observe that there was no effective law which provided support for decayed slaves in Antigua, the ameliorating law, which was so much boasted of, being a mere dead letter. The law provided that whereas slaves having no owners, or none to be discovered, often became incapable and disabled, the vestry might supply their wants at the public charge. But Mr. Newby had declared before the committee that he never knew there was such a law, and the whole sum disbursed by the treasurer of the island on this account did not exceed 100*l.* in twenty-five years, whilst the society to which he belonged had expended 2500*l.* every farthing of which was accounted for, with the name of every individual to whom it had been paid. The law was intended to blind the Government and people of this country, and was of no more force than waste paper. There was an oath which ought to be taken by managers and proprietors of plantations, that they had duly distributed the full ratio of provisions; but in twenty-seven years he had never known a single instance of its being taken. He had lived on a plantation where it was the common practice of a manager to flog, and otherwise brutally maltreat women advanced in pregnancy, to chain negroes together, and in some instances to attach 56*lb.* weights to their feet. One of the negroes who had been sent to the chained gangs for some offence, had declared he would rather remain in jail all his life than return to his plantation. He knew some estates where the slaves were better treated, but in others they were still worse. Mr. Phillips then mentioned the case of seventeen slaves who ran away

from Sir Christopher Codrington's estate, owing to a new attorney having been appointed; and who were sentenced, some to three, and some to one month's imprisonment, and to receive thirty-nine lashes at two different periods. He had interceded in their behalf, being a fellow-sufferer in the same prison, but to no purpose. Some time after the manager was bound over for cruelty to a negro. He (Mr. Phillips) was in the Court-house when a person (whom he named) was brought up for trial under a charge of cruelly flogging a slave, in consequence of which he died; but there being no white or free witnesses against him, the murderer escaped with impunity: if 500 slaves had seen it, they would not have been allowed to give evidence. Such is the law up to the present moment in Antigua. After mentioning the case of a man committed for *five years*, without warrant, who was released at his intercession, Mr. Phillips concluded by assuring the company that West India slavery was the same now as it ever had been.

Mr. G. Saintsbury requested to be heard in reply to Mr. Phillips, which was unanimously accorded to him. He maintained that slave evidence was by no means so generally excluded as had been represented; that the Barbadoes law of 1829, admitted the evidence of slaves against whites in all cases of murder, assault, &c. requiring only a certificate of baptism; and, even in England, no person was allowed to give evidence who was not acquainted with the nature of an oath. As for the detail of cruelties that had been given, in every instance the offence had been followed by a penalty; and what more could be expected in this country. If a case could be adduced in which the offender escaped with impunity, he would be the first to hold up his hand against the system.* He admitted there were cases in which he should be grieved if friends of his were concerned; but as reference was often made to the Jamaica papers, he would read from the *Courant* of last September an advertisement which he hoped would go a little way in answer to the charge † that slaves were allowed to perish in the streets of disease. He then read an advertisement of a "Negro Hospital for Curable Diseases," which assured proprietors that the greatest attention would be paid to the negroes who might be placed in it. To shew that the practice of branding the slaves was not allowed, Mr. S. cited the case of a person tried in 1818, for branding his slave Amey in five places, who was sentenced to six months' imprisonment; the Judge commented on his barbarity in the strongest terms, and Amey was declared free.‡ In another

* What does Mr. Saintsbury say to the cases referred to by Mr. Phillips—to the case of the Rev. Mr. Bridges and his slave Kitty Hylton, and to many other recent ones detailed in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*?

† The charge was made in reference to Antigua, and the facts detailed by Mr. Phillips. But as regards Jamaica, also, see Mr. Orton's statement, p. 74.

‡ In this very case the culprit, Joseph Boyden, was indicted not simply for *branding*, which is no legal offence in Jamaica, but for "*cruelly, maliciously and wantonly maltreating*, by *flogging*, and marking in five different parts of her body with the initials of his name and of his estate, a Sambo slave named Amey." But Mr. de la Beche, himself a Jamaica planter, at the same time that he refers to this flagrant act of cruelty in his late publication, *Notes on Jamaica*, admits the prevalence of branding, at a very recent period. Three slaves on his own estate were branded in 1822 or 1823; and the overseer by whose directions

case, of assault, the owner was fined 100*l.* and 10*l.* a year ordered to be paid to the slave, who was declared free. No doubt there was cruelty in the West Indies, and where was there not? but it was competent to any individual to give information to the proper authorities; there was law to punish the offender, and if found guilty he would be punished. He declared from the bottom of his soul that he was not the advocate of slavery. There was not an individual present who would rejoice at its abolition more cordially than himself. If it were proposed to him to erect a state of slavery at the present day, he trusted they would believe that no one would receive the proposition with greater indignation than himself, But when he was called upon to alter a state of society which had existed for centuries, he must be allowed to point out the difficulty of accomplishing the task.

Mr. Orton requested Mr. Saintsbury to read the name affixed to the advertisement of the Negro Hospital; which being done, Mr. Orton observed, that the gentleman named was in immediate connexion with the Wesleyan Society, and the establishment was an act of almost individual charity. Mr. Saintsbury replied that he supposed the party did not insert the advertisement without reason to expect it would bring patients. Mr. Orton said the advertisement had appeared 100 times, and its object was to induce proprietors to send the negroes to a place where they would be treated with care at a low charge. It was in no way connected with the estates. He also stated that the slaves were actually branded; he had frequently seen them branded with a hot iron.

The Meeting was subsequently addressed by Rev. Messrs. Elven, Bayley, Freeman, Orton, Jones; and Messrs. Alexander, Bevan, Hall, and Bayley.

Although we have already given in Reporter, No. 69, a summary of Mr. Orton's evidence on West India Slavery, yet as the facts adduced by him on the present occasion were either new, or not before so specifically stated, being specially called forth to meet the assertions recently promulgated by the pro-slavery advocates, respecting the favourable condition of the slaves; and as we consider Mr. Orton's testimony, for the reasons formerly mentioned, (See No. 69, p. 442.) to be particularly valuable and trust-worthy, we make no apology for inserting the substance of his speech at the Bury meeting.—It had, he said, been remarked by the Chairman, that too much stress was laid by some speakers upon particular acts of cruelty. He did not insist upon such acts, except as evidence of the fruits of the system; but stood upon the higher ground that slavery was radically and thoroughly bad in its basis. He had often conversed with planters and slave owners

it had been done, could not, it appears, be brought to punishment. The fact is, there is no law against this abominable practice, though it may be punished, as that or any other act may be, when it is accompanied by such circumstances of enormity as a jury of slave-holders may regard and punish as "cruel, wanton and malicious maltreatment." Branding is commonly performed by using a silver brand heated with burning spirits; and in this mode it may legally be inflicted by any ruffian on any man, woman, or child, placed under his authority; and "brutal characters," as Mr. De la Beche remarks, "when possessed of power will abuse it." The Jamaica Newspapers prove that branding is still common. See Negro Slavery Tracts, No. xv. pp. 158, 159. See also Reporter, Vol. i. p. 254.

(amongst whom he knew many kind and humane men) and he had never found one so unreasonable as to attempt to defend that abominable system which deprived a man of the greatest blessings conferred upon him by his Maker.—The natural rights of liberty, property, and life, were inalienable so long as men acted in conformity with law and justice; but his eyes had beheld men sold in the market; he had seen human life (and he challenged any man to refute him) made a monstrous and murderous sacrifice at the shrine of avarice and cruelty; and the blood of their fellow creatures cried aloud to heaven for redress. Absolute power over a fellow creature would always degenerate into cruelty. It was vain to seek for what were called ameliorating laws from the legislative assemblies: he had seen too many instances where such laws had proved mere dead letters, and those who ought to be the guardians of the slaves had been the very persons by whom they had been most cruelly treated. He should tire the meeting were he to enter into a detail of those cruelties, and he did not mean to employ them as a principal part of his argument, but as so many exemplifications of the enormity of the system, and as a reason for urging at least its early and entire abolition. He would first take it as a whole, as a system of hard labour. The toil of the slave was not so excessive for its violent exertion, as in point of constancy and rapidity of motion. A gang of from thirty to fifty men were placed together, some not so strong as others, though he admitted they were generally selected, as nearly as they could be, of equal strength; but many were often weak or diseased. These slaves were placed in a line in the field, with drivers at equal distances, and were obliged to maintain that line throughout the day, so that those who were not quite so strong as the others were literally flogged up by the drivers; and this in a rapid and constant motion;—*rapidity* was its characteristic. In carrying manure the practice was the same. With regard to the time they were employed, he had endeavoured to make a correct calculation, and he thought it would be allowed that his statement was within the mark. He had taken great pains in observing the time when the negroes were called out in the morning, and the time when they left the field, and he believed they worked fifteen or sixteen hours on the average every day of the year. During crop-time, which lasted about half the year, from the time that they were called out, (usually by the crack of the whip,) till they left work, was at least eighteen hours. This he stated without fear of refutation. During the other part of the year the average was at least thirteen or fourteen hours. He maintained that this was cruelty and excessive labour, in a burning climate, where they well knew that such constant exertion was not necessary for subsistence. To obtain such a quantity of labour coercion was indispensable, and the driver accordingly was always armed with a whip. It had been said that the whip was a mere symbol of office, but this was arrant trifling. The missionaries had stood by, almost boiling over with indignation, whilst the driver was summarily punishing and lacerating the bodies of his fellow negroes, without any other whites than themselves to witness it. And this was in addition to the numerous punishments for petty offences at the close of the day. Even this might be more tolerable if the slave were remunerated for his toil, but not only was he not well provided

for, but he was obliged to make the greatest sacrifices for his bare subsistence. He admitted that twenty-six days in a year were allowed for the cultivation of their provision grounds. In the Leeward Islands, he knew, the negroes were partly fed from their masters' stores, but it was not so at Jamaica, except during crop, when they had not time to go to their provision grounds. At other times they had to go to a portion of mountainous ground, of no value for the cultivation of the cane, from five to fifteen miles, and in one instance that he had known, twenty miles distant. They were often so tired and dispirited, that they would not go, and were flogged to their own grounds by the driver; their grounds were often robbed or overrun with weeds; and he had known them to travel thirty miles, with a heavy load, on the Sunday, to sell the produce at a low rate in order to obtain the little comforts they required. It was said that the planters supplied their wants when sick, and it would be bad policy indeed if the same attention were not paid to them which any one present would pay to his horse if he were ill, but the negroes would often complain for some time before they were admitted to the hospital, or *hot-house*, and that, frequently, after being punished, as idle, for complaining. The hospital was almost invariably the prison of the estate; they were generally put into the stocks and allowed to lie on an inclined boarding, to prevent their taking too much exercise, he had been told; but the impression had always been made upon him, and upon the negroes also, that they were thus treated to make the hot-house as undesirable as possible. In the negroes' huts he had witnessed scenes of distress almost beyond conception. He had found old negroes in houses nearly falling over their heads, and their bodies almost eaten up by disease; and when he had inquired if their masters did not supply their wants, the answer was—"No, Massa, me done up; me ask for salt, me ask for salt, but massa never give salt;"—(their disease is usually scorbutic) "me have nothing but what piccaninny bring to me." In the streets of Jamaica it was common to see old negroes begging, whose masters had had the benefit of their youth and strength.—Another instance of the nature of the system was the intolerable act of religious persecution by which the slaves were deprived of those blessings which alone could render their condition supportable. The negro in general was quiet, cowed, and dispirited by oppression: why then should he be restrained in his religious principles? But they all knew that the Missionaries had been persecuted to martyrdom, and Christianity had been compared to a cankerworm which would eat out the fruits of slavery. The Missionaries had been charged with seducing the negroes into dangerous notions of the rights of men, and with being disturbers of the peace, but the charge had been honourably disproved in the Courts of Law, and had fallen with double vengeance on the heads of their accusers. His brother Grimsdall, whose memory would ever be dear to him, had, however, sunk a victim to this persecution. He (Mr. Orton) was imprisoned in a gaol which had been pronounced unfit for negroes some years before, and the Marshall at his own risk had released him on his parole at the end of eleven days, from the fear that his life would be in danger. He applied for a *habeas corpus*, and was removed to Kingston, where the Chief Justice immediately said he was extremely

sorry that he had been placed in such a situation, and ordered him to be liberated; and the Magistrate who committed him was struck off the commission. Upon this the actions which had been commenced were given up, but the proceedings had cost the Missionary Society £400. The case of Mr. Grimsdall was similar to his own, and the result would have been the same if he had lived. Many of the negroes had been cruelly punished for attending the worship of God, and on complaining to the Magistrates had been sent to the workhouse, and flogged at going in and coming out, as disaffected. Whilst confined in the gaol he had witnessed barbarities beyond description, in the workhouse yard, which it overlooked. The Governor of the House of Correction stood over and watched with the greatest indifference the cutting up of the negroes. Night and day the crack of the whip was constantly heard. During the ten days of his confinement he (Mr. O.) scarcely ever slept. One poor woman he saw laid on her stomach, with two men holding her arms, and a third her head, whilst another herculean fellow was lashing her naked body. Such occurrences as these *ought* to cause excitement, and called upon them to use every lawful means to accomplish the very speedy and utter abolition of slavery. After what he had stated, it would be preposterous to compare the condition of the slaves with that of the peasantry of this country. He admitted that a few were well treated, but was this a reason for suffering the vast majority to remain in their present condition? In the last few months he had travelled through this kingdom, and he lamented to see the distress of the English poor. But any attempt to compare the worst treated of our peasantry with the worst treated slaves, must be grounded either upon profound ignorance or incurable prejudice. Admitting however, (for the sake of argument) that their sufferings were equally great, was it a reason for keeping our fellow creatures in bondage—for refusing to bestir ourselves for the relief of distress at a distance, because there was distress at home? Ought we not rather to believe that Providence, by whose power the affairs of all nations were regulated had permitted this distress in our own country, as a just judgment for our indifference to the oppression of the negroes? And might not our consciences tell us—"We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us and we would not hear him?"

Here for the present we must stop, although a large number of Anti-Slavery meetings still remain to be noticed. To these we shall endeavour to revert in an early number.

II.—ANTI-SLAVERY PETITIONS.

FROM the 17th of November to December 23d, inclusive, eleven hundred and twenty-five petitions for the early and entire abolition of Colonial Slavery were presented to the House of Commons. From the commencement of the session to the Christmas recess, the whole number presented was three thousand, two hundred and fourteen. A very large additional number, it is believed, will still be presented before the discussion of the question, in pursuance of the notice given by Mr. Buxton, for the 1st of March.

III.—DONATIONS AND REMITTANCES,

*In aid of the Funds of the Anti-Slavery Society, from November 4, to December 31, 1830.**

	£.	s.	d.
Edinburgh Association - - - - - (payment)	21	12	0
Hull Association - - - - - (payment)	8	8	0
Mr. Henry Tylor - - - - - (annual)	1	1	0
Mr. H. McFarlane, Paisley - - - - - (donation)	1	0	0
G. W. Alexander, Esq. - - - - - (annual)	1	1	0
Melksham Association - - - - - (donation)	20	0	0
J. P. Davis, Esq. Tredegar Works - - - - - (annual)	1	0	0
Mr. J. Ross, Chatteris - - - - - (payment)	1	10	0
Richard Poole, Esq. Gray's Inn Square - - - - - (donation)	10	0	0
Rev. Mr. Durrant, Poole - - - - - (ditto)	1	1	0
Mr. W. Binns, Poole - - - - - (ditto)	1	1	0
Mr. Richard Pinney - - - - - (ditto)	0	10	0
Southwark Ladies' Association - - - - - (payment)	6	14	3
Mr. Bowley, Gloucester - - - - - (ditto)	0	10	0
Checkley, Croxdon, and Alveton, Staffordshire - - - - - (donation)	3	5	0
Truro Association - - - - - (payment)	4	4	6
Youghal Association - - - - - (ditto)	5	0	0
North East London Ladies' Association, by Mrs. Brightwen (ditto)	2	6	10
Cork Association - - - - - (ditto)	10	0	0
W. B. Hudson, Esq. - - - - - (donation)	5	0	0
Margate Association - - - - - (payment)	3	0	0
Richardson Purvis, Esq. Sunbury - - - - - 2 years (annual)	10	10	0
Mrs. Purvis, ditto - - - - - 2 ditto (ditto)	6	6	0
Miss Jane Purvis, ditto - - - - - 2 ditto (ditto)	4	4	0
Miss Elizabeth Purvis, ditto - - - - - 2 ditto (ditto)	4	4	0
Miss Frances Purvis, ditto - - - - - (ditto)	2	2	0
Buckingham Association - - - - - (payment)	5	11	0
Colebrookdale Association - - - - - (donation)	22	10	0
Lewes (Sussex) Association - - - - - (payment)	10	0	0
Salisbury Ladies' Association - - - - - (donation)	5	0	0
Mr. E. Suter - - - - - (annual)	1	1	0
Miss Buttrel, of Bellevue, by Miss Prideaux - - - - - (donation)	1	0	0
Rochester Ladies' Association - - - - - (payment)	2	11	0
Rev. W. B. Hayne - - - - - (annual)	1	1	0
Banbury Association - - - - - (payment)	1	9	6
Darlington Association - - - - - (ditto)	7	18	0
Ditto ditto - - - - - (donation)	12	2	0
Liverpool Ladies' Association - - - - - (ditto)	35	0	0
J. M. Strachan, Esq. Teddington - - - - - (payment)	1	2	0
J. Harford, Esq. Bristol - - - - - (ditto)	5	0	0
Bath Association - - - - - (payment)	20	0	0
Southampton Association - - - - - (ditto)	7	18	0
York Ladies' Association - - - - - (ditto)	2	6	0
Anonymous from Banbury - - - - - (donation)	1	0	0
Mr. Jabez Stuter, ditto - - - - - (annual)	0	2	6
Southwark Ladies' Association - - - - - (payment)	1	16	6
Beverley Ladies' Association - - - - - (ditto)	5	8	6
Ditto ditto - - - - - (donation)	4	11	6

* This list does not contain the Subscriptions recently paid to the Society's Collector—which will, however, be entered as usual in the annual list of Subscriptions.

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 75.]

FEBRUARY 1, 1831.

[Vol. iv. No. 3.

I.—REMARKS ON THE RIGHT HON. R. W. HORTON'S SECOND LETTER TO THE FREEHOLDERS OF YORKSHIRE, ON COMPULSORY MANUMISSION, &c.

II.—THE QUESTION OF COMPENSATION CALMLY CONSIDERED.

I.—MR. WILMOT HORTON ON COMPULSORY MANUMISSION.

A SECOND letter from the pen of Mr. Wilmot Horton to the freeholders of Yorkshire, has made its appearance. There is appended a brief postscript, in which he promises to take "the earliest opportunity of correcting the misrepresentations" contained in our 72nd number, and threatens, with somewhat less than his usual measure of courteousness, "to demonstrate the falsity, absurdity and bad faith" of our charge against him as "the uniform apologist of negro slavery, and the abettor and champion of every colonial abuse." Now, in the irritation of the moment, Mr. Horton has mistaken for a charge against him, our statement of the fact that circumstances had produced, justly or not, in the public mind, an impression that he was hostile to negro freedom. If he denies this fact, we are at issue with him upon it. We did not assert, not being able to dive into his thoughts, that he was really hostile to Negro freedom. But we did say, and we say again, that the part he has taken on this question in public has obtained for him that reputation, and we must fairly think not very unreasonably. Waiting without dismay the proof he has promised of the *falsity* and *bad faith*, as well as the absurdity of this opinion, we shall now confine our attention to Mr. Horton's second letter, in which, taking as before Major Moody, formerly employed for years in coercing about a thousand slaves, for his grand and decisive authority on the subject of free and slave labour, he proceeds to arraign the abolition party as guilty of a dereliction of their duty in not having come forward to take a part in the inquiry which he thought proper to institute, before the Privy Council, in November, 1827, on that subject, as connected with the compulsory manumission clause, which had been introduced into the Berbice Order in Council. He expresses too, not only very great astonishment at this conduct, but his utter ignorance of the reasons which could have influenced it. He must here however, allow us to marvel in our turn at such a statement, while we adduce it as a further illustration of the characteristic propensity of this gentleman to employ himself in combating shadows of his own creation.

As early as the month of December, 1827, immediately on the close of the Inquiry, in the Reporter numbered 31, we took occasion briefly to explain some of the reasons which appeared to us to have produced that determination; on not one of which, though he must have read the article in question, has he condescended to bestow the slightest notice. For his sake therefore, as well as for the sake of those to whom his letter is addressed, we will now transcribe the passage.

After a brief review of the effect of the evidence adduced before the Privy Council on that occasion, we thus proceed.

“Before we conclude this article, it may be expected that we should make some allusion to a circumstance which occurred in the course of the inquiry before the Privy Council, and which has been represented as indicating a backwardness on the part of the abolitionists to support, by evidence, the views they have promulgated on the subject of manumission and free labour. On the day on which the evidence for the petitioners was brought to a close, the newspapers represented a member of the Council” (who in fact was no other than Mr. W. Horton himself) “as complaining that no one came forward with counter evidence. This complaint was supposed to point to Mr. Buxton and his friends; and not a few were disposed to infer, from their having declined the challenge, that they must have done so under a conviction of the weakness of their cause. What Mr. Buxton and his friends may think it right hereafter to say from their places in Parliament, in defence of the line they took on this occasion, we pretend not to anticipate; but we can conceive many sound reasons which might have induced them to refuse the call said to have been addressed to them. Mr. Buxton and his friends, it is well known, had from the first declined to sanction the proposed inquiry by taking any part in it. If, however, such a determination had been deliberately and avowedly adopted by them, before the inquiry commenced, it would have argued no very consistent or well-formed purpose had they been provoked, by any such call, to swerve from it; particularly after the inquiry had almost reached its termination, and when not the slightest preparation had been made to fulfil the task said to have been thus proposed to them. We can easily imagine, however, what may have been some of their reasons both for not complying with any such call, and for their original determination to take no part in the inquiry.

“1. They might have supposed, that the object, from first to last, which such an inquiry was intended by the petitioners and their supporters to promote, was DELAY; and they might have felt it to have been their duty to lend no aid, directly or indirectly, to such an object.

“2. They might have conceived, that they had already established their case to the satisfaction (to say nothing of the public) of both the Parliament and the Government of the country; both having, after due deliberation and inquiry, so far assented to its truth and justice, as to resolve, with an unanimity scarcely broken by a murmur on the part of the West Indians in parliament, to adopt forthwith a variety of the reforms suggested by Mr. Buxton and his friends, and among the rest the very measure which was the subject of inquiry.

“3. With respect also to the measure at issue, they might have pro-

duced, as a valid reason for considering it as a settled point, that His Majesty's government, through the organs of Mr. Canning and Lord Bathurst, had repeatedly declared it to be "a vital part of their whole scheme," which "could not be dispensed with," and without which "no system of measures would satisfy the feelings of the country, or execute the purposes of Parliament;" and that therefore to submit it at this late hour to a new inquiry, would hardly be doing justice to the memory of one distinguished statesman, or to the feelings of another; and still less to their own obligations as men intrusted with the conduct of a great cause.

"4. They might further have pleaded their fears, that if they should consent to become parties to such an inquiry, they might be virtually surrendering the pledges already obtained; at least they might be contributing indefinitely to protract their fulfilment, seeming bound in consistency to wait the result of the inquiry, to which they had consented, before they agitated the subject in Parliament.

"5. They might also have been of opinion, that having obtained certain concessions in favour of the slave population, they had no right to compromise the vital interests of that numerous class, by agreeing to any proceeding which brought into question, and eventually might endanger, its full right to each and all of those concessions.

"6. And supposing there were no validity in these several reasons, they might still have been of opinion, that to institute a grave and solemn inquiry before the King in Council, in order to ascertain what would be an equitable compensation to a slave-holder for the redemption of his slave (which was in fact the professed and precise object of the inquiry), was a course wholly uncalled for; the question, though a very fit question to be settled by a court and jury, or by three honest and impartial appraisers, after a due investigation of the special facts of each case, being scarcely fit to exercise the legislative functions either of the Privy Council or of Parliament.

"7. Besides this, they might have thought that, the point more immediately at issue being one, not of fact, but of speculation, to proceed to settle it by *evidence upon oath* seemed an anomalous and questionable proceeding, by which, in certain supposable cases, under the sanction of that solemnity, a more ready currency might be given to the effusions of party spirit, passion, prejudice, or selfishness.

"8. The question at issue also, being one of a speculative kind, they might have thought, was more likely to be satisfactorily decided by a reference to general principles; to official documents exhibiting plain and unsophisticated facts; and to the results of historical experience; than by a reference to the necessarily contracted and partial observations of prejudiced and interested individuals.

"9. They might moreover have thought, that in a case where the petitioners stood opposed to the concurrent wishes, and to the declared purposes of the Government and the Parliament, as well as of the nation, the whole burden of proof lay upon them; but that being a case which it was impossible to establish by evidence, the attempt to produce counter evidence would be like fighting with a shadow.

"10. Mr. Buxton and his friends might further have pleaded, that the

whole of the statements which they had to produce had been already placed before the public, and were chiefly drawn from official documents, which had either been laid by the Colonial Department on the table of Parliament, or were to be obtained through that department.*

"11. They might also have seen grounds, from the first, for believing that the petitioners would not only fail in establishing their own case, but would, by their statements, give additional confirmation to the case of their opponents; and that therefore to meet them by counter evidence, was altogether a work of supererogation.

"12. And if there were any good grounds for such an anticipation before the inquiry commenced, they must have been abundantly confirmed in that opinion before the period of the alleged challenge; as by that time the failure of the petitioners' case had become matter of history; and every previous hope, that those views of the subject entertained by Mr. Buxton and his friends, would be strengthened, had been surpassed by the event, as the preceding pages sufficiently shew."†

Now the above statements, we think, might have satisfied even Mr. Horton, as we are persuaded they will satisfy the Yorkshire freeholders, and every dispassionate and unprejudiced reader, that there were not wanting plausible reasons at least for the course pursued by the abolitionists.

When Mr. Horton's letter of the 25th September, 1827, however, first reached Mr. Buxton, announcing to him the intention of Government to hear evidence before the Privy Council, on the petition of the Berbice planters, against the compulsory manumission clause, it contained no call upon the abolitionists to come forward, either as parties or as witnesses, but merely intimated that Mr. Huskisson "supposed it not improbable that Mr. Buxton might wish to attend on that occasion." And if so "I should be happy," said Mr. Horton, "to apprise you in time, or any friends of yours whom you may name, of the period fixed for the examination." This letter, we repeat, contained no invitation to Mr. Buxton or his friends to be either parties or witnesses in this inquiry; still it was supposed that such an inference might be drawn from it. Pains were, therefore, taken to ascertain the precise purpose of the Government in sending this notice to Mr. Buxton. Accordingly Mr. W. Smith applied to Lord Goderich, and to Mr. Horton on the subject. The result of his conference with the latter is thus recorded by Mr. Horton himself, in a letter addressed to Mr. W. Smith, and dated Downing Street, October 22, 1827, to the following effect:—

"Dear Sir,

"I am anxious to record in writing the substance of the conversation which I had the pleasure of having with you on Friday last.

"I then told you, that I had learnt with considerable surprise, that the information which I gave to Mr. Buxton was construed as an invitation to the abolitionists (if, for the sake of convenience, one may be permitted to use the phrase) to appear as parties on the proposed

* See especially the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 27, which contained a full examination of the whole question.

† Referring to an analysis of that evidence in the same *Reporter*, No. 31.

inquiry before the Privy Council. I beg to assure you that *nothing could have been farther from the intention of Mr. Huskisson than such an invitation.* The object of my informing Mr. Buxton was, to give himself, or any other person equally interested with him on the subject, an opportunity of making their arrangements, *so as to attend as auditors, if they chose to do so, at the hearing before the Privy Council.* Indeed, *I am not aware by what process Mr. Buxton or his friends could come in technically as parties.* I have heard it said, that they might petition as '*prochains amis*;' I presume to offer no opinion in point of law as to the capability of so presenting themselves. But it is not immaterial to consider the circumstances upon which this inquiry before the Privy Council is founded.

"As I have already told Mr. Buxton, the Berbice petitioners, in substance, contend that the equitable interests of private property (the preservation of which the Resolutions of the House of Commons distinctly contemplated) have not been sufficiently attended to by the Government, in the measures which they in pursuance of those resolutions have adopted. The Government undoubtedly might have met such an allegation by refusing all appeal to the Privy Council, and by informing the parties that they intended rigidly to abide by what they had done, without consenting to any inquiry on the subject.

"They have, however, decided to take another course; namely, to sanction an examination into the specific charge of neglect of the equitable interests of private property, as contended by the Berbice petitioners, to be involved in the compulsory manumission clauses.—The result of that examination may, on the one hand, be either to prove that the objections of those petitioners are unfounded, in which case there would be no doubt as to the course which would be to be taken; or, on the other hand, to shew that, without impairing the purpose of the Legislature, as declared in the resolutions of 1823, other regulations may more satisfactorily accomplish that object.

"The Privy Council will be summoned for Wednesday the 7th November."

Now it will be for Mr. Wilmot Horton to reconcile this official letter, which appears to shut out the abolitionists from all title to appear as parties or even as witnesses, and inviting them merely as *auditors*, with the tone of his present letter to the freeholders of Yorkshire. That he afterwards invited them to take a part is true, but it was in the very midst, nay almost at the close of the inquiry; and that he then used even taunts to induce them to do so, we admit. But it was then obviously too late even to collect the opinions of friends scattered in different parts of the country, as to the expediency of a compliance, and still more to prepare a case on so sudden and unexpected a call.

In point of fact, however, no sooner had Mr. Horton's letter of the 25th September, 1827, reached Mr. Buxton than he took measures to ascertain, by conference or correspondence with his friends, their view of the expediency of becoming parties to the inquiry, supposing that to be the purpose or the desire of the Government; and their unanimous decision, even before Mr. Horton's letter of the 22nd October was laid before them, was in the negative. The following communica-

tions to Mr. Buxton will shew the general current of opinion among those friends whom he consulted.

“Assuming,” says one of them in a letter dated 12th October, 1827, “that it is the wish of the Government that Mr. Buxton and his friends should be parties to the proposed inquiry, I would advise him by all means to decline it.

“It is true that the original motion which gave occasion to the debate of May, 1823, was submitted to the House of Commons by Mr. Buxton. That motion the Government thought proper to oppose. An amendment was moved by a minister of the crown in the name of the cabinet. That amendment was carried: and the administration remained pledged to adopt measures tending to a reform of the West India system.

“If the ministers have not fulfilled their promise, they have at least reaped the whole advantage of it. They have quieted the public mind by repeatedly declaring that they had undertaken the whole work of amelioration. In Parliament they have repeatedly silenced Mr. Buxton and his friends, by complaining that a question which now belonged to themselves was attempted to be taken out of their hands. The measures which they have pressed on the Colonists were measures concerted by themselves alone. If they took counsel, it was not with Mr. Buxton and his friends, but with the most distinguished members of the West India party.

“These measures however have been opposed by the West Indians; and now it is to the very persons for whose motion they substituted their own amendment, and out of whose keeping they have taken the question, and to whose interference they have so often objected, that, as is now assumed, *they apply to defend* a policy for which they alone are responsible.

“In form, as in substance, the proposition of the Government is most exceptionable. The appearance of Mr. Buxton before the Privy Council, would be a violation of every principle which regulates the proceedings of deliberative or judicial bodies; an irregularity of which the Colonists would have to complain, and which the writers who favour them would know how to turn to account. Clothed with no recognized character, pretending to no personal interest, he is called upon to appear as the representative (it is presumed) of a political and religious party; or as the advocate of abstract principles. This would really be a burlesque on the solemnities of such a tribunal.

“The duty of defending the proceedings of the Government belongs to the Government itself. If any other party be entitled to interfere, that party is the agent for Berbice; who, as intrusted with the interests of *all classes* of British subjects in that settlement, may, without impropriety, demand to be heard in favour of the largest and most unprotected portion of the population.

“If, indeed, the ministers are desirous to retract the pledge which they gave in May 1823, their conduct admits of an easy explanation. By the course now proposed, they extricate themselves from the situation in which their own policy has placed them, and substitute Mr. Buxton and his friends in their room. After having so long declared

that the question of Negro Slavery was in their own hands, they restore it to him with whom it originated, but in a state widely different from that in which they received it, encumbered by difficulties and narrowed by limitations which never would have existed had it remained in their custody.

“Should Mr. Buxton comply with the wish of the Government, it will be out of his power to bring forward any legislative measure tending to accelerate the emancipation of slaves in any of our Colonies. He will be met, and justly met, by the observation, that, having himself agreed to debate the question and to examine evidence upon it before the Council, he ought to await the decision of that body. Years may elapse before that decision is announced, a delay which, however agreeable in prospect to a Government desirous only to shift off, by daily expedients, the necessity of acting, no person who justly feels the magnitude of the subject can contemplate without pain.

“If the ministers are desirous to retract their engagement, be it so. Professed neutrality or open hostility is preferable to secret enmity. Mr. Buxton and his friends are prepared to fight the battle, but it must be on ground selected by themselves, not assigned by others. It must be before the Parliament and the Country. It must be, not on those principles which the Government has adopted, but on those which are entertained by themselves, and which, they are firmly convinced, will, when boldly stated, receive enthusiastic support from the body of the people.”

A second communication, bearing the same date, contains the following observations:—

“I am persuaded that Mr. W. Horton is the grand mover in the affair of hearing evidence in support of the Berbice and Demerara Planters’ Memorial (on this point indeed Lord Goderich, in what passed between him and Mr. W. Smith, seems to remove all doubt); and having given them leave to bring such evidence forward, he seems now embarrassed as to the mode of proceeding, and his letter to Mr. Buxton seems intended to relieve him from this embarrassment. Government could not possibly allow the planters to walk over the course, and to say what they pleased, against a measure of their own, without contradiction. This would be to stultify themselves before the public, and would doubtless also be considered as a betraying of that cause of reform which they had voluntarily undertaken, when they forced Mr. Buxton to resign it to them; as well as a violation of their pledges to carry that reform into effect. Indeed it seems so obviously the duty of Government to employ their own law officers in meeting the statements of the objectors, sifting their evidence, and rebutting their arguments, that it will require some ingenuity to account for that course not being taken. The Government are the sole depositories of the reasons which induced them to pursue certain measures, and they alone therefore are competent to defend those measures; and to instruct their own legal advisers for that purpose. It is for them to defend what they have done. The responsibility of the measures that have been adopted is entirely theirs, and with them alone therefore ought to rest the defence.

“ I am aware that this is an embarrassing position for a man like Mr. W. Horton, who has had himself so large a share in the concoction and conduct of those measures, and I do not wonder he should shrink from it, and wish to shift the *onus* on others, as well as to throw on them the eventual discredit of a weak and inadequate defence; especially as he must be aware that in every step that is taken, and in every word that is uttered, the proceedings will be closely watched by the abolitionists.

“ Now we cannot wonder that he should wish to escape from such a dilemma, and that with that view he should be desirous of transferring to others all the trouble and responsibility of the contest, while he and his coadjutors remain as calm spectators and umpires between the conflicting parties.

“ In 1823, the abolitionists came forward and were willing fairly to encounter their opponents in the pursuit of their own views. Government, however, authoritatively interfered, and took the matter out of the hands of the contending parties, and gave certain pledges of practical measures which they were to accomplish, promising that if they should be prevented by the contumacy of the colonists from accomplishing them, they would then come to Parliament for aid and counsel.

“ Now that the total inefficiency of the reiterated recommendations of the Government to the Colonial Assemblies can no longer be denied, and that the time therefore is indubitably come when this pledge ought to be redeemed, it is proposed to pursue the timid course of inducing Mr. Buxton and his friends in fact to absolve the Government from the fulfilment of their pledges, and to engage in the contest anew, and that on far lower and more disadvantageous ground than we occupied when displaced from it by the interference and the solemn engagements of the Government.

“ We are to be admitted as parties against the colonists, not upon our own original grounds, but on the grounds on which the Government have chosen to take their stand, and from much of which the abolitionists have dissented, both in principle and in detail.

“ It is impossible therefore not to feel it to be a most extraordinary course for the Government to pursue, that after having almost forcibly taken the affair out of our hands; after having uniformly complained of the very slightest interference on our parts in Parliament; after having rejected our views and adopted in their stead those of the colonial club; after having never once deigned to make us parties to their deliberations, they should now expect that we should volunteer to fight their battle; that we should undertake the defence of their very defective measures; and that we should generously expose ourselves to the whole ire of the West Indians for their rescue; and that, armed with their weapons, and not with our own. There is something really ludicrous in all this. The authors of the mischief, wrapping themselves up in the character of indifferent umpires, are to enlist us in the defence and justification, before the king and country, of all their bad measures, and to set themselves free, by this very proceeding, from all our claims upon them.

“ They are aware of the total contrariety of our views and principles

to theirs, in making the planters the agents of reform, and that we have always protested against all measures which proceed upon the plan of placing the legal condition of the slave at the mercy of his oppressor. And yet they would have us to become the advocates of measures which adopt confidence in the planters as their basis, and respecting neither the foundation nor framework of which we have ever once been consulted, and much of which also we disapprove.

“ Indeed we strongly protest against the plan of hearing evidence at all, in a case already decided by the King in council, and sanctioned by both houses of Parliament, like that of compulsory manumission. If Government were not convinced of the soundness and expediency of the measure, they ought not to have adopted and enforced it. And the responsibility of now abandoning it, or of instituting an enquiry which may suspend for years the progress of improvement among 800,000 of his Majesty’s subjects, and of which the only result can be delay, must rest with them.”

We produce these communications, not for the purpose of justifying the ground the writers of them took in considering the subject, nor of defending the correctness of their language and sentiments, but merely to shew that the subject was deliberately considered, and that the determination to abstain from all interference in the enquiry had at least some shew of reason in its favour. The determination, however, whether right or wrong, was rendered wholly superfluous by the letter of Mr. Wilmot Horton to Mr. W. Smith, in which he absolutely disclaims all such intention as had been ignorantly imputed to him by Mr. Buxton’s friends, and officially shuts out both him and them from all concern in the matter, except as auditors.

What then, under these circumstances, must have been the surprise of Mr. Buxton and his friends, when towards the close of the examination, namely, on the 23d of November, Mr. Horton addressed to Mr. Buxton, then at Cromer, the letter he has inserted in the pamphlet we are now reviewing (p. 21), calling upon him to come forward and take part before the Privy Council; thus in fact seeming to realize all the surmises which, in his letter to Mr. Smith, he had so formally disclaimed.

About the same time he also wrote, as he states, to Mr. Macaulay, strongly urging him to come forward, and to place on record his opinions on the subject, pressing upon him as a motive for *swearing* to their truth, the Christian obligation he was under of ‘doing as he would be done by.’ (p. 23.) Mr. Macaulay, he adds, *did not choose* to accept the proposal; and he goes on to express his *astonishment* at the refusal, leaving it to be inferred that no reasons had been assigned to him for this conduct. But as Mr. Macaulay did assign his reasons, Mr. Horton ought in fairness to have stated them.

Some days before, in a private conversation, Mr. Horton had challenged Mr. Macaulay to shew that, commercially speaking, the market price of a slave was his fair and proper value. Mr. Macaulay accepted the challenge, and transmitted to Mr. Horton a paper on the subject, the substance of which afterwards appeared in the Anti-Slavery Re-

porter, vol. ii. No. 33, p. 182. It was in a letter acknowledging this communication, (in which letter Mr. Horton stated that he had discovered "an overwhelming fallacy" in Mr. M.'s argument,) that Mr. Horton first proposed (notwithstanding what he said to Mr. Smith on the 22d of October,) that Mr. Macaulay should come forward and take a part in the inquiry. Mr. Macaulay's reply, dated the 28th of November, 1827, was to this effect:—

"Knowing the different views which may be taken in all matters of mere speculation, I cannot wonder that you should dissent from the paper on the subject of the equitable compensation to be made to the master on the compulsory manumission of his slave. Though I have not yet discovered in it the 'overwhelming fallacy'* which you have detected, yet I certainly am not disposed vehemently to contend for its soundness; and still less should I be disposed, correct though I believe my views to be, to maintain them on oath.

"This, however, forms by no means my only objection to the proceeding in which you invite me to take a part. A petition has been presented by the planters of Berbice against a clause in the Order of Council for that colony, on the subject of compulsory manumission. Now to that clause I myself most decidedly object, as outraging both common sense and common justice, both in its principle and its details. For even if its details were less objectionable than they are, and it were framed on the exact model of the Trinidad, or even of the Spanish law, though I should certainly accept it with gratitude as a great improvement on the existing state of things, I nevertheless could not undertake to plead for it, or to bear testimony in its favour, as consistent with justice, or as reconcilable to that divine precept to which you refer as requiring my appearance before the Privy Council—'Do as you would be done by.'

"In a conversation with which you lately honoured me, you did not hesitate to admit that colonial slavery was '*a crime of a deep dye.*' Now it is to this point that I am disposed in the first instance to apply the above precept. And I think it will not be denied that it is not doing as we would be done by to require that the party suffering from that crime should indemnify the criminal (let that criminal be either the planter or the British nation, or both,) for all the present and prospective benefits which he may shew himself to be deriving, or to be likely to derive from his crime, before that crime shall cease;—that the suffering slave should not only yield day by day, to the man who holds him in slavery, his coerced and uncompensated toil, but should be driven, as his only and almost hopeless means of deliverance from this state, to employ the minute and scattered and scanty fragments of his broken repose to make up to the master the price of his liberty. I cannot believe this to be just, and I should deem myself to be not doing as I would be done by, if I came forward in support of such a system.

* Mr. Horton has not yet condescended to point out this overwhelming fallacy.

“Independently, however, of this more general view of the subject, I am so convinced that the Berbice law will not only produce no practical benefit to the slave, but actually deteriorate his prospects, that I should think myself doing wrong were I to appear to take part with it for one moment.

“I also object to the whole enquiry, as giving an undue importance to this particular part of the case. While evils without number and of frightful magnitude are admitted, by the very acts of the Government and Parliament, to exist in our colonies, and to require a prompt and effectual remedy, it does not seem right that those evils should remain, for years subsequent to the admission, unredressed, while we have no question really at issue except that of fixing the fractional parts of the compensation which may become owing to the planter, in the rare event of some field slave being able, some ten years hence, to redeem himself from slavery. We thus seem to be losing sight of all the great moral and political questions involved in the subject, amid a cloud of metaphysical subtleties and abstractions.

“I should think it as reasonable in a London merchant to enter into a laborious discussion on the nature and value of a paper currency before he paid his acceptances, as for this great Christian nation to be deliberating for years on the “incommensurable nature” of the moral and physical qualities of a set of its injured and oppressed subjects, before it extends to them that relief which, by every law divine and human, it is bound to extend to them.

“We do not so act in other matters. The general principle of compensation is also a practice perfectly well understood. The particular application of that principle belongs not to Government or to Parliament, but is the proper province of the jury, or of the appraisers called to examine and decide fairly on all the peculiarities of each special case.

“There are other reasons which lead me to decline to come forward to argue such a question *on oath*. I am perfectly ready at the same time to furnish the fullest information in my power to his Majesty’s Government on this subject; and no labour or time or thought which I can bestow upon it will be wanting, should I be called upon for that purpose.

“As you expressed a wish that I would suggest to you any evidence which might throw light on this subject, I beg to say that it has occurred to me that it would form a most useful supplement to the testimony already adduced, if you were to call for an exact transcript, from the registry books under Mr. Amyott’s care, of the entries made there by the sugar planters of Demerara and Berbice since the year 1817. Truth, you may rely upon it, would, by this process, be far more effectually elucidated than by examining a thousand speculative witnesses.

“I would also suggest as an useful supplement to Major Moody’s testimony on the “affinities and sympathies” existing between master and slave, and growing stronger from day to day, to which so much of the slave’s “incommensurable value” is to be attributed, that a list should

be obtained exhibiting the names of the resident, and the non-resident sugar planters of Demerara and Berbice, with the number of the slaves belonging to each, and the names and the length of service of the representatives of the absentees during the last ten or twenty years. The number of the non-resident planters, I will venture to say, would be found quite overwhelming. But the force of the "affinities" spoken of cannot reach across the Atlantic. And if it be argued that in the master's absence his place is supplied by attorneys and managers and overseers, then I say, that the brief and uncertain tenure by which these notoriously hold their offices, is as destructive of the theory in question as the equally notorious non-residence of the West Indian sugar planters. Lord Seaford, Mr. Bernal, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Blair, may be very good men, but the idea is utterly absurd of an influential attachment subsisting between them and their distant slaves, or between those slaves and their ephemeral agents.

"I have only again to express my readiness to attend your call at any time, and to assure you of the respect with which I have the honour to be,

"Dear Sir,

"Your very faithful and obedient Servant."

RIGHT HON. R. W. HORTON.

Some farther correspondence passed between these gentlemen, which it is not necessary to give at length. In reply to enquiries from Mr. W. Horton, Mr. Macaulay informed him, that "the only publication of the Anti-Slavery Society which I recollect to have treated this question, except incidentally, is the 'Examination of the Demerara Memorial.' (Being the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 27.) I certainly entirely concur in the opinions promulgated in that pamphlet. But yet I cannot see how they are to be strengthened in their effect by being repeated or argued on *oath*." Again—"From the beginning to the end of that pamphlet it rests entirely on official documents obtained through the Colonial Office,"—"a source of knowledge at least as open to the servants of the crown as to myself,"—"or on works of acknowledged authority, as Humboldt, Sir Stamford Raffles, &c. And I must still think that these documents and such writers are the sources to be mainly relied upon of sound knowledge on this subject."

We have probably said enough to abate the astonishment of Mr. W. Horton, that both Mr. Buxton and Mr. Macaulay should have resisted not only his entreaties, but his taunts to induce them to violate a determination previously and deliberately adopted in concurrence with their friends, and to which, had no better reasons existed for it, they would have been necessarily driven by the Right Hon. Gentleman's own official letter of the 22nd October, 1827. It would indeed have been a subject of just astonishment, if under such circumstances, Mr. Buxton or Mr. Macaulay had taken it upon themselves to act in compliance with Mr. Horton's new and unexpected proposition, however that gentleman may have exulted in the opportunity of displaying his dexterity in their cross examination, or however they may have writhed under the torture of such a process.

We have probably also said enough to satisfy the freeholders of Yorkshire that this second attempt of Mr. Horton to shake their confidence in Lord Brougham and in Lord Brougham's Anti-Slavery associates, is as misplaced and futile as we have shewn the first to be. We therefore take our leave for the present of the Right Hon. Gentleman, and turn to another part of the discussion which he has raised; and as we have been misunderstood upon it, both by friends and foes,* we shall take this opportunity of endeavouring to obviate their misconceptions.—We mean the question of

II.—COMPENSATION TO THE SLAVE-OWNERS.

Now it is perfectly true that we have never hesitated to admit, that the owners of slaves, in the case of their slaves being emancipated by an act of the British parliament, have a right to prefer, and, if they can, to establish, a claim to compensation; and that if they succeed in fairly establishing such a claim Parliament is bound to indemnify them.

But we have never admitted, nor indeed do we believe, that it will be in their power to establish such a claim, at least to any material extent. Still they have a right to do so if they can.

The parties who have suffered so severely by the establishment of the Liverpool and Manchester rail road,—the coachmasters, the waggoners, the bargemen, &c.,—have undoubtedly the right, if they choose, to prefer a claim to Parliament for indemnity, and if they can, to establish the justice of that claim, both by an appeal to general principles, and by an exposition of the particular facts of their case. But it would still be for Parliament to judge of the soundness of such principles as well as of the truth and tendency and relevancy of such facts; and to act accordingly in the admission, rejection, or modification of the claim that had been founded upon them.

A similar indulgence, but similarly restricted, seems fairly due to every class of claimants who may think themselves aggrieved by any measure of national policy; and we know of no reason which ought to exclude the owners of slaves from a fair and equitable consideration of their claim to indemnity from the consequences of an act of emancipation, if such an act should be passed by the imperial legislature. What the result of such an application would be is a perfectly different question, and must depend on the peculiar circumstances of the case.

Thus it was in the instance of the slave trade. The proposal to abolish it was met by petitions from the West Indians at home and abroad, to the full as strong either as that lately presented by the

* Among the first class, namely, our friends, we are truly glad to number the author of a Review of Mr. W. Horton's first letter to the Yorkshire freeholders, which appeared in the *Christian Instructor* of Edinburgh, for December, 1830, and which contains a very able and conclusive exposure of the inanity of the Right Hon. Gentleman's arguments. We recommend it to his candid attention.

Marquis of Chandos, or that which now lies for signatures at the Jamaica Coffee-house, claiming indemnity to a very large amount. Seventy millions sterling was the lowest sum at which in 1792 the planters rated the injury about to be inflicted on them, and they insisted on having the indemnity secured before one step was taken towards abolishing the slave trade. But what was the language at that time held towards the claimants by His Majesty's government? On the 3rd of April, 1792, when the resolution was first adopted of abolishing the slave trade, Mr. Pitt, in reply to the clamourers of that day for indemnity, observed, that he was very far from meaning to exclude the question of indemnification, on the supposition of possible disadvantages affecting the West Indians through the abolition of the slave trade. "But when gentlemen," he added, "set up a claim of compensation merely on general allegations, which is all I have yet heard, I can only answer, let them produce their case, and if, upon any reasonable grounds, it shall claim consideration, it will then be the time for parliament to decide upon it."

Again in 1807, when a bill for abolishing the slave trade had already passed the House of Lords, and was actually brought into the House of Commons by Earl Grey, then Lord Howick, the West Indians came forward as now to claim compensation. Utter ruin to all their interests—the total loss of their income and their property—they said, would be the inevitable consequences of the measure. Not only would there be insurrection and massacre throughout the whole of our slave colonies (the very language now employed to frighten the public out of their wits) but indemnity would be required to the extent of at least one hundred millions.* They requested to be heard by counsel, and counsel were heard at the bar of the House of Commons, as they

* It is highly instructive to look back to the debates of 1791 and 1792, and of 1806 and 1807, and to observe how the very same topics of alarm and intimidation, on the ground whether of apprehended insurrection, or of the enormity of the requisite indemnity, were then called into action which form the weapons of West Indian controversy at the present hour. They were the arguments or rather the bug-bears employed at that time to terrify Parliament from performing a great act of national justice. And they are now again resorted to for the same purpose, and we trust with a like issue as on the latter occasion. Would any one now believe that in 1807, it was possible that such men as Lord Eldon, Lord Sidmouth, Lord Liverpool, &c. in the House of Lords, and Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Windham, in the House of Commons, should have been so far deluded by such representations as gravely to adopt them, and to unite in sounding the loudest notes of alarm throughout the land. Mr. Windham went even so far as to say, "As those who support the bill are anxious to wash their hands of the guilt of the slave trade, so I am equally anxious to wash my hands of the dreadful consequences which that abolition threatens to produce." Can any thing appear more absurd in the retrospect than such language? And yet it is the very same language (senseless language we hesitate not to call it);—which is at this very moment, producing among our senators and statesmen, the same unfounded alarms from servile insurrection, and from the overwhelming pecuniary sacrifices to which we shall be exposed, in order to deter them from an act of at least equal justice.—Sir R. Peel has recently raised the claim to 140 millions; doubling that of 1792!!

had also been at the House of Lords, in support of their extravagant claims; and their cause was ably pleaded by Mr. Dallas, the late Chief Justice, Mr. Alexander, the late Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Mr. Scarlett, the late Attorney-General, now Sir James Scarlett. But what on that occasion was the language of Viscount Howick? It was to this effect: He did not deny that the apprehended loss which this measure might eventually cause might become a fair question of future consideration.—Let those who may conceive themselves entitled to demand compensation submit their case to the House, and if that case should be established, the House would never be backward in listening to the claims of justice: He stated this as a general principle. The West Indians, however, were not satisfied with this assurance, and Mr. Manning, in giving notice that he should proceed to move for a Committee to consider of the compensation to be granted, in the event of the Bill passing, to those whose interests would be affected by it, begged to know from Lord Howick, whether His Majesty's ministers were authorised to assent to such a proceeding. Lord Howick's reply was, that it was contrary to the practice of Parliament to declare *beforehand* what might be the amount of compensation to be granted for possible losses by any general measures of political regulation or national policy which Parliament might adopt, and that therefore he was not authorised to consent to such a Committee. The bill accordingly passed without any express provision being made, beyond this general verbal assurance, for compensating the eventual sufferers. The doors of Parliament however were left completely open to their representations. And what has been the result? To this hour, after a lapse of twenty-four years, not only has not a single claim for compensation been established by any one of those then noisy claimants; but not one has even been preferred. And yet the West Indians were quite as loud in their clamours, and quite as confident in their statements in 1792 and 1807, as they now are in 1831.

Now if the misrepresentations and exaggerations employed on that occasion, must be admitted to have been very gross, and without any real foundation, and chiefly for the purpose of delaying an act of justice; is it not just barely possible, that as the complaining and opposing parties are the same, and their motives the same, and their end the same; the fears and alarms they are at this time exciting, both as to the danger of insurrection, and as to the extent of pecuniary sacrifice to which the country must necessarily be subjected, may be as vain and as valueless as those of 1807. We are confident they will be found to be so; and that the attempted delusions of the former period are only now renewed in the hope, which, we trust, will prove a vain one, of a more successful result.

Let it not be supposed, however, that we mean to retract any thing we have said, as to the right of the owners of slaves to prefer, and if they can, to establish their claim to compensation. We admit that right, as we have always done, in the most explicit manner. But still we say with Mr. Pitt, and with Earl Grey, that the time for indemnity

is not yet come, and that it can only be given when injury shall be proved to have been sustained.

In the case of the abolition of the Slave-trade, that measure of national policy, which the planters alleged would ruin them, and for which they demanded compensation, has proved, by their own admission, an advantage instead of an injury. They have not only incurred no loss, but they have been gainers by the measure. Now surely to have awarded, on the mere allegation of a set of claimants, compensation *beforehand* in such a case, would have been a somewhat proposterous proceeding. The general assurance that if loss were actually incurred by the operation of the measure, it would be fairly and equitably considered and liberally indemnified, was all that could be reasonably demanded; and it was, therefore, all which, in the wisdom of Government and Parliament, it was thought necessary at that time to concede.

But it is argued that the two cases of the Slave Trade and Slavery differ very widely, and are, therefore, not to be dealt with on the same principles.

They agree, however, in some very material respects.

Both the cases are cases of national crime of a very deep dye, and which ought in justice to be put down at whatever cost. The allegations of danger and loss too are precisely of the same nature; they are supported by the same facts and arguments; and they are put forward by the very same parties, in the one case as in the other.

Are these allegations entitled to more respect in 1831 than they received in 1807, when they were proved to be vain and fallacious? It is admitted that in the former case the planters were wholly mistaken in their representations not only as to insurrection but as to pecuniary loss. Is it clear that they may not be equally mistaken now?

In the former case, the planters possessed every advantage of local knowledge to which they can now pretend, and they were alike interested in the result. They were nevertheless altogether wrong in their anticipations of evil. Is it not very possible, nay, is it not very probable, that they may be wrong also in their present anticipations of similar evil?

On the former occasion, the abolitionists affirmed that no evil, but much good, would result to the planters from the measure they advocated. The planters gave them no credit for this assurance. On the contrary they reviled them as guilty of fraud and hypocrisy, of robbery and injustice. Nay, they charged them even with cruelty and inhumanity in disregarding the misery which their rash and ill-advised schemes of pseudo-philanthropy must necessarily produce.

On the present occasion, the same parties stand in nearly the same relations to each other. The abolitionists now affirm that not only the negroes, but the planters also will derive benefit from the conversion of slaves into free labourers. The planters revile them for daring to say so; and reiterate, in terms no less unmeasured, their former vituperations. But in this case as in the former, may not the abolitionists be right and the planters wrong? May it not prove true that

free labour will be more advantageous to the owner of the slave than slave labour? If so, how would the claim of compensation stand? Could it in that case be sustained for a single moment?

Is it not the part then both of justice and of common sense to say in this, as in the former case—We do not deny the right of the planters to prefer and to establish their claim to be compensated for any injury they may sustain from the great measure of national justice and policy of converting the slaves into free labourers; we only maintain, as in the case of the Slave Trade, that the injury should first be made to appear, should be stated and proved, and that then it should be considered fairly and equitably; assured that Parliament in that case will not be deaf to the claims of justice?

We are not aware of a single argument which can be adduced, in opposition to this course of proceeding in the present case, which ought not to have availed in the case of the abolition of the Slave Trade, which the Planters declared with equal solemnity would infallibly fill the Colonies with blood, would instantly change the tenure of their estates from a fee simple into a life rent, and by rendering all their other possessions, lands, houses, &c. nearly valueless, would involve them in utter ruin.

If, however, the abolition of slavery by law should end, on the contrary, in improving the income and the property of the Colonial landowner, instead of deteriorating them; no one will refuse to admit that while the Planter would retain, in its integrity, his right to apply for and obtain indemnity for any injury consequent upon that measure, he would, in the case we are assuming, not only not have his claim for compensation allowed, but he would not even think of preferring it. He had a sufficient sense of justice and propriety, in the former case, to forbear from urging a claim which he felt to be groundless; and so doubtless would he find himself constrained to act in the parallel case we are now supposing.

If it should turn out, contrary to all the Planters' forebodings, and in agreement, as in the former case, with the predictions of the abolitionists, that no harm shall have arisen to him from the dreaded change, but rather good; then the consideration of the question of compensation, (beyond the assertion of the general principle of the right of indemnity for losses incurred, for which we contend as strenuously as the Planters themselves,) would not only be premature but preposterous.

If, for example, the effect should be that by substituting wages for the cartwhip; the ordinary incentives to industry for brute coercion; the restraints of legal authority and of a well regulated police for those of the unlimited arbitrary power, and varying and unreasonable caprice of individual despotism; the slave were rendered happier, and the income of the master larger as well as more stable, who would or could think of demanding compensation?

And if the master, driven by this measure to change his whole system, were to find himself forced on improvements which he cannot but admit would be beneficial to him;—if he should be obliged to become resident, and thus be spared the ruinous effects of distant

agency, and the no less ruinous effects of the unfaithfulness and disobedience of distant agents;—if the cattle plough,* now almost wholly unknown in the slave colonies, were brought into general use, and made to take the place, in tilling the soil, of the wretched hoe in the feeble hands of men and women; and proper machinery were also employed in other branches of colonial husbandry;—if a change of crops, and a better system of manuring and of general management were adopted; so that the soil which, by a kind of judicial blight, never fails gradually to deteriorate and even to wear out under slave culture should thus gradually improve;—if the female part of the population, instead of that constant and oppressive drudgery which now smites them with the curse of barrenness and abridges their lives, thus relieved, were to become like the females of Mexico and Hayti, of the maroons in Jamaica, and of the free coloured classes in all the colonies, the mothers of swarming families;—if the labouring population should thus, instead of wasting away as at present from year to year, rapidly increase, and the land, as population multiplied, should proportionably rise in its value, and become a source of growing profit to its proprietor;—who shall say, that if such anticipations were realized any compensation would be claimable for the extinction of Slavery? And why may they not be realized? It is in the power of the Planters to realize them. But they will not. They are withheld, we speak of the resident Planters, by their passions, and their prejudices, and their pride, and their indolence, and their inveterate attachment to the habits of a corrupting despotism, and still more by other circumstances to which we shall hereafter advert. Therefore they will not. But Parliament must do it for them; must impose upon them the necessity of pursuing their own unquestionable advantage, no less than that of their slaves; and must tell them, in language which can neither be misunderstood nor resisted, that the present ruinous system, ruinous alike to the master and to the slave, must cease; and that they must be compelled by law to pursue a course, which while it will benefit them, will also rescue from bondage, and misery, and death 800,000 of our fellow subjects, now bending beneath their intolerable and unprofitable yoke.

But even supposing that all these anticipations should prove as visionary as we believe them to be just, still we should say to the Planters, You preserve entire your right to indemnity; you have, from the British parliament and the British people, the assurance that, if the measure which they feel it their duty to adopt shall produce the evils you apprehend, not through your own perverse and contumacious resistance or misconduct, but through the natural operation of the policy that has been pursued, you shall be indemnified.

We are aware that it may be alleged, and indeed has been charged upon us, by our powerful coadjutor in the Edinburgh Christian Instructor, that we have been far too complaisant to the colonists on this point. In the year 1823 we proposed, it is true, to the Government, a plan for redeeming the future children of slaves, and also another for re-

* No people pretending to civilization have ever generally excluded the plough from cultivation excepting the Colonial Slaveholders.

deeming all female slaves from bondage; at even a high estimate of their value. These plans, however, must not be considered as implying that we then took a different view of the principles which govern this question from what we now take. But we were willing then to waive the question of the planter's right to such a payment as was proposed, for the sake of a compromise which, while it granted immediate freedom to one half of the slaves, would put a certain and definite term to slavery itself. Considering all the fearful hazards of the case, committed, unhappily, as the work of reformation had been to the planters, by the Government and the Parliament, we were then prepared to accede to such a compromise; and should have deemed it a cheap purchase for the certainty of the final termination, in twenty or thirty years, of that system of cruelty and injustice, of suffering and of guilt, which we had united to abolish. The case is altered. The nation is now much more awake to its obligations than it was then; and if Parliament be not equally awake to them, we feel confident that it will become so. Supported by the voice of the country, and appealing to the eternal and immutable principles of right and wrong, we call upon our rulers and representatives for justice, bare justice, in behalf of 800,000 of our fellow men and fellow subjects. This demand may be denied to us for a time, but it cannot be long withheld. As surely as the slave trade has been abolished, and as surely as the fetters of religious liberty have been broken, so surely will slavery also be abolished; and every day which delays it unnecessarily, while it increases the chances of those servile convulsions which are idly and ignorantly dreaded as likely rather to result from emancipation, will only serve to swell the ranks, and increase the zeal, and stimulate the exertions of those who, regarding their cause as the cause of God and of their country, as the cause of religion and justice and humanity, as well as of the soundest policy, will feel it to be a binding obligation upon them to press forward, in the face of every obstacle, to its final triumph.

Even in that case, however, we shall be told, that as all our expectations may not be realized, we may be called to redeem our pledge of indemnity, and we must therefore be prepared to meet its cost;—we must be prepared to pay, for the emancipation which we demand, a full compensation to the owners of slaves for the human chattels of which it will deprive them, and which our laws, it is alleged, have authorized them to purchase and to hold as property. Be it so: we are content to take this merely commercial view of the subject, and calmly to enquire into the truth of all those exaggerated statements of the market value of this property, by which the colonists attempt to frighten both Parliament and people out of the exercise of their humanity and their justice.

As for the alleged danger of insurrection, if there be truth in history, in history uncontradicted by any opposing facts, we have already disposed of it in a former Reporter (No. 70), to which we shall have much more to add, should it be required. We shall now confine our view to the simple question of the money which the nation must sacrifice, if, on a full view of all the circumstances of this complicated case, the

planters should establish their title to be paid the full market value of every slave they now possess.

In the year 1823, a very intelligent planter of Jamaica, Mr. Foster Barham, the possessor himself at that time of about 765 slaves, since reduced to about 730, published a calm, and on the whole, a temperate pamphlet on this subject, in which he endeavoured to impress his brother planters with the necessity of an early compromise of their claims, feeling, as he did, a firm conviction that slavery could not long outlive the growing force of public opinion. He seems to have taken great pains to ascertain what was at that time the average income arising to the slave proprietary from the labour of their slaves, and he fixed it at the rate of three pounds per annum for each slave, young and old, strong and feeble, male and female. According to the estimate therefore of this acute and interested witness, the net return on the capital invested in our slave colonies, whether in slaves, in the land tilled by those slaves, or in the buildings and other materials required for the purposes of culture and manufacture, might be fairly reckoned at a rate not exceeding three pounds sterling for each slave.

Taking the number of slaves in all our slave colonies, including the Cape of Good Hope and the Mauritius, to be 800,000, this would make the net annual income of the whole of the slave proprietary, to be £2,400,000.

Considering the interest which the author of this estimate obviously had in raising it as high as his upright mind would allow him to do, we may fairly assume that, if closely investigated, it would be found to be above the truth rather than below it. It is notorious also, that since 1823, the price of almost every article of colonial produce has materially declined. We seem warranted therefore in reducing his estimate, and in taking, instead of his three pounds, only two pounds ten shillings for each slave, which would leave for the annual aggregate of income the sum of two millions sterling. This sum, however, being derived from colonial possessions, where (putting out of view, distance, and insecurity, and other drawbacks) interest is never lower than six per cent. cannot be regarded, in order to be realized in this country, as worth more than fifteen years purchase, or thirty millions sterling. Now even if the whole of this sum were to be converted at par into a $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock, as an indemnity fund, the annual dividend payable upon it would not exceed £1,050,000 a year. But in fact it would be only that portion of the whole which was derived from the slaves, (exclusive of the land, houses, &c. which would still remain in the possession and usufruct of their proprietors,) that would require to be thus indemnified, and this could not exceed one half of the whole sum, or £525,000 a year. And it would be very extraordinary, if with the command of that abundance of free labour which would be the effect of emancipation, and with the increased demand for land which the altered circumstances of the mass of the community must create, the planter were not, by such a payment, amply indemnified for all and for much more than all he had been deprived of by the conversion of his slaves into free labourers.

But even such an indemnity may not satisfy the slave-owners. We

must be paid, they may say, the market value of all our slaves. Again we reply, be it so; and then we enquire, what, even on that principle, would be the probable extent of the compensation? We have carefully examined every official document containing data on which to fix the average market value of slaves, young and old, male and female, robust and feeble, healthy and diseased, skilled and unskilled, in the various British slave colonies belonging to the Crown; and we do not hesitate to pronounce it on an average of the last fifteen or twenty years, to be considerably below £30 sterling a head. At present it is probably much less, and is certainly, under all the circumstances of the case, not likely to increase. Now if we take the average market value of slaves to be even as high as £30 each, the aggregate amount of the value of the whole 800,000 would not exceed £24,000,000; a sum, which converted at par into a $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock, would require an annual dividend of exactly £840,000.

But how, it may be asked, is this country, already overburdened with taxation, to pay £840,000, or even £525,000 a year? We reply, that even the larger sum is not more than two thirds, and the smaller sum not more than one half, of what it now costs us in bounties and protecting duties to bolster up this criminal and profitless system. And that too is independent of all the evils resulting from this ruinous monopoly in checking our commercial intercourse with the British dominions in the East, with China and the Indian Archipelago; and in short with the whole of the tropical world besides. It is independent also of the cost of the naval and military expenditure of British life and British treasure which is required to enforce, at the bayonet's point, the despotism of the slave-holder. And it is moreover independent of all the demoralizing influences on our population at home and abroad, and especially on the master and the slave; and of all the load of conscious guilt, and the awful consequences of that consciousness, which the continued toleration of this profligate and noxious system entails upon us.*

But supposing that the slave-owners should set at nought the considerations we have placed before them; and that, through their influence, Parliament should be induced still to hesitate in fulfilling the just expectations of the country, by putting an early period to the evils of slavery; and that actuated either by a groundless dread of insurrection, or by a reluctance to pay the price which may attend the consummation of this unquestionable act of justice, they should turn a deaf ear to the prayers of their constituents; still there will remain a variety of minor measures which the Government may see it right immediately to adopt, and for which no shadow of claim to indemnity can, on any pretence whatever, be pleaded by the slave-owners. To a few, and only a few, of these we will now briefly advert; and our remarks may tend both to throw some further light on this painful subject, and to impress still more deeply, on the public, the innate, and

* Besides all its other evils, it may be considered as little better than a mere system of mendicancy on a large scale. See the paper entitled the Case of the West India Planters, inserted in the Supplement to the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 61, p. 272.

incurable iniquity of the slave system, and the duty, if delay should unhappily intervene, of redoubling their exertions for its early and final extinction.

1. One of the first of these measures should certainly be the abolition of all fiscal regulations for the encouragement of slave-grown produce, in preference to that which is the produce of free labour. It can hardly be that *these* should survive even the present session; or that the distress of our own population and the claims of our Asiatic fellow-subjects, (to say nothing of their effect in deteriorating the condition of the colonial slave, and in protracting and imbittering his bondage) should not secure the equalization of the duties on East India and West India products, and should not also put an end to the mode of calculating the drawback on refined sugar, exported from this country, and which has the effect of greatly raising its price to the British consumer. The tax thus laid upon him for the benefit of the sugar grower is not less, we are assured, than about five pounds per ton on all sugars consumed in this country or exported in a refined state, independently of the operation of the protecting duty by which slave-grown sugar is defended against the competition of free-grown sugar. The bounty alone, therefore, forms a tax on the country, which goes into the pockets of the sugar planter, little if at all less than £1,000,000 a year.* Here there can be no shadow of pretence for compensation.

2. Lord Bathurst, and all the Colonial Secretaries of State who have succeeded him, and especially Sir G. Murray, have concurred with Mr. Canning in maintaining that the slave is entitled to the full and unbroken enjoyment of the sabbath, "wholly clear from the demands of the master and the necessities of the slave;"—a principle which can only be carried into effect by allowing him an entire day in lieu of the sabbath, to be applied to the same purposes for which the sabbath has been, and still is, desecrated by the planters, in open violation of the authority not only of the Divine law, but of the law of the land. In no colony, no not even in any one of the crown colonies, has this principle been carried into effect, though its justice has been over and over again asserted by the government, and pressed by them on the attention of the Colonists. The slaves therefore are still denied the rest of the sabbath, which is still devoted, in common with the other six days, to the service, not of their heavenly but of their earthly masters. They must still work on that day or starve.

What can have caused the perpetuation of this enormous abuse? Can it be that the Colonial Committee have adopted the views of the Trinidad Council, in their minute of the 9th of July, 1823, that if the Sunday is wholly given up to the slave, and another day substituted for the secular uses to which Sunday has hitherto been applied, they will expect "full compensation for the loss of the additional day"? (See papers by command for 1824, p. 105.) We can conceive no other reason which can have led Lord Bathurst and his successors in

* We are aware that this statement is questioned. We refer our readers for the elucidation of it to the Reporters No. 17, 22, 24, and 57. Proof of its truth has often been offered and is still ready to be produced before a committee.

office to have failed in their pledges, and to have violated their own often avowed principles, on this subject. But will Parliament listen to such a plea as this, a plea as profligate, as the practice which it has been so long and so vainly sought to reform, is cruel and unjust? It cannot be. They can hardly fail to put down as by acclamation so outrageous an abuse.

3. The main pretence set up by the colonists for refusing the just demand of freedom for the slaves, is that they must be previously instructed and imbued with a sense of moral and religious obligation. And yet no one law has yet been passed in any colony, not even in the Crown colonies, for securing to the slave time for such instruction. Will Parliament tolerate any longer this insincere pretence? Or will they be desired to mete out to the planter a measure of compensation for every hour granted for such a purpose; although the planters have taken pains to delude Parliament and the public into a belief that they do actually allow time and means for instruction. In Jamaica a law to that effect, without a single executory provision, or a single sanction to enforce it, has stood on the statute book of that island a dead letter for nearly 140 years. Will Parliament refuse now to supply the provisions and sanctions necessary to give effect to such a law?

4. Such colonial legislatures as have chosen at all to regulate the allowance of food to the adult field slave, have assigned to him a portion so scanty as to be wholly inadequate to his sustentation; the maximum of which, in Tobago, is at the rate of ten pints of wheat flour weekly (see No. 73, p. 12), and in the five Leeward Islands, eight pints of the same flour weekly (see No. 38, p. 271); while the prison allowance of Jamaica, the allowance to men not working in the field but confined in prison, is twenty-one pints of the same flour weekly.* Now if Parliament, regulating itself even by the prison allowance of Jamaica, which cannot be presumed to be at all excessive, were to enact that every adult slave should be allowed at the rate of twenty-one pints of wheat flour weekly, the cost of feeding their slaves in the colonies we have mentioned, and perhaps in all of them, would be at once more than doubled. And yet would not this be right? Would it not be a provision of the commonest humanity and justice which ought never to have been left by the masters to be enjoined by an act of Parliament? But are the planters to claim compensation, if they should be compelled to double their scanty allowances, and adequately to feed the slaves whose labour they are exacting? Or do they not rather deserve reprehension and punishment for their past treatment of the King's lieges, than compensation for ceasing to starve them? And yet we should not be surprised by such a demand, not more surprised at least than by the demand of the Council of Trinidad, to be indemnified for granting to the slave the Sabbath which God had given him, but which they had iniquitously wrested from him and applied to their own purposes.

5. It will be seen by the same work of Mr. Stephen (chap. iv. v. and vi.), that the planters had stated, in their evidence before the Privy

* See this whole subject discussed with the clearness of demonstration in Mr. Stephen's 2d vol. chap. viii.

Council and the House of Commons, that the daily labour of the slaves did not extend to more than eight or nine or ten hours a-day. This was done with the obvious intention of leading the public to believe that their labour was not excessive, but moderate. Mr. Stephen, however, has proved, by unquestionable colonial testimony (testimony confirmed by the very laws of the colonies,) that their labour extends to fourteen, fifteen, and even, for a great part of the year, to eighteen, and on an average of the whole year, to sixteen hours a-day; thus at once explaining satisfactorily the causes of the barrenness of the female slaves, and the general waste of negro life, in our slave colonies. Now suppose that Parliament, adopting the evidence of the planters, not indeed as true, but as a fair statement of the number of hours which men are capable of labouring in the field, under a tropical sun, were to enact that in future, under severe penalties, it should not exceed that amount of exaction; in short, that nine hours of the twenty-four should be the maximum of the continuity of the field-slave's labour, whether in the field or out of it; what would be the effect of such an enactment on the gains of the planter? If this just provision, admitted to be so not only by numerous planters, but by public bodies in the West Indies, were adopted, what, we say, would be its effect on the gains of the master? And if this were deemed only an act of justice to the slave, what masters were bound, even by their own shewing, always to have granted to him, would they think themselves entitled to claim from Parliament indemnity for this abridgment of six or seven hours a-day of the slave's toil? Or if they did, would Parliament listen to the claim?

We will not now dwell longer on these points, but only remind the public, that if the slave owners are already reduced, by their own admissions, to a state of extreme distress, and are forced to come to Parliament, with pressing calls for prompt and effectual relief, in order to avert their absolute ruin; what will be their state, and what will be the income for which they shall have to claim compensation, when, instead of being sustained by bounties and protecting duties to the extent of about half of their present estimated net revenue, they shall be deprived, as they must soon be, of such an unnatural and injurious support;—when, instead of exacting, in fact, seven days' labour from the slave, they shall be forced to be content with five, and each of these five abridged of seven hours of their present oppressive length;—when they shall also have to add the requisite time for the instruction of the slaves;—and when, moreover, the rate of their sustentation must be more than doubled, at least in any of the colonies from which we have received correct information on the subject;—what, we repeat, will then be the income for which they shall be entitled to claim compensation from the hands of Parliament and the public? Will it amount to a single farthing per annum? We trow not. And even Mr. Wilmot Horton fully admits that no compensation can be justly claimed for mere ameliorations.

We have much more to reserve on this subject, which we may take an early opportunity of adding. In the mean time we beg to refer our readers to the letter of a correspondent, on this very subject of Compensation, in our 2nd Vol. No. 42, p. 329, and more especially to

the exposure, in Mr. Stephen's recent Volume, of the delusions practised on the public by the Colonists on this subject.

Now, under these circumstances, what ought the Planters to do,—not to meet our wishes and those of the country, (that we have hardly a right to press upon them as a motive,) but to save themselves from impending ruin? They ought, we reply, to agree at once to emancipate their slaves. We verily believe that this is the only remedy which is within their reach; and we verily believe that it would prove an effectual one. Let them weigh this suggestion dispassionately without listening to the prejudices either of their managers or their consignees, and we can hardly doubt that an enlightened sense of their own interests will lead them to coincide in this conviction.

But we have perhaps done injustice to the planters, in addressing our observations exclusively to them. The great and efficient though less obtrusive parties, in the delusions practised and the clamours raised on this subject, are not the planters, but the consignees and mortgagees of their produce—the merchants of London, Liverpool, Bristol and Glasgow—who, while they have themselves been aggravating the distress of the planters, and thriving on their spoil, have been urging them to raise high the cry of poverty, and the demand of further eleemosynary aid, as well as to urge vehemently their unqualified claims for compensation. In this way, whatever the planters' fate may be, the merchants at least will continue to gain by the protraction of the present system. The net proceeds of their estates reverting to the planters, may be reduced lower and lower. Still the merchants will have their interest at 6 per cent. and their commissions, double commissions, and their high freights, and their other advantages, which may be enriching them while the planters starve. In other lines of trade, the consignee is content with his commission on the sale price of the article consigned to him, exclusive of the duty charged upon it by the Government. In the West India trade the unusual course is pursued of charging commission not only on the sale price of the article but on that price with the duty super-added. Suppose a cwt. of sugar to be worth 24s. If sold like other goods the purchaser would pay the duty, and the merchant's commission of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. would be charged only on the sale price. But this will not content the West India merchant. He claims a right to pay the duty upon it, which is 24s. more, and he therefore charges his commission, not on 24s. but on 48s. And this course is pursued even with respect to sugar refined for exportation, instead of pursuing the simple and obvious course of refining it in bond. But this would be incompatible both with the double commission of the merchant, and with the further advantage arising from the ruse in which this unusual mode of proceeding involves the matter—draw-back, and hides from the public view the large bounty which is thus secured to the sugar grower.

The consignees, in this way, acquire, on the one hand, enormous gains from their dependent borrowers, the planters; while, on the other, by the mystifying process of the refining for exportation to which we have alluded, they aid the planter to obtain from the

public the means of paying them. They are therefore in truth the great opponents of reform ; and what is more, almost the only parties who have any real interest in opposing it. But the planters are in their power, and must move and act at their bidding.

Now with respect to this class of persons, who, as we have said, are really the persons who would chiefly suffer by the desired and contemplated change of system, what claims have they to compensation ? We believe that they have none whatever. They have speculated, with a perfect knowledge of all the circumstances of the case, in this colonial trade, and they must be considered as standing on precisely the same footing with speculators in every other branch of commerce, and as bound to abide the result of their speculations whatever it may be. If such a claim were allowed in their case, a similar claim might be urged in the case of every improvident speculator. The uncertainty of the continuance of the slave system, and the probability that Parliament and the public would deal with it and eventually abolish it, has long been a matter of perfect notoriety. The merchant therefore who has embarked in Colonial speculations during the last thirty or forty years, has done so with a perfect knowledge of all his risks. Those risks were well known to be so great as to have become almost proverbial. Let any man read the statement already referred to, of "The Case of the West India Planters," inserted in the Supplement to the Reporter, No. 61, p. 272, giving an authentic view of their perennial distress and insolvency, from the year 1750 to the present hour. Let him also read the Reports of the Parliamentary Committees on the commercial distress of the West Indies in 1807 and 1808, proving, beyond all question, the miserably losing nature of West Indian investments ; and say whether any man who should embark his property in such investments, without taking an ample guarantee against eventual loss, could have expected that he was ultimately to be indemnified, for his improvidence in not doing so, by a vote of the House of Commons ? No man can believe it.

What then was the motive of merchants for embarking in West India speculation ? Was it their opinion of the permanence of the slave system, or any assurance given them on that point ? No ; it was simply the large annual return which they stipulated to receive for their advances, and which was considered by them, justly or not, as equivalent to their risks. They have no more right, therefore, to claim indemnity for their losses, in this instance, than an Insurance Company would have a right to urge a like claim, if, after having accepted the stipulated premium, they were called upon to pay the loss against which they had insured.

The ordinary advantages accruing to the consignee from an advance of capital on a sugar estate may be estimated at from 12 to 20 per cent. per annum, including interest at 6 per cent. gains by insurance, freight, &c., and commissions on the sugar sent home and the supplies sent abroad, and in the case of sugar, as we have shewn, (by a dexterous contrivance operating largely to the public detriment) double commissions. If we suppose him to retain the consignments of such an

estate for from eight to twelve years, his capital would be replaced, and all beyond would be the bonus for the sake of which he was content to encounter the risk of loss.

But would it be just that a speculator of this description should come with a claim for indemnity in case slavery should be abolished? If his speculation has benefited him, the demand would be perfectly monstrous. If it has injured him, what claim can he have to compensation beyond the thousands of unfortunate speculators, in other lines of trade, who have been hurt by their speculations?

We believe that a very large proportion of the property now vested in the British slave colonies has been vested in them by speculators of this description, who have been proceeding in their speculations with a view chiefly to their own profit and security, rather than with any view to the permanent interests of either the planters or the slaves, and with which their own too often appear to be incompatible. In most cases it would have been obviously the interest of the proprietors of the soil to have introduced the many improvements in Colonial husbandry to which we have already adverted. But this would not have suited the merchant. His commissions both on the sugar imported and the supplies exported, would thus be abridged. Instead of 12 to 20 per cent. on his capital he must be content with 10 or 8. If the sugar crops are diminished, in order to increase the provision crops, or to promote the rearing of cattle with a view to the use of the plough, he may threaten to foreclose, and the planter has no option but to submit.

In discussing this question, however, we must not lose sight of the distinction to be taken between loss incurred by individual and it may be improvident speculators, and loss to the community. It may be true that many changes, in the highest degree beneficial to the community, may be attended with loss to individuals, as in the case of improved machinery, rail-roads, &c. &c. and, in the present instance, by the substitution of free for slave labour, or rather the conversion of slaves into free labourers. But no man, we think, can doubt that the general interests of any community would be likely to be promoted by the conversion of a slave population, acted upon only by the impulse of the lash, and incapable therefore of rising from the level almost of the brute, into a free population, accessible to the force of all the motives which ordinarily urge men to exertion. Much light may be thrown on this problem, not merely by abstract reasoning, but by the light of experience; by a consideration, that is to say, of the facts furnished by history from the time of the abolition of villanage in England to the recent abolition of slavery in Spanish America, in Ceylon, in the Malaccas, and at Bencoolen, where emancipation has been effected without wading through anarchy and blood. But we will not now re-open this subject. We have already treated it largely in the Reporter, No. 70. The result of the whole is a settled conviction, that emancipation may be effected, not only without the slightest infringement of the public peace, but with decided advantage to the real proprietors of the Colonial soil, provided they will only cordially lend themselves to the introduction of the better system which we recommend.

Before we close this long but necessary discussion, we wish briefly to advert to certain sentiments which were lately reported to be uttered, in the House of Commons, by that truly enlightened minister, Sir George Murray. We rejoiced to hear him state that it had been his effort while in office, and the ultimate end to which he looked in his Colonial labours, to effect the entire, the total, abolition of slavery; the conversion, that is to say, of the slaves into free labourers. We have no doubt that this was his honest purpose.—We understood him also to intimate that the demand of the Planters to institute a commission for further examining the nature of Slavery appeared to him wholly superfluous, and could only lead to delay. It was enough that Slavery existed, to induce a British Parliament to take the necessary measures for its extinction.—He was equally indisposed to entertain the claim for compensation, not only as being a proposition which was also calculated chiefly for the purpose of delay, but as being in his view wholly uncalled for; the gradual change which he contemplated of the slave into a free labourer affording, as he conceived, no ground for such a claim.—He objected, however, on the other hand, to any very early measure of emancipation on the ground of its danger, and of its leading to insurrection. Now it is to this part of his speech that we are anxious to call the gallant General's attention, while we entreat him to consider whether his fears be the effect of ill-founded and unexamined prejudices, or the result of a fair and candid examination of the page of history, and of the lessons of philosophy no less than those of experience. We beg him in this view carefully to peruse the Reporter, No. 70, and the authorities there cited, and then dispassionately to consider, whether the dangers which he anticipates are not much more likely to follow from a protracted discussion of this agitating subject, than from an early and authoritative decision of it in favour of freedom. May not the dangers arising from sickening delays and deferred hopes in the case of the slaves, and from continued excitement and irritation on the part of the dominant class, be far more imminent, than any dangers which could reasonably be anticipated from the communication of freedom to the slaves by the authority of the state? Any contumacious resistance of the masters to the determinations of the legislature might easily be obviated; and as for a wanton and wholly objectless insurrection on the part of the emancipated slaves,—an insurrection against the very power which had already conferred upon them the blessing of freedom—conferred upon them all which they could hope to gain by insurrection—all for the sake of which they could have any motive to commit a single act of rebellion or even of insubordination—it seems to be the very extravagance of fear to apprehend it.

Mr. Buxton has given notice that it is his intention to move the House of Commons on Colonial Slavery on the 1st of March next.

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 76.]

FEBRUARY, 15, 1831.

[Vol. iv. No. 4.]

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I.—TESTIMONY OF REV. J. M. TREW ON COLONIAL SLAVERY.

“NINE LETTERS TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON ON COLONIAL SLAVERY,” were published in the course of the last year, (for Straker, 61, Holborn), by a person who assumed the designation of IGNOTUS. They appeared to be written with a thorough knowledge of the subject, but could obviously be turned to little practical use while they remained anonymous. We have recently learned, however, on satisfactory authority, that they are the work of the Rev. J. M. Trew, the well known Rector of St. Thomas in the East, in Jamaica, and who, after a residence of eleven years in that island, during which he was employed in the able and indefatigable and peculiarly successful discharge of his high functions as a Christian Pastor, returned to this country two or three years ago, where he has since remained. It had long been a subject of great regret with many, that a gentleman so competent as Mr. Trew certainly was to give a correct view of the temporal and spiritual condition of the slaves in Jamaica, should not have undertaken the task of enlightening the public mind upon it, and should have limited his efforts for their benefit to the obtaining of subscriptions for the diffusion of religious knowledge, chiefly by means of oral instruction, among the slaves of such proprietors as were willing to admit the weekly visit of the Catechist. It was perfectly obvious however to us, and is now, we suppose, equally plain to himself, that had he succeeded to the utmost extent of his hopes in raising money for this object, he would have done little towards the promotion of religion among the slaves, until the various obstacles which now present an insuperable barrier to its progress shall be removed. Mr. Trew at first was probably so sanguine as to expect that much might be done, by means of conciliation, in inducing the planters to favour Christian instruction. He therefore carefully abstained, in his appeals to the public, from pointing out those evils of slavery which formed the grand impediments to the communication and reception of religious truth, but the exposure of which he well

knew would irritate the planters. On these, therefore, he was for a time systematically silent, hoping, perhaps, that the deference thus shewn to their feelings would secure to his friendly offers of aid a ready acceptance. It would seem that this hope had been frustrated—for Mr. Trew has at length departed from his system of abstinence from controverted topics, and comes before the public with a distinct exhibition of those evils of slavery which farther experience and reflection must have taught him to be innate and incurable; and if not wholly incapable of being combined with plans of religious instruction, yet certainly most adverse to their efficiency and success. We presume that it is some such view of the subject which has at length induced him to lay before the public the fruits of his matured acquaintance with the nature and effects of Colonial slavery. Be this as it may, we hail the appearance of these letters, not only as a highly commendable tribute to the claims of conscience on the part of this clergyman, but as the undoubted testimony, to the truth and fairness of our representations, of a highly competent, but somewhat reluctant witness. If we formerly deemed his caution and reserve misplaced, considering the mighty interests that were at stake, we do not the less appreciate the value of the sacrifice which a sense of duty has now compelled him to incur by his present frank and manly disclosures.

He admits, with us, that "slavery is a poisonous root, which, like the Upas tree, infects with disease and death, and blasts by its pernicious breath all who are beneath its influence;" "a curse," which must "be swept from the earth for ever." (p. 4.) But still he affects to distinguish between his own more sober and rational view of the subject, and that which we Anti-Slavery folks entertain, and for which he blames us, viz. our "pertinaciously asserting it to be a duty paramount to every other, at once to overturn the whole fabric of slavery, and reckless of consequences, to blot out its name for ever." And yet, what does he really mean to charge us with by this somewhat splenetic remark? Does he mean that we propose any other than legal means of terminating this acknowledged evil? Or that we look to any other medium for the accomplishment of our wishes than that to which he himself points, namely, "the collective wisdom of the British Legislature," either for ameliorating the condition of "the children of deeply wronged Africa," or for restoring to them "their natural birth-right as denizens of the world?" (p. 5.) We may not agree with him as to the tardiness with which the needful changes should be effected, (and of which his own backwardness in coming into the field is an example, though not a justification,) but certainly we look to no other human means of effecting these changes than the enactments of the Legislature, and the vigilance of the executive government in enforcing them.

1. Our author's first earnest supplication to the Duke of Wellington is, that he would rescue *the administration of justice* towards the slave from the hands of men who, "however great their integrity may be," (though how integrity may be predicated of such men as he goes on to describe it would be difficult to discover,) "have so many strong and powerful temptations to pervert justice," as to withhold from the slave the benefit of laws enacted for his protection. There has indeed, he

admits, been no unwillingness to legislate in a certain sort; but “the prevailing sentiment being that the act is passed to please the people of England, the law becomes dead as soon as framed.” He illustrates this by the case of Mr. Stewart, a member of the Assembly of Jamaica, who, when jeered at for proposing a law to punish working their sugar-mills on Sunday, candidly replied, “Let the bill pass, and I shall be glad to know who shall prevent my doing as I please on my own estate on that day.” (p. 9.) In Jamaica, he tells us, in the absence of nineteen out of twenty of the proprietors, the magistracy is confided to attorneys or agents of absentees, to overseers of estates, to jobbers who live by digging cane holes, to medical men who are paid by the planters for attending their slaves, and to merchants depending on the planters for custom. Is a slave cruelly treated? The magistrate to whom he prefers his complaint is most probably connected with the estate to which he belongs in one or other of these capacities. “Is it probable that any one of these men will possess so much moral courage as shall induce them, in the teeth of their own interests, and amidst the persecution of their neighbours, to prosecute the offenders? Or would they not be much more likely to shift off the meddling with an affair which promises nothing but the loss of friends or money, and also a stigma from the whole fraternity of planters?” This abuse he justly represents as standing “at the very threshold of colonial improvement, and as entailing an innumerable train of evils on the planter as well as on the slave.” And he sees no remedy for it but “the appointment of a stipendiary magistracy,” “sustained by men totally unconnected with slavery, and whose honour and independence of character would qualify them for the administration of impartial justice,” in short, official slave protectors. The correctness of these statements Mr. Trew affirms might be established by proof, and illustrated by specific cases, giving the names and professions of the magistrates of whole parishes.—Against the change which he proposes he admits that an outcry would be raised; but it would be altogether unworthy of notice, while the gratitude and subordination of the negro would be secured, by providing for him “a sure protection against the abuse of power, a refuge against unjust oppression.” (p. 7—11.)

2. The second point on which Mr. Trew touches is that of *slave evidence*, and he shews the aggravated evils arising from its exclusion as regards the property and the person of the slave. “Any person may, with impunity, openly, or covertly, rob a slave of the goods which by law should belong to him, without any redress,” (p. 13) Again, “the slave may be flogged, how, and when, and to what extent his master pleases;” and yet, would not his evidence, though ever so faithfully corroborated by his fellow-slaves, and they too of the most unblemished reputation, avail to convict, much less to punish the merciless hand which dealt “the blow, or him by whose commands the limits of the law were violated. Nor is this all. In the absence of his testimony, the slave is subject to another and far more grievous debasement. His wife may be wrested from his embrace by some savage sensualist; his child may for the same base design be torn with violence from his roof; and the only friend to whom he can appeal for succour is that omniscient

Being who has an ear of pity open to the negro's cry," (p. 14.) If it be said that Councils of Protection will redress such grievances,—yet he asks how they can, while the law obliges them to reject slave testimony? and he observes, that whenever a man purposes being guilty of an abuse of power, he will watch his opportunity, and take good heed to guard against the presence of those by whose evidence he can be convicted. (p. 15.) Some years ago, a clergyman who was examined on oath before the Jamaica Assembly on the subject of slave evidence, was asked, "Have you ever known an instance in which public justice was defeated through the inadmissibility of slave evidence?" His answer was, I have; and he related the following case as an example in point: "A white man, the owner of a small plantation, sought to seduce from the path of virtue a young woman of colour, *the natural child of his own father, but a slave.* The girl, taught by her mother (who had been instructed by the missionaries in the fundamental truths of religion) the sinfulness of the act, refused to listen to his solicitations. The monster placed the girl in the stocks, and renewed his entreaties. This, however, produced no other effect on the mind of the unhappy female, than to induce her more strenuously than ever, to resist his importunities. At last, flogging was had recourse to, and the poor prisoner was most unmercifully punished. But every artifice that villany could contrive, or lust invent, was in vain. Virtue triumphed over vice, and the poor girl was finally released from her confinement. On regaining her liberty, the first use she made of it was to apply to a magistrate; who, shocked at the cruelty of the treatment she had received, summoned a Council of Protection forthwith to hear her story. It was simple, and well authenticated; but, it *was the story of a slave.* Gladly would the Council of Protection have punished the monster; for the members of it were fully persuaded of the truth of the girl's statements; but the law forbade them: and thus, not only was justice impeded, but guilt of the most appalling and aggravated character suffered to escape."—What terms are sufficiently strong to mark the detestation of every rational man to a case like this, to which it were impossible to find a parallel, but in the annals of slavery? And yet this part of the evidence, taken before the Committee of the Jamaica Assembly, does not appear on the face of their printed minutes; and on enquiring why it was not reported, I was informed that a discussion arose in the committee, as to the propriety of expunging this part of the evidence; and that it was expunged from the minutes accordingly—a member at the same time observing, 'Are we not cutting a rod to break our own heads?' "A farther proof," says the author, is to be found in the report of a late trial in Jamaica "of sundry slaves for the murder of their master," contained in the Jamaica newspapers of Sept. 1829. (A brief account of it will also be found in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 55, p. 165.) "It appears," says Mr. Trew, "from the report of this trial, that the master of these slaves was a man overwhelmed with debt; and that the sheriff's officer or marshal had in his possession sundry writs for the seizure of his chattels. His wife and family, from what reason it does not appear, formed a design against his life; and in order to effect their horrid purpose, they set to work upon the minds of the slaves, saying that if their

master should survive beyond a certain day, they would be seized by the sheriff's officer, and themselves and their families sold, and perhaps separated for ever. The plot succeeded; and the unfortunate slaves, maddened by the anticipation of a final bereavement of all that earth held dear to them, perpetrated the cruel deed. Justice, however, speedily overtook them: they were tried, condemned, and executed. At the place of suffering, the unhappy men, when placed on the scaffold, declared that during the time of the murder, *the mistress and her sons were present*, walking up and down in the piazza; and that when their master awoke from his sleep, crying, help! help! the same persons were engaged in encouraging the negroes, (having previously given them rum to drink,) telling them to seize their master; and that they seized and murdered him accordingly. Just as these dying men were about being launched into the eternal world, they spoke as follows to the surrounding multitude—'Tell massa, thanky—tell him thanky. Tell misses, and old misses, thanky—for them bring us to this. Them bring us here. Them cheat we. Them say we must kill massa, else them would punish us, and marshal would take and sell every one of we. But we pray every body to pray God to forgive them.'—Here, adds our author with just indignation, "is a case of the most unheard-of cruelty covered by the absence of negro evidence. For, admitting the criminality of the slaves to the fullest possible extent, yet surely the instigators of so foul a conspiracy ought first to have paid the forfeit of their own lives to the offended laws of the country. But the freeman escapes the vengeance of the law, and the poor, deceived, and semi-barbarous slave, meets with an end, the moral guilt of which, if there be a God in heaven, will grind the freeman to powder." (p. 16—19.) And yet these very slaves, thus shut out from testifying against a free person, are allowed to testify against their fellow-slaves, even in capital cases. In the case just cited, the conviction and execution took place on the evidence of slaves.

3. The next point to which Mr. Trew adverts is that of *compulsory manumission*; and here he shews very clearly the great unreasonableness of the objections made to it on the part of the planters, either as they respect their own interests, or the well being and moral elevation of the slaves. "Indeed," (he thus concludes his able argument,) "there does not appear to be any one objection, which can be founded upon either reason, justice, or the expediency of the case, against the enactment of a law enforcing the manumission of slaves under such circumstances; whilst it involves in it so many likely advantages to all parties, as to render the immediate adoption of the plan not only practicable, but highly necessary and expedient." (p. 27.)

4. He next treats of the *master's power of punishment*, which, of all the abuses that have ever existed in any country, he regards as calling most loudly for redress. Over the slave "torn from his home, compelled to labour against his will without hire," "the law gives his master, or any man, however base, to whom his master may delegate that power—an authority the most arbitrary, an authority almost absolute. He may, as often as his anger, or caprice, or revenge dictates, and without any previous trial, or even without assigning any reason,

inflict upon his person, with a common cart-whip, thirty-nine lashes—not unfrequently to be ‘brushed out with ebonies,’ or, in other words, to be lacerated by thorns whilst his wounds, yet bleeding from the infliction of the former punishment, are open to receive them. It is no libel upon the planters to state these facts; for however humane and merciful as individuals they may be, here is a power which no man living should possess over his fellow-creature, but which at this very hour is entrusted to the West India planter. And especially when it is considered, that both the quantum and the mode of punishment devolves upon overseers, a class of men, possessing no interest in the slaves beyond a mere stipendiary allowance, and removable at the caprice of their employer. In the heat of passion, or on the impulse of the moment, he may, without taking time to weigh the circumstances or the merits of the case, command the slave to be laid down with his face to the earth, and in the most summary and cruel manner flog him, as he would not do, though restive, his own pampered steed. Surely it cannot be reconcilable with the due administration of justice; surely it cannot tend to maintain the peace or the stability of the colonies; neither can it operate as a moral stimulus to the slave to demean himself submissively in his present condition, that such monstrous power should be confided to men who, if they abuse it not, yet have, unquestionably, many strong temptations to do so.” (p. 29).

“How paradoxical, that in one happy portion of the king of England’s dominions, a man may not cruelly abuse his ass, and yet in another portion of the very same possession, man may, with impunity, and as spleen or passion governs him, so despotically lord it over his fellow-man, that his life has not unfrequently been the sacrifice. Justice, reason, and humanity, all cry aloud for the redress of this abuse. And how simple is the remedy! Place the power of inflicting corporal punishment in the hands of the stipendiary magistrate, and henceforth let no man dare, at his peril, without the intervention of lawful authority, to lay a finger upon the slave.” (p. 30.) But he proceeds—

“It were sad enough to think that such a system of punishment could be tolerated in the case of *men*, but doubly so when it is considered that *women* likewise are subject to it, under circumstances of the most shameful indecency. The young and the aged, mothers of families, and even those whose hoary locks proclaim length of years, are openly, and in the presence of the other sex, doomed to the endurance of this disgraceful abuse. Yes; were it not that I had rather see the evil corrected by the strong hand of power, on the ground of its barbarous and unchristian tendency, than from the exposure of some of its many enormities, I could point out some of its astounding facts, bearing upon this point, that would harrow up the soul of any individual not yet past feeling. But I shall be content at present, without entering into a minute detail, with merely hinting at the fact, that the unhappy female, even at that season when nature puts in her claim to more than common sympathy, is often doomed to suffer from the unrelenting lash; and, in some cases, with an aggravation of wrong such as were I to repeat, no reader of these letters would credit. But, my lord,” (says the reverend author, addressing the Duke of Wellington,) “it remains for you

to raise the poor sable slave from the depth of her degradation; for I am persuaded you will allow, that every stroke inflicted upon her, sinks her lower in the scale of being. She may be a mother! and what will her children say, as she returns to them bleeding in sorrow? And her husband, too!—if the black man have a heart, oh! how will it beat, and rise, and swell with indignation, against the cowardly dishonour done to the partner of his bed. The wonder is, that nature's feelings can be bound and enslaved, as the body is, when every spring in man's affections is impelled to burst the barrier and to avenge the wrong. What a conflict must there be between revenge and fear, as the husband, in silent sorrow (for he dare not give utterance to what is passing within,) contemplates the scene; and what lesson do the children learn, but to desecrate the wretch that made a mother weep! I know not a more bitter drop in the whole cup of slavery than this." (p. 32.)

"But it is vauntingly said by some, that when they punish the female slave the whip is not used, and that rods only, or ebonies, are substituted for it. And what of this? Is there not the same scandalous exposure of the person of the female? And is not this the only difference between them, that if the wounds are not so deep, they are yet more abundant? But it is not the fact, that even rods are generally adopted in the punishment of females. There may be, and there are a few isolated cases, where some persons, from humanity, but many more from a view to their own interests, and that they may be thought humane, have adopted this plan. But in general the female slave knows no difference from the opposite sex, either as to the manner, or the quantum of punishment they receive." (p. 33.)

"The law prescribes thirty-nine stripes as the maximum of punishment. This, when contrasted with military usage, will by some be considered not excessive: but mark the instrument—a whip, the lash of which is from nine to twelve feet in length, wielded by a powerful arm, well skilled in the management of it; so much so, that by the sound of the whip the negro is commonly roused to pursue his daily toil, the woods resounding with the echo. This instrument, also, is not unfrequently in the hand of a person in whose breast revenge or jealousy may exist, which serves to nerve the arm that holds it. It has been attempted to be shewn by some, that the drivers are in general men who are advanced in years—rather to be distinguished for their venerable locks, than by their austere countenances; but this is not the fact. The driver is commonly an able-bodied negro; and, from his office and habits, too frequently possessing less of the milk of human kindness than other men: dressed in a little brief authority, he feels the full weight of an office, which enjoins upon him the execution of all his master's commands, whether those commands may be agreeable to his own feelings or not." "It commonly happens, that the driver will be found ready for all work, and more commonly converting his office into an engine for the exercise of the most arbitrary power, and using it for the purpose of gratifying the worst passions of his nature, rather than that he may administer in the smallest degree towards befriending his brother in adversity. Slavery were a lot hard enough to bear, without superadding to its misery the absolute rule of so many masters." (p. 35.)

5. *Marriage* among slaves, twenty years ago, was almost wholly unknown in Jamaica. The promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, then almost universally prevailed, and still prevails to a very considerable degree. Among the clergy there existed the most heartless apathy as to the moral condition of the negro race. The white man's monopoly extended even to divine worship; not a single spot in parish churches being allotted to the slave. Catechetical instruction was wholly unknown: the negroes were in fact, left to themselves; so that what from their own corrupt bias, and what from the frightful example of immorality in the lives of the planters, the slave remained from 1655 till about twenty years ago, wholly destitute of religion. Since then, the successful labours of the Missionaries (which have also roused the slumbering energies of the Church,) have produced some change in this respect. "The principle with which the Missionaries set out, was to exclude from church membership every individual whose manner of life was not strictly conformable to the Christian rule. The negro must have dissolved every illegitimate connexion, as an evidence of the sincerity with which he embraced the Christian faith, before the Missionary would openly acknowledge and receive him into full communion. And such was the effect produced by this wholesome discipline, that in a very little time the tone of morality was so raised among the slave population, that no one ever thought of claiming the privileges of discipleship until all these, and other pre-requisites of the Christian life, were faithfully adhered to. Hence, marriage is now becoming general amongst the slaves, and the greater respect in which the participators in this economy of domestic happiness are held by their fellow-servants over those who still continue in their heathenish state, is a most convincing proof how much marriage has contributed to promote their moral well-being and happiness, and in a considerable degree the interests of the planters themselves." (p. 33.)

Such in brief is the testimony of Mr. Trew on this point; but still, he remarks, there are yet wanting such legal enactments "as may not only protect his connubial rights from violation, but prevent him from being separated from the partner of his affection. It is somewhat paradoxical to think, that after the slave, with the full concurrence of his master, has been joined in wedlock, and after it has been declared by a lawfully appointed minister, 'those whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder,' he may the very next hour be torn from his bride, sold to the highest and best bidder, and separated from her to the remotest corner of the land. Nor is there any law in existence at this moment to administer the slightest relief in a case of such an aggravated nature. Not that I believe separations often take place under such circumstances. Public opinion, in this matter at least, has done justice to the slave, and given it against the practice of separation. There are, however, instances in which it has happened; nor is there any other hindrance to a frequent repetition of the evil, than what is so precarious in its tenure, the breath of public opinion. At any time, if so disposed, the proprietor may set up a family for sale 'in lots to suit purchasers.' The father may be torn from his child—the mother from her infant—the sister from the brother, and the brother from the sister's embrace—

and the wife and the husband, though they may have been companions in suffering, and bearers of each other's misery for many years, and though they may have been settled with a numerous and a hopeful family, yet, by some untoward change in the circumstances of the estate, such as the death of a proprietor, or the embarrassment of his circumstances, or the passing of the estate into other hands, this once united family may, without any previous warning or preparation for the approaching evil, be scattered to the four winds of heaven, to meet on this side the grave no more. Surely this is an evil requiring prompt and complete reform. But the proprietor, and even the manager, possesses a further power, needing reform also. He may not only separate the slaves after marriage, but he may withhold his sanction to their marriage, and, without assigning any reason, stand in the way of their individual affection. It has been asserted that this power is necessary to check the licentious disposition of the slave, and to the moral government of an estate, as the planter must be the best judge whether the parties desiring marriage are free from any previous contract, and that without some such restraint there might be danger of introducing polygamy under the sanction of Christianity itself. But these restrictions are no less impolitic than inexpedient. Every obstacle that stands in the way of their marriage should be completely removed, nor should any objection offered by the planter operate against the slave, unless backed by the concurrent testimony of the magistrate. It is not impossible, as such cases have happened, that a *master* might, from the most unworthy motives, resist the marriage of his female slave; and it were a hard case, surely, that the natural affections of a creature, already bound down by such weighty obligations, should be farther reduced to so cruel a subjection in order to gratify *his* mere caprice.

“The protection of the connubial rights of the slave, forms another subject for legislation. These rights may be violated with impunity. Instances have occurred in which they have been violated. It is not presumed that such cases are either common or notorious. It is to be hoped they are of very rare occurrence. But the freeman may offer this highest insult to the slave; and if he be a master over him, he may, if necessary to the gratification of his sensual desires, imprison, punish, or otherwise oppress, in order to effect his purpose. It is high time, then, that a barrier should be raised against this system, and that a wall of defence should be planted around the connubial rights of the slave, such as neither the most vicious nor the most arbitrary should be able to overthrow. Nor can there be a single argument of the smallest weight offered against the passing of such an act, as would secure to the slave the fullest and freest enjoyment of these privileges.” (p. 37—40.)

6. Mr. Trew next proceeds to ask, “Has the negro a Sabbath on which to rest?”

“This is a question often asked, and much controverted. It shall be answered briefly:—The negro has *the semblance of a Sabbath*. By the Jamaica Slave Law, there are penalties attached to the working of sugar mills on that day. The act specifies, ‘That during the crop, not only shall the slaves, as heretofore, be exempted from the labour of the estate or plantation on Sundays, but that no mills shall be put about

or worked between the hours of seven o'clock on Saturday night, and five o'clock on Monday morning, under the penalty of £20, to be recovered against the overseer, or other person having the charge of such place.' Such is the law on the subject; but what is the fact? Every one knows that sugar-mills are worked on the Sunday, and commonly at an early hour in the evening; that magistrates, as well as others, join in the violation of the law; and cases have been known to exist, wherein the very slaves in hospital have been turned out on the evening of the Sabbath, to supply the place of the negroes absent at church, or at their grounds, and so worked until the others have returned to relieve them. Such is the Negro Sabbath.

"By another clause of the Slave Law, the slave is allowed one day in every fortnight to cultivate his provision grounds, exclusive of Sundays, *except during crop time*, which often lasts six months of the year, and when, of course, the grounds must be laboured on Sunday, or the slave perish for want of food. Such is the Negro Sabbath." (p. 43.)

"By an estimate of the number of Sabbaths throughout the year on which the converted slaves are found to frequent public worship, and taken from the actual observations of the missionaries, it appears that they cannot attend oftener than about once in three or four weeks, or about thirteen times every year—the other Sabbaths being spent in providing food for their families; not to mention their occasional fatigue from the spell of the preceding night disqualifying them from attending. Such is the Negro Sabbath.

"There are also a numerous class of persons, such as domestics, cattle-boys, shepherds, watchmen, &c. who seldom, and in many cases who never have an opportunity of attending religious worship, nor religious instruction of any kind—not to particularise the numbers of slaves who, on sugar estates, are almost invariably employed to a late hour on the Sabbath mornings in 'potting sugar,' and, consequently, debarred from the public exercises of religion. Such is the Negro Sabbath.

"Following in the train of these evils, next comes the Sunday market, to which the young and the old, for miles around, resort, to buy and sell, and barter their several commodities, consuming the entire day in going to and in returning from market, that they may dispose of their surplus provisions. Such is the Negro Sabbath.

"The law requiring the master to allow his slave at least twenty-six days in the year, for the cultivation of his grounds, exclusive of the Sabbath—often, to suit his own purposes, the master takes that Sabbath from him, on which alone he could have had the opportunity of receiving *religious instruction*, repaying him with a week-day, without any such *privilege*. Such also is the Negro's Sabbath.

"Thus the Negro has the semblance of a Sabbath; but it is such a Sabbath, as leaves him no other alternative but either to labour his grounds on that day, or starve; such a Sabbath as his master may deprive him of, under the pretext of repaying him with another day, (which it is believed he commonly does pay him)—such a Sabbath, as, even when spent to the best advantage, leaves him but a partial share of the blessings which it was designed to convey, and without any remedy whereby to secure to himself and to his family its fullest enjoyment.

“ Now the Slave Code of Jamaica professes the design of giving to the Negro a Sabbath—a full, complete, and an entire Sabbath, for rest, and for religious instruction. The preamble in the seventh clause of that Act runs thus :—‘ Whereas it is expedient to render the Sabbath as much as possible a day of rest, and for religious worship.’ The Jamaica legislature have expressed in these words all that is required—that the Sabbath should, *as much as possible*, be made a day of rest, and for religious instruction. But how, under such circumstances, does the possibility exist, whilst Sunday-marketing, Sunday-labouring, and the toil incident to their being often overworked, precludes the slaves from attending public worship? In order to make the Sabbath what it should be, three important changes are necessary to be effected :—The Negro to be allowed every Saturday throughout the year for the cultivation of his grounds—Sunday markets to be entirely abolished—and night-work on sugar estates, that most deadly evil, to be altogether prohibited. A few individuals, more benevolent than others, have already effected the latter change, and found no reason to repent their having done so. Of all the evils to which the Negro is liable, throughout the whole system of slavery, there is not a greater than this—night-work on sugar estates. In proof of this, my Lord, only look at the facts to be found in a late return to Parliament, of the average increase and decrease of slaves for the five preceding years to 1828, on the principal properties in Jamaica, distinguishing coffee and other plantations from the sugar estates. We find from these returns, one sugar estate with 663 slaves, on which there has been an average annual decrease of *ten*. On another, with 242 slaves, a decrease of *fifteen*; and on a third, called Blue Mountain, the still more fearful waste of human life discovered, in an average decrease of *seventeen Negroes annually out of 314— or eighty-five slaves, being equal to one-fifth of the whole population, cut off in the space of five years!* The estates of the heirs of John Thorp, situated in the parish of Trelauney, shew a diminution of numbers, within the same period, amounting to two hundred, out of a population of 2809. But on the coffee plantations, where night-work is unknown, mark the contrast: on a plantation having 214 slaves, *the average increase* for five years is three per cent. per annum; and, taking an extensive parish, the staple commodity of which is coffee, the average increase throughout is not less than three per cent. per annum. Can there be a more convincing proof of the shocking waste to which human life is subject on sugar estates, (and owing mainly to the system of night-work,) than this? And yet to such a system must the man of grey hairs, or the mother of a numerous offspring, after toiling throughout the day under the scorching beams of a tropical sun, submit; and again be exposed to the bleak north wind, to the chilling mists of heaven, or to the pelting rain; and, when overtaken with sleep, to lie down faint and weary, and at the risk of a heavy punishment, under the great canopy of heaven, without another comforter, save Him who pities the oppressed. This evil, in common with Sunday-marketing, must be annihilated before the Negro can know the full privilege of a Christian Sabbath. The law must stipulate, fully and clearly, the duration of Negro labour—unless, indeed, we would perpetuate a system of national suicide, and

tolerate the farther continuance of an evil, which is annually sweeping into the eternal world so many hundred souls.

“And who,” he asks, “would suffer from an act so gracious and so merciful? Surely not the planter. By the abolishing of Sunday markets he is no loser. He would, upon his own showing, ‘render the Sabbath as much as possible a day of rest;’ and which it cannot ever be considered, whilst Sunday trafficking absorbs the minds of by far the greater portion of all classes of the community. The concession will amount to twenty-six days in the year. But what of this, when the numerous advantages resulting therefrom, to both master and slave, are fairly and impartially considered? And with regard to night-work, the quality of the sugar manufactured by the half-awakened Negro, can bear no comparison with what is carefully and diligently prepared under the broad light of day; and especially when it is considered that, for this half-boiled and ill-refined produce, the same tax awaits the planter in the mother country, as would be paid for an article of the purest manufacture, to say nothing of the so frequent thefts and depredations committed by the slaves in the boiling and curing houses, when the drowsy or drunken book-keeper is off his guard. No; it will be for the planter to reduce the extent of his cane-field—to pay a more marked attention to the improvement and quality of his sugars—to endeavour to preserve his capital—to lessen all his contingencies to the lowest possible standard; and, by such means, bring the labour of the estate to the level of his own resources; and find, in the event, the consolation of making the burthen of his slave comparatively light, and easy to be borne.

“But, my Lord, as in all the other improvements upon the slave system already suggested, so in this case likewise must your powerful interposition come in to effect these benevolent and necessary changes, or leave them undone. Be assured, however, of this, that it will be better, easier, and safer to effect them now, and by an Act of Parliament, than it probably may be in a few years, should some of those sparks of liberty, that are now flying throughout the world, descend upon the combustible materials of which the West is composed, and kindle such a flame, as may yet cause England to sigh over the tardiness of her humanity.” (p. 43—47.)

7. These invaluable disclosures respecting the Sabbath are followed by a few remarks on *religious instruction*. Notwithstanding the appointment of bishops and clergymen, “not a single obstacle that stood in the way of the religious instruction of the slave has been set aside. The master has continued to maintain an authority as absolute over the soul as over the body of the slave. He has continued to possess the power of repelling all religious teachers from his estate, no one daring, without his authority, not the mitre excepted, to set foot upon it, even on Sundays or Negro-days, to preach, or teach, or otherwise to infringe upon his prerogative. And in this state things remain in Jamaica at this very hour. The consequence is, that few masters will consent to have their slaves instructed at all; that the instruction given, in ninety-nine out of one hundred cases, is merely *oral*; and that the simple boon of permitting them to learn to read is withheld by their

superiors. And why, my Lord? The man who would perpetuate the evils of slavery, and farther entail them upon unborn generations, is perfectly consistent in such opposition. Knowledge is power: and could the slaves be held in their original blindness, there would be nothing to hinder the master, whilst such ignorance prevailed, from maintaining the same sovereign and undisturbed authority which he has been wont to do. But in these days of light, it were impossible to preclude it from breaking in here and there upon the Negro mind, although the utmost precautions were adopted for keeping it from him. Knowledge the slave will have, whether his master will or not; and hence it more deeply concerns the planter to see that he is instructed in right principles. There is a powerful evidence that may be adduced in order to prove the superiority of knowledge (when tempered by religious instruction) in preserving the peace and security of the colonies. It is a fact which cannot be disputed, and that may be proved to the satisfaction of your Grace, that *in no single instance in the island of Jamaica, has a solitary case been known of treason or rebellion being charged against any of the Negro slaves who have been in church communion with the ministers of the Establishment, of the Moravian, of the Wesleyan, nor, as far as can be ascertained, of the Baptist persuasions.* Whilst it is notorious, that in those districts where rebellion has raised its anti-christian arm, there has been either a want of fidelity on the part of the resident clergy, or the unhappy slaves who have been deluded into conspiracies, have been cut off from the means of religious instruction, as well as from a participation in those Christian privileges placed within reach of their more fortunate brethren. This assertion is not made unadvisedly; and the fact is put forth as a powerful argument why—on the grounds of both political expediency, and of the personal well-being and security of the whole population of the West India islands—the Negro should have the most uncontrolled access to every authorized religious teacher.

“In the island of Antigua, the Negroes have for a long time enjoyed, in a considerable degree, these advantages. The missionaries have had access to the slaves at their own houses, and under the sanction of their masters: chapels of the rudest construction, which in the simple language of the people have been termed “praise houses,” have been erected by the slaves themselves, where the missionaries have been permitted to attend their followers, at whatever season may suit the convenience of all parties. And what has been the result? Have either discord, or insubordination, or rebellion ensued? Certainly not. That island presents to the world, at this very moment, a pattern of what real religion can effect, upon the mind of man under every possible circumstance of his being. But in Jamaica, things are far otherwise. There, the representatives of comparatively very few estates, tolerate the labours of the Christian teacher, and still fewer would admit him to that confidential intercourse with the slave in his own dwelling which has been already noticed. Nay more, it has sometimes happened that proprietors,—and *they females too*,—less humane than their own resident agents, have expelled the minister without assigning any cause; thus preventing him from pursuing his Christian labours on the estate;

although the instruction so imparted was without cost, given by a minister of the Establishment, merely oral, and usually during the hours of recreation allotted to the slave. Can it be wondered at then, my Lord, that any general attempt to teach the slave to read, should be construed into any act little short of treason; that by many of the planters, the sight of a book in a Negro's hand, should be viewed with much the same feelings of indignant suspicion, as the Roman Catholic priest would eye the possession of a Bible by an Irish peasant. Let these obstacles, then, to the religious instruction of the slave, be done away for ever." (p. 48—51.)

"If the design of the missionaries had been to unsettle the Negro mind, and to rouse him to revenge his wrongs, the die would long ere this have been cast with the British colonies, and a flame would have been kindled, which not all the artifice of man could have extinguished; and the chain that binds the slave would have fallen off for ever. But maligned as the missionaries have been, and misinterpreted as their proceedings are, such is not their office, as the peaceful, and civilizing, and practical effects already produced through their instrumentality on the lives of so many thousands, abundantly testify. If there were not a British bayonet within the whole confines of slavery, strange as the assertion may seem to be, the Christian missionaries alone, with free access to the objects of their benevolence, would stem the torrent of discord at the fountain, and prove to their country a protection against every internal commotion." (p. 51.)

8. The concluding head of this valuable pamphlet, is entitled "*Prospective Emancipation.*" Mr. Trew does not think it possible that slavery should continue to exist indefinitely. He holds it to be beyond the power of Great Britain to make it stand; and yet he hesitates about the only remedy, emancipation, and brings forward a proposition of his own about apprenticeships, which is far more objectionable than any of the plans he repudiates. The only safe and practicable remedy is an early emancipation properly guarded from abuse. Even Mr. Trew admits that "Matters cannot possibly remain longer as they are: indeed it has been almost miraculous how, amidst the open and avowed enmity of the colonists towards the mother country, and the abuse so openly lavished upon their best friends, the slaves should have been so little affected by it. But it can hardly be expected, that as the crisis approaches which is to decide whether arbitrary rule or Christian moderation shall preside over the future government of the slave, that their minds will not participate in the agitation which surrounds them. The people of England will never relax in their efforts, constitutionally and perseveringly, to effect their object; and the resistance offered by the West India legislatures to the reasonable demands of the mother country, will not be overcome, but by a bold and determined resolution of the British government to legislate for the public good, independently of all consequences." (p. 56.)

The reluctance of Mr. Trew, therefore, to the early adoption of that great act of justice which shall emancipate the slave, evidently arises from the influence of those prejudices which he imbibed in the society of slaveholders, and which the whole tenor of the views he has given of

slavery in the present pamphlet should have led him long since to have discarded. And, doubtless, he would have discarded them, but for some little irritations which have unfortunately taken place, and which have led him to cling with too much tenacity to the only point of separation between him and those whom he has somewhat hastily charged with a zeal that is "intemperate," and "without knowledge."

We request of Mr. Trew to point out, in the pages of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, a single syllable either on the administration of justice, and the miserably unprotected state of the slave; or on the evils of rejecting their evidence in courts of justice; or on the benefit of compulsory manumission; or on the demoralizing effects of the absence of all due encouragement and sanction to the marriage tie; or on the slave's cruel privation of the rest of the Christian Sabbath; or on his destitution of religious instruction;—which gives a more horrific picture of the evils of slavery than he himself, after an intimate familiarity of eleven years with the system, has at length deliberately, yet reluctantly and hesitatingly, laid before the public. We owe him thanks for this able vindication of our statements, and for this reparation to the outraged slave, and we pray God to make it effectual to what we doubt not is his conscientious object in the work, the termination of the dreadful evils which he has there so ably, and forcibly, and truly depicted. We, only implore him to interpose no unnecessary delays to the consummation of this great act of justice by ringing unmeaning changes on the vague terms of "anarchy" "confusion," &c. as likely to result from it. He cannot, we think, seriously entertain such fears. And we, therefore, intreat him not to impede the effect of his bold and manly testimony by giving way to undefined and nervous apprehensions, which a fair and unbiassed consideration of the whole case, divested of his foregone conclusions, could not fail entirely to dissipate.

Nor let it be forgotten that the parish of Jamaica in which Mr. Trew resided for such a length of time, and in the pastoral care of which he took so warm and unceasing an interest, is the very parish in which Mr. Alexander Barclay also resided, who was the paid champion of the negro slavery there existing, and whose account of that state is in direct and irreconcilable hostility with that of Mr. Trew. As the Assembly of Jamaica and the West India Committee have expended large sums of money in circulating the mendacious statements contained in Mr. Barclay's bulky volume, and have thus done what they could to delude the public, we think they are bound, in common honesty, to do away the effect of that delusion by diffusing, to at least the same extent, the unimpeachable testimony of Mr. Trew. This however is more than we can reasonably expect them to do. We may however at least expect that those whose minds have been influenced by Mr. Barclay's false representations, to which these two bodies have mischievously given their sanction, will read the pamphlet of this disinterested and competent witness, that they may be able to estimate the full extent of the deception which has been practised upon them. We cannot forget that even Mr. Bernal scrupled not in the House of Commons, to quote this same Mr. Barclay as a decisive authority in favour of the mildness of colonial slavery.

II.—TESTIMONY OF THE CHRISTIAN RECORD OF JAMAICA ON COLONIAL SLAVERY.

THE views taken of Colonial Slavery by Mr. Trew, we find amply confirmed in a monthly periodical publication, which has recently been established in Jamaica, entitled the *Christian Record*.* We have now before us the first three numbers of that work, from which we propose to make a few extracts. Our first shall relate to "*the profanation of the Sabbath in Jamaica*,"—"one of the greatest obstacles to the Gospel in this island, being acknowledged by almost every one to be *the prevalent custom of Sunday markets and of Sunday labour*."—In Jamaica, they say "we have selected the Sabbath for letting loose, in an especial manner, the evil passions of man's heart,—we have selected it not as a portion of time wherein to cease from worldly labour, and to meet our fellow creatures to worship God and to hear his message of mercy to the penitent, and the denunciations of his wrath to the impenitent; but a portion of time in which to labour, and to meet in the market place, to conclude our bargains and fix the price of yams, plantains, salt-beef, pork, &c." (*Record*, No. 3. p. 105.)

The following, they state, to be a faithful description of the manner in which the Sabbath is observed in Jamaica :

"On the Sunday mornings every road leading to the towns and market stations of the country, is crowded with negroes under heavy loads of ground provisions, wood, grass, &c. hastening to the Sunday market, which itself presents a scene that beggars all description. Every bad passion of the human heart may there be seen in active operation; covetousness, cheating, thieving, and extortion are on every side. Anger, jealousy, and revenge, declare themselves in loud bursts of furious passion—in revilings, cursings, and fightings, whilst scenes of the most bestial drunkenness are all around. Such is the Sunday market—such is the scene which senators—nay, which CLERGYMEN have declared to be advantageous to the progress of religion." "Such is the scene which continues through the whole day. And let it not be imagined that none are actors in it, but the poor ignorant field negroes of the country. The domestics of almost every family in the towns, those of clergymen included, sent to market by their owners, and by their own necessities—

* The first Number was published on the 30th of September last. The annual cost to subscribers, if called for at the office of the work in Kingston, is £3. currency, or about 43s. sterling; and if sent by post, £4. currency, or about 57s. sterling. The editors of this work profess to view the subjects of which they treat "through the medium of the light thrown upon them by the Word of God;" and "manfully to fight under the banners of Jesus Christ against all the enemies to the progress of his religion, who may rise up in their native Island." While they profess themselves zealous and conscientious members of the Established Church, and loyal subjects of the state, they hold out the right hand of fellowship to all, of every denomination, who are really striving together for "the faith of the Gospel," and they promise fearlessly to advocate every measure which tends to the temporal and spiritual welfare of their fellow men, and boldly to denounce whatever is of an opposite tendency. They have well fulfilled their pledge, and we therefore have pleasure in recommending this work to the patronage and support of all the friends of religion and of the anti-slavery cause throughout the kingdom.

the white and other shopkeepers who retail salt provisions, articles of clothing, and spirituous liquors—all these are employed under the sanction of the law—are encouraged, nay, compelled by it, as it now stands, to desecrate the Sabbath, and break one of the most express commands of God. At night again, every road is crowded with the negroes returning from the market loaded with the supply of salt provisions, &c. which their morning sale has enabled them to procure, and on these roads drunkenness and riot are to be met with at every step.

“Let us now turn to the other branch of the subject, namely, ‘*Sunday labour.*’ But here, we may, perhaps, be met by certain defenders of colonial practices, and be told, in the words of one who has made himself conspicuous, (Mr. Barclay,) we suspect latterly, not much to his own satisfaction, that Sunday, if not in regard to *marketing*, yet in this respect, is, ‘*strictly a day of rest.*’ But if it is so, we ask, how comes it to pass, that in the country, Sabbath after Sabbath, our ears are assaulted, and our peace interrupted by the clang of the woodman’s axe? If it is so, how comes it to pass, that on every Sabbath we see the smoke ascending from innumerable pyres, whereon are consumed those weeds and bushes, which the negro’s industry removes from the patch of ground he cultivates to support himself and family? How any one, so well acquainted with the fact as the author referred to, (Mr. Barclay,) could make so gross an assertion, we pretend not to explain.

“In opposition to it, we assert, on our own knowledge of the fact, that the slave is compelled—actually compelled, to labour on the Sabbath day.” “Nay, it is even the common practice (and if required we would give names and places where it is so,) to form idlers, thieves, and vagabonds upon an estate, into a ‘rogues’ gang,’ and, under the superintendance of a ‘driver,’ to compel them to work a patch of land as provision grounds for themselves, upon the *Sundays*, as well as other days allowed by law.

“We may however here be told, that such Sunday labour is *unnecessary*, as sufficient time is given to the negro *during the week*, by the Consolidated Slave Law, for the cultivation of his provision ground. In reply to this, we require to be informed how many days are secured by law to the negro from 1st January to 1st July in each year, which is the principal period for planting negro provisions? ‘O,’ it will be said, ‘this also is the principal period for crop. And then, as no time *can be spared* during the week, Sunday must of course be taken; for, making a good crop is of much more consequence than keeping holy the Sabbath day!’ This, at least is the *practical* language of both sugar and coffee planters, and a considerable number of Sundays, out of the fifty-two in each year, are thus provided for at once.

“In confirmation of this, we will mention the argument frequently used by planters in our presence against encouraging the progress of religion, namely, that where it has spread among the negroes, they have been induced to abandon the cultivation of their grounds on Sundays, and have thus been reduced to want and absolute starvation.

“But this is not all. On sugar estates the slaves are employed, with few exceptions, during crop, no less than *eighteen hours* out of every

twenty-four, on the six days of the week. And if to this be added the well-known fact, that the law prohibiting 'the putting of mills about' after sunset on Saturday night, or before daybreak on Monday morning, 'is shamefully trampled on, we shall arrive at no very unwarrantable conclusion, in affirming that the slaves, thus occupied in making sugar during the week, including (to the certain knowledge of the writer) invasions upon the Sunday, are not likely to be in a condition for attending, with much diligence and aptitude, to the wakeful duties of the Sabbath.

"We admit, indeed, that casually, during the crop, the process of sugar-making is sometimes stayed, and a day given, during the week, to the slaves, for the cultivation of their grounds. But the principal, and, in most instances, the *only time*, which can be devoted to their grounds by the slaves, during crop, must be *stolen* from that portion of our existence which is destined, by God, in mercy to us, for sacred purposes. We may hence be enabled to form a just estimate of the opportunities which the clergy and other ministers of religion enjoy, of instructing the great mass of the slave population.

"But we may again be told, that in certain districts vast numbers of slaves bend their way, every Lord's day, to their several places of worship. But it is well known, that even in those districts where the disposition for religious exercises among the slaves is most favourable, the numbers who do actually attend their several places of worship on Sundays bear but a very small proportion to those who ought to attend, and who, there is every reason to believe, *would attend, if they had the opportunity*. Consult, in proof of this, the memoranda of those clergymen and other ministers of the gospel, who have applied themselves, with diligence, to the instruction and conversion of the slave population. It will then be ascertained, that barely *one-fourth* even of the Christian professors and catechumens attend their several places of worship, each Sunday, on an average of the whole year; that is to say, each attends on the average, thirteen Sundays out of the fifty-two. We do not make this statement at random; it is supported by stubborn facts.

"Such is the state of things which has existed for more than a century; and even since *the bishop and an augmented number of clergy were introduced into this island, in the year 1825, including an arch-deacon, and latterly three rural deans*. And yet these have been for the most part silent! From time to time, their zeal in instructing the people is called in question; yet no one in authority has dared to step forward and declare what barriers stand in the way of their labours. They, for the most part, have been willing rather to bear the imputation of being 'careless shepherds,' unwatching 'watchmen,' or 'dumb dogs which cannot bark,' than to stand forth, in battle array, against an anomaly which exhibits amongst us a Christian bishop, a Christian clergy, and professedly Christian churches, supported by the state; and withal, dooms those churches, to a vast extent, to emptiness, and the Christian ministrations and ordinances, which the law provides for, to neglect! Surely it was to have been expected, that this body of ecclesiastics would have put forth their decided and vehement protest against this crying sin!" "But, alas! and it pains us to record the fact, no protest of

this kind has ever been uttered, either by the bishop or archdeacon, or the rural deans, or by the clergy collectively or individually, with the exception of perhaps a few.* It is true, a few lukewarm and dishonest sermons have been preached by others; but we are justified in excluding altogether these dishonest, aye, dishonest sermons, affecting to recommend the observance of the Sabbath, but proceeding from lips ready to utter, and which out of the pulpit do utter, the very arguments of the irreligious in favour of its breach. We have had episcopal charges, wherein the general duties of the clergy have been dilated upon, and we must say, for the most part, *admirably dilated upon*; but *scarcely one syllable has ever been boldly uttered to the world by the bishop, or his dignified clergy, against the universal and horrible profanations of the Sabbath day.*—*Whispered* regrets, and *smothered* wishes, we regard not. Did it never strike the right reverend prelate, who presides over this diocese, that the clergy, in diligently obeying his Lordship's injunctions, and in performing their duty, must do so to empty pews and benches, as far at least as a considerable portion of the slave population is concerned? Or did his lordship conclude, that it was much easier to counsel his clergy on general topics, and to recommend to the colonists the building, repair, or keeping clean of churches, than to provoke the hostility of Sabbath-breaking planters, by openly reproving *their crying wickedness*; and thus leading on his clergy to make similar assaults upon the enemies of true religion? In so judging, as to *ease*, he certainly judged rightly. But, in the spirit of love, and of solicitude unfeigned, for his present real peace of mind, and his eternal happiness, we would bring to his lordship's remembrance, the truth contained in this saying of Adalbert, bishop of Bohemia—'It is an easy thing to wear a mitre and a cross, but an awful thing to give account of a bishopric, before the Judge of quick and dead.' We would call to his remembrance, and to that of his clergy, that solemn question and answer, which are found in the ordination service. In this question, the bishop asks the candidates for orders—'Will you be diligent in your several cures, to drive away all strange doctrine, and viciousness of life, &c. &c.' The answer given is—'I will endeavour so to do, God being my helper.' Bound by so solemn an obligation, how can the bishop and his clergy remain silent respecting a system of Sabbath-breaking, which, to so tremendous an extent, paralyses their labours among the great mass of the people? From whatever motive, the clergy generally *do* perform their Sunday services almost within hearing of the din of marketing, or of the clang of the woodman's axe, and yet scarcely any disapprobation is expressed by them. How long is this to be? Are there to be no exertions made—no protest uttered against an evil, which at once is rebellion against the highest authority, and tends the most directly to destroy those 'for whom Christ died,' by keeping them in their pagan ignorance? Oh! ye right reverend, and reverend fathers! justify yourselves to your fellow-colonists, to your sovereign, to the parlia-

* Let the reader recur to our second volume, No. 41, and some following numbers, and see how our statements are here borne out, notwithstanding the abuse poured on us at the time by the British Critic, Christian Remembrancer, &c.

ment, and to your fellow-subjects of Great Britain! ye cannot justify yourselves to God!

“But it will be asked, ‘what could they have done?’ We answer, they could have spoken and preached against such wickedness. First, the bishop could have preached against it, which it does not appear he ever has done. He might have introduced the subject into his public charges to his clergy; and might have urged the same line of conduct upon them. The clergy, stimulated and encouraged by his precepts and example, would have followed, in considerable numbers, the footsteps of their diocesan. Thus, at all events, they would have *made their own hands clean*; whilst, under God’s blessing upon every honestly courageous exertion in his service, they would have so roused the indignation of the better portion of the community, so repelled the boldness of the profane scoffer, and the avarice of the abettors of Sunday markets and of Sunday labour, that we cannot doubt the evils of which we now complain, would by this time, nearly, if not altogether, have disappeared. With such facts before us, we feel no hesitation in asserting, that the man” (alluding to Barclay) “who tells us ‘there is no opposition to religious instruction in the island,’ affirms that which is manifestly untrue:—For the very proof of Sabbath profanation, as it exists among us, exhibits a system—not isolated cases, but we assert, *a system* of opposition to religion, which is more effectual than the swords of persecuting tyrants or the flames of Smithfield.” (Ib. p. 106—110.)

It has been a part of the slave law of Jamaica since the year 1696, that “all the owners and managers and overseers of slaves, shall, as much as in them lies, endeavour the instruction of their slaves in the principles of the Christian religion to facilitate their conversion.” How, enquires the Editor of the Christian Record, has this law been carried into effect? He agrees with Mr. Trew in affirming that until lately it has never been at all thought of; and even now that a Bishop and an increased establishment of clergymen have been appointed in the island, how, he asks, is instruction given to the slaves? And he thus answers his own question.

“By teaching them to repeat by rote the Lord’s prayer, creed, and catechism. These formularies are all admirable in themselves; but will it be any advantage to an uneducated negro, that he has had even ‘a form of sound words’ crammed into his memory, unless his understanding be also instructed and improved by it? So far is it, we are convinced, from being of any advantage to him, (as is alleged by those who think it a good preparation for the ministrations of the clergy), that it is even positively detrimental; for he will afterwards find it much more difficult to attach a just meaning to words, which have frequently passed through his mind, without making any impression, than if he had never heard them before.

“If then this species of oral instruction be useless in the hands of catechists, appointed for the purpose, is it likely to be more effectual when employed by book-keepers? * Are their habits of life calculated

* This is a system lately introduced, and which, we fear, is patronised by many, because it preserves appearances, while it is utterly inefficient.”

to give additional weight to the formularies of the church? If it were proposed, as a general measure, to employ them in teaching *morality* to the slaves, would not the proposition excite ridicule at least, if not disgust? Are they then more competent to give instruction 'in the principles of the christian religion,' which is the source of all pure morality?

"We do not mean to undervalue the catechetical or conversational system of instruction, properly so called; we are aware that it is a pleasing and effectual mode of conveying religious knowledge. But it can be perfect only when the questions are brought down to the level of the capacities of the pupil; when one question is suggested by the answer received to another; and when the subject is impressed on the understanding by familiar illustration; and, obviously, because it is only thus, that the *mind of the pupil* can be brought into active exercise. On this system the church catechism, or any other more simple manual, becomes useful, as text books, to secure attention, on the part of the catechist, to the fundamental truths of religion; as standards to guard against error, as much as possible; and for the purpose of suggesting topics for inquiry; but in no other way. That oral teaching, as a mean of general 'instruction in the principles of the christian religion,' must, however, at the best be but a poor substitute for that of instruction in reading, especially in regard to the rising generation, will be very evident on a little reflection. On the oral system, there must be many active catechists employed, and their labours will be not only unceasing, but interminable; for, at the end of twenty years, instruction would still be but commencing among the population, as is the case now; and any intermission of effort would double the labour. The tendency of instruction in letters, on the contrary, is to multiply and perpetuate itself; for one person who has learnt to read can, not only himself continually recall to memory the religious truths he has learnt, by reference to his Bible, but may impart the same advantage to others. At the end of twenty years, therefore, the effect of teaching the rising generation to read, would be very perceptible.

"But we ask 'to what extent has the command in our law, to instruct slaves in the principles of the christian religion, been obeyed?' We are men of facts—and to answer this inquiry, as well as to secure the gratitude of Mr. Barclay for the body of evidence we shall thus adduce in support of his assertions, we purpose to give, in each of our numbers, a list of twenty or thirty estates, in one or other of the parishes, shewing the number of the negroes; the names of proprietors, and of their representatives, if they are absent; and the kind of instruction given on them. In making out the list, we shall only insert properties to which 100 negroes, and upwards, are attached; except in cases, where, upon smaller ones, we may have a gratifying opportunity of recording an honourable instance of true religious instruction being given." (Ib. p. 127.)

The estates specified in this number are the twenty-four first occurring in the list of estates in the parish of St. Andrew, which, from its immediate vicinity to Kingston, is more accessible, both by clergymen and missionaries, than most of the other parishes. Of these twenty-four estates, containing 4891 negroes, there is only one, belonging to Mr. Wildman, having 140 slaves, on which *any* reading is taught. On

nine, containing 1551 slaves, there is some oral teaching occasionally, that is to say, once a week or fortnight, by a Catechist. On the remaining fourteen estates, containing 2900 slaves, no species of instruction whatever is given. Among these, we are shocked to find that of the Hon. John Mais, chief magistrate of the parish, and a member of the Assembly. He is resident on this very estate, and yet the return is that no instruction whatever is given to the slaves upon it. We have a similar return, we are still more shocked to say, respecting an estate belonging to the Duke of Buckingham. We presume that it is from this estate that the Marquis of Chandos, the heir of the Duke of Buckingham, derives his title to fill the chair of the West India Committee. Now when we recollect the zeal manifested by this nobleman in the support of the Church of England, while one of the leading antagonists of the Catholic claims, and the professions of attachment to the interests of religion which fell from him on that occasion, we marvel greatly that he should have provided no christian instruction for any one of his 350 slaves. But we marvel at this still more, (if we could now be surprised by any thing in the conduct of colonial partisans,) when we recollect the resolutions, and the petitions to Parliament, emanating from the West India body over which the Marquis presides, and with whom he has expressed his entire concurrence, asserting the necessity of preparing the slaves for freedom by previous religious instruction; we say we marvel greatly when we recollect this, and yet find that at the close of the year 1830, there is no species of instruction whatever yet provided for the 350 wretched thralls* who form part of the inheritance of the Noble Lord who has the honour of standing at the very head of the West India body. And seeing this, shall we be deemed unreasonable if we regard the conduct of that noble Lord and his associates as somewhat at variance with their professions; at least as not marked with any conspicuous traits of a spirit of ingenuousness and fair dealing in their communications with Parliament and the public? He and they resist the call of the country for emancipation until they shall have prepared their slaves for it by education and religious instruction: and yet, even on the noble Chairman's own estate, the work, after eight years, is not commenced, and his 350 slaves remain, for aught he has done, in the very darkness of heathenism. We trust this will not be forgotten when he again urges on the House his claim to compensation.

The Christian Record, in developing these facts, has further directed us to one main source of the evil, namely, the supineness of the Bishop of Jamaica, and of many of his clerical brethren, who ought to have come forward boldly to express what must have been their conviction, that every mode of instruction which excluded the teaching of the slaves to read, must prove wholly inadequate.

"So long," observes this writer, "as the bishop and his chief clergy took pains to advocate mere oral instruction, † representing it as quite

* We call them wretched not without reason; for besides being slaves, which is of itself enough, they are a decreasing body.

† This, by the catechists under the bishop's superintendance, has hitherto consisted of reading a small portion of scripture to the negroes, and teaching them to repeat the church catechism by rote. See *Instructions for Catechists in 1828.*"

sufficient for the purpose, and, if they did not expressly prohibit, at all events rather discouraged, the efforts of those who wished to introduce reading, it is obvious that many of the planters who were favourable to the inculcation of religious truths, would remain satisfied that they had done as much as they ought to do, when they admitted oral instruction to their estates."

"We have been led more particularly into these remarks, by a perusal of that part of the report of the Conversion Society for the year 1828, which relates to this island. The bishop is there represented to have 'informed the society, in a recent communication, that very little progress had been made by the negroes in reading,' and 'that the planters are not disposed to permit more than oral instruction to be given to the slaves on their estates.' The inference which the governors of the society, have no doubt drawn from his lordship's communication is, that he and the great body of his clergy have been active and persevering in their endeavours to introduce reading among the slave population, but have met with opposition from the planters;—and that his lordship participates in the feelings of disappointment which the members of the society experience at this want of success. Now, we should be sorry to write harshly of any man, more especially of a dignitary of our venerable church; but we must say that all this is very disingenuous. It is, we believe, true enough that the great mass of the planters have been, and perhaps are now, averse to the instruction of their slaves in reading (although there are several bright exceptions, the number of which is increasing daily,)—but we would ask his lordship, who is chiefly to blame? We would ask him whether, in any of his charges to the clergy, in his sermons, or on any other public occasions, he has insisted on the necessity of, or even strongly recommended, the instruction of the slaves in reading; and whether, on the contrary, mere oral instruction has not hitherto been the theme of his discourse, and the object of his unqualified praise? We would ask his rural deans, whether they have not (at all events till very lately,) held out '*oral instruction*' as the *ne plus ultra* of slave education? And we might further inquire of his lordship's chaplains in particular, and indeed of all the clergy in the island,* with the exception of a few, whether they themselves have not been the most determined opponents to the introduction of reading among the slaves? The truth is, that the bishop, when he first arrived in the island, knew, as every unprejudiced man of common sense must know, that permanent and lasting benefit could be produced only by instruction in reading; but, on inquiry, he found that strong prejudices existed among the planters against it. Instead of boldly avowing his sentiments, and endeavouring, by steady perseverance, to overcome all prejudices, he yielded to them, and became a strenuous advocate for mere oral instruction; and whilst some of his clergy were the very persons

* "Will it be believed that we have heard more than one of these ministers of Christ triumphantly ask—'Did St. Paul teach reading?' To men of common sense, it would seem sufficient to reply by the question—'Did not St. Paul write his Epistles?'"

whose opinions misled him to set the example, the remainder generally followed it. Yet these very clergymen, with the bishop at their head, as president, meet once a-year in full committee as a diocesan branch of the Society for *Promoting Christian Knowledge*, make speeches, and import books expressly for the use of the lower orders !”

“ It may perhaps be objected here, that the colonists are not generally opposed to the religious instruction of the negroes; on the contrary, that a considerable number of them permit and encourage the system of *oral instruction*, which we have described. True: but we have reason to fear that the more intelligent of them do so, because they are well aware of its inefficiency to bring about the proposed end. They know that mere oral instruction of that kind produces but little effect upon its subject; while the ability to read not only exercises a constant influence over a man’s future life, but enables him to confer the same inestimable privilege possessed by himself upon as many others as he pleases.” (Record, No. 2, p. 37, 38, and 52.)

On another part of the colonial case, the views of the *Christian Record of Jamaica* go strongly to confirm the statements of Mr. Trew. In the second number, the conductors profess to draw the attention of their readers “ to one of the most intolerable of the evils which disgrace and afflict the colony,” namely, “ the right, which the owner of a slave has, to inflict corporal punishment upon him, at his own sovereign will and pleasure, a right held under the Slave Law of 1816, still in force, and confirmed by the acts of 1826 and 1829, had they received the royal sanction. That this cruel and unjust right is generally, nay, almost universally exercised, no one, well acquainted with the state of society in our island, will venture to deny. For our part, we believe there are very few estates on which the slave is not in daily dread of the lash, and in many families corporal punishment is commonly inflicted. The power of punishing is vested in the slave owner, or his representative, who, by the same law, is constituted the judge of what offences require corporal punishment, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes. If the privileged person ventures to go beyond this limit, he is liable to a fine of not less than ten pounds, and not exceeding twenty, as well as to a prosecution in the supreme or assize court, or court of quarter sessions. That this limit allows abundant opportunity for the gratification of a cruel and merciless spirit, few we think can doubt.* Some however have ventured to deny it, and have challenged their opponents ‘ at a distance,’ to substantiate the charges made against them, of abusing the right thus given by law. We maintain that the right itself is iniquitous, and the use made of it tyrannical and oppressive; and in support of our assertions, we will describe, *as far as decency will allow us*, the practice which

* In proof of this we may remark, that in investigations which take place before magistrates into punishments given for slight offences, the magistrates frequently characterise the punishment as one of extreme severity, but feel themselves compelled to dismiss the complaint, because the limit of thirty-nine lashes has not been exceeded. It is well known that an expert driver can, with a very few strokes, inflict a most tremendous punishment. We can adduce instances if required.”

generally prevails in the exercise of it. We do so, in the hope, that the painful and disgusting truth may have its effect in arousing just abhorrence in the breasts of some, who, never having had the subject exhibited to them in all its native hideousness, are not aware of its aggravated turpitude; and may thus lead, ultimately, to the total removal of this terrible power of punishment from the hands of private individuals. So far then as our knowledge goes, (and we conceive that our opportunities of acquiring it, have been sufficient to enable us to speak confidently on the subject,) the general practice on estates is to begin the day with punishment. This is commonly for the offence of 'turning out late,' and the infliction usually consists of several stripes applied to the culprit, without his clothes having been removed. We grant that it is not in general a painful infliction; but we contend it is brutalizing in the extreme. It is degrading the human being to the level of the beasts that perish. Besides this minor punishment, severer ones are commonly inflicted at the same time, for offences of a graver nature committed the day before. The day thus generally begins with an awful announcement of power in one party, and of fearful degradation in the other. The loud crack of the whip, and the piercing cry of the sufferer, proclaim that the gang are assembled in the field. Nor is this all—the whip, in a multitude of instances, is in frequent and active exercise during the day, to hasten the advance of work, although the formality of 'laying the slave down' is not resorted to. We maintain, and defy contradiction, that in the large majority of instances, the agricultural slave is stimulated to labour by the lash. We make the assertion, on the authority of the direct knowledge which we ourselves possess, and of the frequent admissions made by planters in our personal intercourse with them."

"In families resident in the country, the unfortunate domestic slave, when offending, is committed for chastisement into the hands of an upper servant, who ties him or her as the case may be, to the nearest tree, and then handles the weapon of torture. Or the poor wretch is 'sent to the works,' with a command to the overseer to punish. In towns, the household servant, when correction is deemed needful, receives it from a fellow servant in some out-office; or is hurried to the workhouse, there stretched on the ground, and the person shamelessly exposed. Thirty-nine stripes, it may be, are then inflicted on him by a powerful 'boatswain,' armed with a knotted scourge, whose every stroke causes the blood to start from the unhappy victim.

"Be it understood, too, that the law stipulates for the exemption of no age nor sex. It merely prescribes the number of stripes, and provides that no second punishment shall take place in the same day, nor until the effects of the first are recovered from. Nay, the pregnant female is not by law exempted. One would have thought that our legislators, moved by the common feelings of our common nature, would have interposed the protecting arm of the law to shield the female, when thus situated, from the brutal power of ferocious man. But no—even she can be *laid down, exposed, and flogged*, in the presence of the assembled population of the estate! It is true that public feeling, in this case more humane and merciful in its restrictions than the law, has, in a great measure, shielded the pregnant woman, *known to be such*; from

so shocking an outrage; but still, instances of such barbarity too often happen, ruining the unfortunate woman's health, and destroying her unborn child.

“ We have endeavoured, in these few remarks, to give a brief summary of the practice throughout the island, and, of course, the case of the domestic slaves has necessarily claimed consideration; but it is to that of the people employed in agriculture, to whom we would chiefly direct the attention of our readers, because it exhibits, in the strongest light, the evil effects of the tremendous power vested in individuals. It is well known, that the greater number of estates belong to absent proprietors, and that in general the overseers have the uncontrolled dominion of the people on them, unchecked save by an occasional visit from the planting attorney. Now who are the overseers? That there are among them men of education and gentlemanly habits, as well as of kind and humane feelings, cannot be disputed; but we fearlessly assert, that, in general, they are men who have been in the lower grades of society in the mother country, and who, unused to wield power, or to claim deference and submission from any class of the society in which they have lived, are, when elevated to the control of their fellow-mortals, extremely jealous and tenacious of the absolute authority vested in them by the law, and of the unqualified submission which it empowers them to exact. Generally profligate in their manners, and licentious in their habits, it is impossible that they can command the esteem or respect of the better disposed negroes, vast numbers of whom are their superiors in point of outward decency and morality; a great many, immeasurably so, in regard of christian feeling; and not a few, in general shrewdness and intelligence. The consequences are easily foreseen. The overseer, conscious of his power, exacts not only implicit obedience, but respectful attention. The negro, in such circumstances, too often finds even obedience and submission a hard task, but feeling no respect, cannot always feign it. A word, or even a look, leads to a torrent of abuse on the part of the overseer; and as negroes are but men in their passions, and the petty tyrant of the day cannot condescend to reason with a slave, or treat him as a rational being, the result, in most cases, is an infliction of punishment to the full extent of his tremendous power! Indeed, we are satisfied, that a great proportion of the severe punishments inflicted on estates, are given for ‘insolence,’ as it is termed, and are the consequence of some trifling act of insubordination, caused by irritated feeling. Here then we have the law directly ministering, by means of the power it confers, to the gratification of the most unruly passions of the human breast—anger and revenge: and producing evil and misery to an extent perfectly appalling.

“ These statements we make with pain, but nevertheless boldly; and so certain are we of their truth, *and of our ability to prove it*, that we fearlessly challenge contradiction. The whip, then, we assert to be the chief stimulus to labour, and almost the only instrument for maintaining rule among the slaves in this island. By it, the peasant is hastened to his appointed daily toil. It urges him to exertion, should he flag during the hours of labour. It is the dreadful means of keeping him in implicit submission and obedience, and of enforcing the appearance of respect

to his overseer, too frequently at the expense of truth and consistency; and, lastly, should the peevishness of human nature prompt to impatience or insolence, pregnancy itself not always proves a protection, but even then it sometimes descends upon the hapless victim, to weaken and to destroy. In these observations, we contend, that we have been describing the general, and the prevailing practice of the island; and in proof of this assertion, we could adduce the remarks often, nay, almost constantly heard, in the society of planters." "Some persons of known humanity may now and then come forward and state their abhorrence of such doings, and adduce their own humane management in confirmation of their feelings, and as a proof that the whole extent of the land does not present one aspect of unmitigated severity on the one hand, and of suffering on the other. But this, although gratifying, is not sufficiently redeeming. It only proves that there are some individuals, among the mass of our white and free coloured population, who are not totally dead to the decencies and charities of humanized life. They are the exceptions—and truly they bear but a very trifling proportion to the class to which they belong. Nevertheless, few as they are, we record them with thankfulness. They are gratifying when considered as so many green, though widely detached spots in the arid wilderness around. Fervently would we pray, that the same Spirit who has in these displayed his power, would widen and extend his blessed influences, until the whole of the waste places of our land 'rejoice, and blossom as the rose.' Pleasing, however, as these things are, and honourable to the humane individuals to whom we have alluded, we must at the same time protest against the unfair use made of them by colonial writers, when extenuating the evils consequent on the present system. Such writers are tediously minute, in describing these instances of better feeling. They blazon them forth as the true *criteria* of the prevailing practices of the island. They are studiously drawn to the foreground of the picture, and made, as it were, a veil, to shut out the hideous deformities that are piled behind.

"We shall now endeavour to trace the effects of the barbarous power, allowed by the law; both upon its victim, and upon the possessor of it.

"First, then, we observe, that the most deplorable effect upon the slave is a general debasement of character, and an utter annihilation, in male and female, of a sense of shame. The human being, when urged to his work by brute physical force, will refuse to labour when the lash ceases to be in active operation. Knowing that any infraction, on his part, of the rights of property, or indeed the commission of any offence, is to be met by a punishment, corporal in its nature, there will be induced a certain recklessness of character, a desperate heedlessness of consequences, which no floggings, however severe and frequent, can lastingly repress.

"Never, we firmly believe, were human beings reclaimed from 'the error of their ways,' by the torture of the body. The lash but strengthens the moral malady. The evil of corporal punishment is also shewn in a way truly painful to every friend to the spread of Christianity. We allude to the effect it produces, in respect of the ordinance of marriage.

It consists with our knowledge, that slaves have preferred concubinage to marriage, on the ground that *their wives* might be indecently exposed, and cruelly flogged. And here it is to be observed, in explanation and support of this statement, that slaves, however licentious they may be, regard the marriage tie with a reverence and respect approaching to superstition. With whatever indifference they may regard the degradation of a *concubine*, we know that they look with horror on the degradation of a *wife*! Again, what kind of feeling can be expected to exist in the mind of a child, who witnesses the shameless punishment of a parent? Filial respect must be weakened, if not altogether destroyed. And must not the feelings of the parent, who is constrained to witness the miserable sufferings of a child, if not hardened into criminal indifference, be exquisitely painful? While we are upon this part of the subject, we cannot avoid recounting, as a proof that these things are not the chimeras of a distempered imagination, but sad realities of truth and experience, the particulars of an instance of punishment, recently inflicted in one of our workhouses, by order of the magistrates. It has been communicated to us by an eye witness, on whose veracity we can stake our own credit; and, truly, it reflects indelible disgrace upon the community. Be it understood, however, that we introduce this statement, not in illustration of the main subject of the present article, viz. the dangerous power of inflicting corporal punishment entrusted by the law to private individuals; but in proof that the shameless, the unnatural exposure of the parent's nakedness to the child, and *vice versa*, are no uncommon occurrences in our island. We omit names, but are authorized to supply them if required. '———, a female, apparently about twenty-two years of age, was then laid down, with her face downwards; her wrists were secured by cords run into nooses; her ancles were brought together, and placed in another noose; the cord composing this last one, passed through a block, connected with a post. The cord was tightened, and the young woman was thus stretched to her utmost length. A female then advanced, and raised her clothes towards her head, leaving the person indecently exposed. The boatswain of the workhouse, a tall athletic man, flourished his whip four or five times round his head, and proceeded with the punishment. The instrument of punishment was a cat, formed of knotted cords. The blood sprang from the wounds it inflicted. The poor creature shrieked in agony, and exclaimed, 'I don't deserve this!' She became hysterical, and continued so until the punishment was completed. Four other delinquents were successively treated in the same way. One was a woman, about thirty-six years of age—another, a girl of fifteen—another, a boy of the same age; and lastly, an old woman about sixty, who really appeared scarcely to have strength to express her agonies by cries.' The boy of fifteen, as our informant subsequently ascertained, was the son of the woman of thirty-six! She was indecently exposed, and cruelly flogged, in the presence of her son! and then had the additional pain to see him also exposed, and made to writhe under the lash!—Ham looked upon the nakedness of his father, and the curse of that father descended upon him. A voice from the sanctuary has pronounced that a man shall not uncover 'the nakedness'

of his 'near kin.' The law of Jamaica does not forbid, and the brutal practice of Jamaica sanctions, the uncovering of a mother's nakedness in the presence of her adult son; and the exposure of that adult son to the eyes of his female parent! It is to be observed, to complete the hideous but faithful picture of the system of slave government, presented to us by the narrative of this transaction, that these unfortunates received this punishment for an offence, which their owner, it was strongly suspected, had compelled them to commit; and that too, under the terror of the lash—a circumstance accounting for the cry, 'I don't deserve this.'

"Painful and melancholy as is the above detail, we know it to be but too faithful a picture of what is transacted, from week to week, by order of the magistrates, within those abodes of human misery and degradation—the workhouses of our island.

"But let us revert to the especial subject of the present article. The most appalling evil resulting from the power entrusted by the law to individuals, of inflicting the severest corporal punishment upon the slave, is unquestionably the extensive and systematic destruction it occasions of unborn children! The helpless pregnant woman, as we have said, may, under the sanction of the law, be subjected to the lash! We are enabled to state, from respectable medical testimony, that in nine out of ten cases, such inflictions are followed by the destruction of the unborn child. We do admit that generally, when the fact of pregnancy is known, the individual is exempted from corporal punishment. In a multitude of cases, however, in which females are flogged, such may be the fact in its earliest stage; possibly unknown to the female herself; and it is in these cases, we assert, that this destruction chiefly takes place. In England, the individual convicted of being accessory to the destruction of an unborn child, can be punished capitally; but in Jamaica, the slave owner may destroy the fruit of the womb, protected by an act of the legislature. We do not indeed assert that the overseer, in punishing a pregnant woman, means to perpetrate the foul offence referred to—but that such is the actual result of the punishment, in a multitude of instances, we openly maintain.

"But the effects of this power upon the possessor of it are no less lamentable than those produced on its victim. The history of the world clearly demonstrates that the possession of authority seldom fails to call into active exercise the evil passions and inclinations inseparable from humanity. Early habit, education, the refinements which civilization has introduced, have all been found too weak to overcome this terrible evil. The Bible, by its plain declarations of the corruptions of the human heart, sends us at once to the root of the matter;—and we who see things *as they are*, because we see them on the spot, can testify, that in Jamaica, abundant evidence may be found to confirm the truth of these declarations of scripture. We see a system of oppression, authorized by the law of the land, and carried into tremendous operation by a thousand petty tyrants, who lord it over their suffering fellow beings. We see this abuse of undue authority producing a re-action upon themselves, and while it weakens and destroys their better feelings, bringing into exercise, and day by day adding strength to whatever is disgraceful to human nature, and painful to contemplate in the human heart. Look,

for a moment, at the great mass of those possessed of this dangerous authority. Witness its debasing influence upon themselves. They are hardened—they are lost to every sense of shame—the kindly feelings of their nature are extinguished. Deeds that they would, in the land of their fathers, have shuddered at, and which they did shudder at, on their arrival in this island, they now daily, unconcernedly, and, it may be, vindictively commit! Here indeed is to be found the grave of decency—of all the charities of life—and of all that distinguishes man from the beasts that perish. Well may we say, that education and refinement are too weak to oppose successfully this torrent of evil, when we see the withering influence of this execrable system extending to the higher and more refined classes of society. The educated female, who, when in Europe, shuddered at the bare description of many a sad scene in her native land, when returned to that land, and familiarized to the exercise of this terrible power, heedless of the considerations of delicacy, pens with her own hand the order to the overseer, the wharfinger, or the supervisor of the workhouse, to strip, to bind, and to scourge her hapless *female attendant*. With grief we write it, were the files of the overseers' houses, of the wharf counting houses, and of the workhouses, exhibited to public view, a sad register would be produced of human suffering, and incontestable proof afforded of the debasing tendency of the system. By them it would appear, that the young man just entering upon the world's stage—that the man of taste and refinement—that the aged mortal tottering upon the brink of the grave—that the mother—the daughter—the wife, can, and do in many instances, exercise this dreadful power vested in them by the law; the power to torture their fellow beings; and the direct tendency of the mere exercise of which, is to degrade and demoralize themselves." (Ib. p. 76—83.)

After observing that the practical operation of the law was best shewn by particular cases of oppression, the Editor proceeds thus,

"It is not our intention to invoke the aid of any case of cruelty, where the partial limits prescribed by the law have been clearly exceeded, because we think it unfair to enlist excitement, by a description of offences for which the law has furnished the means of redress, while pursuing the enquiry, whether or not that law is founded on justice, and sound policy. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the consideration of those cases of private punishment, for which the law appears to ourselves, or has appeared to the Magistrates, who are the interpreters of it, to have provided no remedy. To avoid also the appearance of raking up the tales of times gone by, we shall advert only to the disclosures of the last few months, and with most of which the public of Jamaica are already familiar. Few can have forgotten the details of the case of Mr. Chapman in St. George's.* The extreme severity of the punishment which he administered to the negro, both by flogging and imprisonment in the stocks, with his hands pinioned behind him, until they became greatly swoln, was established on the fullest evidence. And what was the offence of which the negro was accused? On the shew-

* See Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 68. p. 419; No. 69. p. 429; No. 71. p. 486.

ing of Mr. Chapman's own apologists, it was merely this: being ordered to ship sugars, he had, without orders from Mr. Chapman, assisted, with the other coopers, in hauling up the boat during shell-blow (their own time) and had entertained an expectation that the hour and a half which he had thus occupied would be repaid to him;—that after receiving a severe flogging for this trivial offence, he had been unable to perform his work as usual, which was the cause of the subsequent cruel confinement in the stocks. Yet two of the magistrates, before whom the case was investigated, have since actually published a statement in the newspapers, in which they attempt to exculpate themselves for having voted against a prosecution, by saying they considered that 'a smart reprimand would answer all the ends of justice, and be a warning to others not to commit themselves in a similar way!' And to this hour no prosecution of the individual has taken place.

"Another instance has come to our knowledge, although it is not quite so public. Several women, on an estate, who had young children, turned out late. For this offence they were most severely flogged. They complained to a magistrate, who, in conjunction with a brother magistrate, investigated the case. The flogging was found to have been one of great severity, and the magistrates considered the offence wholly disproportioned to it; but, as it was shewn that the limit of thirty-nine lashes had not been exceeded, they thought it imperative on them to dismiss the complaint.

"Look again at the case of Mr. Martin, the overseer of Temple-Hall, in St. Andrew's, which has recently undergone investigation, and is reported in the Courant of the 27th October. It was proved that the girl Jane, had been most severely flogged by him, and confined in the stocks, although the number of lashes given was less than thirty-nine. Setting aside the cause which the girl alleged for this punishment, which was shocking enough, and taking the statement of Mr. Martin himself as to the offence she had committed, we find that it amounted to nothing more than a saucy answer given to him. That any man, should, for so trifling an offence, subject so young a girl as she was to the torture of a night's confinement in the stocks, a flogging with the long whip, by which she was severely lacerated, and thirty-six hours *subsequent* confinement in the stocks; nay more should, with unblushing effrontery, seek to justify the infliction of this terrible punishment, by assigning so inadequate a cause (under the apparently sincere conviction, too, that it was an unanswerable defence), might well excite our wonder, did we not trace, in these very circumstances, the lamentable effects of the arbitrary authority vested in such men by the present state of the law. The magistrates, who were assembled at the council of protection, did their duty fearlessly and impartially; but, from what we can learn, we fear that the law is too indefinite to meet the case, and that Mr. Martin will escape with impunity!

"In all these cases, (and others might be furnished of a similar kind), something like irregularity, or trifling insubordination, has been urged as the cause of punishment; but there are many cases where acts, meritorious and praiseworthy in themselves, have induced planters to flog slaves with great severity. Having an inverted notion of right

and wrong, in some respects, and being invested with arbitrary authority, they have, not unfrequently, persecuted their slaves on account of their religious opinions. Our fellow-colonists are sufficiently familiar with the details of the complaint made against the late Mr. Betty. Let any one calmly, and without prejudice, weigh the effect of Mr. Betty's statement, in answer to Mr. Whitehouse's charge, and say, whether the irresistible inference to be drawn from it, when coupled with the accusation, is not, that a refusal to give up attendance at the religious establishment which he preferred, was in reality the only offence with which Henry Williams stood charged; and yet Mr. Betty openly, and in the public papers, asserted his right to punish a negro under his control, without being called to account. We might enlarge on the extent of the punishment, to which this slave was subjected in consequence, but as the poor man who caused it is no more, and we have stated enough of the case to illustrate our position, we gladly abstain from further comment upon it.*

"One case more, in reference to the construction put on the limits prescribed by the 35th clause, and our list is closed for the present. A council of protection was held at Morant Bay, on the 6th of October last, to inquire into a case of cruel and illegal punishment, alleged to have been given by a Mr. Henry Noyes, a blacksmith, to a slave belonging to him. The case was brought forward by W. Lambie, Esq. who stated, on oath, that on the first Saturday in September, the negro came to him to complain of his master; that he shewed the marks of two very severe floggings; that there were spaces of raw flesh, as large and as white as his hand, on both parts of his body; that both floggings appeared to have been inflicted at the same time; and that there was also an iron collar round his neck. He further mentioned, that the negro's account was, that he had received both floggings on the same day; the first with a long whip, and the second, on the shoulders, with bamboo switches. Mr. Lambie's evidence was corroborated, in all the main points, by that of another gentleman, who saw the slave on the same day. On being called on by the council, the negro repeated the story which he had told Mr. Lambie, and exhibited his person, on which there were still scars of very severe floggings. Mr. Noyes, his master, was asked if he had any thing to say. He stated that he had not flogged him twice on the same day, but on successive Mondays—the two last Mondays in August; and he took on himself all responsibility in regard to the collar. The council of protection fined Mr. Noyes £10 for putting on the collar; and £10 for giving a second flogging before the first had healed; and dismissed the matter!† We have

* A very important document, highly creditable to the Colonial Secretary Lord Goodrich, has just appeared respecting this affecting case. (See House of Commons paper for 1830—1. No. 91.) We hope to give its substance in our next.

† In our first number, we explained to our readers, that a council of protection is a mere court of *enquiry*, and has no authority whatever to try, or acquit, or condemn. The duty of these magistrates as a *council of protection*, was simply to inquire whether or not there were grounds for the prosecution of the master; and how, with the law in their hands, they could take upon themselves

given at present only a brief detail of the case, but we may probably resume the discussion of it. In the meantime, we call the attention of our readers to the fact; that the infliction of *two* very severe floggings for the *same* offence was established, by the admission of the master, and the decision of the court; and yet, that the sentence was founded only on the circumstance of the last flogging having been given before the other had healed. It is therefore to be presumed, that the magistrates considered the infliction of two punishments, each to the full extent of the law, for the same offence, in itself legal. We think this case important on another ground, because it shews that *excessive severity* of infliction (which must have been the case here, when Mr. Lambie saw 'large spaces of raw flesh, as large and white as his hand, on both parts of the man's body,') is not, any more than the *repetition* of it, considered illegal by the magistrates. Now, in the answer of the House of Assembly to Mr. Huskisson's despatch, in 1827, it is remarked, 'that if thirty-nine, or any other number of lashes are inflicted in a cruel manner, the master is liable to exemplary punishment.' How are we to reconcile this statement with the decisions of the magistracy in the cases to which we have adverted, and with the practice throughout the country? 'But,' it may be replied, 'in all these cases the law may have been misunderstood, or evaded, by the authorities.' Grant this; still we answer, that it is sufficient to establish our position, if we shew the construction which the law admits of, in the opinion of those who are the judicial, and ordinary, interpreters of it. It equally points out the necessity for more explicit and humane enactments.

"We leave these cases to make their own impression, and we are confident that if our fellow-colonists will only lay aside, for a moment, their blind prejudices on this subject, and examine them impartially, and with attention, they will agree with us, that there exists an imperious necessity for the abridgement of a power, so destructive to the peace and happiness of the peasantry of the country." *Ib.* p. 96—99.

One of the most striking papers in this work, is an article entitled *Libertinism of Jamaica*. We cannot transcribe the whole of it, but must be content with a few extracts.

"The excessive prevalence in this island," they observe, "of an unblushing libertinism among all ranks, from the very highest to the very lowest—the effrontery with which it stands forth to public notice—the callous hardihood with which it is upholden and avowed—are calculated, when fully exposed, to excite the abhorrence of all pious and moral men against a community, in which a species of crime, so black and so deeply degrading, is not only tolerated, but universally cherished! What will our fellow-subjects in Great Britain feel towards us, when the picture is faithfully laid before them?"

"Let us endeavour for a moment, to raise the veil from before this disgusting picture. The simple facts are notorious to us who have lived here for some years, but

summarily to convict, we are at a loss to determine. We presume, however, that on the principle of concealing all flagrant cases of cruelty, which actuates so many men in the colony, they thought it more prudent to overstep the line of their duty, as a council of protection, in one respect, by awarding a trifling punishment, which they had no right to inflict, than simply to act up to it by sending the case before the world in the shape of a prosecution.

few persons, if any, have had the boldness to notice them publicly, and our fellow-countrymen in England have no adequate idea of them. They hardly know that from the governor (we speak not of the present one) to the slave, an organised system of open and shameless concubinage has prevailed for generations past, and still prevails throughout the whole mass of society—exhibiting a congregated accumulation of the grossest moral putrescence, that perhaps any place on the whole earth can present to view. With the exception of those who are married, (and not always those) and a few rare instances, members of council, members of assembly, custodes of parishes, magistrates, common-councilmen, vestrymen, merchants, masters in chancery, doctors, judges, barristers, attorneys, proprietors and attorneys of estates, overseers, bookkeepers, clerks, tradesmen, whites, browns, blacks—all in short have every man his ‘housekeeper,’ (Jamaica parlance) established in open whoredom, living in his house or attached to it according to circumstances. Those connected with the wealthy live in splendour and notoriety, and all are kept without the slightest attempt at concealment. In the towns they are openly and avowedly installed in the houses of the great; the residences of almost all, from the chief magistrates to those of the lowest grade, presenting the same exhibition—a mistress and coloured children in abundance. In the country, the proprietors’ mansions exhibit the same features. The overseers’ houses have their establishment, and each bookkeeper and servant, in more humble imitation, has his attendant. The attorney for estates has his own peculiar friend on the property favoured with his residence, and a variety of similar subsidiary attachments, proportioned to the number of places under his charge. There is no exaggeration here. From Morant Point to Negril, this is the system that covers the land.”

“The degrading influence of the system on all ranks of the community, is manifest to the commonest observation. The tone of mere morals is lowered to the lowest possible degree consistent with the existence of society; and we confidently appeal to facts, and to the experience of every sensible and *unprejudiced* man, be he religious or not, for the truth of the remark. Indeed let us ask what, generally speaking, is considered in Jamaica as moral or immoral? What is the standard of morality? And the absolute inability to give a satisfactory answer, otherwise than to say that there is no morality, and no standard, except every man’s mere will, and the restraint of mutual convenience, demonstrates how dreadfully deteriorated the whole society is.—A few facts are better than argument. *Seduction*, for example, is not esteemed a crime in any part of Jamaica. This is proved by its absolute universality, and by the fact that no lowering in general estimation, in the slightest degree, of either seducer or seduced takes place. On the contrary, the father permits, *actually permits and encourages* his friend to seduce his daughter, of which we can produce twenty instances in Kingston alone. Neither father, mother, daughter, nor seducer, suffers in the least—nay, our society has, in its principal ranks, men who have so acted, or been sharers, directly or indirectly, in such transactions. Such in fact are the men who are seated at the tables, and admitted into the society, of married men of the first station. Such are the men who fill our ball rooms, and lead to the dance females of the chief rank and presumed virtue. Such are the men who, while living themselves in open shame, address themselves to modest women for marriage, when it has become convenient, and are accepted without compunction, and without their having made even a pretence of repentance, or change of principle. Such are the men, in whose houses the Earl of Belmore himself and his countess take up occasionally their abode.* Again, in a court of justice we have seen a senator, openly in evidence and on oath, speaking of his *family connexions*, and publishing his shame; and neither bench, bar, nor public at all surprised, even at the simple impudence of the disclosure. But that we expect that our publication may be read by strangers to the colony, it is a waste of ink to prove the position advanced, that seduction is

“* We do not assert that they have any knowledge of the facts. We wish only to shew the station in society which the individuals hold.”

no crime in Jamaica ; almost nine out of ten houses in the towns, and almost every estate and property throughout the country, containing multitudinous demonstrations of the fact. But further—so far from being regarded as a crime, it has been rather considered as honourable, if not meritorious ; and formerly it was universally, and still is extensively, the feeling among coloured females, that the state of concubinage was far more respectable, and more to be desired than that of marriage ; the idea of the latter, if it gained admission to the thoughts, being ridiculed rather than indulged. If we consider the immense number of persons of that class who feel thus, and act upon the feeling, some estimate may be made of the enormity of the evil. Adverting further to the practice of the great body of coloured men, who for the most part (besides the guidance of their own propensities, unchecked by any example or public restraint) have been led by a natural imitation of their fathers and superiors in rank, another body of proof is given of the honour done to this vice. But the weightiest proof, surrounded with the darkest shades, is still behind in the prevalence of the system among the great body of the slave population. The master himself, who is responsible to God for the souls of his people, either lives with some coloured female, perhaps one of his own slaves, or he systematically seduces every attractive object among his people. It is for the most part considered by the people themselves an honour and a privilege, and is attended with substantial advantages to them and their friends. The attornies and overseers, almost to a man, and the book-keepers, as far as their influence enables them, pursue the same system. If a married proprietor resides on his estate, he permits his overseer and white servants to do so without rebuke. Be it remembered that out of upwards of three hundred thousand slaves in Jamaica, two hundred and fifty thousand at least are field slaves. Consider then that the example of their masters, attornies, and overseers, will have its full effect in governing their own practice, independently of other causes. So that by way of summary, we may say, that among a mixed population of four hundred thousand, probably upwards of three-fourths of the adults are united in giving honour to seduction and impurity, over ‘marriage’ and the ‘bed undefiled.’ The extent of the influence on the tone of morals, in every other respect, which such a reduction of the standard on this point must exercise, can hardly be estimated ; but we may fairly attribute to it, in a great degree, the almost total absence of any thing like morality among the people. Sabbath-breaking, blasphemy, infidelity, alienation from God, extortion, covetousness, strifes, contentions, cruelties, pervade the length and breadth of the land : for the habitual and wilful breach of one of God’s laws overturns the barrier of the whole, and renders obedience to any of the rest a matter of mere chance and convenience.

“Such is a faint representation of this glaring evil and its fruits ; and with the facts before our eyes, we would address a few words to those around us, and those at a distance, who are interested in, or connected with, our society.”

We wish we had time to follow the able writer through the address which he founds on these terrific facts, to “the Christian Proprietors of Estates ;” to “the men and women of colour” to his “white fellow-Colonists ;” to his “virtuous countrywomen,” and to “the Clergy.” But we must abstain, and confine ourselves to a single sentence.

“And now,” he asks, “what has any man to say against these truths, or in support of his daring rebellion against that God, ‘who can destroy both body and soul in hell ?’ Surely nothing. No pleas of expediency, convenience, or necessity, however speciously alleged, will do. They are false and hollow in themselves—mere clouds to hide the impurity within. Is poverty, or the expense, the plea against marrying respectably ? Why the answer is palpable and conclusive ; that what supports two people in an unhallowed union, would do it in a virtuous one ; and pride and vain glory are no excuses for breaking the law of God.”

Now, be it recollected, that all these details extracted from the Christian Record, have been written and published, not in England, but in Jamaica; and that the authors of that work challenge the whole community among whom they reside, to controvert their truth, and even offer to admit into their pages any evidence that shall *prove* them to be unfounded.*

We shall confine ourselves to a single extract more from the pages of this valuable work. It is contained in the first number, and professes to be an authentic copy of the *Minutes of Evidence taken before the St. Ann's Council of Protection, in the case of the Slave Kitty Hylton's complaint against her Master, the Rev. G. W. Bridges.*†

“At a council of protection, holden this 15th April, 1829, before the hon. Henry Cox, custos, and other justices and vestrymen of the parish of St. Ann, Kitty Hylton, a slave belonging to the Rev. Mr. Bridges, came forward and complained against her said owner for having maltreated her. The Rev. G. W. Bridges was cited to appear, but in consequence of severe indisposition he could not attend. Having heard the evidence of Kitty Hylton, it was resolved, that in consequence of Mr. Bridges' indisposition, and the evidence warned not attending, Kitty Hylton should be remanded to the workhouse, to be taken care of and not worked, until a special vestry shall meet on the 11th May, and that all parties should be summoned to appear on that day.

“At a council of protection holden this 11th May, 1829, before the hon. Henry Cox, custos, &c., Kitty Hylton, a slave belonging to the Rev. G. W. Bridges, was brought forward in pursuance of the above written order. The several notices having been duly served, the council of protection proceeded to investigate the said charge.

“*Kitty Hylton* sworn.—States that she belongs to the Rev. Mr. Bridges, rector of St. Ann's. On Friday, after breakfast, went to her master in the library, and asked what he would have for dinner, who asked what witness had done with all the turkeys; had the turkey killed about 2 o'clock, P. M. When he saw it killed master was angry; took her into the pantry, and nailed witness against the dresser in the pantry, and *kicked her with his foot*. Witness begged not to be kicked so severely, as she would buy another turkey, and have it for the Sunday's dinner. Being asked if any one was present, she said Miss Moreland. Was kicked for upwards of an hour; master said he wished he could see her a corpse, as he hated her so. Called old Charles to pick the

* If the reader will turn to the pamphlet entitled “Negro Slavery, or a View of the more prominent features of that state of Society as it exists in the United States, in the West Indies, and especially in Jamaica,” published by the Anti-Slavery Society in 1823, he cannot but be struck with the identity of its statements with those now brought forward by Mr. Trew and the Christian Record. The same remark applies to Mr. Stephen's *Delineation of Slavery*.

“† On the 15th of April, 1829, the Record states, a council of protection was assembled to investigate Kitty Hylton's complaint against her owner, Mr. Bridges, due notice having been given to him. In consequence of alleged indisposition he did not appear, and the council of protection was adjourned to the 11th of May; but not before Kitty Hylton had detailed fully the particulars of her complaint. Notice of the adjournment was also given to Mr. Bridges. We mention these facts to shew that he was not taken by surprise, but had ample means and opportunity afforded him, as well of ascertaining the precise nature of the allegations, as of procuring evidence to rebut them.

“On the 11th of May the council of protection again met, and Mr. Bridges and the witnesses attended; and we request that our readers will seriously and impartially weigh the effect of the proceedings, recorded as they are in the books of the vestry of St. Ann's—as a monument of the ample protection of the slave!”

largest bundle of bamboo switches he could find, which he did; master followed her and old Charles to the cow pen, and had her laid down; he was standing over witness beating her with a stick, and telling the man to cut all the flesh off her; was going to lie down on the grass, but was ordered off to the rocks. When master had done flogging her, and witness rose up, the blood was running down her heels; he ordered old Charles to run her down to the pond, and went as ordered; washed her skin and the blood off her clothes. Did your master follow you? No, he stopped at the cow-pen. That on her return from the pond her master was pelting her up to the house with stones. The pond can be seen from the house; it was about two o'clock in the day: was struck by her master at the cow-pen. On her return from the pond to the house her master was following her with a stick, but as he could not catch her he continued pelting her; on her return to the house the blood gushed out as bad as ever. Her mistress called for a kettle of water, which she went to take up. She met her master, he gave her a kiek, and told her to go out and change her clothes. He followed her into the washhouse and beat her there with a stick, and as he was beating her, witness begged and said she had only two suits, but one was dirty and one was on. He went out of the washhouse, and locked her up in it, and returned and brought an oznaburgh frock, and said witness must put it on, and pull off the one she had on, and made witness carry it with the handkerchief off her head into the kitchen *and burn it*. Her master remained there until they were burnt. Mr. Taylor was in the kitchen, and *before the gown was done burning, Miss Moreland came into the kitchen*. Afterwards she was ordered to cook dinner, and afterwards her master continuing to beat her, she could not bear it, and she went away, (about five o'clock, p. m., not quite an hour after the clean frock was put on her) and walked part of the night to Mr. Raffington's. Miss Steer was in the house and saw witness after her return from being flogged. Went to Mr. Raffington's and saw him, he was coming down to Nutshell. He ordered her to come down to his residence at Nutshell on Sunday morning, and that he would see her master on Sunday and would speak to her master. Mr. Raffington told witness her master had consented to sell her. On Tuesday morning she went to Mr. Charles Smith, and he consented to purchase her. On Wednesday morning her master sent for her, being the day she returned from Richmond, and was carried home that day; he sent a horse, but she could not ride; was returning to Mr. Raffington's house with Mr. Saunders, who had Mr. Smith's letter, but was hindered from going there by Mr. Saunders, who said Mr. Raffington had ordered that she should not put her foot near his yard, as she should have gone home before. Went home, Saunders having left her with the man that was sent for her. Her master did not see her that night; got fever, and was lying out of doors. Mr. Coley told witness her master had desired him to tie her two hands behind her, and put her in the watchman's hut under the charge of old Charles, which he did. Heard that her master intended sending her to St. Thomas' in the Vale workhouse from Mr. Coley; found she could not bear such punishment, and escaped about three o'clock in the morning, and went to Industry, having contrived to get loose, and reached there about four, p. m., on the same day.

“ ‘Miss Moreland * sworn.—States that she was in the pantry, where she saw Mr. Bridges and Kitty Hylton, *who was struck or kicked by him*; but had not seen any previous flogging. Kitty Hylton said that her master had desired her to kill a turkey, and her master said he had not; but she insisted on it. Saw the woman after she was flogged; she *showed her punishment to witness* at a distance; she was in the same clothes she had on as those in which she was sent down to be flogged; *she saw the clothes burned*. Mr. Bridges continued in the pantry with Kitty Hylton, until the switches were brought up, but she did not see them.

“ ‘Cross-examined.—She is very provoking; and insolent is the general conduct of Kitty Hylton. Being asked if she knew any particular instance of insolence towards her master and mistress, she declines answering the question.

* Governess in Mr. Bridges' family.

“ ‘John Colen* sworn.—Knows the woman; he has been residing with Mr. Bridges three months, and knows she is a troublesome woman in the house; knows Mr. Bridges punished her once during that period. Witness ordered her to be tied on her return, and gave her in charge to the watchman, from whom she escaped; did not tell the woman she was to be sent to St. Thomas in the Vale workhouse; could not, as he knew nothing about it.

“ ‘Cross-examined.—Saw Mr. Bridges once strike her for insolence; the watchman tied her; was insolent to Mr. Bridges before he struck her; went at day-light in search of the woman, and she was gone; sent a watchman in quest. Have often heard her insolent to Mr. Bridges; witness is apt to hear her insolence more than any one else; has heard her say to Mr. Bridges, ‘I will do it when I think proper,’ when ordered by him to perform any duty. *There were no marks on her face*; saw her after her punishment; there were *no marks on her neck*; would have seen them, as the gown was sufficiently low. She was tied, in case she should go away, when she was brought back, and he ordered her to be tied by the watchman where there was a good fire. Witness did not perceive *any black eye*, or marks of violence about her neck.

“ ‘Thomas Raffington, Esq. sworn.—Kitty Hylton came to witness on Saturday morning the 4th; a servant came and told witness a sick woman wanted to see him; saw her and her situation; *never saw a female in such a situation*; had seen the woman before, *but did not know her*; desired her to remain at his residence; she came to Nutshell. Witness spoke to Mr. Bridges, and requested him to consent to sell her, which he said he would; afterwards desired her to remain at Nutshell, and left a woman to take care of her, but she went away. Witness did not examine her particularly, but she was *terribly lacerated*, and *never saw a woman so ill-treated*. Mr. Raffington said he had not ordered her to Nutshell.

“ ‘Charles Smith, Esq. sworn.—On Tuesday morning met Kitty Hylton, and asked her what was the matter; she said, her master had ‘most killed her.’ Witness *did not recognise her*; she said she was going to Mr. Smith to buy her. Witness told her to go to Richmond and wait his return; when witness saw the woman, she had received a severe punishment, but did not examine her particularly. Several letters read, shewing a disposition to sell the woman to Mrs. Smith.

“ ‘Dr. Stennet sworn.—States the woman had *two black eyes*. When the woman was sent to the workhouse witness examined her, and saw severe marks of punishment. If the woman had thirty-nine, she would not have been healed so soon.

“ ‘J. Harker sworn.—Saw the woman on the morning of Wednesday. Had heard a report of a woman being severely flogged. Examined her; *her eyes were black*, as if she had received a severe blow; her posteriors were very much cut up; on the inner part of her thigh on each there were several black marks.

“ ‘The Hon. Henry Cox sworn.—Kitty Hylton came to witness to complain against her master, Mr. Bridges. She was very much injured; saw her bruises; evidently switching from the *nape of her neck to her posteriors*. Her *face* and thighs dreadfully bruised; *has never seen any thing so severe of the kind*; in consequence, ordered her before a council of protection.

“ ‘Mr. Bridges called upon for his defence. Admitted he had ordered the woman to be switched for her insolence, but denies that he went down *from his house*. On the contrary, he had sent her down to be switched by the watchman.

“ ‘Miss Steer† sworn.—Was at Mr. Bridges on the 2d April; the dinner was shamefully cooked, and a part of it was obliged to be sent away. Mr. Bridges told her he should remember her. On the following day she killed a turkey, saying to Mr. Bridges she had been ordered to do so. Mr. Bridges told her it must have been a mistake; heard she was to have been punished;—switches were sent for, and she was sent to the watchman for punishment; *saw Mr. Bridges standing on the top of the hill*.

* Servant to Mr. Bridges—butler. † Mr. Bridges’ witness.

“ Question to Mr. Colen by Mr. Bridges—‘ Had I any other negro than Charles, or any other coloured person about me, to punish the woman?’ Replied ‘ No.’

“ ‘ The justices and vestry having heard the evidence on behalf of Kitty Hylton, and the evidence on behalf of the Rev. Mr. Bridges, on its being put to the vote whether Mr. Bridges should be prosecuted or not, it was carried by a majority of 13 to 4 AGAINST THE PROSECUTION.’

“ Such was the result of this council of protection! In forming a judgment of the extent of the punishment, the instrument used should not be lost sight of—the knotted bamboo, which, when used with any force, splits, and its sharp edges cut like a knife. From any further commentary on the proceedings we at present refrain, except to point out the decided corroboration of all the strong points of the woman’s statement by all the witnesses, and the absolute admission of them in fact by the parties examined, and by Mr. Bridges himself, who heard them all and denied them not! It is lamentable, for the sake of the most ordinary humanity, and for the sake of the country, that magistrates and vestrymen could have been found to vote on such a case, founded on such evidence, as the majority did. Their decision in itself was really of no importance on the merits of the question; for any magistrate might still have sent the case to the Attorney-General; and it was the duty of Mr. Cox, the custos, impressed as he was with the conviction that there had been a flagrant violation of the law, to have done so; but when considered with reference to the long agitated question, whether or not the general treatment of the slaves is as it should be, it becomes of vital importance; and if serious consequences to the colony should be the ultimate result of this case, the community will justly have to blame these magistrates as the cause.” *Record*, No. 1, p. 13—17.

III.—MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

WE have received a great mass of information from various slave Colonies, but principally from Jamaica, since the last Reporter was published. We can only glance at a few of the points which it embraces:—

The assembly of Jamaica, in their displeasure with the Government for having rejected the Slave act of 1829, with its anti-christian clauses, have resolved to take no step whatever to amend their slave law. That of 1829 was proposed to be re-enacted in its former state, with the exclusion simply of its persecuting provisions; but after long debates, which displayed not only an extraordinary degree of heat and asperity, but gross ignorance of all constitutional principles, and the most determined hostility to all missionary efforts, it was thrown out by a majority of 24 to 16. The Assembly are thus fairly at issue with the Government and Parliament of this country. They seem to have felt the perilousness of placing themselves in such a predicament; having on one side a numerous population of slaves, possibly excited by the failure of all hope of seeing their condition alleviated; and on the other, the free black and coloured classes generally irritated by the contemptuous rejection of their claims to equal rights, and openly proclaiming their willingness to accede to the wishes of Government on the subject of slavery; and they could not therefore but be alarmed at the prospect of standing alone in a conflict with the Government, and also with both the free black and coloured classes, and the slaves. It appears to be under some such impression that, in despite of all their ancient and most inveterate prejudices, they have carried through all its stages, with

unusual celerity, a bill for conferring on all free black and coloured persons the same privileges, civil and political, with the white inhabitants. This measure, we have no doubt, will prove in its consequences a most auspicious one, whatever may have been its motive. The free classes are too strong in their allegiance to be drawn in to join the whites in a contumacious resistance to the Government, and therefore this precipitate change of policy cannot but prove highly beneficial in its results to the general interests of humanity. The Assembly have offered, it is true, a high bribe to the black and coloured classes, by removing all their disabilities—but we think they have formed a most mistaken estimate of those classes if they expect their support in any measures of resistance to the Government and Parliament of this country. Their passions, we are persuaded, have here deluded them. We nevertheless rejoice exceedingly in the event.

The Assembly appear greatly alarmed also by the freedom with which the periodical press of the Island, and particularly the *Watchman* and the *Christian Record*, canvass the conduct of the planters, and the nature and effects of slavery, and a bill has been brought in to restrain it, which has excited very general opposition, particularly on the part of the free black and coloured people. The bill proposes to give summary power to magistrates to enter printing-houses and seize types, papers, &c., and it inflicts on any one convicted of publishing seditious libels, the punishment of transportation for life. Should such a law pass in the Island, it could only live until it reached England, where it must of necessity be disallowed.

The House of Assembly was suddenly and unexpectedly prorogued by the Governor, probably to give them time to reflect calmly on their peremptory rejection of all improvement in their slave code.

Messrs. Lecesne and Escoffery, whose names and whose sufferings are familiar to our readers, had returned to Jamaica, after an exile of seven long years, and after having received the redress they had sought, from the justice of this country, for the cruel injuries they had sustained from the government of Jamaica. Their return was hailed with the utmost joy by the free black and coloured inhabitants.

We deeply regret the necessity under which Mr. Buxton has been placed, by circumstances both unforeseen and uncontrollable, to postpone his motion on Colonial Slavery, from the 1st to the 29th of March.

An Index, Title page, &c., for the 3d Volume of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, are now printed, and may be had on application to the Society's Secretary or Clerk, at 18, Aldermanbury.

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 77.]

MARCH 1, 1831.

[Vol. iv. No. 5.

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I.—SEQUEL OF THE CASE OF HENRY WILLIAMS, OF JAMAICA.

OUR readers cannot have failed to bear in their memories the atrocious case of Henry Williams, a slave, that was cruelly persecuted, and tortured almost to death, by a Jamaica magistrate of the name of Betty, who, if not instigated to the outrage of which he had been guilty by the Rev. G. W. Bridges, acted nevertheless, it appears, with his privity and approbation. The facts of this case are detailed in our preceding volume, No. 65, p. 356. Those facts having been made known by the Wesleyan Mission Society to Sir George Murray, he required Lord Belmore, the governor of Jamaica, to call on Mr. Betty and Mr. Bridges for an explanation of their conduct. In the No. 69, of the same volume, p. 431, we gave the determination of Mr. Betty to afford no explanation on the subject. Since that time, the correspondence upon it, between the local government and the Secretary of State, has been laid before the House of Commons, and printed, by an order of the 23d December, 1830, in a paper numbered 91. As the tenor of this document has been most grossly misrepresented, by the West India Reporter, the organ of the West India Committee, it seems incumbent upon us to obviate the misrepresentation, by a clear analysis of its contents.

We need not go over the statement of the facts of the case, as brought before Government by the Wesleyan Mission Society. They are precisely those which we have already described. Neither need we repeat the evasive reply of Mr. Betty, in which, without attempting to deny a single allegation of the Society, he absolutely refuses to render to the Secretary of State any explanation of his conduct. The sequel of this matter, as well as the real bearing of the whole case, will be best understood by transcribing two letters to Earl Belmore from the Secretary of State, Viscount Goderich, which form a part of this correspondence. The first is dated from Downing Street, 9th December, 1830, and is as follows :

“My Lord.—Your despatch, dated the 27th of August last, enclosing a copy of a Report from the Attorney General of Jamaica, founded

on the answers of the Rev. Mr. Bridges and of Mr. Betty, to the charges preferred against them by Mr. Whitehouse, (the Methodist missionary,) has been received at this department.

“ I observe that your Lordship entertained the intention of calling upon Mr. Whitehouse to substantiate his complaint against Mr. Betty, by transmitting authentic documents, verified on oath, to the Crown-office, ‘when,’ your Lordship adds, ‘proceedings will be adopted, consonant with the principles of British judicature, to obtain a full and impartial investigation of the matter, so as to ensure a legal conviction or acquittal.’

“ Your Lordship will do me the justice to believe that I am not less zealous than yourself to maintain, in all the acts of the executive Government, a steady adherence to those principles of impartial justice of which the ‘British judicature’ is the great security. I am bound to add, that I cannot discover in the conduct of my predecessor in office, in this case, any indication of a disregard of that principle. The constitutional rights of every class of His Majesty’s subjects in Jamaica are, I cheerfully admit, not less sacred than those of the corresponding classes of society in Great Britain; and His Majesty will not, upon the advice of his ministers, ever assume any authority over the colonial magistracy which he is not entitled to exercise over the magistrates of England. The office, both in the colony and in the mother country, being gratuitous, and attended as it is in both with much inconvenience and even risk, the thanks of His Majesty’s Government, and of the public at large, are justly due to those gentlemen who undertake, and faithfully execute, so onerous a duty. It must not, however, be forgotten, that the magistracy is a trust, of which the Crown, through its proper officers, is entitled to demand an account. A justice of the peace may often make an improper use of his powers, without exposing himself either to an action or an indictment, or he may, by personal misconduct unconnected with his judicial duties, render himself unfit to bear His Majesty’s commission: When such cases occur in England, either the Lord Chancellor or the Secretary of State for the Home Department habitually demands from the magistrate accused an explanation of his conduct; and such applications are never, so far as I am aware, resented by the gentlemen to whom they are addressed as injurious or unconstitutional. I do not perceive, therefore, with what propriety Mr. Betty, while professing deference to the Secretary of State, can peremptorily refuse to answer his inquiries.

“ Mr. Betty can scarcely mean to represent, that the charge preferred by Mr. Whitehouse was of so insignificant a nature that even if true it should not have attracted the attention of His Majesty’s Government. He was accused of threatening to send his slave to gaol if he continued to teach among the Methodists, and with repeating that threat to the whole body of his negroes. He was represented as having inflicted a very severe flogging on the sister of his slave, Henry Williams, because she sighed on hearing this threat addressed to her brother. He was reported to have carried his threats against Henry Williams into execution, by imprisoning him in Rodney

Hall workhouse, in chains, until he was at the point of death. The slave was said to have been so cut up with severe floggings, that for several weeks his life was despaired of, and he was 'obliged to lie upon his stomach day and night, his back being a mass of corruption.' Mr. Betty was further accused of having ordered the confinement in prison of a female slave of Mr. Whitehouse's, with an iron collar about her neck. Lastly, he was said to have preferred against the slave Henry Williams a false and calumnious charge of theft. Your Lordship will not understand me as intimating any opinion of the truth of these imputations; but if, for the sake of argument, they were supposed to be true, Mr. Betty's dismissal from the magistracy would of course be inevitable. It is evident, therefore, that their truth or falsehood was a fact into which Sir George Murray was not merely entitled, but was strictly bound to inquire.

"Mr. Betty professes his readiness to meet any charge which may be preferred against him in a court of justice, where, he says, his actions will be investigated before a legal tribunal of twelve honest men. I cannot admit, in the present case, the validity of this excuse for declining to give the explanations required by my predecessor in this office. Your Lordship will observe, that Mr. Betty is not so much accused of acts positively illegal, as of a cruel and unjust use of his legal powers. I am not aware that he could be put on his trial in any court of justice for the threats which he is said to have addressed to his slaves respecting their religious observances. In his own domestic establishment he is, I apprehend, by the colonial law, a judge without appeal of the faults imputed by himself to his slaves, and if he really thought fit to flog a woman because she sighed at hearing her brother threatened, such an act of power, revolting though it may be to every just feeling, would hardly constitute an indictable offence. Even the imprisonment and the severe floggings of Henry Williams are matters not cognizable, to any practical effect, in the courts of Jamaica, because the master's right to whip, and even to imprison his slaves, is undisputed, and because every court must, in such a state of law, presume that the punishment inflicted was really deserved, unless the contrary can be shown. It is not said that Henry Williams ever received a greater number of stripes than the law allows; and to prove that no offence was committed justifying severe punishment, would be to establish a negative, in its own nature scarcely susceptible of proof. The shocking consequences which resulted from his punishment might, obviously, in a man of delicate health, be produced by a whipping which should not exceed the legal limitation. Mr. Betty's appeal to the legal tribunals of the colony, in justification of his silence on this occasion, is, I therefore think, not fairly made.

"It must further be remembered, that the court and jury before whom alone Mr. Betty will submit to have his conduct tried, could not fairly investigate the case, because the law of the island has disqualified the only persons to whom the facts are intimately known, from giving evidence respecting them. So long as the legislature of the colony shall maintain the distinction between the evidence of slaves and of free men, the gentlemen of Jamaica must be content to

bear the inconvenience to which such a state of law must subject them. They must not be surprised if the acquittals of the colonial courts fail to convince mankind of the innocence of the accused party: and persons invested with any public trust must be called upon for exculpations which, under a different system of law, it might be unjust to require.

“ It is further to be noticed, that the Secretary of State has no power to compel Mr. Whitehouse to prosecute Mr. Betty; and there may be very sufficient reasons why Mr. Whitehouse, without any impeachment of his character, might decline the office of prosecutor. With the most conclusive moral evidence, he might be defeated, if his witnesses were slaves; or in the humble condition of life to which he belongs, Mr. Whitehouse may not have the funds necessary for conducting a prosecution. I therefore cannot concur in the accuracy of your Lordship’s judgment, that this case was sufficiently disposed of by requiring Mr. Whitehouse to send depositions on oath to the Crown-office.

“ I have entered thus largely into this subject from my anxiety to place your Lordship in full possession of the principles by which the conduct of His Majesty’s Government will be guided in the present and in every similar case. While, on the one hand, they will never attempt to withdraw from the established courts any question properly falling within their cognizance, or to anticipate the judgment of those tribunals, they will, on the other hand, demand from every person holding a commission from the crown, an answer to any specific charge preferred by a responsible person, and which, though not capable of a satisfactory investigation in a court of law, may seriously affect the reputation and character of the public officer so accused.

“ Above all, as the only means of mitigating in any degree the evils inseparable from slavery, they will in no case consent to the authority of a magistrate being suffered to remain in the hands of any person who cannot satisfactorily show that no ground exists for imputing to him a want of humanity, either in his official capacity or as a proprietor of slaves. It is to the magistrate alone that the latter have to look for protection from the abuse by their masters of the almost unlimited power they possess. This protection it is his first duty to afford, and if, instead of doing so, he is himself under just suspicion of undue severity, he is evidently unfit for his situation.

“ Your Lordship will have the goodness to communicate to Mr. Betty a copy of the preceding parts of this despatch, acquainting him that I earnestly hope he will retract his determination to withhold any answer to the charges of Mr. Whitehouse, and fixing a time within which that answer will be received, but at the same time apprising him that if he should see fit to persist in maintaining silence on this subject, his name will be erased from the commission of the peace, not indeed as a man guilty of the offences laid to his charge, but as a magistrate who deliberately withholds from the King’s Government that vindication of himself which it is at once their right and their duty to require. Your Lordship will, without further reference to this

Office, erase the name of Mr. Betty accordingly, if unfortunately he should not give the required explanations.

“Of course if any legal proceedings should have been taken against Mr. Betty, no explanation must be demanded from him by which he could be prejudiced in his defence, or which would involve any question which may be awaiting the decision of any legal tribunal. The preceding instructions have been given on the supposition that Mr. Whitehouse would be unable or unwilling to prosecute, or even that a prosecution may have failed, owing to the reasons already adverted to.

“I concur with your Lordship in opinion, that the answers given by the Rev. Mr. Bridges, as far as respects the punishment of his own slaves, and the case of the slave named ‘George,’ are satisfactory. Yet even with reference to these cases, I cannot exclude the remembrance of the fact that the alleged sufferers can neither sue for damages, nor be heard as witnesses in a criminal prosecution, a state of law which renders it impossible for the most innocent man effectually to relieve himself from all suspicion when accused of injustice or oppression towards persons in a state of slavery.

“I have not succeeded in discovering whether Mr. Bridges intends to admit that he encouraged Mr. Betty to send Henry Williams to gaol for attending a Methodist meeting. If Mr. Bridges did really promote or countenance any such proceeding, he must allow me to remind him that his laudable zeal for the interests of the Church of England might be much more usefully and effectually exercised in endeavouring to bring back Dissenters to her communion by gentleness and persuasion. The inutility of all opposite methods, and the certainty with which persecution counteracts its own design, are truths which I had hoped it was quite superfluous to inculcate in the present age of the world.”

Immediately after this despatch had been transmitted to Lord Belmore, the Secretary of State received some farther information on the subject from the Methodist Mission Society, which gave occasion to his making the following further communication to Lord Belmore, dated the 11th of December, 1830.

“Since writing my despatch, dated the 9th instant, in the case of the complaint of Mr. Whitehouse against Messrs. Betty and Bridges, I have received from Dr. James Townley, the Secretary, as I understand, of the Wesleyan Methodist Society, a letter, dated the 8th instant, with various enclosures, copies of which I have the honour to transmit for your Lordship’s information.

“Your Lordship will have the goodness to ascertain, and to report to me, whether the documents which Dr. Townley has transmitted are accurate copies of the correspondence between your Lordship’s Secretary and Mr. Whitehouse, and whether they embrace the whole of that correspondence. Assuming (as I have no particular reason to doubt) the authenticity of these copies, I cannot conceal from your Lordship that I have read them with very sincere regret. They not only confirm the views which I had myself taken of the probable injustice of

disposing of this case by a reference to the legal tribunals, on the responsibility of Mr. Whitehouse, but they show that the difficulties to which I have adverted in my despatch of the 9th instant were fully, though ineffectually, brought under your Lordship's notice by Mr. Whitehouse himself. I regret that the remarks of that gentleman, though very clearly and forcibly stated, failed to produce in your Lordship's mind a conviction of the unreasonableness of imposing upon him the character of public accuser, which he so distinctly disavowed, and that you were not satisfied of the weight of those reasons by which he urged a reference of the case, either to the Attorney General, or to the Council of Protection, for further inquiry. The arguments of Mr. Whitehouse upon each of those topics do not, I confess, appear to myself susceptible of any satisfactory answer.

“ It would be exceedingly unjust were I to hold your Lordship responsible for the precise expressions of letters written not by yourself, but by the Deputy Secretary of the island, in giving effect to your instructions: yet I cannot forbear suggesting to your Lordship the propriety of admonishing Mr. Bullock to avoid, for the future, in official communications, apparently written with your Lordship's sanction, the use of language calculated to inflict unnecessary, and I must think, in the present case, unmerited pain. Thus, for example, when Mr. Whitehouse's letter of the 15th of September was characterised as ‘diffuse and impertinent,’ Mr. Bullock justly exposed himself to the rebuke contained in Mr. Whitehouse's subsequent letter, in which that gentleman observes that the use of such terms is ‘scarcely consistent with civility, or the decorum of official correspondence.’ The word ‘impertinent’ might have been possibly understood as synonymous with the word ‘irrelevant,’ rather than in its more harsh and ordinary sense; and if such was the meaning, I can only regret that Mr. Bullock did not disavow the more injurious construction which Mr. Whitehouse very naturally gave to his language. If these remarks should appear needlessly minute, your Lordship will bear in mind that the weight of your own official and personal authority has been used, although probably without your immediate sanction, to give force to comments still more particular, on the language and style of address adopted by Mr. Whitehouse. My sense of what is due to a gentleman engaged in the highly meritorious and painful, though ill-requited labours of a missionary, has drawn from me the preceding observations, which have not been written without much reluctance, because I feel that your Lordship may, perhaps, consider them as involving some disapprobation of your official conduct.

“ I trust that your Lordship will believe that I am desirous and prepared on every occasion to afford you the utmost support and assistance in my power, and that I am fully alive to the difficulties in which you are placed, in the present times, in the discharge of the important and delicate trust with which you have been invested by His Majesty. But not even my disinclination to augment the embarrassment inseparable, in the present state of public opinion, from the Government of Jamaica, is sufficiently strong to prevent my pointing out to your Lordship, in the most distinct manner, the ne-

cessity of your affording your countenance and protection to the ministers of religion, while conducting themselves inoffensively, and the still more urgent necessity for a rigid and impartial scrutiny into every such abuse of the owner's power as was brought to your notice by Mr. Whitehouse in the case of Mr. Betty's slaves."

It would be impossible for us to do full justice to the haughty and supercilious as well as flippant and uncandid tone, which mark the official letters of the Governor's Secretary to this humble Missionary, or to the dignified calmness, conscious rectitude, and sterling good sense of his replications, without transcribing into our pages the whole of their communications, which would swell the present article beyond its due bounds. But this is rendered almost superfluous by the merited and pointed rebuke bestowed on Mr. Bullock by the noble Secretary of State, and by the just compliment he has paid to the acuteness, intelligence, and manly conduct of Mr. Whitehouse, forming, as they do, a most instructive contrast.

Again, what a revolting view of Colonial manners, and still more of Colonial justice and humanity, does this correspondence exhibit! All ranks of public functionaries, from the highest to the lowest, combining to uphold abuse and outrage, and to protect the perpetrators of them from exposure and punishment, and clinging with the most passionate attachment to those vile laws, which shut out the oppressed from all protection against the power and cruelty of the oppressor. Government and Parliament can no longer turn a deaf ear to the imploring cry of the wretched sufferers. They can no longer forbear from adopting measures to sweep away such abominations, and to make, not the planters only, but magistrates, and judges, and governors to feel that they can no longer, with impunity, persist in that course of partiality, deception and delusion which has tended to prolong the reign of a destructive despotism;—which permitted one noble governor, at the instigation of his advisers, to expatriate, in defiance of all law and justice, and yet with perfect impunity, several of the most deserving of the King's subjects in Jamaica;* and which has now combined the Government and magistracy of the same island, with the aid of Mr. Secretary Bullock, to screen from punishment the oppressors and persecutors of Christian Missionaries and their converts. These things cannot be endured much longer. They must cease ere long, together with the cruel and criminal system which they are designed to uphold.

Of the part taken by Mr. Bridges in the case of Henry Williams, or of his vapouring and evasive attempt at vindication, we need say nothing. His character has already been sufficiently illustrated in some former numbers, and especially in our last, where the original minutes of evidence respecting his treatment of his female slave, Kitty Hylton, will not fail remove all doubts which might previously have been entertained respecting him either as a man or as a Christian minister.

* We allude to the case of Lecesne, Escoffery, and Gonville.

II. — ESCHEATED SLAVES, AND OTHER SLAVES, THE PROPERTY OF THE CROWN.

If the reader will take the trouble of turning to our first volume, No. 19, p. 272, he will find a striking exemplification of the evils produced in the West Indies by the system on which the British government had too long proceeded in disposing of slaves escheated to the Crown through intestacy, and the illegitimacy of the children and other relations of intestates. The evil was one of great extent, and it had gone on unchecked until brought to light chiefly by the instrumentality of Governor Maxwell, then of Dominica, about the time when the recent discussions on Slavery commenced. It then appeared from inquiry, that the numerous slaves who, chiefly through that prevailing licentiousness which has filled the colonics with persons of illegitimate birth, had from time to time escheated to the Crown, and who, by becoming the property of the Crown, had recovered not merely their original, natural, and inalienable right to freedom, but had acquired, as the king's lieges, legal and constitutional claims to its enjoyment, were either sold at auction by the Crown, into an interminable bondage, in many of which cases the dearest domestic ties were recklessly and cruelly torn asunder, (see No. 19, p. 272), the price of this blood being paid into the king's treasury ;—or they were given up again, by an order of the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's treasury, into the slavery from which they had been providentially released, and assigned as bond-men and bond-women for ever to the persons whose illegitimacy had barred their inheritance of them as property. Various representations have been made at different times to the Government on this subject, and various delays of office have been interposed to prevent the final settlement of it on just and equitable principles. At length, however, we rejoice to say that a resolution has been recently adopted upon it by the present government, (suggested previously by the humane mind of Sir G. Murray), which is highly to their honour, and which affords the country an earnest of better views and feelings on the subject of Slavery, than have at all times swayed our Colonial councils.

We shall first lay before our readers the final resolution adopted by the Government on this subject, as it is contained in a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, the Hon. J. Stewart, to Viscount Howick, Under Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, dated the 21st of January, 1831.

“ My Lord,—Having laid before the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury your letter of the 9th December last, in reply to one from this Board, on the subject of disposing of slaves escheated to the Crown, I have it in command to acquaint your Lordship, for the information of Viscount Goderich, that my Lords have fully considered his recommendation for the disposal of all slaves escheated to the Crown, and they concur generally in the views which his Lordship has expressed on that subject, viz. that slaves escheated to the Crown ought to be dealt with in the same manner as slaves forfeited to the Crown under the Slave Abolition Act, as set forth in the Circular Letter from his Lordship's Department, addressed to the Governors of

the several West India Colonies, on the 16th October 1828, respecting slaves condemned to the Crown, referred to in Mr. Twiss's letter of the 6th April 1830. A consideration of the equitable claims of parties to the grant of escheated slaves has formed an impediment to any general arrangement for granting freedom to escheated slaves; but, under all the circumstances, my Lords are of opinion that the claim of the slave to receive his freedom from the King, after having become legally the property of the Crown, is superior to the equitable claim of any party to a grant of the slave, by the admission of which he would be retained in slavery."

In conformity with this resolution a Circular Despatch, of 24th January 1831, has been addressed by Lord Goderich to the Governors of all the West India Colonies, except Jamaica, to this effect.

"Sir,—I enclose for your information copies of a correspondence which has taken place between this Department and that of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury on the subject of slaves escheated to the Crown. In conformity with the decision which you will perceive to have been taken by his Majesty's Government, you will cause any slaves who may now be in the possession of the Escheator General for the colony under your government, or of any other person holding them for the Crown as escheated property, or any slaves who may hereafter escheat to the Crown, to be forthwith liberated, and dealt with in the same manner as the captured Africans whose liberation was directed in Sir George Murray's Circular Despatch of the 16th October 1828."

Why Jamaica should have been excepted is not very obvious; but it is greatly to be regretted that it should have been found necessary to make such an exception, because in that island the evil has been of a magnitude and extent far exceeding in its proportion all the other slave colonies. The number of slaves escheated to the Crown in that island from 1807 to 1820, (paper of 1823, No. 347, p. 134, &c.) was 964, almost all of whom were either sold for the profit of the Crown, or granted by patent as slaves to different individuals. A return of the escheats since 1820 was called for by the House of Commons on the 6th June 1825, to which no return has been made. Of this act of disobedience the following singular explanation was given by the Duke of Manchester, in his despatch of the 4th March 1826, (papers of 1826, No. 353, p. 392). "I have not," says his Grace, "received from the Solicitor of the Crown, a return of the number and names of slaves escheated to the Crown, from the 1st January 1821," "although he received notice on the 9th November last to furnish it, and although an application to him on the subject was again made; but I understand he hesitates to comply with my directions, because his account for furnishing a similar return in March 1823, has been refused payment by the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury." And who is this gentleman? And is he still the Solicitor of the Crown? And have the Lords of the Treasury borne with his contumacy? We beg to call the attention of their Lordships to this refractory officer, who, though intrusted with the escheats of the Crown, refuses to ren-

der an account of his trust, till paid for a former return which it could not have cost him above a few hours to transcribe, as it makes only seven pages. Thus are the public served in Jamaica! Is there then no person there who is *bound* to render to the Crown, and to Parliament, some account of the disposal, involving the life and liberty, of these wretched Escheats? We trust the matter will no longer be suffered to sleep; but that a peremptory mandate will go forth to enforce the demand of Parliament.

But besides the obvious propriety of extending to Jamaica the principle which has at length been adopted with respect to Escheats in other Colonies, we would take this opportunity of remarking, that there is still another numerous class of individuals to whom the same principle should forthwith be applied. We mean the large number of persons, who are, at this moment, held by the Crown, in a state of Slavery, in various Colonies, but who have as clear a title to freedom as the escheated slaves, or the liberated Africans, to whom the Escheats are now assimilated. Of these slaves of the British Crown, (we feel shame in having so to term them) there are in the Mauritius alone about 1350, in Grenada about 380, in Berbice 300, in Demerara 270, in Trinidad, Antigua and Tobago about 170, making in all nearly 2500 souls. Ought these persons to remain any longer in their bondage? Are they not at least as fit for freedom as the multitudes who have already been raised to the enjoyment of it from the holds of slave ships, both in the West Indies and at Sierra Leone? Nay, are they not unquestionably much more so, many of them being skilful mechanics or practised house servants, and most of them being Creoles? The real reason, we believe, for the continued detention of these persons in bondage, is to be found in the selfishness of too many of the public functionaries, in the different Colonies, who derive advantage from their services as slaves, and who are therefore generally opposed to their liberation, and are ready to bring forward all sorts of untrue pretexs, to induce Government to delay this act of justice, while the real reason is the convenience and profit which they themselves, at much expence to Government, and to the lasting injury of the poor people, derive from this abuse. In the Mauritius alone the governor has about a hundred of these Crown slaves in his establishment. In the same way have the Governors of Demerara and Berbice been supplied with domestics and labourers; many of them being also distributed among the various functionaries, civil and military—and as the expense is borne by the public, much waste and profusion must be the consequence.—These slaves of the king ought all forthwith to be declared free, and to have adequate portions of the Crown lands assigned them. In Antigua, the Bahamas, Berbice, Demerara, Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincent, Trinidad, and other Islands, there is an abundance of such land still ungranted, of small portions of which they might forthwith be put in possession, leaving it to them however to make their election, as to whether they shall cultivate the ground, or pursue, for their own profit, their present mechanical, or menial employments.—We perceive, in the paper now before us respecting escheated slaves, a question incidentally mooted as to what shall be done

with nearly 400 slaves forfeited to the king in Grenada; whether they shall continue to be worked under the whip, as *slaves*, for his benefit, on about 1000 acres of land, in the deathful occupation of sugar planting; or be given up as slaves to the heirs of those planters who had incurred the forfeiture. It seems not to have occurred to any one that the lands they now cultivate, as slaves of the Crown, might be advantageously allotted to them; and that they might be thus converted into a free and happy peasantry, instead of continuing as now a source of perpetual expence and embarrassment to the Treasury; of jobbing to individuals; of misery to themselves; and of disgrace to the Crown and to the country. We are persuaded that the present Government only require to have the facts of this and similar abuses placed before them to insure the application of an effectual remedy.

III.—EXTRACTS FROM THE JAMAICA WATCHMAN.

1. IN several successive numbers of this work for October and November last, is contained an able review of Mr. Alexander Barclay's attempted refutation of Mr. Stephen's "delineation of Colonial slavery," in which the deliberate misrepresentations and falsifications of Mr. Barclay are very fully and satisfactorily exposed, and justice done to the graphic accuracy of Mr. Stephen's statements. We need not go over ground over which we have so often conducted our readers. The appearance of such an article, however, in a Jamaica journal, constitutes a fact worthy of being recorded. The Editors charge Mr. B. with having "wilfully and systematically garbled the statements of Mr. Stephen. Unfairness and misrepresentation," they add, "mark every page of his laboured attempt to make 'the worse appear the better reason,' and although rewarded by a seat in the legislature of the Island," they deem him bound to come forward, and at least endeavour to explain "the inconsistencies and contradictions of which he has been guilty." If he refuses to do this, "there can be but one interpretation put upon his silence, namely that, aware of the badness of his cause, and the impossibility of defending it against those whose personal acquaintance with the minutæ of West India slave management is equal to his own, he wisely refrains from provoking a discussion which must elicit facts utterly at variance with his assertions." *Watchman* of Nov. 3, 1830.

2. The *Watchman* of the 10th Nov. 1830, contains some serious representations respecting the conduct of the Rev. Mr. WORDIE, the minister of the Scotch Kirk in Kingston, which it certainly behoves his superiors at home to investigate. We mention it for the purpose of calling their attention to the subject, which is again renewed in the *Watchman* of the 15th Dec. 1830. If the statements contained in these two papers be correct, Mr. Wordie would appear to have laid himself open to heavy censures from the Church to which he belongs.

3. "The disallowance of the slave law the House of Assembly declares has disappointed their *just* expectations. How they will make it appear that their expectations were either just or reasonable, we

know not. Common sense, however, declares, that after his Majesty's ministers had expressed their determination not to advise the sanctioning of any law, which trenched upon the right of every British subject to worship his Creator, in the way most congenial to his own feelings, it was neither just nor right, nay, it was ridiculous and absurd in them to suppose that because *they* thought differently, his Majesty's Government would depart from its uniform tolerant course, and gratify their intolerant and vindictive feelings by consenting to a law which has hatred to religion and religious teachers, intolerance, and persecution, legibly impressed upon its front!

"It is really laughable to hear such men, as compose the Jamaica Assembly, declaring in an address to the governor, that they 'considered that his Majesty's Government would at length be convinced of the expediency of accepting for the slaves their concessions.' His Majesty's Government 'convinced of the expediency of accepting concessions,' from whom? With few exceptions a company of insolvent debtors!! Concessions! The Assembly of Jamaica granting concessions to the British Government!" *Watchman* of Nov. 13, 1830.

4. In our third volume, No. 64, p. 341, an account is given of the trial and conviction of a poor slave named Samuel Swiney, for the crime of praying to God, for which crime he was sentenced by Mr. Finlayson, the chief magistrate of Westmoreland, and then Speaker of the House of Assembly, to a severe flogging and hard labour in chains for a fortnight. 'In the *Watchman* of Nov. 20, 1830, is contained the following letter, respecting this individual, addressed to the Editor by the Baptist Missionary Mr. Knibb, which we are persuaded our readers will peruse with satisfaction, as exhibiting the triumph of persecuted piety.

"SIR,

"It is with much pleasure I inform you that the appeal made on behalf of Samuel Swiney, which was published in the *Struggler*, and copied into your valuable paper, has not been made in vain. By the last Packet I have received a communication from a friend in London, from which I extract the following paragraph:—

"The immediate object of my writing is to request that you will take the PROMPTEST measures for the manumission of our PERSECUTED FRIEND AND BROTHER Samuel Swiney, and draw on me for the amount required."

"It is but justice to add, that the owner, Aaron Deleon, junior, Esq., has, throughout the whole of this disgraceful affair, acted in the most noble and disinterested manner; and on my making application to him for the freedom of his slave, he instantly sent the papers required, accompanied by a donation of £20 towards the emancipation of his persecuted servant.

"Requesting the publication of this, that my friends in England may see that I have not lost any time in fulfilling their wishes.

"I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

"WILLIAM KNIBB."

"Falmouth, Nov. 16, 1830.

5. The Watchman of the 4th of December 1830, contains a full account of a public dinner given at Kingston, by the coloured inhabitants of that city, to celebrate the return, from their long and cruel exile, to their native land, to their families and friends, of Messrs. Lecesne, Escoffery, and Gonville. The speeches made on the occasion reflect great credit on the talents and principles, and still more on the right feelings of the gentlemen who came forward. We can find room only for one specimen, and it is taken from the speech of Mr. Lecesne himself. “Considering the circumstances under which we quitted this island, and have now, after seven years’ exile, returned to it, it may be expected, as well by our opponents, as by our friends, that we should offer some public expression of our feelings; and we are anxious to satisfy such an expectation, by openly declaring the gratitude we feel for the sympathy of the one class, and the sincere disposition we entertain to bury in oblivion the wrongs we have personally sustained from the other. It is, indeed, not easy, on such an occasion as this, to avoid giving utterance to expressions of that satisfaction which must naturally fill our breasts; but we will assure our opponents, that neither our words, nor our conduct, shall ever express that satisfaction in a tone of triumph or exultation. I do not say it to you, but to those who are still disposed to give credit to the fabricated charges against us, that we never did, for a moment, cherish a wish or a purpose hostile to the peace of the island, and this, I believe, is now acknowledged by all parties. It would, indeed, therefore, be ungrateful, as well as most foreign to our inclinations, now, for the first time, to act in any manner that might revive a charge, the futility of which is confessed by his Majesty’s Government, in restoring us to our country. But, my friends, there is a subject on which we may freely express ourselves, and on which no language can do justice to our feelings. We left this island under circumstances of degradation and of ruin. We became suddenly outcasts from society: and all our prospects in life appeared blighted. Our characters seemed for ever clouded. Separated from our families—cut off from every resource, and expelled from our homes, so suddenly that we had not time even to make such arrangements as might save the wreck of our property, or provide the means of redeeming our characters from the unmerited reproaches to which we were subjected—all chance of obtaining redress was lost, except in an appeal to the equity of the British Parliament. Yet, under these circumstances of accumulated sufferings, we derived support from the kind sympathy and assistance of the friends we left behind, many of whom I now see around me; and we found protection from those to whom we went with no other introduction than our misfortunes. This double debt of gratitude can never be repaid; and though no acknowledgement of its weight can diminish it, we rejoice to make it.—Gentlemen, it is inexpedient, for obvious reasons, to point public attention to individuals in this island, who have been our friends and benefactors, during our protracted sufferings; but there is one in England, whose name must not, cannot, be suppressed. It is to Dr. Lushington we are indebted, under heaven, for all we now enjoy—our return to our homes—our indemnity

for our losses—and, above all, our restoration to the credit and good fame we formerly enjoyed—are derived from his beneficence—from his energetic advocacy of our case—his firm and reiterated appeals in our behalf to the House of Commons—and his unwearied exertions in unravelling the tangled web of accusation in which we were involved. His reward for this can only be obtained from God. But we earnestly hope, that that extensive class to which we belong will assist us in shewing the reverential feeling we shall ever entertain towards him, by a steady perseverance in that loyalty and good conduct which induced him to step forward as our advocate on this occasion. Believe me, when I assure you, gentlemen, that of all earthly rewards, this will be the most grateful to his mind. In attempting to do justice to Dr. Lushington, we must not forget that it is to the equity of his Majesty's Government that we owe the success of his exertions. It was not to be expected, that a case, which, through the instrumentality of a certain gentleman, had become so complicated in its circumstances, could obtain immediate attention, or until its merits were fully developed, could obtain redress. Long, therefore, as our exile has been, and bitter as have been the privations, and the domestic sufferings it brought with it, we are far from complaining of its duration. Indeed, we rather rejoice at it in one view, because it can never be said that we have been exculpated and indemnified without a *full, minute, and patient enquiry* into our deserts. Gentlemen, throughout this long enquiry, his Majesty's Government bore steadily in mind the principle, that justice must be done without reference to rank, or colour, or station in the world—and on this topic, a tone of exultation may be forgiven, not at our personal success—not because we are individually victors in a political contest—but because we, in common with yourselves, are the subjects of a Government which administers its protection with an impartial hand. In the humble sphere of life in which we move in this island, it will be our unremitting endeavour to conciliate the respect of our enemies, (if we still have any)—by firmness, united with moderation and temper, and thereby prove to the friends we have made during our absence, that we are not unworthy of the countenance they have given to us."

6. In our third volume No. 71, p. 477, we have inserted the testimony of the Rev. John Thorpe, late of St. Thomas in the East, in Jamaica, now curate of Wiggington, Oxon, to the nature and effects of the slavery of which he had been there the eye witness, as given in a speech delivered by him at a public meeting at Cheltenham, on the 7th of October, 1830. This speech is transcribed, verbatim, into the Jamaica Watchman of the 5th of January, 1831. In the succeeding Watchman of the 8th of January, the Editor comments upon it as follows :

“ That a speech like the one alluded to, exposing so fully the evils of slavery in all their hideousness, could have been delivered without producing a strong feeling in the minds of all, who have either heard or have read it, it would be taxing our credulity too heavily to believe; and if we take into consideration, the fact of all Mr. Thorpe's statements being substantially correct, and that he has merely delineated,

without colouring, the evils of the abhorred system, it will be easy to perceive, that the effect will be deep and lasting, leading to a firm and unbending opposition to slavery in all its varied forms and gradations.

“ Judging from the means which the friends of humanity, in Great Britain, are using to bring about so desirable a consummation as the extinction of slavery, it is clear that the spirit to which we have alluded, has already spread over the greater part of happy Britain, and is silently, though securely, working the downfall of a system which must, ere long, be crushed by its own weight.

“ To those who, from self interest, or an over tenacious fondness for the absolute power with which the system of slavery has invested them, the inquiry is, How shall we prevent this? By what means may the perpetuity of the system be ensured? Alas! to these the horizon appears dark and lowering, and the wished for expedient is sought in vain. Were we, instead of being opposed, favourable to the system, and desirous of helping these persons out of the labyrinth, we should but consider it honest to declare the fulfilment of their wishes impossible, and the inconsistent shuffling and ridiculous attempts that have been made, and are making, to support it, as tending the more fully to convince its opponents, that a love of the system, more than the apprehension of danger from any change, actuate those who are so loud in its defence, and ready in opposing every amelioratory measure proposed for their acceptance.

“ Do the Colonists really wish to avoid the evils of a sudden change in the condition of the peasantry? If they did, they would endeavour to shake off the lethargy in which they are sunk; and, exercising the little reason which yet remains unsubdued by the monster prejudice, they would perceive that the system is fast verging to destruction, and must soon come to an end. This conviction, once impressed on the mind, would lead to the conclusion that amelioration is now the *sine qua non* of their safety; and they would take such measures for the religious and temporal improvement of their negroes, as would ensure their gratitude and affection, and leave them the voluntary servants of their present masters; and, instead of a system of oppression and cruelty, on the one hand, and hatred and dissatisfaction on the other, mutual confidence and dependence would exist, and the landed proprietors will have the pleasure of witnessing around them a happy and contented free peasantry, the country improved, and their own condition rendered more comfortable and secure.

“ But, perhaps we may be told, in the usual ‘cant’ expressions, that the negroes are a sleek, well fed, happy, and contented race, possessing comforts far superior to those enjoyed by the British peasantry. This may be sufficient to gull those who know no better; but by us it passes unheeded as the idle wind. Nor is there a planter, or slave owner in the island, who, if he would but be candid, can deny that his situation is irksome, vexatious, and disagreeable in the extreme. How often do we hear them declaring that they are ‘tormented out of their lives’ by the negroes, who are ‘eternally complaining,’ and always discontented and dissatisfied? Is this, then, a proof of their being ‘well fed, happy, and contented?’ Do these negroes not re-

peatedly leave the plantations, in bodies of from forty to fifty, and sometimes seventy or eighty, and travel eighteen or twenty miles to Spanish Town to the Governor, or to Kingston and other places to the magistrates, to complain of ill treatment? Is this a proof of their being 'happy and contented?' Have we not repeatedly heard of almost all the negroes on an estate having gone, to use the negro term, '*na bush*;' or, in plain English, run away, and hid themselves in the woods, or mountainous parts of the country, for days, nay weeks? Will this also be urged as evidence of their happy and contented condition? No! the system is bad—it subjects the negroes to cruelty and oppression, and it transforms the master into a petty tyrant, and destroys insensibly in his mind the love of justice, and the feelings of humanity, affection and delicacy, which elevate the character of man, and make him indeed the noblest work of God!"

IV.—MEMORIAL OF THE WEST INDIA COMMITTEE.

AN elaborate statement from this Committee has recently been printed by order of the House of Commons, (7th Feb. 1831, No. 120.) It professes to give to Parliament and the public an authentic view of "The commercial, financial, and political condition of the West India Colonies." As this paper abounds in fallacies as gross, and representations as delusive as any to which even this controversy has given birth, fertile of imposture as it has been during nearly half a century, we shall take an early opportunity of exposing some of them to the judgment they deserve.

V.—THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

WE have been amused by the clamour raised, and the vituperation bestowed upon us, this month, by the Christian Remembrancer and other pro-slavery journals. In our No. 68, (p. 422,) we inserted a statement, to which we attached credit, respecting a school established by the Bishop of Barbadoes, in Bridgetown, for both free and slave children. Our informant had visited this school, and he reported favourably of it; but he added, that on the day of his visit he found many free children, but only three or four slaves present. The Bishop, seeing this account, and eager to disprove it, has transmitted certified lists, not of the number of the free and slaves present on the particular day on which our friend chanced to visit the school, but the number of each borne on the books of the School Committee, and which appear to be nearly equal, about 90 of each class. These numbers, we doubt not, are correctly given; but still both the Bishop and the Christian Remembrancer must be logicians enough to see that they furnish no contradiction to our traveller, who merely asserts, that on the day of his visit he found only three or four slaves present. It is obvious indeed, that the slaves would be less likely to attend regularly than the free. We are glad that the Bishop reads the Anti-Slavery Reporter so diligently; and that the Christian Remembrancer, with all his good will, finds no more to say against it.

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 78.]

MARCH, 20, 1831.

[Vol. iv. No. 6.]

I.—AUTHENTIC NOTICES RESPECTING THE AGRICULTURE OF ST. DOMINGO OR HAYTI, AND ITS LAWS RELATIVE TO CULTIVATION, SINCE 1793.—
1. *Code Rural of 1794*; 2. *Code Rural of 1798*; 3. *Constitution of 1801*; 4. *State of Agriculture, 1794—1802, and the effects of Buonaparte's attempt to restore Slavery in 1802*; 5. *Code Rural of 1826*; 6. *Recent Communications from Hayti on the state of Agriculture in 1830*; 7. *Concluding Remarks.*

II.—RESOLUTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE LEEDS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

I.—AUTHENTIC NOTICES RESPECTING HAYTI.

IN the Reporter, No. 70, we entered into an examination of the safety as it respected the public peace, and of the benefit to the Colonial slaves, of an emancipation legally effected by the supreme authority of the State; and we proved, as we think, satisfactorily, that such an emancipation might be effected both safely and beneficially. In the endeavour to establish this point, we gave a brief historical view of the circumstances which had led to the emancipation of the slaves in Hayti, and of the effects which had followed that event, (Reporter, No. 70, pp. 465—473,) and we promised on a future occasion to lay before our readers some farther details on this important subject. We now proceed to fulfil that promise, and in detailing, in the first place, the means resorted to for obtaining agricultural labour from the emancipated slaves, we shall confine ourselves, for the present, chiefly to the official documents furnished to us by Mr. Consul General Mackenzie, in his Report printed by the House of Commons, on the 17th February 1829, and numbered 18. The earliest in point of date, of these documents, is a code of regulations issued by the Commissioner of the National Convention, Polverel, soon after the decree passed for the total and universal emancipation of the slaves in that island had been proclaimed. This code which bears date the 28th February 1794, will be found in the Report of Mr. Mackenzie, p. 111—127. The introduction to it we shall insert entire. But of the regulations we shall merely give an abstract, the correctness of which may be easily verified by reference to the parliamentary paper just adverted to.

“ IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

1. “ *Regulation of Police respecting Cultivation and Cultivators.*

“ ETIENNE POLVEREL, Civil Commissary of the Republic, delegated to the French Leeward Islands in America, for the purpose of re-establishing the public order and tranquillity.

“The enfranchisement of the Africans has produced at St. Domingo a mode of cultivation unknown in France, and of which, even in the Colo-

nies, they have not hitherto suspected the possibility.—Agriculture in France furnishes only raw products. Each of its establishments requires few hands, and few implements of tillage, and has nothing in common with manufactories designed to increase the value of the raw material.

“In the Colonies moreover they have hitherto only known cultivation by slaves. A whip, set in motion by the will of the master, has impelled the movements of the whole establishment.—The establishments are both agricultural and manufacturing. They not only produce the raw materials, but they give to them form and value: one family therefore does not suffice as in France to form an establishment.

“Each establishment contains a numerous population, sometimes exceeding that of small towns and villages in Europe; and it is on free hands and voluntary labour that these important establishments will henceforward have to depend for their existence and activity.

“Since the abolition of fiefs and tythes, few rural laws are needed in France. She has probably at present all that are necessary. And in the Colonies, while there were only masters and slaves, none were required.

“But to give a uniform direction to large bodies, who require to be guided, but whom no power has a right to compel; to induce them to concur freely to the same end; to maintain peace and order among them; to prevent the abuse of liberty, and to protect effectually the rights of property, and the productions of industry; powerfully to excite that industry, and to make the general prosperity the result of the greatest gain of each individual;—to effect all this, there must be rural laws; appropriated to the local circumstances; to the nature of the climate and its productions; to the mode of culture which these require; and to the civil and political condition, and to the manners and character of the cultivators.

“May the ready concurrence of the cultivators render unnecessary the greater part of the rules of this ordinance, that there may no longer exist in the Colonies but two classes of cultivators—proprietors of the soil, and cultivators sharing with them in the products of cultivation! This seems the only means of insuring large incomes to the proprietors, and freedom and comfort to the labourers; of preserving the public peace and order; and of maintaining liberty and equality for ever.

“The cultivator who does not share in the fruit of his labour is always looking for the largest wages and the least work; while the sole interest of the labourer who shares the produce is to increase that produce, and consequently to augment his own receipts and the proprietor’s income. And as to the cultivator on these terms, he need not be disturbed respecting the future. The products of the soil must first provide the means of his subsistence and clothing, even when he shall be unfitted for labour by age or infirmity.

“The cultivator therefore who shares in the produce is absolutely independent of the proprietor: he is his *equal* in all the force of that term.

“Of all the methods of proceeding which can be adopted for the cultivation of the Colonies, the association of the cultivators with the proprietors, on the principle of sharing in the products of the soil, is that

which unites the greatest advantages both for the one and the other. It makes a return to the former slavery for ever impossible; it establishes an equality to the greatest extent which is attainable among a civilized people; it gives to all classes an equal interest in respecting and protecting property, and in multiplying the products of the soil; and it solves, and perhaps alone can solve that problem in politics which has hitherto puzzled the most intrepid advocates of liberty and equality, and which may be thus stated—*How shall a society be organized so that the unequal distribution of wealth shall the least affect the liberty and equality of the citizens; and that liberty and equality shall not tend to anarchy or to the dissolution of the state?**

This introduction is followed by a great variety of regulations divided into six heads. 1. Condition of the people. 2. Of cultivators generally. 3. Of cultivators sharing in the produce (cultivateurs portionnaires.) 4. Of cultivators for daily hire. 5. Of cultivators by the month or for a longer period; and 6. General regulations.

1.—Condition of the People.

1. "There are not, and will not henceforward be in St. Domingo any more than in France, any but free persons.

2. "Every individual may contract with another for his time and labour, but he can neither sell himself, nor be sold. The property in his person is inalienable. The French Republic admits not of Slavery.

3. "The rights of man are equality, liberty, safety, property.

4. "These rights are developed in the Constitutional Act of the French Republic.

5. "In the present ordinance man is considered only in his agricultural relations, abstracted from those that are civil and political.

6. "He is either a proprietor of the soil, or the cultivator of that which belongs to another.

7. "Although many men are neither proprietors nor cultivators, yet here I only distinguish these two classes, the present ordinance being for them alone.

8. "Neither from this nor from any other distinction can any inequality arise among men in respect to their natural civil and political rights. They are all equal in the eyes of the law, as they are by nature. But besides the general laws which unite and protect all citizens, there exist peculiar relations between the proprietors of the soil and the cultivators of it, and it is to these relations alone that the following rules apply.

2.—Of Cultivators generally.

1. "The cultivators of another person's estate are divided into three classes; those who share in the produce, those who are hired by the year or the month, and those who are hired by the day.

2. "No proprietor nor any representative or agent of his, can, by agree-

* Our readers will judge, as they think proper, of the political economy and the general reasonings of M. Polverel. These proceed on the assumption that the profitable cultivation of certain colonial products can *only* be carried on in large gangs; an assumption which the cases of Bengal, of Java, &c., and of Hayti at the present hour, as will hereafter be shewn, prove to be unwarranted.

ment or otherwise, alter the portion of the produce or other advantages fixed, for the cultivators working for shares, by the proclamations of the 27th August, and 31st October 1793, and by the regulation of the 7th instant,* or alter the terms here laid down for persons labouring for wages, whether by the year or the day," under certain pecuniary penalties. Mackenzie's Report, p. 111 and 112.

3.—*Of Cultivators for shares of the produce.*

§ 1—7. The ordinary day's labour is limited to about nine hours, viz. from sunrise to half-past eight; from half-past nine to twelve; and from two to sunset; and in crop-time it shall be extended to eight o'clock in the evening. The manager (economie-gerant) of each plantation shall keep an exact account of the days, and hours of the day, in which the labourers or any part of them shall have been absent from their work, and shall specify the names of the defaulters, and the time of their absence; and that time being estimated at three livres a day, for each man, and two livres a day for each woman, and proportionably for the hours of absence, the amount, at each distribution of the revenue of the plantation, shall be deducted from the shares of the defaulters, and added to those of the proprietor, the manager, the overseers, (conducteurs), and the other labourers, *not* defaulters, in the proportions prescribed in the proclamation of the 31st October 1793, and in the 30th and 31st articles of the regulations of the 7th instant. [These are unfortunately wanting.] And if the manager should have omitted to record any of the defaulters, the amount of such defaults, and an equal amount deducted from the share of the manager who has been guilty of the omission, shall be distributed in like manner between the proprietor, the overseers, and the cultivators *not* in default.

§ 8—13. In cases of extraordinary urgency, arising from the state of the crops, certain measures may be taken for extending the period of labour during the night, beyond the customary hours, so as to prevent the losses that might accrue from inaction.

§ 14—35. The overseers shall alone order and direct the labours of the gang. They alone shall be charged with executing the instructions of those who administer the affairs of the estate. They are to rouse the labourers in time to prepare breakfast, and to be at the place of labour at sunrise. They are to superintend and encourage the labourers, and to limit the hours of rest to those fixed by the regulations, summoning them to their work or recalling them from it at the proper hours, and directing and superintending their labours at all times, both out of crop and in crop time. They alone are to issue, and cause to be executed, the orders, relative both to cultivation and to the police of the plantation, which they may receive from those who administer its affairs, or from the constituted authorities of the state. The labourers shall be bound to obey the overseers, and the overseers to obey each other according to their rank; but their authority shall be confined to the cultivation and good order of the plantation. Those labourers, who in these points, shall formally refuse to obey the orders of the

* Mr. Mackenzie has not given us any of the papers here referred to.

overseers, shall be subject to a month's imprisonment, with labour during the day on public works, and shall be deprived, during that time, of their share of the produce. An inferior overseer disobeying his superior, shall be punished in like manner, for two months. These punishments shall be reduced to one half in cases where there has not been a distinct refusal to obey, but merely a culpable omission. If to insubordination menaces are added, the punishment of a distinct refusal shall be doubled; and if to menaces, is added an attempt to strike, the penalty shall extend to six months in the case of labourers, and to twelve months in the case of sub-overseers; who shall also be made incapable of again exercising any authority, civil, military, or rural. If the superior should be struck by the inferior, the latter shall be excluded from any association of labourers working for shares, and shall be subjected to trial and punishment according to the penal code. If the majority of the labourers should be guilty of the acts of insubordination just mentioned, besides being liable individually to the punishments above specified, they shall be forced to quit the plantation, the proprietor being at liberty to replace them by other cultivators. If, on the other hand, an overseer shall strike one who is under him, or shall place him by his own authority under restraint, or in prison, he shall be deprived of his office and declared incapable of directing free men; and if bloodshed or any grave injury should follow, he shall be tried and punished according to the penal code. The overseers, whether male or female, of the children shall be punished in like manner, if guilty to those under their charge of any violence which shall cause loss of life or limb, or fracture, or wound, or laceration, or excoriation, or contusion, or shedding of blood. In case of quarrels, threats, and provocations, or acts of violence, among the cultivators themselves, the overseers shall place the contending parties under arrest, and endeavour to reconcile them; and the aggressors shall be confined to their houses for three successive Sundays. If the violence or the threats are used towards women, or aged or infirm persons, the person guilty shall be punished further with a fine of half his share of the produce of the plantation; and if the offence be repeated, he shall be turned off the plantation and excluded from all other associations labouring for shares; and if death or wounds ensue, he shall be tried and punished according to the penal code.

§ 36—83. A number of rules are prescribed for punishing, by pecuniary penalties, the theft or appropriation of the common property, or the use of the horses, cattle, waggons, &c. of the plantation for their own private ends, by either the proprietor, the manager, the overseers, or the cultivators for shares; the amount to be paid into the common fund and distributed in the same proportions as the produce of the plantation. If the delinquents are unable to pay the fine, they shall be imprisoned and employed on the public works, at daily wages, till the amount is paid. The same rules apply to purloining the property of individuals. A repetition of the offence shall be punished by being turned off the plantation and declared unworthy of being admitted into any similar association. Any voluntary injury done to the property, or the animals on the plantation, shall be punished in the

same manner. Damage done to the crops by pigs, sheep, cattle, or other animals, belonging to individuals, shall be exacted of the owners; and if the animals belong to the plantation, it shall be exacted of the appointed keeper of them. Strict rules are also laid down for the due care and distribution of water, whether for common use, or for turning mills, or for irrigation, with suitable penalties for neglect or transgression. Persons not residing on the plantation, and guilty of any of the above acts, shall undergo still heavier penalties.

§ 85—89. Every manager neglecting to keep in due form the prescribed registers, or who shall correct or strike any overseer or cultivator, or who shall cause any other person to do so, shall be deprived of his office, and rendered incapable of filling such office in future. Every manager who appropriates to himself any part of the money deposited in the common chest, shall be punished in like manner, besides paying double the sum abstracted. The manager, however, shall be protected from all menace or violence, on the part of the overseers or cultivators, by the same penalties which are affixed by the clauses 14—35, to acts of insubordination on the part of the cultivators to the overseers.

§ 90—99. No cultivator, working for a share of the produce, can be deprived of his rights during the year for which he has contracted, except in the cases expressly mentioned above. A cultivator quitting the plantation during the year must find a substitute to supply his place, approved by his fellow labourers; and if he intends quitting it at the end of the year he must give two months notice of his intention. Failing in either of these points, he shall be subject to be imprisoned and employed on the public works. A cultivator cannot be excluded from the plantation, at the end of the year, by either the proprietor or manager, but only by a vote of the majority of the cultivators, of which he shall have two months notice. An establishment for cultivating by shares can only be broken up in the following cases:—When a majority of the cultivators refuse to perform the prescribed conditions;—when it is found necessary to expel the body of cultivators, as a punishment for insubordination;—or when the cultivators are reduced to less than half their number, by death, weakness, voluntary retirement, or forcible removal. In these cases the proprietor may form a new association of cultivators for shares, or employ labourers for hire by the day or the year; but he cannot, even then, turn off the old, the young, or the infirm. If, however, the association, though reduced in its numbers, shall be able, two months before the close of the year, to recruit them to three-fourths of their complement, the proprietor shall not be at liberty to discontinue the establishment. Whenever the reduced state of the establishment, or the urgency of the season, puts in peril a part of the crop, or renders it difficult to prepare for the future crop, the proprietor may strengthen the establishment by such number of day labourers as he shall judge necessary, the cost of such hired labour being charged to the common fund, and being first paid out of the proceeds of the plantation. Every other cause of difference or quarrel, between proprietors and cultivators, than those hereinbefore regulated, shall be settled by the course of law common to all citizens; all, whether proprietors or cultivators, being, in every other respect, on a footing of equality. *Ibid*, p. 113—119.

4.—*Of Labourers by the day.*

The rules with respect to them as to periods of labour, submission to the overseers, peaceableness of demeanour, protection from violence, &c., are much the same as in the preceding chapter, their offences being punishable by dismissal and loss of wages. They are not, however, to have overseers (*conducteurs*) of *their own choice*, as is the case with labourers for shares, but are to submit to the overseers already chosen by such.*—Work from sunset to sunrise, when required, shall be paid for at the rate of half an Escalin (a ninth of a dollar) an hour in the case of men, and in the case of women, a third of an Escalin. *Ibid*, p. 119.

5.—*Of Labourers hired by the month or longer.*

The hire of field-work by the month is fixed, for men above eighteen, at four dollars, for women at two dollars and a half, and for persons from fourteen to eighteen at two dollars, to be paid at the end of the month. If they quit before the end of their term, they shall forfeit the wages due. If they are dismissed before the term, they shall be paid for all the time there is to run. The hire of mechanics and artisans shall be settled by special contract.

6.—*General Regulations.*

The justices of peace, and their assessors, shall have jurisdiction in all matters comprised in this ordinance; and where none have been yet appointed, the jurisdiction shall belong to the military commandants, and to one or other of them, in all cases of accusation, arrest, and prosecution, the necessary papers and proofs shall be sent.

The present ordinance shall be printed; published on three successive Sundays, in a loud and intelligible voice; and explained, in the Creole dialect, during the hours of market, and in the market-place of the chief place of each parish; and pasted up in all conspicuous and frequented places, and at the chief dwelling houses of plantations. It shall also be duly registered in all superior as well as inferior courts, and sent to all the principal officers civil and military, who are all made responsible for its due execution. *Ibid*, p. 119, 120.

2. The above Ordinance of Polverel appears to have been in full force from the time of its promulgation, in February 1794, until the beginning of August 1798. During that interval Toussaint Louverture had risen to the chief command; and it is of this period that Colonel Malenfant, in a passage cited by us in No. 70, p. 408, speaks when he says, “The colony flourished under Toussaint. *The whites lived happily and in peace upon their estates*, and the negroes continued to work for them.” This statement, as we have shewn, was fully confirmed by General La Croix, who as well as Colonel Malenfant, served in St. Domingo at the time. He informs us, in his memoirs of St. Domingo, that the com-

* What resemblance can possibly exist between the *conducteur* of Hayti and the driver of Jamaica, the former being thus *chosen* by the labourers to guide their labours and protect their interests?

missioner Santhonax, who had been recalled to France, on returning to the colony in 1796, "was astonished at the state in which he found it." "This," he adds, "was owing to Toussaint, who, while he had succeeded in establishing order and discipline among the black troops, had succeeded also in making the black labourers return to the plantations, there to resume cultivation." In the next year, 1797, the same author tells us that the colony was marching, "as by enchantment towards its ancient splendour: cultivation prospered; every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress." The testimony of General Vincent, another eye-witness, is to the same effect. (See Reporter, vol. iii. No. 70, p. 469.)

The war which had been waged by England in St. Domingo, with such disastrous expence of blood and treasure, for the purpose of restoring slavery, and which must necessarily have given birth to great disorders, and must have extensively interfered with the progress of cultivation, was now brought to a close. To repress those disorders and to give a renewed impulse to cultivation, a fresh ordinance was issued on the 3rd of August, 1798, accompanied by an urgent call on all public functionaries to exert themselves in giving it effect. "In St. Domingo, as in France," says this address, "royalists and anarchists see, with dismay, the establishment of constitutional order; and, with a view to disturb the peace of the colony, try all means of impeding the progress of cultivation. 'Let us persuade the cultivators,' they say, 'that liberty consists in doing no work, and if we succeed, we shall certainly restore slavery, since the colony, yielding no resource, will be abandoned by the mother country.' But no! the true friends of liberty will make the cultivators sensible that labour alone can render them happy, both by procuring for them in abundance the means of providing for the wants of their families, and by raising the colony to the degree of splendour to which it ought to aspire."

The ordinance itself, which will be found at p. 95, of Mr. Mackenzie's report, premises that since agriculture is the foundation of prosperity to a state;—that since, in order to make agriculture flourish, all possible means must be adopted for assuring to the cultivators the fruit of their toils;—that since cultivators and proprietors are authorized to enter into mutual contracts for a limited time;—that since by means of a good police the colonial cultivators may attain to a still greater degree of comfort than those of France; and finally, that since the industrious will derive less from their exertions if their brethren of the same establishment are permitted to live in idleness and vagrancy;—*therefore* these further regulations are issued.

The regulations spoken of refer to the division of the produce between the cultivators and the proprietor. The cultivators are to enjoy a fourth of the revenue of the plantation, from which no deduction shall be made, on any pretext, either for expences or taxes; and till this fourth is paid the proprietor can dispose of no part of the proceeds of the estate, the share of the cultivators also being conveyed by him to the nearest place of shipment. Besides this, the cultivators shall have adequate provision grounds allotted to each family of them, and shall have medical attendance and medicine at the proprietor's expence.—

Proprietors or managers are bound to act as fathers of families towards the cultivators, and to induce them to form legitimate marriages, by making them sensible that such unions “are the best means of securing to themselves the enjoyment of all social blessings; of obtaining consolation, care, and assistance in sorrow and sickness; of promoting that purity of manners which is so essential to happiness and health; of rapidly increasing population; and of extending cultivation and augmenting its products.”—The hours of labour vary a little from the former regulation of Polverel. They extend from day dawn to eleven of the forenoon, with an interval for breakfast; and from two till dusk in the afternoon, the mid-day interval extending to three hours. An exact account is to be kept of the days and hours of attendance of every cultivator, with a view of regulating accordingly the distribution of shares. The term of contracts for labour is extended from one to three years, and they are to be registered gratis by the justices of the peace, or the municipal officers; and a year’s notice must be given mutually by the proprietor and cultivator of the intention to dissolve the contract. Penalties are annexed for violating such contracts, and for causing tumults or disturbances on the plantation, consisting of pecuniary fines, imprisonment, and labour on the public works. The commandants of quarters are to superintend the police and to maintain order on the plantations.—The managers of estates shall have power to give leave of absence to the cultivator only to the extent of the arrondissement in which the plantation is situated. Beyond that they must have passports from the constituted authorities.—Every month these regulations must be read on the plantations; and they must be printed and published, and fixed up in conspicuous places, and sent to all the authorities civil and military, who are held responsible for their due execution.

3. These regulations on the subject of cultivation appear to have continued in force until the arrival of the French army in St. Domingo, in February 1802. We assume this to have been the case from the circumstance that when Toussaint, on the 2nd of July, 1801, gave a new constitution to St. Domingo, intended to prevent the restoration of slavery, and which he employed General Vincent to convey to Buonaparte, (as related in the Reporter, No. 70, p. 469,) he seems to have made no change in the regulations respecting agriculture—a presumption that he deemed them adequate to their purpose.

The constitution then given to St. Domingo was the work of a convention of delegates from the departments assembled at Port-au-Prince, in May 1801. It is prefaced by a brief exposition of the reasons which existed for drawing it up, and it is followed by an address to the inhabitants and to the army, which remain as proofs of the wisdom and patriotism as well as of the talents of Toussaint and his coadjutors. (See Mackenzie’s Report, p. 122—132.)

The preface states in substance that for a long time St. Domingo had been a prey to disorders, and was verging to destruction, when the genius of Toussaint Louverture, by the most judicious combinations, by wisely framed plans, and by actions the most energetic, rescued it, at one and the same time, both from its external and internal foes; sup-

pressed the germs of discord; caused abundance to succeed to wretchedness, the love of peace and industry to civil war and idleness, and security to terror; and subjected the whole to the authority of France.—The revolution had violently overthrown the whole ancient regime. The different governments of France had substituted from time to time new laws, but their inconsistencies, their inaptitude, and their viciousness were acknowledged by their very framers, and, in the hands of factious or selfish individuals, had tended rather to inflame than to repress disorder. The laws, therefore, became in some cases objects of terror, and in others of contempt. In France the necessity was felt of an entire new system for the colonies, adapted to their state, manners, and circumstances; and yet how difficult must they find it, acting on partial and unfaithful reports, at so great a distance, and in a time of maritime war, to appreciate existing evils and to apply proper and effectual remedies. The 91st article of the French Constitution* would of itself authorize the people of St. Domingo in presenting to the Government the laws which ought to be adopted, if past experience did not prove that it was their duty to do so. “And what more proper time,” they ask, “could be chosen for such a purpose than this which is made propitious, by the restoration of order, by the clearing away of the ruins of the ancient edifice, by the removal of prejudices, and by the calming of passions; so as to form one of those epochs for fixing the destiny of a people which does not present itself but once in an age, and which if neglected may never recur. The interests equally of the colony and of the mother country, which are closely linked together, require therefore the institution of courts of justice; measures for increasing the diminished population, and for reviving cultivation and commerce; and the firmer union of the Spanish with the French part of the island. They point out also the necessity of establishing a uniform system of finance, correcting abuses; the duty of setting the minds of absent proprietors at ease respecting the safety of their property; and, in fine, the importance of consolidating and rendering stable the internal tranquillity; of augmenting the prosperity the colony now enjoys after the storms which have agitated it; of making every one acquainted with his rights and his duties; of extinguishing distrusters; and of framing a code of laws to which all affections will be attached, and with which all interests will be interwoven. Such are the motives, in the existing impossibility in which France, engaged in a war with maritime powers, finds herself of succouring this immense colony, which have decided the General-in-chief to add to the other benefits he has conferred upon St. Domingo, that of convoking this Legislative Assembly to propose to the Government of France a constitution suited to it. The composition of the Assembly proves that he has desired to remove from its discussions all passion and violence, and to avail himself of all the lights within his reach; and if it has not fulfilled its task completely, it has done what circumstances permitted it to do. It could not venture to propose at once all the changes that are desirable.

* Namely that of 13th December 1799. The words are, “The administration of the colonies is to be determined by special laws.”

The colony cannot reach its height of prosperity but by degrees. The good, to be lasting, must be progressive. In this respect we must imitate nature, who does nothing with precipitation, but matures by little and little her beneficent productions. Happy if this first attempt should contribute to ameliorate the lot and to merit the esteem and favour of our fellow citizens, as well as the approbation of France, even if it should not have attained to perfection. "All the articles of the constitution," they go on to say, "have been discussed and adopted without passion, prejudice, or partiality; and the form of Government especially, that has been chosen, has been fixed as the only one fitted, in existing circumstances, to preserve the peace of the colony, and to restore it to its ancient splendour. Every two years, however, successive assemblies will have the opportunity of making such changes as time and experience may render necessary. The Assembly has not the vanity to believe that it has framed the best possible constitution, but it can assure its fellow-citizens that all its members have been actuated by an ardent zeal for the public good, and by the desire to secure the existing quiet of the colony, to render lasting and to augment its present prosperity, and to prove their attachment to the mother country."

We subjoin the substance of a few of the clauses of the constitutional law itself.

§ 3—5. There shall be no slaves in this territory; slavery is *there* for ever abolished. *There*, all men are born, live, and die free. *There*, every man, whatever be his colour, is admissible to all offices. *There*, there shall be no distinction but that of virtue and talent, and no other difference of rank but what the law attaches to the exercise of a public function. The law is the same for all whether it punish or protect.

§ 6—11. The Catholic religion is the only one publicly professed. Every parish shall provide for its worship and ministers, the extent of whose spiritual jurisdiction shall be prescribed by the Governor, and who are not, on any pretence, to form a *body* (un corps) in the colony. Marriage tending to purity of manners, those who practise the virtues of that state, shall be specially honoured and protected.

§ 12, 13. The constitution ensures personal liberty, and security. No one can be arrested but by orders formally given by an authorized functionary, nor confined in any but a public prison.* Property is sacred and inviolable. Every one, by himself or his representatives, has the free use and disposal of what belongs to him; and whosoever interferes with this right commits a crime against society, and is responsible to the party injured.

§ 14—18. The colony being essentially agricultural, the labours of cultivation are not to suffer any interruption. Each plantation requires an association of cultivators, forming as it were the tranquil asylum of an industrious family, of which the proprietor of the soil, or his representative, is the parent, and each cultivator and mechanic a member and a sharer in its revenues. The governor (Toussaint was named governor

* Those who know that every estate in the Slave Colonies has its own prison, liable to no inspection from the magistrate, will be able to appreciate the value of this restriction.

for life,) has power to regulate and repress those changes of domicile which tend to produce the most injurious effects on the prosperity of the colony, in conformity with the ordinance of 20 Vendemaire, year 9, and the proclamation of the 19 Pluviose of the same year: * all proper means will be taken by the government to encourage the increase of population, and the accession of fresh labourers, the Governor being charged to ensure the faithful execution of all engagements that may be entered into with such labourers. †

The remainder of this ordinance, fixing the general constitution of the government, in its political, legislative, executive, judicial, municipal, military, and financial relations, is foreign to our present purpose, and we therefore omit it, with the exception of a clause, 73, which secures to absent proprietors their rights of property, with the exception of those who may have been inscribed by the government of France in the general list of Emigrants, and who have not been erased from it by the same authority.

4. From the language employed in this code of 1801, and from the observations which accompanied it as given above, it may be fairly inferred that the agriculture of St. Domingo had recovered from the state of depression, which the revolutionary convulsion, though which it had passed, could not have failed to produce; and that under the influence of a system, which so regulated the relations of proprietors and cultivators as to secure to the latter an ample share of the fruits of their industry, the emancipated slaves of that island had been induced to resume and to carry on their ordinary labours. They had become co-partners with the proprietors of the soil in all which that soil could be made by their labour to produce; and they had also become the subjects of general laws, equally affecting every class of the community, and to which the proprietor was equally amenable with the humblest labourer on his plantation. The result appears to have been tranquillity, order, content, and prosperity. We have already seen the testimony to this effect borne by General La Croix, and by Colonel Malenfant. ‡

* This ordinance and proclamation are unfortunately not given by Mr. Mackenzie. "After the most diligent inquiry," he says, "I was unable to find" them.—They were probably called for, by the insurrection of Rigaud, in the South, which had produced great disorders, and which Toussaint had recently succeeded in suppressing.

† This has been represented, by the enemies of Haytian liberty, as pointing to importations by means of a Slave Trade; but there is no doubt it had a reference to measures for encouraging the influx of labourers from the United States, and the neighbouring Islands, on some such plan as was afterwards pursued by Boyer.

‡ Colonel Malenfant, on the ground of his extensive personal experience, thus urges, in 1814, the Government of Louis the XVIII. to proceed, in case they should attempt to repossess themselves of St. Domingo:—"Ordonnez que les noirs de vos Colonies soient co-partageans. Ils ne se revolteront pas, si vous leur declarez que le parlement ordonne qu'ils recoivent le quart du revenu, pour fruit de leurs sueurs. Ils se jetteront a vos genoux; ils vous beniront de ce bienfait, et la tranquillité sera éternelle dans toutes les colonies." Such a plan, he adds, would not only establish true liberty, but quadruple the consumption of French manufactures. (See *Des Colonies*, par Malenfant, p. 106.)

Again, he says, "Les planteurs verront qu'en accordant a leurs cultivateurs le

That of General Vincent, was, if possible, still more decisive. He quitted St. Domingo in 1801, and, at that time, he gave the strongest assurances to Buonaparte that no change of system was required, or would be beneficial; that every thing was going on well; that the white proprietors were in peaceable possession of their estates; that cultivation was making rapid progress; and that the blacks were industrious, orderly, and happy.

And such was actually the state in which, in February, 1802, Leclerc's expedition found St. Domingo. He came instructed to restore the ancient *regime*; he nevertheless announced on his arrival a very different purpose. Buonaparte's first proclamation told the inhabitants, "Whatever your origin, or your colour, you are all French; you are all free, all equal before God, and before the republic."—"If it be said to you, 'these forces are destined to ravish from you your liberty,' answer, 'The republic will not permit it to be taken away from us.'" Leclerc also made use of the strongest assurances to the same effect. "If the planters should dare to speak of restoring slavery, he would consume them as the fire consumes the dried canes." But though the language of their proclamations was thus imposing, their conduct and deportment were such as sufficiently manifested their perfidy. The very manner of Leclerc's first approach to Cape Français proved it. Christophe, who commanded at the Cape, was so convinced of it, that he replied to the summons of Leclerc, "Ou nous prend donc encore pour des esclaves. Allez dire au general Leclerc que les Français ne marcheront ici que sur un monceau de cendres, et que la terre les brulera." Having uttered these words, he began the conflagration of the Cape by setting fire to his own house, which was elegantly decorated, and thus evinced his determination of resistance.

No less decisive was the conduct of Toussaint. On the 9th of February, 1802, he wrote thus from St. Mark's, to one of his generals, Domage, commanding at Jeremie—"I send to you my aid-de-camp, Chaney, who will communicate to you my sentiments. As Jeremie is rendered very strong by its natural advantages, you will maintain yourself in it, and defend it with the courage I know you possess.—Distrust the whites; they will betray you if they can. Their desire, evidently manifested, is the restoration of slavery. I therefore give you a *carte blanche* for your conduct: all which you shall do will be well done. Raise the cultivators in mass, and convince them fully of this truth, that they must place no confidence in those artful agents who may have recently received the proclamations of the white men in France, and would circulate them clandestinely in order to seduce the friends of liberty.—I have ordered General Laplume to burn the town of Cayes, the other towns, and all the plains, should they be unable to resist the

quart sur les reverus, ils auront une autorite plus grande, que toujours, sous ce regime, ils trouveront la masse de leurs ateliers prête à contraindre les paresseux (s'il s'en trouve) et même a les punir, par la raison que si l'un travaillait moins que l'autre, le cultivateur actif se trouverait lezé lors des partages." *Ib.* p. 130. "Il est prouvé qu'un homme qui travaille pour ses propres interêts, le fait avec plus de zèle que celui qui travaille pour autrui sous le fouet toujours prêt à le frapper." *Ib.* p. 144.

enemy's force; and thus all the troops of the different garrisons, and all the cultivators, will be enabled to reinforce you at Jeremie.—You will entertain a perfect good understanding with General Laplume, in order to execute with ease what may be necessary.—You will employ in the planting of provisions all the women occupied in cultivation.—Endeavour as much as possible to acquaint me with your situation.—I rely entirely upon you, and leave you completely at liberty to perform every thing which may be requisite to free us from the horrid yoke with which we are threatened.—I wish you good health. TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE.”

These proceedings sufficiently indicate the desperate nature of the resistance which men who had tasted the bitterness of slavery were prepared to make to those who would reimpose its yoke. Even the prosperity to which the wise and wakeful policy of Toussaint had succeeded in raising the colony, nay, life itself, was as the dust in the balance when weighed, in his mind and that of his adherents, against the return of the cart-whip. Accordingly the conflict proved to be of such a determined and unyielding character, on the part of the blacks, as soon convinced Leclerc that even the sacrifice of his whole army would gain him but a barren and bootless victory. He now saw that, trusting to the valour and discipline of his veteran legions, he had thrown off the mask too soon. He therefore suspended hostilities, and had recourse to negotiation. He insidiously held out, as the conditions of submission, the unqualified freedom of all the blacks, and the complete amalgamation of the two armies; the black officers retaining in the French service the respective ranks they had borne in their own. The bait succeeded, and for a short time peace and harmony were restored, and the cultivators resumed their labours. It was on the 24th of April that Leclerc proclaimed the conclusion of this arrangement, stating its basis to be, “liberty and equality to all the inhabitants of St. Domingo, without regard to colour.” And on the 3d of May, we find him writing to Toussaint, who had previously been outlawed, but whose outlawry was now reversed, and, in flattering terms, assuring him that a veil of oblivion should be thrown over all that had passed.—“You, General, and your troops, will be employed and treated like the rest of my army. With regard to yourself, you desire repose, and you deserve it.” “I rely so much on the attachment you bear to the colony, as to believe you will employ the moments you have of leisure in your retreat, in communicating to me your views respecting the means to be taken to make agriculture and commerce again flourish.”

In a few weeks from this time, namely in the month of June 1802, Leclerc, having advantageously disposed matters for his purpose, (the native troops, and their principal officers being so distributed as he judged would place them completely in his power, and the cultivators being dispersed on the plantations,) suddenly caused Toussaint and his family to be arrested and shipped off for France. At the same time the most active measures were resorted to for disarming the native troops, and for either deporting or savagely butchering their best and most influential officers. These events operated like an electric spark on the whole black population of the colony, which was ere long in full insurrection.

The native officers and troops, who had not already fallen victims to Leclerc's treachery, escaped and joined the insurgents; and conflagration, and unsparing massacre, and the refusal of all quarter, became the regular order of the renewed hostilities on both sides, to which the French, who were the aggressors in this war of mutual vengeance and extermination, added horrors of a still more revolting character. Their prisoners were drowned by hundreds in the harbours, till pestilence went forth from their floating carcasses;—or they were thrown alive, men, women, and children, to bloodhounds to be torn limb from limb and devoured.* Disease also began to make dreadful ravages among the French. Leclerc fell a victim to it as early as the close of October 1802, and before the end of the year the French troops were so reduced, and so hemmed in and confined to their fortified places on the coast, that all idea of conquest seemed hopeless. The war however was still carried on with the most savage fury on both sides, the French calling in the aid of large packs of bloodhounds from Cuba, so that almost the whole of the Island, with the exception of the mountain fastnesses and the forts, became one unvarying scene of carnage and desolation. The buildings and sugar-works were every where destroyed, and nothing was left, in the plains or accessible parts of the island, which could afford shelter or sustenance to the invaders. They had now to depend wholly on supplies from without, and famine soon began to add its ravages to those of disease and the sword. At length, in the month of December 1803, the island was finally abandoned, a mere handful of the French troops escaping the destruction which had already overtaken about 60,000 of their fellows.

Thus for nearly two years, with a very brief interval, had a war raged in St. Domingo, singularly ferocious and vindictive in its character, and directed latterly more to extermination than to conquest, sparing neither sex nor age, and sweeping away from the whole face of the plains of that beautiful island every trace of cultivation. So complete was the extinction of all sugar culture in particular, that, for a time, not an ounce of that article was procurable. The very roots and fruits on which subsistence depended were cultivated only in the *mornes*. Desolation therefore could hardly be conceived more complete than prevailed, in 1804 and 1805, over all those parts of the colony which had formerly been covered with plantations; and it is well known how soon the rank vegetation of a tropical climate converts the neglected plantation into mere jungle.

Is it to be wondered at, that under these circumstances, Hayti should have ceased to export tropical produce? And how perfectly absurd, therefore, are all the reasonings which, by a comparison of the exports from that island in 1789 with those of 1805, would endeavour to establish

* The words of Malenfant, writing in 1814, by way of solemn warning to the French government, fully confirm this statement. They are as follows: "Les noirs ont le cœur ulcéré par les cruautés qu'on à exercées envers eux; en faisant noyades a la Carrier; en les faisant devorer par des chiens, que, pour rendre plus feroces, on ne nourrissait que de chair de noir; cruautés, peut être, au dessus de celles des Pizarros, des Almagros, feroces conquerants de Perou." p. 122.

the inaptitude of a black population for productive industry!—To secure the means of subsistence in case of another invasion, and to defeat that invasion if attempted, became now the grand objects of Haytian solicitude. It was made a fundamental law of the state, that the moment an enemy should begin to debark on the shores of the island, that moment every town on the coast, and every building on the plain, should disappear, and the whole of the population betake themselves, the women to the *mornes*, and the men to arms. And this state of uncertainty and peril, necessarily fatal to all schemes and efforts of prospective industry, continued to operate, in a greater or less degree, until the year 1826, when France first renounced her right to attempt again the subjugation of her ancient colony.

Now in all this long interval what inducement was there to expend capital in re-erecting sugar works, and in renewing, on the plains of this island, those large agricultural establishments which had been so completely destroyed? As for capital, indeed, it had no existence. The very means and instruments required for the culture, preparation, manufacture, and safe-keeping of exportable produce were annihilated, and had now, as it were, to be recreated.

And was not this the very state of all others in which we might have expected to see realized those prophetic wailings of returning barbarism, which, we are told, must infallibly accompany negro freedom? But what is the historical fact? It is, that in spite of all the ruin which had thus overspread the island; in spite of the innumerable discouragements which combined to obstruct industrious effort, and the employment of capital in prospective plans of agricultural improvement; in spite of all the disorganizing and demoralizing circumstances, in which the people of Hayti have since been placed;—they have continued to struggle with their difficulties, and have risen superior to them; they have continued to improve their social and civil condition; and instead of declining in civilization, as we were assured would infallibly be the case, they have been progressively advancing in it, not only since 1826, when their independence was declared, but previously to that period; and a decisive proof of such advance is to be found in the single fact, that, in the interval between 1804 and 1824, Hayti more than doubled its population.

Indeed, no sooner had Hayti had time to breathe after having rid herself of her fell invaders, than persevering efforts were made to repair the general devastation, and to give fresh life to agricultural industry. Mr. Mackenzie has given us in his Report, p. 133—136, the constitution adopted by a legislative assembly, convened by Dessalines, early in 1805. That constitution received his signature on the 20th of May in that year. It thus opens:—

“In our own names, and in that of the people of Hayti, who have legally chosen us as the faithful organs and interpreters of their will;—in the presence of the Supreme Being, before whom all are equal, and who has formed so many different kinds of creatures on the face of this globe, only for the end of manifesting his power and glory by the variety of his works;—in the face of the entire world, of which we have been so unjustly, and for so long a time,

the rejected outcasts;—we declare that the present constitution is the free, spontaneous, and fixed expression of our minds, and of the general will of our constituents; which we submit to the sanction of the emperor, our liberator, and refer it to him to carry into execution.”

We need not detail the provisions of this constitution, which are much of the same kind with those contained in that of Toussaint, in 1801, to which we have already adverted; except that it changes the name of the island from St. Domingo to Hayti; and makes it a fundamental law, that, with certain specified exceptions, no *white* shall hereafter put his foot on its territory with any claims as master or proprietor (*à titre de maitre ou de propriétaire.*) Slavery is for ever abolished, and all are made equal in the eye of the law, the emperor himself being liable to be displaced, and treated as an enemy to the state, if he should attempt to violate this fundamental principle. One of the articles to which we have already alluded, is thus expressed, “*Au premier coup de canon d’alarme, les villes disparaissent et la nation est debout.*”—Agriculture, designated as the first, and most noble, and most useful of employments, is placed under the special favour and protection of the state, and is committed to the more immediate superintendance of the minister of finance and the interior, the laws already existing on the subject being probably deemed sufficient for his guidance. Those laws were some years afterwards consolidated, and reduced to a more regular system, by Christophe, whose code (inserted entire in Mr. Mackenzie’s Report, p. 136—145,) differed little in its principles and details from the Code Rural of Boyer, passed in 1826. (House of Commons papers of 1827, No. 393.) It is also inserted entire in the Reporter, Vol. i. No. 23. Of this code which is now the law of Hayti, we shall proceed to give an abstract of such parts as bear upon the existing relation of the Haytian cultivators, (the *ci-devant* slaves of St. Domingo) with the present proprietors of the soil. Such parts of the code as have no special reference to this object, we shall pass over very lightly.*

5.—*Abstract of the existing Code Rural of Hayti.*

1. All citizens not employed in civil or military service, not engaged in any lines of business subject to license (*patente*); or not employed as working artificers or domestic servants, or in the cutting of timber fit for exportation; all in short who shall not be able to shew that they possess other means of subsistence, shall be bound to cultivate the earth.

2. No one who is occupied in agriculture shall be allowed to quit the country in order to reside in towns without an authority from the magistrate, who shall not give that authority till he has ascertained that the applicant is a person of good character and correct conduct, and has the means of subsisting in the place to which he wishes to move. Persons contravening this law shall be dealt with as vagrants.

3. The children of cultivators are not to be sent to towns to be apprenticed or educated without a magistrate’s certificate, which shall how-

* We pass over also entirely the intermediate reigns of Dessalines and Christophe, and the gigantic schemes as well as ferocious acts of the former, in order to reach at once the present times, which more immediately affect pending questions.

ever be granted at the request of the proprietor of the place where the parent resides, or of the officer of rural police, or of the parent of the child, under a penalty of twenty-five dollars.

4. Then follow some restrictions as to opening shops in the country, and some regulations respecting travelling pedlars, the licenses to be given to those who possess boats, and the tax to be imposed on the rent of houses erected in the country and not connected with rural establishments. (Reporter, No. 23, p. 330, 331.)

5. Regulations follow respecting land-marks, boundaries, and establishments; the cutting down of wood, and the planting of the borders of rivers with certain trees, with a view to shade; the precautions to be used in setting fire to the wood of cleared land, or in savannahs, &c.; the manner in which cattle are to be kept, and cottages built on plantations, and for keeping in order the dikes, reservoirs, and conduits of water for irrigation and other useful purposes. (Ibid. p. 332, 333.)

6. All who carry on the raising of exportable produce, together with the grain and food, and roots designed for the use of the cultivators, are not subject to a land-tax, but only to a tax on the produce got in fit for exportation. Those who confine their culture to pot vegetables, fruits, provisions, and fodder, and do not raise articles for export, are subject to a land-tax to be levied half yearly, on the estimated value of their produce.

7. On every plantation they shall be bound to cultivate provisions, &c., sufficient for the sustenance of the persons employed upon it, and to have them carefully kept, under a penalty of three to fifteen dollars for each neglect.

8. On every plantation on which the cultivators work for a fourth of the produce, each shall be bound to have for his personal use provision grounds, to be cultivated during his hours or days of repose, proprietors being bound to furnish the land necessary for that purpose.

9. When produce is about to be packed, the officer of rural police shall have a right to examine it in order to prevent fraud, and if fraud appears, the produce shall be confiscated. If it should prove to be badly prepared he shall suspend its removal, and oblige the parties to clean it anew. Produce cannot be sent off for exportation without a permit from the proprietor. Small pecuniary penalties are annexed to the breach of these regulations. (Ibid. p. 334.)

10. All cultivators of land the property of another, or persons who cut timber for exportation, shall be obliged to enter into a contract with the proprietor or renter; the contract to be entered into either individually, or by the whole body of cultivators collectively. These contracts cannot be for a shorter time than two years on grass and provision farms, or than three years in the case of farms for growing exportable produce, nor for a longer term in either of these cases than nine years. Contracts for wood-cutting cannot be made for a shorter term than six months, or for a longer term than a year. The contract shall be in writing before a notary, who shall preserve a minute of it, and it must express the conditions of the contract, which shall be such, provided they do not contravene this code, as the parties shall agree upon; the neglect of these formalities to be liable to a fine, and to preclude the

party guilty of the neglect from bringing any action at law on the subject. Contracts with cultivators who have not fulfilled their previous contracts shall be void, and such cultivator, besides being subject to a fine, shall be sent back at his own expense to fulfil his prior contract.

11. Parties working for half of the produce, shall share with the proprietor in an equal half of all fruit, provisions, pulse, grain, &c., on that plantation. On sugar estates, before the division is made, the proprietor shall deduct a fifth of the gross produce for the use of machinery, utensils, cattle, &c., and other charges.

12. Parties labouring for a fourth part of the produce, shall have a fourth part of the gross of all they raise, besides enjoying all they raise, on their own grounds, during the hours or days of rest.

13. When the crops are prepared and collected, they cannot be removed till a division shall have been made between the proprietor and the cultivators labouring, whether for a half or a fourth. On sugar plantations the division of shares among the cultivators shall be made after the grinding of each piece of canes. On plantations of coffee, cotton, cocoa, indigo, &c., the division shall take place at the end of the respective crops; on those of provision or grain, or in cutting firewood, making charcoal, and other irregular works, every six months. When the time of division arrives, the proprietor shall call the officer of rural police to witness the division. The accounts of the articles or products raised or manufactured, shall be examined with the vouchers of sales; the proceeds reckoned up, and the shares of each person settled.

14. Each of the co-sharers shall be inscribed in the distribution list, according to their strength and activity, and the time they have worked in the first, second, or third class, and the whole shall be divided into quarter shares, half shares, and whole shares. The overseers shall each have three whole shares. The head sugar boilers, head carpenters, and heads of other departments shall have two shares. Labourers of the first class, whether men or women, a share and a half, of the second one share, of the third three quarters; children from twelve to sixteen, and elderly people, half a share; younger children and infirm persons a quarter share. The broken money shall go to those who have shewn most punctuality and diligence.

15. The labourers shall be furnished with daily tickets to shew the days they were at work, to be replaced by weekly tickets, to be brought into account when the division takes place.

16. The officer of rural police shall withdraw for himself no part of the sum to be divided. He shall make a statement of the division, and make a return of it duly verified, to the Council of the Commune.

17. Proprietors may permit the absence of cultivators from their homes, for eight days within the Commune. A longer absence must be sanctioned by the Commandant of the Commune. (Ib. p. 335—337.)

18. Proprietors, &c. shall behave to the cultivators as good fathers of families. They shall supply, at their own cost, tools and implements to cultivators for a fourth, who, if the tools be lost, are bound to replace them; and shall supply also the means of conveying the shares of the cultivators to the place of sale. The labourers for half, shall convey it thither at their own charge. Proprietors undertaking to sell for the cul-

tivators their fourth or half, shall produce clear vouchers of the transaction. When the fourth or half shall be sold by the overseers or the cultivators on their own account, they shall equally be bound to furnish proof of their having dealt fairly with the co-sharers. The salaries of managers shall always be paid by the proprietor, and not taken from the shares of the cultivators whether for a fourth or a half. Proprietors are liable to a fine if they do not contract with a medical practitioner to attend the cultivators, and do not also furnish the necessary medicines, to be supplied gratis to cultivators for a fourth, but paid for by cultivators for a half. Proprietors are also bound to see that the infant children of the cultivators are taken care of, and the due number of nurses appointed for that purpose, whom the cultivators shall be made to remunerate in proportion to the number of their children. (Ib. p. 338.)

19. Cultivators shall be obedient and respectful to proprietors and managers, and shall execute with zeal and punctuality the labours they have contracted to perform; devoting to these their whole time, and on no account quitting them, or being at liberty to absent themselves, without leave of the proprietor, except from Saturday morning to Monday at sunrise. On other days they must have a permit from the proprietor for absence if within the commune, but if without, from the officer of rural police. The cultivators, whether for a fourth or a half, shall be bound to put the proprietor's portion of the produce in a state fit for delivery, and convey it to the place of sale, the proprietor furnishing the means of transport.

20. Head men, of parties not exceeding ten, may contract with the proprietor, and form sub-contracts with the cultivators.

21. Besides cultivators for shares, persons may engage themselves by the week, the month, or the job, on such terms as shall be agreed upon, and while so engaged, must respect and obey the proprietor. When persons are engaged to assist by the day, week, or job, in the labours of an estate cultivated for shares, their wages must be deducted from the mass of the proceeds, before distribution is made to the co-sharers. If persons so hired do not fulfil their engagements, they shall forfeit what may be due them.

22. All differences between proprietors and cultivators shall be carried to the officer of rural police, or the Council of Commune, and if not settled by them, referred to arbiters; and if not settled by them, to the justice of the peace, who shall decide finally. The whole must be concluded within six days. (Ibid. p. 339, 340.)

23. On every plantation, having more than ten labourers, on which the proprietor or renter is not resident, there shall be a manager appointed and paid by him, under a penalty of from ten to fifty dollars. The duties of the manager are to superintend, for the proprietor, the labours of the plantation, and he is answerable for any damage he may cause to the proprietor, by his neglect of his duties. (Ibid. p. 348.)

24. The duties of overseers are to cause the work to be done, by the labourers entrusted to their care, agreeably to the directions of the proprietor or manager. They shall be answerable for all absence, or neglect of work, or disorders, or vagrancy, which they have not reported to the proper authorities. They shall receive their remunera-

tion from the share of the produce assigned to the labourers. (*Ibid.* p. 349.)

25. The labours of the field shall continue from Monday morning till Friday evening, except in extraordinary cases, where the common interests of all require a prolongation of them. On each day the labour shall continue from day dawn till sunset, with intervals of two hours and a half. Pregnant females shall be employed on light work only, and shall not work at all in the field after the fourth month, or for four months after delivery, and then their time of labour shall be abridged by two hours in the day. No cultivator fixed on a plantation shall be absent at the times of labour without leave. (*Ibid.* p. 351.)

26. The cultivators shall be obedient to their overseers, and to the proprietor, manager, &c., in executing the labour they have engaged to perform. Disobedience or insult shall be punished with imprisonment according to the exigency of the case, by the justice of the peace. Cultivators shall also be subject to a like punishment for quitting their work on working days; Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays being at their own disposal. (*Ibid.* p. 351.)

There are, besides the above, in this code, a great variety of regulations, which are unimportant with a view to our present purpose, on the formation and management of breeding farms, on the care and tending of animals, and on the means of obtaining reparation for damage done by them; we therefore omit them. We omit also the minute details respecting the rules for the due administration of the Rural Police, which is to be conducted under the general superintendence of Commandants of Departments, and under them of Commandants of Communes, by sectional officers of rural police, by rural guards, by the *gend'armerie*, and if need be, by troops of the line; also concurrently by justices of the peace, Councils of Notables, and of Agriculture. These have their respective functions assigned to them when cases arise which may require them to interfere; and are also all generally charged with the duty of giving activity to agriculture and preventing its decay, repressing vagrancy and disorders of every kind, and giving effect to the various provisions of the rural law. They are besides to make periodical reports to their superiors, which are all finally to centre with the president, so as to exhibit a complete view of each property, of the nature of its tillage, and of any changes in its cultivation, with lists of its population. The rural police is also charged with executing the regulations as to the making and repair of public roads. (*Ibid.* p. 340—352.)

Such then is the present rural code of Hayti, which has been represented by the advocates of colonial slavery as a more harsh and compulsory system than that which prevails in our islands. Will our planters be content to make the exchange? Will they be content to lay down the cart-whip, and to resign their arbitrary power of punishing into the hands of magistrates, acting agreeably to clear and defined laws? Will they be further content to adopt as the basis of their legislation the following principle of the Haytian constitution, which forms the barrier against all possible abuse of those clauses in the code

rural, which appear the most coercive, viz., "There can be no slaves on the territory of the Republic. *There* slavery is for ever abolished." Again, "The law is the same for all, whether it punish or protect." If so we will at once close with them, and gladly consent to their retaining and exercising over the labouring class, every coercive power which is conferred on the Haytian proprietor by the Haytian law.

But quitting this part of the subject for the present, it may be well to ascertain if possible what has been the effect of that system of rural police, which, with slight variations, has prevailed in Hayti, as we have seen, since the year 1794. That previous to the invasion of the island, by Leclerc in 1802, it had produced the best and most prosperous results, is proved by the concurrent testimony of all our witnesses. That fatal invasion changed the scene, and after two years of warfare, conflagration, and massacre, during which, all cultivation, except in the mountains for the necessaries of life, was annihilated, and all buildings for agricultural or manufacturing purposes, either destroyed by fire or otherwise left to perish, Hayti remained for some time, of necessity, in a state approaching to utter desolation. Even when the government and the people could at length turn from their more pressing necessities to think of resuming the cultivation of sugar, and of other exportable produce, on any large scale, how discouraging and almost hopeless, nay, except in a few cases how almost impracticable, must have been the attempt! Were they on the plains to re-erect the sugar-works, and to replant the canes, which another invasion might destroy in a moment? Their very safety seemed to require a different policy, even if they had possessed the means of reviving sugar culture to any great extent. Although therefore the government gave all the encouragement in their power to its revival, and renewed the laws for regulating labour, and insuring to the labourer his proportion of its fruits, it is obvious that but comparatively few establishments of that kind could be formed with any hope of advantage. The government, at the very time that they held out such encouragements and re-enacted such laws, saw the necessity of looking to other means of reviving industry, and securing the general comfort of the Haytians, than that of drawing them to form those large establishments which had formerly been alone thought of as the means of prosperity, but which, under the existing desolation, and the universal extinction of capital, it was vain to expect could be but very partially re-established with the slightest prospect of early benefit. They adopted therefore a new line of policy, suited to the peculiar exigencies of the case, not only by allotting, to superior officers, large portions of land on which to renew, if they could, the former establishments, but by liberally giving smaller allotments to such of the cultivators as desired to become proprietors, and to cultivate the soil not for others but on their own account. Accordingly, we are informed by Mr. Mackenzie, on the authority of testimony on which he relies as correct, (p. 106,) that the Haytian government saw it to be their true policy to make a general distribution of confiscated lands; and thus, "by the wisdom of the government, the mass of the nation became proprietors." And this is represented as the very circumstance which

“constituted the national strength against all attempts at invasion, every individual having property of his own to defend.” In corroboration of this evidence, we have the following statement from Mr. Mackenzie himself, as the result of his own actual observation, “The system of dividing the land into small allotments, in every part that I have visited, has certainly had the effect of rendering it exceedingly difficult to collect bodies of labourers, as each individual can either find, or pretend to find, abundant occupation at home.” “The consequence is, that it is very difficult, if not impossible to carry on *sugar* cultivation to any extent.” (Ibid. p. 94.) By these farmers, he adds, (p. 105) “*provisions* are cultivated, and poultry and *cattle* are raised for home use.”

This however is a state of things which Mr Mackenzie seems to deplore as a proof of retrogradation in improvement! He mourns over it, though it be a state which assimilates the condition of the Haytian peasant to that of the English yeoman, and he desiderates in its place the collection of the people into large gangs, in order to prosecute, by their coerced labour, the growth and manufacture of sugar. But such a preference, though in itself very unreasonable, was to be expected from one so familiar with Colonial slavery, and so much interested in upholding it, as Mr. Mackenzie.

We have now, with the aid of Mr. Mackenzie, brought our historical view of the progress of *Haytian agriculture*, or to speak more correctly, of Haytian legislation on the subject, to the period of the acknowledgement by France of Haytian independence—that is to say, to the year 1826. The effect of that measure, as exhibited in the present state of Haytian civilization and improvement, we must ascertain from other sources; and we have satisfaction in being enabled to communicate authentic information on the subject. That information has been conveyed to us in a series of letters from a gentleman who repaired last year to Hayti, for the purpose of examining the actual state of society and manners in that interesting republic, and who is now journeying there in the pursuit of that object. The whole of his researches may probably appear before the public ere long in another shape. In the mean time, we must limit ourselves to a few sketches, drawn from the communications of this traveller, which may serve to introduce our readers into the interior of Haytian society, so far as it concerns our present purpose, and prepare them for a more formal and systematic view of this black republic in its various relations and aspects, natural, civil, political, intellectual and moral.

6.—Recent Communications from a Traveller in Hayti.

Port-au-Prince, island of Hayti,
June 25, 1830.

“I arrived at Port-au-Prince on Wednesday the 16th instant. As this letter is intended merely to communicate to you, that I am at last at my destination, I shall not attempt any minute description of either scenes or events.

“Being aware that this city had very recently suffered greatly by fire,

I expected to see an unsightly waste of ruin and decay, but the lots are rebuilt, and many a splendid and substantial edifice, surpassing those to be seen in the city of Kingston, in Jamaica, has arisen, as the first fruits of the security which property enjoys by the recognized independence of Hayti. As the style in which these buildings have been erected is very peculiar, being neither copies of the old city, which never exhibited any thing but mean wooden houses, nor erections of a taste derived from the old colonists, their external appearance and internal economy will serve to shew the social progress which this people are making under the influence of their new political condition. If this single feature in the appearance of Port-au-Prince has created in my mind agreeable disappointment, the condition of its numerous negro inhabitants, in their domestic comfort, in their manners, their social deportment, and their habits of order, has not less pleasantly surprised me.

“I have yet, of course, seen little of the inhabitants of *the country* except what is presented to my view, by those frequenting the markets. The market on Saturday, which extends over to the Sunday morning, presents an assemblage of people who have no affinity with the labouring population of the slave colonies, but that which they derive from their common African origin. There is the black skin and the woolly hair, but there is an elevation of character in the features, which indicates the working of better motives than fear and submission.”

“Some writers have affirmed that the untractable idleness of the Haytians has led them to consult their ease in all things. If this be so, we cannot but admire the operation of the motive in the preservation of that robust health and vigour, which it seems to secure to parent and child, through the diminished toil they enjoy, and by means of the possession of numerous well trained and strong limbed asses and horses, on which they are seen riding to market, and bringing down a prodigious quantity of agricultural products for sale. The excellent training of the ass, called here the *bourrique*, excites no less admiration than his large size, and the sleek and glossy condition of his make. As his great utility secures him from ill-treatment, he is neither slow, stupid, nor headstrong. Teams of from three to six tied together trot on unstimulated by word or blow from the owner, who rides on one animal, with perhaps his wife on a second, and his lusty and helpful boy on another. The herds of these animals must be immense.”

“My curiosity has not been confined to what I can see in the streets of Port-au-Prince only. I have made an excursion or two just out of town, to the little cottage settlements on the side of the mountain above the city. I am told that in the ‘*ancient Regime*,’ that is the phrase here for the old state of things, the plains were a source of so abundant a return for the industry of the proprietor, that the mountains in this neighbourhood were comparatively neglected, so that the “*Camp des Fourmis*,” the range of hills so called, extending from Point Lamentin to the Cul de Sac, were heretofore never cultivated as they are now. At present they are covered with a thousand small settlements appropriated to coffee and provisions, and fruits and vegetables, in which the advantages of irrigation, presented by the frequent springs bursting from the mountain ravines, have been diligently attended to in their agricul-

tural economy. The water is trenched over the sunny surface of each projecting irregularity of the ridge, and height above height, the cottage of the humble cultivator is seen; or the substantial country-seat of the Haytian merchant, with its baths, bowers, and terraced gardens, has been erected. I shall not here descant upon the fact so well known, that an article of the Constitution declared that, "au premier coup de canon d'alarme, les villes disparaîtront, et la nation se levèra;" but it is clear, that this circumstance alone must have been sufficient to influence the small proprietors in fixing their locations, even so near the city and seat of government, in the mountains, rather than in the plains, fertile as they are. But if le Camp des Fourmis was the old colonial appellation for this ridge, it seems to have been prophetically given. Its swarms of men and women, youths and maidens, and strong-limbed children, every where seen around the cottages, or fetching water, or washing linen at the springs, renders it a most significant name. Mr. Lloyd, a European merchant here, inhabiting a most luxurious but unostentatious retreat, among the small cultivators, gave me, in an evening's ramble among them, a highly characteristic account of the numerous inhabitants of his district. On the death of Christophe, the exciting alarm-gun, that sound for which every Haytian ear, dreaming or awake, is eternally open, was heard from the batteries about the city. Instantly a thousand armed men ready dressed and accoutred for the field, descended from the steeps, as if they crept from the very crevices of the mountain. Every track-way poured forth its warriors. That single sight convinced him that the country was lost for ever to the domination of a European master.

"I will just briefly notice that the planters here concentrate their agriculture in little space. They take off a crop of corn between their canes, and plant peas, potatoes, (not the p^omme de t^{er}re, but the true p^at^ata of the Indians,) and maize on the same field. They gather their peas before their potatoes are fit, and dig the potatoes before the corn ripens and shells its grain—so that much is effected in very little compass. Food of all kinds, animal and vegetable, is four times cheaper here than in Jamaica."

"On Sunday morning, (20th instant) at 7 o'clock, his Excellency the President, was pleased to appoint me an audience. I passed through the portico of the palace, lined with the officers of his staff, into the hall of audience. Faces of the deepest black, to the lightest shade, were among them; but the black was the most predominant. The saloon of the palace is a room of excellent proportions, lofty and long. The floor is of marble, in varied compartments; the furniture tasteful and elegant, but not rich. The Secretary-General, who was there to receive me, had just introduced me to the officers in waiting, when the footsteps of a person moving over the floor of an adjoining anti-room, announced the approach of the President of Hayti. His person is small, his manners perfectly easy, and his deportment graceful. He was plainly attired in the costume of a general officer, the only mark of particular distinction being his shoulder belt or bandolier, which was of embroidered crimson velvet. His address was unaffected and friendly. He seated me by him; welcomed me to Hayti; and expressed, in particular terms, his approba-

tion of the object which led me on a visit hither. He gave me the assurances of his esteem and confidence, to which he was pleased to say he felt I was entitled, by the high recommendations contained in the letters I had presented to him."

"The city of Port-au-Prince is built on the declivity of one of the offsets of a mountain on its south-side, called le Camp des Fourmis. It is situated just at the point where the mountain gradually descends, and loses itself in the extensive plain of the Cul de Sac. As it extends over the regular surface of a hill of moderate elevation, it exhibits to the traveller approaching it from the sea, an unsightly appearance of high roofs and low built houses, forming a back ground greatly detracting from the otherwise beautiful aspect of the new buildings by the shore, with their arched galleries, piazzas, and turrets, called Belvideres. On the heights above the town are constructed a line of batteries." "The streets are spacious, and placed at right angles."

"The old colonists secured a copious supply of water by an aqueduct, which conveyed to the town a stream from the upland springs. That aqueduct, with several large fountains, erected in the market and other squares, to distribute conveniently the essential element to every quarter, still administers to the household wants and uses of the inhabitants. Open courses on either side of the street, in the paved channels, receive the surplus stream; but it does not flow rapidly enough, nor descend in sufficient abundance to aid the police regulations for the observance of cleanliness, yet the streets are kept free from all filth, and their general condition is very good.

"Port-au-Prince, though by no means a handsome town, is, at this day, in style, and one may say in splendour, far superior to what it was in the colonial period of its history. With the wealth of a commerce derived from the resources of a mighty empire, and the elegance of a highly refined people, commanding multitudes of slaves to fertilize and embellish it, its ancient appearance was poor and unprepossessing. In the early period of its settlement, the houses were constructed of stone; but the overwhelming destruction sustained from an earthquake, led to a municipal regulation, by which it remained until lately a city of low, and unostentatiously, if not meanly erected wooden buildings. The frequent calamities to which it has subsequently been subjected from fire, and the immense and valuable property lost in the years 1820 and 1822, by such devastations, have led the Haytians to attempt providing against the twofold liability as they expressed it, of being *bouleversé et incendié*. They have commenced re-erecting some of the houses destroyed by these conflagrations, with stone, or brick, cased over wooden frames, at once to sustain the shock of the earthquake, and to repel the action of any fire. They cover too the roofs with tiles or slates, rather than shingles, and erect their stores for merchandize with fire-proof terraces, and wrought iron windows and doors. These buildings have galleries, and arched colonnades with heavy cornices, and balustrades screening the roofs, and floors of variegated marble and tiles, in the upper as well as the lower stories. If continued generally, they will render this city, not only one of the most elegant in the West Indies, but one in which the houses will exhibit an interior economy, the very best adapted to the

necessities of the climate. The marble terraces of the upper floors are delightful. The sensation of freshness they create, while adding to the comfort of the body, give an appearance the most gratifying and tasteful to the eye. The decorations are appropriate. The rich and variegated mahogany of the country, is manufactured into elegant furniture by the artizans here. And the French taste of gilded mirrors, or molu clocks, and porcelain vases filled with artificial flowers, impart to the dwellings of the simple Haytian citizen, an air of refinement not unworthy of Europe. These edifices are the first fruits which the security of property has yielded since the recognized independence of Hayti. About fifteen of the houses have been erected within this last two years, and about thirty others, equal in size and internal convenience, but not alike cased with stone and brick, have also been built. The lofty pyramidal roofs of these buildings are finished with the sort of turreted sky-light called a Belvidere, being intended for the purpose of ventilation, as well as for a look-out; and while adding greatly to convenience as a dwelling-house, gives an architectural effect to the town, at once handsome and picturesque.

“The social progress which the Haytians are making, under the influence of their new political condition, will be best appreciated by contrasting these evidences of their domestic state with the numerous buildings of the old city that yet remain; whatever may have been the wealth of the old colonists, whatever their refinement and breeding, the external appearance and internal economy of their ancient houses, exhibit an extraordinary disregard to all taste and elegance.” “If such was the ancient city in its time of colonial prosperity, we cannot wonder that the Haytian, not in the insecurity of their independence, for that, nature, by the barrier of mighty mountains, had placed beyond all risk of being overturned, but in the insecurity of property by the lee shore, daily liable to destruction from the hostile armaments of France, should be contented to inhabit the old city, not merely without attempting to improve its architectural appearance, but at all times prepared to leave its enemies nothing but its ashes. As soon, however, as the acknowledgement of their independence, by the once sovereign state, placed them beyond the necessity of resorting to that system of desperate defence, which, by the fiftieth article of their constitution, has been made an essential element of their liberty, ‘that at the first sound of the alarm gun, the towns should disappear, and the nation should rise in arms,’ houses have been erected of elegant character, and of permanent materials. All the prudence which a long futurity of peaceful possession suggests has been attended to in their construction. We see, in these facts, the sure evidence of the country’s progress in the arts of civilized life. Unhappily, however, the little wealth of a people who, *estimating liberty above all price*, had been contented to endure poverty in their sacrifices to possess it, has been greatly dissipated, if not wholly swept away, by the ruin so recently suffered by conflagration. One third of the city, eight years ago, fell by the destructive element. Industry has in a great measure repaired this calamity, but the marks are not entirely obliterated. Ruined walls are still visible, and the absolute poverty entailed on many families of comparative

opulence, and the diminished fortune of those heretofore esteemed rich, have retarded the progress of this better spirit.

“Few public objects in Port-au-Prince offer claim to more than cursory notice. The palace of government is large and convenient, but not handsome. It is of one story, and situated in front of the parade, to the south-east of the town. Its entrance is up a fine flight of steps, leading through a spacious portico into the hall of audience. The floors of all the public rooms are of black and white marble. The furniture is tasteful and elegant, but not costly. This building, the residence of the governor general of the ancient colony, was constructed with more attention to convenience than effect. The apartments are pleasantly cool. Its situation, at the edge of a fine plain beneath the mountains, appropriated as a review ground, is unobstructed by buildings on either side. It has spacious gardens around it, which secure it the agreeable influence of the sea and land breezes at all times, early and late.

“In front of the entrance gate of the palace, near one of the fountains of the city, with a single tree of the *Palma Nobilis* growing beside it, is the marble tomb of the President Petion. It is a plain edifice, containing the remains of one, who, by his genius, perseverance and valour, having saved a people, has given to a simple shrine the lustre and importance of a costly and splendid mausoleum. The Haytians, in their deep affection for his virtues, never speak of him, but with an epithet—as, “Their father Petion,” or as, “The man who never caused a tear, but when he died.” (*Il ne fit couler des larmes qu’a sa mort.*)”

“In a temporary shed, not far distant from this tomb, are sculptured marbles for a superb mausoleum, lately received from Europe, which it is said will displace the existing one, but, consecrated as this is by early associations, it is to be hoped that it will be preserved as a sacred relic, standing where it does. The humble character of the present fabric, erected in the poverty and infancy of the republic, renders it, like the widow’s mite, not less worthy or less acceptable, than splendid offerings out of the abundant treasury of the rich, since the people who built the simple shrine, gave freely all that they possessed in the midst of penury and distress.

“To the north east of the town, in a line with the terraces and fountains, erected in front of what was formerly the residence of the intendant general of the ancient colony, stands the church, a plain humble building, having a flight of steps at the western entrance, and encircled by a wooden gallery. It is neatly fitted up within, arched and supported by square columns, but without any pretensions to architectural regularity.”

“The senate house is one of the new buildings just completed. It is well proportioned. The façade has a pleasing effect, though of no architectural order. The projecting front is a pediment containing a sculptured bas relief of the tree of Haytian liberty and independence. It is the *Palma Nobilis*, surrounded with military trophies. The ground floor is erected with an arched roof of masonry, supported by columns; and contains the senate-hall, with side galleries, for the public. In the upper story are the Bureaus. This house has not yet been opened for

deliberative purposes. It is graced by a full length portrait of the Abbé Gregoire, in his episcopal robes.

“The Lycée, or public college of the city, is also one of the newly erected edifices. It is a large plain building, supported on a row of arches, and has a convenient extent of garden attached to it. The entire ground floor comprises the school; it is of large dimensions, cool and airy.

“The new custom-house, with its warehouse and quay, has been commenced some time, but little progress is as yet made in completing it.”

“The mint, and secretary of state’s offices, are neat buildings, but not large. These are among the number of ancient edifices. The arsenal was destroyed by an accidental explosion, in 1820; nothing but the workshops exist. There are no magazines. The prison is well arranged. It is judiciously ventilated, and watered by two fountains; and has a garden within its walls. The military hospitals have nothing to excite particular attention.

“The public fountains are reservoirs discharging their surplus waters through convenient pipes.” “The octagonal basin in the city market, is neat, and surmounted with an elegantly formed Grecian vase. The terraced pond for horses up the town, is highly useful and convenient. When the government shall be able to carry into effect their determination of removing the unsightly slates that surround and deform the market-squares, and erect a substantial circuit of simple sheds on durable columns instead, the effect will be elegant. At present, all their intentions in the erection of useful and ornamental public works, sustain a complete paralysis, by the draining which their treasury suffers from the French indemnity.

“The city of Port-au-Prince covers a large space of ground. It is certainly nearly, if not quite, as large as Kingston, in Jamaica; being a full mile in extent, from the portal of St. Joseph to the barrier of Leogane; but it is not estimated to contain more than from twenty to 25,000 inhabitants, whereas Kingston contains from thirty to 40,000, a slave community permitting the free to have about them many attendants, so that each house is more numerously tenanted.”

“There are excellent public baths in Port-au-Prince, hot and cold, the tepid waters are those which common experience has established as best for the purposes of health in this climate.

“The frequent ornamental cottages embellishing the upland slopes and little plateaus of the mountain side, which arrested my attention as the ship approached the harbour of Port-au-Prince, rendering me eager to view them near, have led me to become an early visitor amid their quiet and sequestered scenes. If their first aspect impressed my mind with a picture in which were to be found variety and beauty, a visit to the spot realized all the anticipations I had formed by adding to the exuberant fertility of the soil, and the pleasing variety of the surface, the comforts of convenient and even splendid habitations. Rivulets, bursting from the mountain side, were seen winding their transparent courses, through artificial channels of mason work, so arranged, for the purposes of irrigation, as to spread perpetual refreshment and fertility through the vegetation of fields and gardens. Here and there at convenient spots,

the waters were gathered in wells beneath embowered thickets of fruits and flowers. After filling a reservoir at each dwelling for the purposes of a family bath, whose refreshment might be sought amid the concealment of twisted jessamines and roses,—or the rich dense canopy of the large granadilla passion flower, in which the thick purple blooms were broken by the red panicles of the Tahitian rose, and the white tufts of the frangissance, and of the resida or the tree mignonette, they poured their surplus waters from one terrace of the declivities to the other. The dwellings were essentially cottages, with opened and embowered galleries around them. They were large, convenient, and well furnished. Where the roofs were finished with the picturesque belvidere, so well adapted for the purposes of ventilation, the external scene of a sort of Venetian turret arising amid clumps of tropical trees was very pleasing. The floors were of chequered marble, or of the ornamental tiles so common in the houses of Paris. The out-offices, such as the kitchens, stables and servants' residences, diversified by occasional trees, were spread about, and increased the appearance of substantial comfort. There were the residences of the Haytian functionaries, the foreign merchants, and the more substantial indigenes, who drew their wealth from the trade of the city, and sought here a change of air, and quiet repose for themselves and families. The extent of each of these little farms was ordinarily not more than fifteen acres, and seldom exceeded twenty. Their products were limited to a copious supply of fruits and vegetables, for their own domestic use, and of corn and grass for their horses. The difficulty of obtaining hired labour does not enable those who could command capital to attempt any cultivation beyond what is required, for their own family economy, in this sort of occasional retirement.

“These villas of the more opulent inhabitants are not without their neighbourhood of small independent cultivators. The patches of corn fields which spot the forests of the mountains, the thick groves of the Bananas which line the hollows of the steeps, and the shrubby breaks of coffee trees which here and there diversify the luxuriant vegetation of hill and valley, are the agricultural wealth that conceal the domestic haunts of the Haytian husbandmen.—It is only when the traveller opens some angle of the ravines, that he sees the cottage itself, situated on some small plateau within the hollow, and commanding its own stream of clear and limpid waters, trenched along the upland surface of its own little quiet property for the purposes of fertility and refreshment. The frequent gusts and tornadoes which sweep along the abrupt descents of the mountain, have taught the farmer of the torrid zone, the necessity of making his provision grounds within these sheltering hollows, as the Banana (*musa paradisiaca et sapientium*) the staff of life to the great portion of mankind within the tropics, like all deciduous plants, never rises from where it falls, but rots as soon as the winds injure its stem, which is but a frail net-work of cellular water cavities, these plantations in the sheltering hollows and ravines, are a necessary part of the cultivator's economy. The situation which gives security to his food from the casualties of storms, offers the best protection for his own thatched cottage.—He builds it therefore, by necessity as much as predilection,

within the cool sequestered valley of the mountains, and finds there in preference to every other place 'health in the breeze' and 'solace from the storm.'

"The cultivation of the range of mountains from Point Lamentin to the valley of the Cul de Sac, on the south side of Port-au-Prince, is, at this time, much more extensive than it ever was in the period of its colonial history. The *plains* were a source of such abundant profit for the industry of the proprietor, that the *mountains* in the neighbourhood were comparatively neglected. At present they are covered with a thousand small settlements, appropriated to coffee and provisions, and fruits and vegetables, in which all have secured for their fields the advantages of irrigation, under the surveillance of a *rural police*, which regulates diligently the arrangement and proper keeping of these important water courses. On the very spots where Christophe, as recently as in the time of the nascent republic of Petion, after clearing away brushwood and forest-trees, planted his batteries, and unsuccessfully invested the city, the cottage of the humble cultivator is seen, or the substantial country-seat of the Haytian merchant has been erected. All these are new plantations. Dr. Pinckard, in his Notes on the West Indies, when speaking of the vicinity of this city, as it appeared in 1797, observes, that 'villas, pens, and country-houses, at a short distance from the town, are far less numerous around Port-au-Prince than Kingston in Jamaica. The merchants,' he remarks, 'do not leave their dwellings, but content themselves with a single establishment, making the house of business their constant and only place of residence.' But now "le Camp des Fourmis," (the mountain so called), once so tranquil and untrodden by the foot of man, that its forests and caverns successfully concealed the arms, and covered the early assemblies of the revolted people of colour; has now, as has been already observed, as if its ancient appellation was prophetically given, its *swarms* of men and women, youths and maidens, and strong-limbed children around its cottage settlements, and by the borders of every stream that issues from the mountain side."

"There is a greater equality in the stature of the *black inhabitants of Hayti* than among the people of those colonies in which various African races are yet perceptibly traceable. We do not encounter many persons extraordinarily tall, and many others that are small but well proportioned. The prevalent average of height is about five feet ten inches among the men, and the women, considered relatively, are taller. They are well formed, round and firm of limb, seldom corpulent, but never thin;—they are generally strong and muscular, active in make, and vigorous in body. Their features are essentially African, yet the thick lips, the large mouth, and the flat nose, less prevail among them than a certain moderate proportion, which gives no special prominence or largeness of form to any particular lineaments. Their eyes are fine, their countenances quick and intelligent, and their teeth preserve the hereditary peculiarity of Africa, of being always well set, regular, and beautifully white. Their upright, athletic make, and habitual consciousness of freedom, reminds the West Indian of the Jamaica Maroon. There is the same mien—the same gait—the same impression of liberty. The

evidences of age so seldom appear verging beyond fifty years, that a person, inspecting minutely the companies of their soldiery, as they muster on the Sunday morning, would take them all for the "elite" of their youth. The fact is, the old have really passed away. The civil discords of the country, twenty and thirty years ago, yielded such a harvest of death, that those who were sufficiently matured to take part in the contests have been cut off, and a young race of inhabitants alone exists, among whom servitude, and the cruelties of unrequited labour, are tales of former times. If one sees, occasionally, aged men or women in the streets, be assured that the dishonouring traces of slavery are indelibly written in their aspect and their manners."

"In dress, the people of the country, as well as town, appear in general attentive to their attire. The prevailing colour of the female clothing is generally some bright tint, either distributed in broad stripes, or forming a ground of yellow, blue, or red, diversified by large flowers. Their head-dress is the graceful turbanet of the Madrass handkerchief. This sort of tiara, which is peculiar to all classes and gradations of African and European blood, whilst contrasting admirably with the shadowy complexions of these tropical climates, combines at once economy and elegance. Nothing can exceed the propriety of this costume, both as it regards its use and appearance. A light kerchief invariably covers the bosom in door and out, with this difference, that when the person walks in the sunshine it is drawn up, and held half across the face, until scarce more than the eyes appear, as a screen against the excessive heat. Umbrellas are used as a shelter for the head, but no bonnet is in use among them. The covering of the men is the shirt of blue or pink-coloured check, and the trowsers of sheeting. Sometimes it is simply the trowsers of sheeting, over which is worn a short frock of the same material, drawn close, and bandaged round the waist with a coloured handkerchief. The head is *generally* among the men as it is *universally* among the women, encircled by the handkerchief. The shoe, manufactured from the leather of the country, is in common use, and forms an extensive and lucrative source of handicraft industry. Along the piazzas of the shops a large display of this requisite of personal convenience and comfort, in the traffic of the market-day, shews the extent to which shoes are in use. Government has laid a prohibitory duty on the importation of those ready made. The shoes of Haytian manufacture are of superior workmanship, and, at the present rate of exchange, average from 4s. 6d. to 7s. 6d. for the men's; those for the women are lower priced."

"There is certainly an elevation of character in the countenances of this people which indicates, as I have before observed, the workings of a disposition excited by better motives than those of fear and submission." "A general courteousness and decency prevail among all classes of the people in Hayti. Shut out from all intercourse with the neighbouring colonies, and enjoying no contact with European society, but through their communication with the few mercantile residents in these parts, they have, notwithstanding, acquired a very remarkable air of civility and respect; and yet their acquaintance with the manners of civilized life is very limited through this last channel. The foreigners

domiciled among them are, in most instances, without European wives or European families, and have rather acquired the manners and sentiments, and adopted the habits of the society in which they have been placed, than modified in any respect those they found already existing.

“To me,” says our traveller, “who have had an opportunity, from my birth and long residence in a slave colony, of forming by comparison a correct estimate of this people’s advancement, the general quiet conduct, and respectful behaviour of all classes here, publicly and privately, is a matter exciting great surprise. No community however well regulated can present an aspect of greater order and tranquillity than Port-au-Prince. The quietness of its streets is never disturbed by scenes of riot, debauchery, or indecency. If one goes to the fountains where women, men, and children, are congregated in crowds, one’s ears are never outraged by the language of quarrel or obscenity; in the markets all is conducted in peace, with good faith, and mutual courteousness.

“The Haytians very justly observe, that whatever questions may be raised as to whether their life is one of well directed industry, or of carelessness, sloth, and ease, they can point to the fact that there is impressed on the people the habit of good manners, and of attention to their personal appearance, as a striking circumstance within the reach of the most superficial inquirers. As it neither arises from any system of severe police, nor is stimulated by any peculiar diligence on the part of religious instructors, the influence of *public* devotion not operating beyond the precincts of the Towns, it can only be ascribed to the elevation which liberty gives to character, and the increase of happiness and social comfort which this regard to character incontestably establishes. The decent demeanour of the people was the first remarkable feature in Haytian society, which struck the benevolent mind of Robert Owen, when he landed from the English packet at Jacmel. After noticing the habitual sense of propriety, which he found every where existing, he declares, and he has written his declaration, that he seeks in his theory of human happiness and prosperity the attainment of no greater felicity for mankind, than he found possessed by the inhabitants of Hayti. It was this opinion which induced Mr. Owen’s extraordinary disciple and coadjutor, Miss Frances Wright, to visit this country recently, and to place in the hands of the president of this republic the thirty redeemed slaves she had purchased in America. Let a person look down on the streets of Port-au-Prince in the morning, when the families crowd around their windows and doors to enjoy the first burst of fresh air, after their rising from repose, and he will perceive them to be early risers, and observers of great neatness in their attire, even at this very first coming out to their domestic avocations. He will see them too observing something like a proper sense of religion, by their frequent going forth carefully dressed to the daily matin service of their church, and on their feast days and holidays, by their thronged attendance at public worship. In the evening as they sit beneath the humble galleries of their public streets enjoying the relaxations of the day, and forming, around the doors of their quiet homes, little gaily dressed conversational groupes, with fine, healthy, lively, and well-fed children around them, let a stranger as he passes them, and gives and receives the customary good evening, look

at the order and cheerfulness of their dwellings, and he will perceive that the free mould in which this people are cast is stamped with something of the moral as well as the physical blessings of liberty and ease."

We shall be excused for inserting the inclosed anecdote, though it does not quite fall in with our more immediate object in this abstract.

"August 4th. The other afternoon as I stood under the gallery of Mr. Wood's store, a merchant of Port-au-Prince, I felt very much interested in seeing a blind negro of middle age, clean and neatly clad, who came with an ass-load of coffee bags, that he had been sewing: the kind of labour by which he earned for himself a livelihood. He was attended by his two sons, two stoutly formed children, of so near an approximation in height, that one would call them twins, and reckon their several ages to be about six years. One of the boys held the halter of the animal, and led it onward to the store entrance, the other gave his shoulder to his father's hand, who rested upon it lightly for his guidance, his other arm being raised to support on his head, a parcel of the same sort of bags with which his ass was loaded. The father's hands being both occupied, his little boy had to carry his walking stick, the faithful coco macaque of the Haytian peasant, a weapon of defence little less effective than the sword in the hands of a skilful and athletic man. This he grasped somewhat towards the ferrule, and brandished now and then with the air of a drum-major, replying as he went on to some remarks made to him by his parent, but having withal an infantile carelessness in his demeanour, as if he scarce listened to what was said. The other lad who had the ass for his companion, had it also for his conversation, he spoke to it familiarly when he wished to turn towards the right or left, and between the two such a mutual understanding of good will subsisted, that the words were a sufficient substitute for blows at all times. In a minute or two they all stopped beneath the piazza.—Each seemed to know from a constant habit, the office he had to perform.—The father threw from his head the sacks.—The son that guided him untied them, and delivered them over to be counted.—The boy with the ass proceeded to slacken his gear, and to unload him; the father to carry the bundles within the store.—The ass stood quiet; stretched his leg and scratched his knee, and then gently slook his sides as he felt himself eased of his burthen.—In an instant each was away again in the same sort of order in which they came, except that the father took his walking stick and stepped on with confidence, having his hand still on the shoulder of the little son that guided him as he came, and now guided him as he went away. The blind man is reputed for his activity and acuteness. He knows every body, and every thing, and every where. On remarking to him that he was happy in his misfortune in having two such youths to assist him, he observed that he felt so, for they were indeed a help to him. But his better fortune did not rest here; he was happy in being the inhabitant of a country in which no man claimed him as a property, and tasked his person in his heavy visitation with uncompensated toil. How different would he have been in his affliction in a slave colony? No inducement would have been created to overcome the disadvantages of his condition, by one rational exertion for the supply of his own wants, but many to compel those who held him in fee,

to do it for him and in his dependence to neglect and starve him into the bargain. His children would neither have brought consolation nor help to him. They would have been scourged and worked for the service of any other than their parent. The tie of filial affection would have been broken. He would have been a father without sons, and they sons without a father. This man had lost his eye-sight in the performance of his duties as a soldier. He was now worthless to his country as a soldier, but he was still useful as a citizen. He earned his bread by his own industry, and he brought up his children honestly. He gave to the commonwealth those in whose hearts, duty, affection, good humour, and the pride of self respect, would work for individual and for public good. I do not record this instance of industry, and well applied exertion of the senses under their partial deprivation as an exception to a general rule. In Hayti I have found at every step of my travels evidence of the positive blessings of freedom. Its beneficial influence is so broadly written, both morally and physically, that he that runs may read, and I have written this as a sort of extreme case, that one may the better judge, of those that are intermediate. I found from Mr. Wood's statement that this man in his blindness could, without assistance, earn as much as eight dollars a week by sewing bags; making a sum equal to four hundred dollars in the year."

"I have frequently been surprised, amused, and gratified, at the facility with which the people of this infant country, can rise above their condition, assume the demeanour of courteous life, and act with a natural ease, an unrestrained feeling, in all the thousand incidents of a mixed company, as if the best social intercourse had formed their habits from their youth upward. It is, perhaps, the only country where you shall take the artizan, his wife and children, the petite bourgeoisie and the grizette of the boutique, and whether in the ball-room, or in the free sociality of a fête champetre, you shall see an affability, and frankness so polished and spiritual, as to surprise a stranger. Mr. Owen observed this when he went on shore at Jacmel, in his way to Mexico, and thus speaks of it. 'It was a religious holiday—every thing was new to me, and more new in consequence of its being the first free coloured population I had ever seen. It was better dressed, cleaner, more orderly, and more mild and polite in its demeanour, the one to the other, than any working or trading people I had ever seen in any civilized country. There was more urbanity in the expression of countenance than I had witnessed in Europe and America.' But you shall find this sort of habit not alone in the towns, but diffused through the country. I have, when travelling, come suddenly upon a cottage settlement amid the forest, and have been greeted by the bows and curtsies of the children, with a grace, ease and confidence, which shewed that it was an every day complaisance, and not depending upon their intercourse with cities, or their sight of strangers."

"No one who knows the events which placed Hayti in the list of nations, and the long warfare which fixed thousands of soldiers in dependance on the productive labour of the country, oppressing, but not destroying it, checking, but not wholly arresting its progres-

sive improvement, but must see that she possesses an army not to be cashiered when she no longer demands its services. A course of reduction since the treaty with France was, however, going on. It worked safely, because it was prudently restricted to the dismissal of those who were free from motives of unambitious repose. Men who had a foretaste that a citizen, living by his own industry, and in the enjoyment of domestic happiness, was really in an enviable condition of life, being instigated by those better motives, which preferred the profits of agricultural labour to the meagre pay, the thievery and licentious idleness of a soldier, daily asked their dismissal, and daily obtained it. This mode of disbanding the army was a prudent avoidance of all evils. The number of operative citizens was increased by men of the best moral quality, while the army was composed of those whose very habits placed them most judiciously under the surveillance of military discipline. As the service, however, was regulated by the fifth chapter of the Code Rural, with a view to its assisting in the tillage of the country, by permitting the soldiery to work with proprietors of plantations by the week, by the month, or by the year, at contracted prices; binding them to aid in the labour connected with the conduits for irrigation, with the wells, cisterns, fences, and enclosures of gardens and savannas, and the general maintenance of order, without additional payment; and allowing them to fill their guard duties, by substitute, at a regulated stipend; it operated as a never-ceasing creation of fit objects for the usual congé for dismissal.

“Such a system was working silently and well; 40,000 troops had been already reduced to 28,000, when the ill-timed reclamation of Spain for the eastern part put the country in an attitude of preparation for war, and arrested at once all further reduction of the military force. It is now occupied in marching and counter-marching through the republic without seeing an enemy, depriving the plantations of that labour which the system in practice has made a part of the exigencies of agriculture, creating ruin in districts from which the force is deducted, and loss in those to which it is added; at once impoverishing the provinces, and exhausting the treasury. A security against that disposition to the military system growing out of a long life of war, is now delayed in its progress, but there is no doubt that it will be eventually attained.”

“Hayti has injured herself by venturing to secure her acknowledged independence from France for a sum so overwhelming in amount as 30,000,000 dollars. The sum itself is enormous, and the peculiar period at which the event has taken place operates forcibly in aggravating the evil. It blights her destinies as a commercial country, just when her agriculture was reviving—when the people were appreciating the conveniencies and luxuries of civilized life, and when her institutions were being formed with the habits of a riper experience. Her tranquil and useful progress among the free nations of America is retarded. Her hope of revival consists in that undying spirit which secures her liberty from ever being annihilated.

‘Previous to this deplorable occurrence all the disjointed parts of the island had been united; her means had been so developed that

she could safely count on her revenue for all exigencies. She could have reduced her army, and by increasing the discipline of a less force, when she had no internal enemy to grapple with, render them for all threatened invasion a still more effective resistance than may be hoped for, 'from the hills and from the multitude of the mountains.' The inherent desire of her inhabitants to improve their condition was already putting the government on the salutary policy of a reduction of duties, that by the relinquishment of every burthensome impost, the things needful and convenient might be placed within the reach of the bulk of society. The mass of the population bore the evidence that a sense of propriety and a more cultivated taste, was daily extending and daily stimulating their wants. An eagerness for articles, known by her agricultural people at no previous period of her history, was generally diffused, and luxuries so merged into the necessaries of life, that ultimately it was deemed discreditable to be without them. In this quiet and satisfactory advancement of an improving population, the French indemnity came, as a tributary exaction to burthen and oppress every individual. Men were to pay in money for what they had already earned in blood—contributions were to be levied for a measure universally obnoxious—three of the principal towns refused their quota—districts assumed the attitude of revolt—the security of property was shaken—its appreciation diminished—its labour unsettled—the public murmurs became deep and loud against the pusillanimity of the government, and those who could not escape the tax sought to lessen the oppression by assuming such an appearance, and adopting such an expenditure, that there should be no pretext in the state to increase the exaction.*

"July 19, 1830. I am about to visit the plains of the Cul de Sac. The result of this visit will be given in my next."

"Before the revolution had changed the fertile plains of the Cul de Sac to a wilderness, they were so watered and enriched by cultivation, that they exhibited one scene of perennial verdure—straight roads and pathways, bordered by the citron, orange, and campeachy wood, intersected the lands—sugar works spotted the surface at certain distances; their numbers at the same time giving them the appearance of being near to each other. The spacious residences of the proprietors fronted the highway. The avenues which led to them

* Our traveller, adverting to the statement of Mr. Mackenzie, so much at variance with the official returns of the census of 1824, which made the population amount to 935,000, while Mr. Mackenzie affirms it, in his Report, p. 86, to be only 423,000, remarks that this gentleman's "Notes on Hayti," (Vol. II. p. 113 and 114), seem to furnish a solution of the discrepancy. It is true that 423,000 was about the number who were called upon to contribute to the French indemnity, but this number comprised only those who were capable of labour, whether men or women, and excluded the young and the old. But for these exceptions, and had the tax been forced on every head, it is obvious that the tax would have pressed most heavily on those who were burthened already with numerous families of infant children. As a proof of this, the number set down as liable to pay the tax in Port-au-Prince was only 9163, though Mr. Mackenzie must have been aware that this was not nearly half of the population of that place.

were adorned by trees and flowering hedges ; and the frequent gateways, scarcely more than four or five hundred paces apart, presented incessant scenes of the busy people, stirring within and without them, while horses and cattle, waggons and chaises, traversed the roads, almost without intermission, by night and by day. The mansions of those who commanded this fertility and opulence were, however, not lofty. They rose only to the height of one story, with a threshold elevated above the surface of the soil by a slight terrace, and encircled by a wide gallery, around which clustered the rich and fragrant blossoms of the tropics, imparting to them an aspect rather of rural comfort and ease than of stately pomp and costly elegance. They were not of mason work, but being built of wood and plaister, on account of the frequent earthquakes, during the revolution they soon fell to decay, or rather, what the fire did not destroy, time demolished. The store-houses, and works of the estate, which stood contiguous to them, were, however, more solidly constructed. These, crumbling into ruins, near clumps of the ancient garden trees, sufficiently indicate the vestiges of the power and wealth of the former masters of the soil, and the beauty that now lies desolate.

“ The scene presented to the view of the traveller, however, who quits the city of Port-au-Prince, to journey on the highway to the mountains that divide this plain from the valley of the Artibonite, through a wild waste, is not solitary. On the road he will meet a multitude of cultivators coming to the city market, with horses and asses loaded with provisions. He will see waggons with produce drawn by teams of hardy and healthy cattle, speeding past him. He may conclude that the people come from the mountains above the plains, but the waggons and their produce must be from the plains themselves. If he departs from the high road, and turns to the right hand through one of the woodland paths, that he perceives diverging to the upper end of the river, to the mountain glens, or to the banks of the inland lakes at the head of the plain, he will find himself entering into open grounds, covered with verdant fields ; he will see traces every where visible of renewed cultivation ; mansions re-erected ; aqueducts re-conducting their streams to irrigate the land ; the sound of water-mills at work ; and cottages no longer deserted, but tenanted by labourers once more issuing from them to gather in the harvest of the teeming soil. Where the wild jungle occasionally breaks in on the restored hedge-rows, if he observes, he will find it affording herbage and shelter to numerous horses and asses that belong to the husbandmen of the districts, and make part of the economy of the plantation.

“ On the morning of the 22d July, in company with some half dozen friends, I paid my first visit to these far-famed plains. The day-break was faintly streaking the sky beyond the mountains, when we passed the portal of St. Joseph, and saw before us the steep, bold summit of the Morne de Grand Bois, rising majestically into the dawn. The road stretches along the declivity of the sterile line of marl hills, leading to the celebrated Pont Rouge, a simple wooden bridge, painted red, where Dessalines was surprised in an ambuscade and killed ; about two miles further is the pretty habitation of Drouillard, one of the

estates of the President Boyer. The lawn in front was parched, but the fields to the rear looked green and fertile. It is a sugar estate, commanding a supply of water, for mill-work and irrigation, from some of the upland sources.

“On advancing into the forest, we see the water-mill and sugar-house of Cazeau in ruins, overgrown with wild vines and rank herbage. A little further on, before we cross the Grande Rivière, we arrive at a straggling village of cultivators' cottages, with gardens and provision grounds, recently cleared out of the forest, and, hedged in, form a sort of bourgade by the side of little streamlets. Passing these, we come to the Grande Rivière, flowing frettingly over its bed of stones, a small, unsightly, shallow stream, that divides itself into frequent parallel courses, making many river islands. The bounds over which its winter inundations sweep, are an arid and stony desert. When we had got about three leagues from Port-au-Prince, we found ourselves at Croix des Bouquets, at present a large scattered village with little of either fertility or vegetation around it.

“This once celebrated town of the plains was occupied chiefly by the artisans, who enjoyed a source of constant and profitable employment from the wants of its agricultural neighbourhood. Its numerous coloured population—its proximity to Port-au-Prince—its situation in the centre of the immense plain of the Cul de Sac—gave it a most fearful importance in the first shock of the revolution. It was here that the inhabitants of the mixed race, when every enterprise of liberty had failed elsewhere, found themselves sufficiently strong to contend in arms for their civil and political rights, and to obtain them by victory.

“We entered the ancient Bourg at an open space, where, of old, stood the town market. Every where, amid the wild vegetation, traces of its former tenements were perceptible. The streets were laid out at right angles; and, from the distance to which their vestiges extended, to the right and to the left, before and behind, the town must have been large, and its destruction complete. We found groups of well dressed females, all apparently black, gathering under some trees to attend the matin service of the church close by, and loitering to gossip and enjoy the freshness of the opening day. The church itself, a rude edifice, as simple as a country barn, stood within the protruding remnants of its old walls, having a wooden cross, a substitute for the ancient Croix des Bouquets, erected before its entrance. At a little distance onward to the north, was the old fort, with its circular bastions, built by the English during their struggle when engaged in the war between the French planters and their slaves. On the line of the old streets, many a substantial new house was rising into existence. The frequent thatched cottages seen among them, were a reparation of old residences. A municipal regulation at present exists, which prohibits the re-construction of any tenement of quality less than shingled houses. The village at the Croix des Bouquets is again rapidly rising into the importance of a town, but as it stands within the stony district which borders the Grande Rivière, its immediate vicinity will never exhibit much tillage. Cultivation is, however, increasing through the plains, and gardens are seen intermingled with the cottages in the town. The

establishment of the sugar plantations is restoring the ancient villages of husbandmen, and the shopkeepers already thronging to the Bourg to supply the neighbourhood with the cotton manufactures of England, the wines of France, and the linens of Germany, are gathering there the busy stir of life and industry. *Petits cabarets* are open in the market-place, and shops for miscellaneous merchandize, are very general through the village streets."

"Before arriving at *Dignerou*, the farm of Mr. Roper, about three miles further on, where myself and a party of friends were to sojourn for the day, and partake of the hospitality of the house, we passed patches of cultivation near some of the old water courses, but they rather served to shew than to relieve the apparent desolation around us, and the solitude into which we had again entered. On turning up to the right hand from the road, we entered the farm of *Dignerou*. Its yards, with horses and cattle feeding, and sheds, with ploughs, waggons, tumbrils and harrows, presented to our view something like the existence of the systematic tillage of Europe. *Dignerou* is a plantation of one hundred and thirty acres in extent, of which, however, scarce more than thirty are in cultivation. The greater portion, not reclaimed from the kind of wilderness to which it was abandoned in the revolutionary wars, presents an appearance little less than that of an arid and unprofitable desert. Towards the southern extremity of the lines, where the fields receive the waters of the *Grande Rivière* from the old *Basin de Distribution*, in common with the neighbouring properties of *Baubain*, *Morinière* and *Canière*, Mr. Roper has subjected thirty acres of enclosed land to the experiment of plough husbandry.

"These thirty acres are cultivated with the care and economy of an English farm—a plough drawn by two horses, directed by two American labourers, a man and boy, and superintended by himself, suffices to keep them in perfect cultivation. A road for the cart passes right through the centre of his fields. To the right and to the left are extended his grass lands, with his divisions of yams, patata, manioc, and corn. To these succeed his plantations of cane, intermingled with alternate rows of corn, of a later growth than the preceding, and lines of patatas. There is an obvious advantage in this mixture of other productions with the sugar-cane, as the maize and the patatas require, at certain seasons, inspection and care, the time and attention bestowed upon them is necessarily so much management devoted to the cane also. Its growth becomes matured by a free circulation of air. It thrives unincumbered with weeds, and as the dried leaves, which wither as the joints of the sugar-cane rise up, would check the corn, or impede the vegetation of the patata, they are stripped off, and thus the cane receives an attention equal to the care required by the plants alternately growing with them; something like a rotation of crops, too, is secured by this method, and the soil kept from exhaustion. All the productions are put in with the plough. This implement, at one place, in turning up the soil opens the cane holes, and at another drills the trenches for the maize and patata.

"A strong saccharine juice circulates in the succulent vegetation of that species of *convolvulus* called the patata, rendering it an important

article of food for horses, cattle, sheep and hogs, in the economy of a tropical farmer. This name, assigned it by the Indians of these isles, has been improperly transferred by the early English navigators to the *Solanum tuberosum*. The distinction has always been properly preserved by the French and Spaniards. When this convolvulus, whose leaves closely cluster over the ground, has put forth its pink blossoms, giving the fields an appearance not unlike that of red clover, the tops, day after day, are cut, green and fresh for the stied hogs and the penfold cattle and horses. The farinaceous bulbs, that cling like excrecences to the roots, are now fit to be taken up. On the farm of Dignerou the all-useful plough has been brought in aid, to disengage them from the earth in which they are embedded. In the instance of our visit, Mr. Roper exhibited to us its practical operation in unearthing patatas. As it turned up the furrows of the soil, so it bared them to those who picked them up. Two persons followed with a basket, and collecting the patatas, cast them into a light cart that advanced with the ploughman through the field. Nothing could be conceived more expeditious and effectual than this system. The work that was done in five minutes must have required the labour of an hour of the usual mode of the hoe. The harrow was afterwards brought to pulverize the soil, to disengage whatever might remain in the furrowed clods, and to rake out the weeds, which were thus collected with facility, dried in the sun, and burnt on the spot. I tried the plough with my own hand, and though unskilled in this sort of labour, found it perform its work with perfect ease.

“In the process of irrigation the usual cast of the furrows formed intervals for the streaming waters. When small canals were required to be cut, the plough performed the office of channelling the earth. The waters flowed from the sluices through the beds where they were required, and a temporary dam of the loose mould confined them where necessary, or excluded them where they were not wanted. The soil being rendered thoroughly porous by the arable process to which it was subjected, plentifully absorbed the refreshing moisture, so that every leaf of herbage, in a season unusually droughty, had the appearance of enjoying the influence of perpetual showers. The bananery was not in this part of the plantation, but immediately adjacent to the farm-yard; a wilderness of acacias, used as a sort of common for the horses, asses, and cattle, stretching between the fields and the farm.

“Beside the canal from the Grande Rivière, Dignerou was watered by a small duct from the Rivière Blanche, the lands being situated between the two streams. It was this rill that supplied the house and distillery with such water as was necessary.

“The old sugar-mill was still in use. It was for cattle, the tread being a circular ridge of mason work. It had an extremely rude appearance from being composed of the boulder lime stones collected from the bed of the Grande Rivière, the only quarry of these plains. It was substantially built, but, with the usual economy of the old colonists, it was without a covering, so that the people formerly worked, and the cattle travelled in the open air night and day, at one time exposed to the heat of the sunshine, at another to the chill of the night dews, (see

Malenfant's work on St. Domingo, p. 167.) Under the mass of wall forming the head of the mill, there was built a cachot or prison, a dark unaired dungeon for the refractory slaves of the old regime, a specimen of the severe discipline of the ancient colony. To the right and left were recesses for the fires when the dark set in, the means used to supply light for the night labour.

"The boiling-house had but three boilers, and manufactured only syrup, which, if carefully clarified in the process of making it, fetched in the market two dollars of Haytian money a quintal (a cwt.) These, at the present rate of exchange, are scarce five shillings sterling. The same weight of syrup, when distilled into rum, realizes three dollars and a half, making an additional 50 per cent for the additional labour. The old iron boilers were in use, but, notwithstanding all the economy of using the old mill and the old materials, the difficulty of procuring labour to take in the crop and grind it off, rendered the returns scarcely adequate to the rent and charges. Mr. Roper, in conjunction with a Mr. Lucas, were renters of this farm for a term of years, from Col. Rigaud, who had purchased the sequestered property. A quantity of cattle, horses, pigs, sheep and poultry, gave it the appearance of being essentially a farm, an appearance increased by the system of cultivation, and by every subordinate circumstance, such as the make of the carts, and the well-fitted neat harness of the horses, which worked the vehicles two abreast. Mr. Roper holds other cane lands in the vicinity.

"As this visit gave me the first insight into the ancient process of irrigation, I shall describe it here. Though considerable labour had been bestowed by the ancient colonists in commanding for these plains a supply of water from the rivers that flow through them, the process was extremely simple, and the works by no means expensive. When a stream of sufficient magnitude had been drawn from the river immediately at its source from the mountain glens, a spacious canal was dug in the earth at the intersection of a line of estates, extending from the uplands to the sea shore, which received the descending waters. At intervals regulated by the proximity of each plantation to the principal fosse, a small reservoir was constructed in mason work, called a basin of distribution, into which the waters were gathered, and then divided through smaller ducts in the direction of each proprietor's land. Every duct was of a dimension relatively equal to the surface of the plantation intended to be irrigated. The quantity to each was adjusted at the embouchure of the reservoir by square blocks of stone placed at stated distances to divide the water into the cubic measures to be allowed them. The rural surveillance regulated by the public was limited to the canals which passed the stream into the border of each estate; the proprietor being left to distribute the supply afforded him in any way which his own judgment best dictated for agricultural economy. The upland estates which possessed a sufficient fall of the stream, had aqueducts erected on them commanding an overshot of water for the sugar mill; but those in the centre of the plain, where there was little irregularity in the stream's descent, being constrained to the use of cattle mills, merely distributed what they received into rills through gutters

and trenches. There were proprietors who collected the water in the first instance into tanks of 200 feet in length, and 8 or 10 feet deep, which they overshadowed by groves of bamboos or other close foliage to protect them from being exhausted by the sun's rays, and this secured a resource for every exigency whatever. There were others again who accomplished the same ends by paying largely for a greater number of cubic inches of water than they were entitled to receive from the general reservoir. In the districts where cultivation has been renewed the dilapidated aqueducts have been repaired, the canals reconstructed, and the basins of distribution restored. In all these instances, whatever had fallen to decay has been sufficiently redeemed from ruin, to shew precisely the labour as well as the means used in the ancient process of irrigation.—*Malenfant*, p. 279.

“ I returned to Port-au-Prince in the evening, determining in the cloudier month of August, when occasional showers should refresh the exhausted wild herbage of the plains, and somewhat soften the severity of the heated atmosphere, to renew my survey of the agriculture at present existing in the Cul de Sac.

“ On the 5th of August, I again journeyed to the plains, and visited a friend Létoile, the ci-devant Dumornay Laboule, the Guildiverie, or distillery plantation of Mr. Jaquemont, a European merchant of Port-au-Prince. The lands are held on lease for a term of years, and comprise 36 carreaus, of which only about 20 acres are as yet in cultivation. This establishment is not only one of the completest for its size in Hayti, but perhaps one of the most perfect in the whole West Indies. The alembic in use is the most approved kind of still recently adopted in France, in manufacturing the brandies of cognac. Here it is applied to the distillation of tafia, being capable of being turned also with the greatest economy of labour and expense to the making of liqueurs. The distillery is a large, well-erected, tiled building, containing two of De Rome's patent alembics, of 120 gallons each, and which are capable of producing eight barrels of the usual spirit every day. They occupy little space, the coolers being large standing butts, covering two turns of the worm. The pumps fill a butt of 1500 gallons, that is of 24 barrels' capacity, in 41 minutes. There are 18 of these butts, and 6 others of a less bulk, or of 18 barrels in measurement. The plantation which supplies the syrup to be converted into rum has been only cleared and established within 18 months past. The newly planted cocoa palms and enclosures with fruit trees, have not yet attained any elevation so as to give variety to the surface. The soil is an intensely black mould, very light and friable. The plough is to be adopted, the lands are to be supplied with water from the Grande Rivière, and by an engagement with the neighbouring proprietor of Cazeau, it receives an augmentation over that quantity to which it is entitled.

“ On emerging, by narrow devious pathways, from the gloom of the sterile forest, we opened on the bright and fertile scenes of Chateau Blonde, an estate of which General Lerebour, the Commandant of Port-au-Prince, is proprietor. We entered a straight, wide roadway of the plantation, having the refreshing verdure of the cane fields, and the dome and turret of the sugar mills before us, and leaving on the left

hand as we passed a small group of cottages, the dwellings of the cultivators. They stood towards the open fields, sheltered only by the vegetation of the banana, and though spacious, were neither uniform nor particularly neat. An aged man repairing the gateway, and one or two fine featured, healthy bodied, cheerful, well dressed negresses, who accosted us with courtesy and passed on, and a couple of little children playing in the dust, were the only inhabitants that we met. The fields extended themselves far away to the right and left covered with canes of considerable bulk. Here and there gardens of the cultivators containing the patata and yam, the maize and the manioc, were intermingled with the sugar canes, forming occasional patches planted with great order and regularity. The Bellcome mountains lowered before us clothed in the rich verdure and diversified with the variety of aspects which the broken cultivation of its many small detached settlements gave to it. The barren cliffs forming the gorge of the valley, through which the Grande Rivière descended, formed a remarkable feature in the distant landscape. Hills of steep ascent and of vast altitude rose to the clouds, dark, shadowy and hazy, forming a back ground to the tilled fields in which the dark leaved abricot and the plumes of the palma nobilis in the gardens of Chateau Blond, seemed almost the only trees that relieved the transitions from the plains to the mountains.

“The proprietor’s residence, and the mills, and boiling house, with the aqueduct, a canal of wood, supported on columns of mason work, form altogether a quadrangle enclosing the workshops of the estate, such as the smithy and place for the mill wright. On the left hand of the enclosure is the polygonal dome erected over a steam sugar mill of eight horse power, turning horizontal rollers; while to the right stands a water mill with vertical ones; between them is the boiling house, with a turret in the centre. The whole of these buildings are of mason work, and constructed not merely substantially but elegantly. The aqueduct on one side, and a balustrade stone fence on the other, shuts in the quadrangle. Within this space may be said to be the sugar works. The proprietor’s residence, a neat cottage edifice erected on a platform of terrace work, with many a flowering shrub around it, and with the usual accompaniment of the embowered bath formed of the close coup d’air (a species of convolvulus), clustering with its lilac tinted silver blossoms, overlooked the whole economy of the mill yard. The whole estate contains ninety carreaus of land, about two hundred acres, the principal portion of which are planted in canes, the rest in provisions. About two hundred men, women, and children in all, are located upon it.

“The island of Jamaica does not exhibit a plantation better established than Chateau Blond: whether we consider the resources of the land, or the mechanical economy by which those resources are commanded, it is a splendid establishment.

“Every thing is new,—the mills, the boiling house, the aqueducts; the cottage residence, all are the productions of a few years of slow but constant labour unassisted by any pecuniary loan, or unincumbered by a mortgage. In the difficulty of obtaining a number of labourers to get in the crop of an estate, the proprietor of Chateau Blond has decided that it will be judicious to accelerate the speed of the boiling house, by

increasing the products of the mill. With this view he has availed himself on either hand of water and steam machinery, it being easier to boil quick, so as to check fermentation, than to grind quick so as to give full occupation to the boilers. As these mills do their work simultaneously, the souring of the canes by accumulation is avoided.

“The machinery of this estate, erected at very considerable expence, is designed not merely for the supply of its own wants in the elaboration of sugar, but for those of the neighbouring plantations which may be without the means of manufacturing that article. The mulcture, to use an old feudal term, paid to the proprietor of the mill, is one fourth of the inspissated juice, when boiled into the syrup of the third copper. The law limits him to one-fifth in his contracts with his cultivator, but with any other class of persons he is at liberty to bargain as he can. In the fore part of the week during crop time they cut their canes, and grind them off when a sufficiency is accumulated. The labourers, men and women, in the mill and the boiling house, perform their work occasionally by night as well as by day. Their scheme of cultivation is to allot themselves by families, and to cultivate unitedly one division of the estate, receiving the reward of their labour in a portion of what they cultivate and manufacture in their division, according to the prescriptions of the code rural. It frequently occurs that the number of persons, thus associated, are not able to proceed with sufficient celerity in the work of grinding and boiling the proceeds of the number of acres under their management and tillage, in such case the gangs are obliged to hire help from their neighbours, or from the other gangs who have no part in their allotment. In this way the work is conducted in Chateau Blond. There is in this arrangement, which has originated out of views of interest and convenience in the cultivators themselves, so much of calculation individually made, so much of contract mutually entered into, that it would be the highest absurdity to suppose that such men underwent any thing in the nature of labour stimulated by any other compulsion than that of the advantage they reap from it. I record this declaration as a sentiment expressed to me by one of the managing cultivators, who communicated answers to my questions, and conducted me over the property. They select their conducteurs* as an association would their chairman, or a benefit club their secretary and treasurer, not to drive them unwillingly to labour, but as one deputed to manage their collective interest in their bargain with the proprietor of the soil. As I had expressed a desire to see something of the domestic habits of the people and of the economy observed in their houses, the friend who accompanied me to Chateau Blond walked with me under the heat of the mid-day sun among the plantation cottages. They are so habitually civil and polite in this country that the intrusion of a stranger on such an errand as a mere visit of curiosity would have been readily excused, but we were spared the necessity of soliciting any indulgence by a negress who sat at the door of her dwelling requesting us to retire from the sunshine into the coolness and shelter which her cottage would afford us. We found three females of her family diligently engaged in

* The planters insist that *conducteur* means the same as their driver!!

their task of needle work. Beyond the courtesy of a salutation as we entered and seated ourselves in the chairs set out for us, neither curiosity at our visit, nor idle attention to our conversation drew them from their employment. The house was built with a common sitting room in the centre, and two bed rooms at each end. The furniture, beside chairs, consisted of a table on which were articles of earthenware, and shelves on which were other household utensils. The sadlery for their bou-riques was hung against the wall towards the entrance of one of the bed rooms, a mat and goat skin were spread upon the floor, upon which the infant of one of the daughters was sleeping. A compliment to the healthy lustiness of the child (and it was one which it justly merited,) brought us by a natural transition to the question of the number of the family. The father was seated beside us,—but as we were anxious not to run the risk of false facts respecting population by receiving the accounts of the offspring of the men which might be by more women than one, we directed our inquiries to the mother. We found that these cottagers were then about forty or forty-five years old, that they were the parents of thirteen children, eleven of whom were living, that seven were daughters, three of whom were married, and the mothers of five children in all; that their husbands were at their avocations in the field, as were also the male portion of the family, but that the plump fine limbed little girls whom we saw coming in and out of the cottage were the younger part of the children. While we were seated here the plantation bell sounded the summons of two o'clock, the signal for such as had occupation to resume it.—Instantly we heard the carpenters' hammers and masons' trowels renew the sound of labour, and every one without any altercation or a murmur were again busy at their appointed toil.

“The children and the young people of this estate are uncommonly fine looking. In many instances their features and their hair betrayed a slight mixture with the blood of Europe; a person of any experience at all in the characteristic traits of West Indian countenances, knows that those grades called the Sacatra, the Griffé, and the Marabon, the lowest combinations of European mixtures with the peculiarity of body and complexion of Africa, are very delicately featured, and have a full silky head of hair, not crisp, but curly and glossy. This sort of emerging from the African original is very common in Hayti, and I think on the estate of Chateau Blond, I saw one instance as beautiful in face as exists any where.

“Beyond the cottages is seen one of the ancient aqueducts, apparently in excellent condition. The only dilapidations it had suffered seemed to be in the trough for conducting the water, which was filled with the earth of decomposed vegetable substances, and overgrown with grass. Its elevation was found not to give a sufficient fall, and General Lerebon preferred constructing in a more convenient situation, the present aqueduct which occupies a line of five hundred yards. The water of this district is supplied from a stream of the Grande Rivière, drawn off at about a league's distance.

“Proceeding southward from Chateau Blond, we approach the low sterile hills, covered with *lignum vitæ*, ebony, and aloes, which protrude

themselves from below the mountains of Bellcome and La Coupe, and here bound the plain. Our road lay between rich cane fields, bordered on either hand with hedge rows of the campeche, leading to Moquet, the sugar estate of Mr. C. Lacombe. The cottages at the entrance of this plantation were of very large dimensions—stout healthy children were playing about them. The water flowed in many a rivulet about the grounds, and a quantity of poultry, such as geese and turkeys, were feeding every where. An archway through the aqueduct brought us into the mill yard, and to the proprietor's residence, a large and handsome terrace and marble floored cottage that overlooked the whole plantation. The mill, the boiling house and aqueduct, were a reconstruction of the old works, but the distillery was new, being then only in process of being built. From the situation of the sugar works on a gentle declivity, the boiling house had been erected on arched cavities, which extended under the yard, and enclosed the furnaces, forming a place for such cane trash as might be immediately required for the fires. On account of the very considerable fall of the stream, and the sudden rise of the land, the water mill was so constructed that all machinery was concealed from view under a terraced floor beneath the level of the mill yard. Nothing but the three vertical rollers were to be seen in the building where the people ground the canes, so that the whole place looked roomy, clean and compact."

"The proprietor of Moquet, Mr. C. Lacombe, is a white individual. Having held untainted his fealty to the condition of general liberty, through all the vicissitudes of the revolution, he is entitled to every civil right, even by the inhabitants of St. Domingo, at the time of proclaiming its independence.

"Before unsaddling our horses, with the intention of resting for the night at Moquet, we had seized the opportunity, while yet there was an hour of departing sunshine, to ride out and view the cultivation of the adjacent estates eastward. Well-trimmed hedge rows lined the public road on which we travelled, and I heard with interest, that these were the enclosures of some small sugar farms, the subdivisions of a concessionary grant to a military person, whose family had now parcelled the inheritance in little properties. They had their separate cottages sheltered by the luxuriant foliage of the shrubs and trees that administer food and refreshment in the tropics. They depended on the mills of their wealthier neighbours for the means of converting the crop into a commodity for sale, and in that dependance tilled their little fields, with a sure reckoning of their sugar proceeds, beside what they reaped in the shape of corn, yams, patatas, manioc, grass, and green vegetables for the weekly market.

"We turned from the principal road into the cane fields of Dumorray-bellevue. The sugar-house and mill formed a very indifferent establishment, but the cane fields were extensive, and the frequent gardens of the cultivators large and excellently managed. We saw the women and children in the fields tilling their separate allotments. The differing species of vegetables severally occupied different divisions of the surface, around which a '*bordage*' of the mould formed with the hoe, received and retained the water, whose rills poured a constant

stream around the precincts of the entire garden. The rich depth of the stoneless soil—the fresh verdure of its productions—its systematic tillage and irrigations—gave an appearance of great order and care to the agriculture of the peasantry. In the fields we found a parcel of men and boys at work, cutting canes for the mill, under the direction of the conducteur. They were not drilled in lines, but were working indiscriminately, and singing like merry reapers at a European harvest.

“After making our inspection, the last gleam of sunny radiance along the green surface of the level plains warned us to Moquet for the night. Visiting, however, before we quitted this estate, the cottage of the conducteur or foreman we had seen in the fields, we had an opportunity of remarking the domestic condition of another family. Three of the sons, mere boys, had returned from their day’s labour, with baskets of provisions from the garden, and bundles of herbage for the asses and stied-hogs about the cottage. The wife had been engaged all day, at the door of her dwelling, in ironing up the linen of the family, which she was then carrying within the house. Every thing had the appearance of substantial comfort, and, if we wanted an evidence of its accompanying wealth, we had it in the alacrity with which our cottager drew from a bag of money forty dollars, for a purchase effected for him by the friend who had made this visit with me. I found, upon inquiry, that he too was the father of thirteen children, all alive, five of whom were then before us. I was informed that Dumornay had been greatly mismanaged: producing no revenue to the proprietor, it netted of course none to the cultivators who had worked on halves, and were abandoning it, as they were at liberty to do, under the provisions of the code rural, to seek more lucrative employment elsewhere.

“Aug. 6. By day-break we proceeded to quit Moquet, on our journey to Dignerou, the plantation of the treasurer-general, Mr. Nau. M. Lacombe, and his party of friends, being on an intended visit to the French consul, at his cottage, in the mountains of La Coupe, and our road laying partly the same way, we set out together, a large cavalcade of travellers, and surprised Monsieur Senator L’Espinasse, nearly in the humble checked camisette of a cultivator, busily engaged in the work of his sugar refining and sugar distillery. It was a superb manufactory, erected on a concessionary grant of ten carreaux, partitioned out of the ancient estate of Moquet; a grant he had earned by services to his country. His own plantation of Soissons adjoined to the northward. The refinery is built just where the low range of hills, at the fort of La Coupe, merge into the plains. There the sterile uplands cease, and the fertile lowlands commence. Monsieur L’Espinasse himself conducted us over the whole establishment. He exhibited both in his manners and words an enthusiasm for the commercial and agricultural progress of his country, which shewed that his own success in drawing forth its resources, under great obstacles, was less a circumstance of gratification for its individual good, than for its general influence on the spirit and enterprise of the population. He was a remarkable man, possessed of that kind of energy of character, which fitted him for great enterprises in a young and aspiring country. It was by the elasticity of a

disposition, unchecked by reverses, that he was enabled, through great toil, to bring his manufactory to its present state of maturity and profit. The sugar with which his refinery is supplied is entirely drawn from his adjoining estate. The establishment is very large. On the respective floors of the building we saw the process of claying the raw or muscavado sugar, and that of refining it, and forming it into the lump sugar of commerce. We observed some loaves, whose whiteness, dryness, and transparency, and smallness of grain, shewed the matured perfection of his process—an art which he boasts to have acquired in a country where almost the simplest elements of sugar making had been lost in the anarchy of the revolution, without any insight into that of other countries. His liqueur distilleries occupied a portion of the same premises.

“We did not stop at Soissons, but heard its mill at work, and saw the thick wreaths of ascending fire and smoke from the boiling-house, a little way from the road-side. The frequent thicket of fruit trees in its vicinity, sufficiently indicated the comfort, if not the splendour, of the old colonial property.

“In the country districts of Hayti, where no churches exist, there are yet spots devoted to the sepulture of the dead. These consecrated places, adorned with many a memorial of affectionate regret, enjoy a kind of special sanctity from associations of love as well as religion, and turn aside many a pilgrim, there to offer his evening and morning incense of prayer and praise. One sees frequently, in the mountain pathway, crosses adorned with chaplets of fresh flowers, just placed by the hands of affection, as the matin sacrifice of a holy passion that survives the cold oblivion of the grave. By the road ascending to La Coupe and Bellevue, under a kind of grove of forest trees, is one of these public cemeteries. Tombs and crosses are there seen decked with many a fading tribute of fresh-gathered blossoms. It looks a pretty, wild, secluded spot, and the chequering of the white tombs with the shadows of the pendant foliage, at the first view, excites a sense of melancholy beauty; but the charm vanishes upon near examination, and the offering of early flowers, or coffins in mason-work, under canopies, painted with most provoking minuteness, and ornamented with hideous death’s heads, is at once destroyed in all its sentimental charm, by the existence of puerility and bad taste. It was here we took leave of our friends journeying to the mountains, while we, continuing our travel in the plains, found ourselves in half an hour at Dignerou, the plantation of the treasurer-general.

“Lands newly denuded of their forest shewed the continual progress of cultivation. We crossed the Grand Rivière, wide, stony, and desolate, having in view the dark mountain gorge, through which it poured its waters to the plains. A sort of unproductive common stretched through half-a-mile of our road, where asses were feeding, and geese swimming in the narrow rills. Clusters of green trees, heavy and leafy, that rose along the edge of an elevated line, told our approach to the fertile scenes of Dignerou. Ascending a little broken ground, we beheld before us the long aqueduct on circular arches; in the groves of mangoes, oranges, avocados, and other fruits, that, contrasting their verdure with the dark and rugged mountains, or diversifying the bright

level space of the outstretched plains, formed green walks and shadowy bowers. Beside it the proprietor's dwelling, a new, spacious, and elegant edifice, terraced on a gentle rise, was in front of the mill and boiling-house. The gardens were extensive. Its avenues rich in umbrageous foliage and fragrant blossoms, gratified the senses and soothed the feelings with enjoyment and repose. The water-mill was similarly constructed with that of Moquet. There was here the busy stir of labour. Carts were rapidly passing and repassing with canes from the fields. The mill wheels were rolling on with their still, dull sound of rushing waters; while horses, asses, mules, cows, and sheep, pressed eagerly around the feeding places for the skimmed refuse of the boiling-house.

"This estate comprises three-fourths of the original plantation, esteemed of old one of the largest in the Cul de Sac, and reputed at this time to be one of the best tilled in this district. There are about fifty families, or two hundred persons, young and old, as cultivators upon it. Its annual proceeds are 150,000lbs. weight of sugar, and 50,000 of syrup. In 1817 and 1818, it netted about 230,000lbs. of sugar, with a proportionate quantity of syrup and Tafia; but the proprietor, from the very indifferent price of the commodity in the market, chooses rather to diminish its returns than to extend them: one hundred and eighty acres are in canes.

"After amply partaking of the hospitality of the liberal proprietor of Digneron, in which wines and fruits, both fresh and conserved, formed an excellent desert, we prepared to return to the city. While our horses were being brought up, we visited the cottages situated immediately in the vicinity of the estate's works. We found among them the same abundance of asses and stied hogs, as elsewhere, and received to our inquiries similar results to those previously given respecting the progress of population. In the single cottage we casually entered, we found a well furnished room, in which the table shewed a fair supply of crockery ware, with a large tureen in the centre. There was a like display of saddlery and gear for the market asses, an animal that forms no unimportant part in the wealth, comfort, and ease, of the Haytian peasant. There was a family of nine children. The cottage housewife boasted, with some degree of complacent pride, as she exhibited to us a fine chubby boy of ten weeks old which she held in her arms, that from the period she became a wife and a mother, she had never lost a child. She appeared about thirty years of age, and was an extremely well featured and muscular woman.

"1830. Aug. 7. We had rested at Moquet for the night, it was Saturday morning—all toil on the estate had ceased till the following Monday, according to the regulations of rural rest in the code of agricultural labour. This being the general market-day throughout the republic, the cultivators were stirring betimes to visit the neighbouring town and city. I observed at the door of the sugar works of Moquet, some half-dozen panniered asses, and women and men in their clean market dresses, engaged in the turmoil of apparent traffic. A number of gourds, recently filled with syrup, were arranged on the ground, or placed in the panniers; other empty ones were being filled at the coolers; and for the syrup so supplied, money was received by the manager at the boiling-house door. I found these were the cultivators

of the property who came hither to purchase, for the weekly market, the produce from whose sale they were eventually to draw their division of property. This is the usual practice. The circumstance is important, not merely as shewing in part the demands for home consumption, but as exhibiting, and so it was pointed out to me, a most valuable moral feature in the existing operation of the rural law. As each person draws a share from the entire proceeds of the estate, it becomes each person's interest to see that no part of the property be diminished by theft. Every one is obviously interested in concentrating all his market purchases at the mills at which he derives a relative profit. Hence every week of the crop realizes a cash sale of some part of the proceeds, through the dealings of the cultivators themselves, while a principle of rigid honesty is established in the management of the general concerns. The Haytian proprietor, I am told, never has to complain that the estate is pilfered.

“Our road to town lay along the barren marl hills, through the dreary forest of aloes, campeachy, and *lignum vitæ*, which every where cover them. We had observed, while at Chateau Blond, the palm avenues of Carradeu, to the right, beside these hills. A name so familiar to us, in the history of the ancient regime, readily drew us from the road to witness the triumph of retributive justice in the ruins of this once splendid habitation. The water-mill had been rebuilt, and a poor harvest was being gathered from the cane fields; but Carradeu was, in all respects, a ruin and a desert waste. The mansion where once the lordly master feasted among his friends, and, in the intoxication of pride and power, gave those mandates to his trembling slaves which consigned some to the burning furnace, others to the boiling cauldron, (see Malenfant on Colonies, p. 172, note,) exhibited only in the remnant of walls and terraces, the place where once they sheltered his vice and tyranny. The giant palms, however, whose leafy heads, supported on stems of a hundred feet, old Carradeu, in the frenzy of the times, sought to rival by placing the skulls of some fifty slaves he had decapitated at Auboy on poles by the road-side hedges, still float their green locks in the sunny breeze. (Lacroix, &c.) The aqueduct forms, by this luxuriant avenue of trees, a magnificent line of arches, very picturesquely varied by an octagonal belfry, now in ruins. The sugar-houses were erected for effect with circular towers, and are still standing as fine masses in the landscape. There are tumuli and traces of foundations, the vestiges of store-houses and of other buildings of the estate. The orchards and gardens yet yield their annual feast of fruit and flowers, but they shed ungathered sweets in the wilderness. Perhaps the very tree under which, day after day, the old man used to sit and watch the toil of his slaves, and in whose shadowy leaves the negroes believed there was a charm that inspired his ferocity and wickedness, may be found growing green and bright—a harmless bower to less haughty spirits than those of old. There are still existing aged men amid the ruins who attest the truth of the horrid narratives of the days of Carradeu. A furnace for pottery was erected in the gardens of the estate, and visitors who come hither, already filled with marvellous truths, generally mistake this dungeon-looking building, with its little air holes in the stone roof, for some of the prison-houses of the proud old colonist.

“ I have frequently, in Hayti, heard the characteristic story which Malenfant relates of this man. Carradeu had taught his negroes, by fatal experience, that they were never to expect forgiveness in his wrath. It was the secret by which he had lived great, was dreaded and obeyed. He had never cut off his right hand by it, but in this instance, he was going to inflict on himself irreparable injury. There was a valuable head boiler of his sugar-house, a man whose knowledge and experience was a source of riches to him, on whom he had inflicted the penalty of inhumation to the neck in the cold earth. This life he was willing and anxious to save, but it was necessary to make a truce between interest and vengeance. This inconsistency would be fatal to his government if he forgave once; the dread which the certainty of punishment had beneficially excited, would lose its effects on the caution and obedience of his slaves. ‘ I would not,’ said he to a party of ladies at dinner with him, ‘ induce this man, whom I must spare, to think that the pardon for his fault had emanated from me. When I draw my handkerchief, fall down at my feet and ask mercy of me for him. I will say he has obtained it by your solicitation, not by my desire, so that, by being apparently consistent, I may preserve the dread of my unrelenting character with my people.’ Carradeu, however, in this instance, had to deal with one as haughty as himself. The courageous negro, who had dug his own grave, chanting his death song while he threw up the earth, felt he had endured a wrong which nothing but death could requite; he only wanted an opportunity of revenge. He saw the prostration of the female guests at his master’s feet; he heard forgiveness from his lips for the first time. He could scarcely credit what his eyes beheld. In the delirium of his sufferings he exclaimed, ‘ You shew mercy to me—it is impossible!—you are no longer Carradeu; but, if you are, I swear by her who took an oath before God for me, that I rest not in peace till I destroy you! Be merciful to me if you dare!’ This presumption and despair were fatal to him. Carradeu silenced the threat by hurling a fragment of rock at his head. Having dashed out the brains of his victim, he returned to his convivial friends, saved from doing an action inconsistent with the character he enjoyed, among his slaves, of never having forgiven an injury or remitted a punishment.

“ We arrived in Port-au-Prince by eight o’clock in the morning, passing through a numerous train of country people, composed of old and young, aged persons, youths, maidens, and children, all speeding away, on their loaded horses and asses, to the Saturday market. Some had come down from as far as Mirabelais, a distance of fifty miles, to sell and buy for their household wants.”

“ I had now seen a great portion of the Cul de Sac, examined its cultivation, observed its soil, the deep black earth, and the warm, mellow, hazel-tinted mould. The fertility of these plains is inexhaustibly great—a little effort puts it into a state of tillage, and the facilities of irrigation render it constantly productive. Perpetual spring appears to rest every where; but was it not that the Grande Rivière, and the stream of the Rivière Blanche, directed by the labours of art, pour the refreshment of their waters through all parts of the surface, the soil, with all the advantages of its great natural fertility, must have continued an irreclaimable wilderness. The clouds, attracted by the high mountains

that line the plains to the north and south, seldom shed upon them light invigorating showers. At stated seasons the rains descend, but in such torrents that they wash as well as saturate the soil with moisture, and the rivers, increased into floods, convert the whole district subjected to their influence into a stony and sterile desert.

“Vast as are the resources of the land, properties, when offered for sale, bear comparatively a small value. Its wealth, from the very irrigation required, can be commanded only by artificial means. The difficulty of obtaining labourers, and the great outlay required for the restoration of the old sugar works, or rather for the erection of new ones, renders a great capital an essential requisite in the first instance, in order to the establishment of sugar estates on the ancient system. The people of Hayti, in general, are not sufficiently monied men for this purpose, and as the labourers are paid not by wages, but by a portion of the proceeds, it is evident that whatever occurs in the returns of a sugar estate to disappoint the proprietor, must occasion loss to the cultivator. The progress of sugar tillage, therefore, on the old plan must always be greatly retarded in this country.”*

(To be continued.)

7.-- Concluding Remarks.

WE must here for the present suspend our extracts from the letters of our correspondent, hoping ere long to resume them. Those which we have selected, or may hereafter select, will be found directed almost exclusively to the object of giving to the public a correct view of Haytian society, and particularly of the actual condition of the Haytian cultivators, (the *ci-devant* Slaves of St. Domingo). Much information is therefore necessarily postponed, which could not have failed to interest our readers. Among a great variety of other matters, we have been obliged almost wholly to omit our traveller's vivid and tasteful descriptions of the singular country through which he has passed, and which for the varied beauty and grandeur, and, we may add, sublimity of its scenery, stands, perhaps, unrivalled by any other region of the globe. But notwithstanding these and other necessary omissions, and the consequent imperfection of the sketches contained in the preceding pages, our purpose in transcribing them would be very inadequately accomplished if they failed to leave on the mind of the reader, an impression of the incalculable benefits which have accrued to the present Haytian race, from even the convulsive and calamitous emancipation of their progenitors from the bondage under which they had long groaned. As for the dreariness and desolation which now deform the beautiful plains of that island, these evils are clearly to be traced, not to the decree of the National Convention abolishing slavery, but to the faithless, flagitious, and detestable attempt of Buonaparte, to reimpose the yoke which that decree had broken. But for this act of perfidy, what might not the French nation have gained?—Nay, what might not the ancient proprietors themselves have gained by an unswerving adherence to those solemn stipulations by which freedom had been guaranteed to the

* Our subsequent extracts will contain an account of successful sugar culture in Hayti, not on the old plan, but by single families, as in Bengal.

slaves in St. Domingo? And who can very deeply regret the retribution which has followed in the destruction of the property of the French planters, and in their total and final expulsion from that splendid possession?—But have the blacks, who survived the war of extermination which was waged against them, or have their descendants, any cause to mourn over the issue of the conflict? If they have gained nothing else, they have at least gained immunity from the cart-whip. They have gained relief from the arbitrary inflictions which lacerated the quivering flesh and writhing limbs of themselves, their wives and daughters; and from the coerced labour which reduced them beneath the level of the beasts of the field, and embittered and wasted their lives with its unsparing exactions. Their wives and their children are now their own, and no man now dares to make them the reluctant victims of his lust, or forcibly to tear them, for his own sordid ends, from the shelter of the domestic roof, and to burst asunder the dearest domestic ties, in order to transfer them to strangers. These evils, and many more which are familiar to our readers, as having characterized the lot of the St. Domingo bondman; and which, unhappily, make the colonial slavery, existing in the dominions of the British crown, one of the foulest blots in the creation of God,—a curse alike on those who inflict and on those who endure it;—these evils, and many more, have been swept from Hayti for ever by this change. Nor let it be supposed that this is mere idle declamation.—Only open the statute book of Jamaica.—In the single enactment which there intrusts to every one who owns a slave, or is the delegate of such owner, the power of inflicting on the bared body of any man, woman, or child, without trial, without the intervention of a magistrate, for no defined offence, and without being even bound to answer for his conduct, *thirty-nine* lashes of the torturing cart-whip, we may see an epitome of the horrors of the system; a system of which the hardening influence on the human heart is such, that even this bloody and ferocious law is regarded by the legislators of Jamaica as a demonstration of their *humanity*. Its very object is declared, in the preamble of the enactment, to be to *restrain* arbitrary punishment. Nay, of this very enactment, the West India Committee, sitting in London, composed of English gentlemen, with the Marquis of Chandos at their head, scrupled not, in February, 1830, to declare, in the face of the world, that they regarded it as an ameliorating provision, in which they recognize the "*humane dispositions*" of "the colonial legislatures!" (See Reporter, Vol. iii., No. 59, p. 188, and No. 60, p. 205.)—Then, if this be the law, the vaunted, the cherished law of the legislators of Jamaica, explicitly sanctioned by the approbation of the West India body in England, what may we assume will be the practice? On this point all question is obviated. The masterly work of Mr. Stephen, which has recently appeared, has, on the evidence of planters exclusively, dispelled every doubt as to the innate, malignant, and incurable cruelty and iniquity of *that* practice—incurable at least except by its utter extinction. Or if we even turn to the single Reporter of the 1st of January last, (No. 73,) we may there read, in the testimony of the Rev. Mr. Trew, and other witnesses, equally respectable and equally competent, the proof of its necessary and inseparable abominations.

Now these abominations have ceased to exist in Hayti. *There* the chain of slavery, and of that worst of all slavery, the slavery of the skin, has been broken. *There* the *negro* stands erect in all the dignity of man, and is freed from the fetters which, in our islands, the very colour of his skin still winds around both body and soul. *There* *black* may now be regarded as the dominant colour, and well has it vindicated its right to be so. Still however we do not find that the freedom which has been so gallantly achieved is regarded as an exemption from labour. Their labour indeed may not be, as in our Islands, excessive. But it is productive of abundant, and it would appear, growing means of subsistence. Want seems unknown among these emancipated Haytians, and the rapid progress of population attests the absence of oppressive exaction, and the prevalence of physical comfort, as strongly as the lamentable waste of negro life in our own colonies establishes the existence of a condition wholly dissimilar. The civil and political institutions of Hayti may be imperfect, and may tend to retard among its population the rapidity of their advancement in the arts of civilized life; and on this part of the subject we shall have something to say hereafter: but who can have accompanied our traveller in his interesting view of Haytian society even in its lowest grades, without feeling a glow of satisfaction in the calm and peaceful enjoyment which it exhibits as the actual portion of this long oppressed and afflicted race?

And may not a state of similar enjoyment be realized in our own colonies without those convulsive throes which have *there* issued in the expulsion of the former proprietors of the soil, and in levelling with the dust all the monuments of their ancient but abused dominion? We think it may. We think that it is in the power of the British parliament to attain the good, without the evil which, in Hayti, has either preceded or followed it, or may still adhere to it. The civil contentions and convulsions which agitated Hayti were not, be it remembered, the work of the slaves, but of their masters, by whose instigation alone were the former led to mingle in the strife. The English invasion which followed was literally a crusade for restoring the cart-whip, and it ended, and we rejoice that it did so, in defeat and disaster to the invaders, and in fixing for ever the freedom of the slaves. But have the emancipated blacks abused the liberty which they thus achieved? There is no proof of it: all the testimonies we have cited tend to a directly contrary conclusion. They resumed their labours, and Hayti again flourished in peace and prosperity, until the perfidy of Napoleon Buonaparte again clouded the scene. But would the freedom which was thus awarded to them, in the midst of tumult and disorder, by a dubious, unsteady, changing, and anarchical government, we ask, have been attended with greater, or even with any hazards, if it had been conceded to them in a period of tranquillity, and guarded by all those prudent restraints and precautions which a wise, and stable, and upright government like our own, would have had it in its power to adopt? The apprehension, therefore, of disturbance to the public peace, from the free and gracious communication of a similar boon to British slaves at the present hour, is absurd in the extreme; and even the fear of its leading to a desertion of regular but moderate labour, or to a vagrant and dissolute life, or to a return to barbarism, is effectually dispelled by the example before us.

The regulations by which such results have been obviated in Hayti, are given above. We have only to gather wisdom from experience; and, with its lessons before us, it were fatuity to contend, that there exists a single well founded anticipation of evil to deter us from consummating, at an early period, that great and acknowledged act of national justice, the imparting of freedom to the slave; in other words, the conversion of our colonial bondmen into free labourers. We have now before us the letter of a gentleman, long resident in Jamaica, dated in Oct. 1830, and who has under his charge about 700 slaves, fully confirming this view of the subject. "I believe," he says, "the only effectual remedy for existing evils to be the entire emancipation of the slaves." "It may be objected, that such a scheme would infallibly fail, and that the negroes would wander through the country and become unsettled. I strongly doubt all this. They would have the same motives to work with the English labourer. They have wives, children, and aged parents. They would have every thing to attach them to their domicile, and to stimulate them to exertion." "They are not the semi barbarians so often represented by interested writers." "To allege that they are not ripe for such a change is perfectly absurd."

II.—RESOLUTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE LEEDS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

At a Meeting of the Committee of the Leeds Anti-Slavery Society, held at the Court-House, on Monday, the 28th February, 1831; Mr. Robert Jowitt, in the Chair.

RESOLVED,

1st. That this Committee retain unabated their desire for the extinction of Negro Slavery, continuing to regard the system as utterly inconsistent with the principles of religion and humanity; and as this object has never been espoused by them from party feelings, so no changes amongst the ministers of the crown, or the members of parliament, can lessen their anxiety for its accomplishment, or their firm determination to persevere with renewed efforts for its attainment.

2nd. That this Committee, and (they are persuaded) the public at large, would consider it a cause for deep and serious regret, if any pressure of other business should prevent a subject of such vital importance receiving a full and deliberate consideration and discussion in the present session of parliament.

3rd. That this Committee, remembering the avowal of attachment to this great cause, by all the members for this county, confidently expect that each of them will be found in his place in parliament, on the discussion of this question on the 29th proximo, in order that the united and strenuous support of the representation of the County of York, may be given to the cause of religion, justice, humanity, and sound policy.

4th. That these resolutions be advertised once in each of the Leeds papers, and that the Chairman be requested to transmit a copy to each of the members for the county, and to any other members of parliament whom he may think proper.

ROBERT JOWITT, *Chairman.*

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 79.]

APRIL 2, 1831.

[Vol. iv. No. 7.]

- I.—RECENT COMMUNICATIONS FROM HAYTI,—*continued from No. 78, p. 213.*
II.—DESPATCH OF LORD GODERICH RESPECTING THE CASE OF THE REV.
G. W. BRIDGES AND HIS SLAVE KITTY HYLTON.
III.—ANTI-SLAVERY PETITIONS.

I.—RECENT COMMUNICATIONS FROM HAYTI.

Continued from No. 78, p. 213.

WE now resume our extracts from the letters of our Haytian correspondent, so far as they respect the general aspect of Haytian society, and the actual condition of the Haytian cultivator. We shall first insert some general remarks of our traveller on the subject of Haytian sugar cultivation, in addition to those which closed the extracts in our former number. Having stated his opinion, that, in the existing circumstances of Hayti, the culture of sugar, on the old plan of large establishments, conducted by numerous bodies of labourers, collected on one spot, was likely to be greatly obstructed, he thus proceeds :

“The natural fertility of the country enables the agriculturist to draw from the same land a continual succession of the same crops, without deteriorating the soil. The sugar canes, which are permitted year after year to grow in the same fields, and spring from the same roots, vegetate so densely, that their growth is impeded by their closeness, and the dry decaying leaves are never removed. These causes operate as a continual preventive to economy and good management, circumstances so essential, where the influence of freedom, and the facility of becoming the farmer of one’s own fields, have not left for the sugar growers on a large scale, a surplus of population, whom industry and good management recommend for employment.

“The estates which can only be rendered productive by the aid of cattle-mills, are therefore almost all abandoned, as subjecting the elaboration of the commodity to an expenditure not commensurate with its price in the market. But where the old aqueducts can be commanded, or new ones constructed, water-mills have been erected, and the estates are in vigorous activity, yielding a sufficient return at least to encourage the proprietor to proceed in making the works substantial, in perfecting the machinery, and giving spirit to the labour of the cultivators.

“If the condition of the soil should render it necessary to restore the exhausted fertility of the lands, and to maintain their profitable tillage, by a successive change in the crops, and by the pasturage of cattle, it is evident that necessity would impose such a system on the agriculturist as would compel him to adopt the best economy of labour, and

that better mode of cultivation, by which a superior quality of cane than that in use would be brought to the mill. At present, the waste consists in employing the few hands which are to be obtained, in manufacturing a bad article. The canes here grown are really inferior, and, to aggravate the evil, are often deteriorated in quality, by lying too long in heaps after being cut, before they are ground and boiled. The sugar becomes thus so charged with acidity, as to cause a more than usual quantity of alkali to be necessary to neutralize it for granulation, an occurrence that greatly darkens its colour and diminishes its value : or if an attempt is made to preserve it of good tint, by introducing but little alkali, the grain is so charged with uncrystallized juice as to render it an infirm and damp compost, not at all suited for the moist climate of Europe. It would be wise to cultivate little, and cultivate well, and thus to proportion the end to the means. And in order to secure a due attention to keeping the canes free to the air, the best means of their vigorous growth, it would be a prudent arrangement in the proprietor, to require that the cultivators should establish their gardens for green crops, such as the patata, the maize, and the yam, in alternate rows with the canes, instead of having them in separate patches mingled in the same fields as at present. By this means they would bring one necessary species of toil and superintendance in contact with another. This is Mr. Roper's scheme ; his example should be likewise followed in the use of the plough. That implement should be used on all occasions, as one among many modes of diminishing the requisition of human labour, a circumstance of the very first importance in a country where it is not easily obtained ; and, wherever it is available, the system of paying the cultivator by a portion of the proceeds, gives to all concerned an interest, equal to their respective proportions, in a system of judicious economy.

“The value of the commodity in the market fixes the price of labour. Haytian sugar, therefore, cannot command a remunerating price, when the market is notoriously bad even for the better sort of produce, elaborated in the slave colonies, with which it must enter into competition. M. Senateur L'Espinasse, we have seen, has resorted to refining the article. By this scheme, bringing as much of home labour as possible to bear on the value of the commodity and to make part of its profits, he really produces an article which can enter a European market in competition with all but English refined sugars ; and if it was not for the system of drawbacks and bounties, by which this English manufacture is enabled to command a continental purchaser, the struggle of the competitions would be a less difficult one to the Haytian agriculturist.”

“When the successful revolution of St. Domingo had incorporated the slaves with their masters, forming one free united community, equal before the law, enjoying the same civil rights and liberties, the greater portion of them remained without any property in the soil, and therefore subject to a life of labour. The revolution, indeed, gave liberty to every one, but it only endowed with landed wealth a portion of the people ; these were the men who had done service to the state ; as they were the warriors, so they were numerous. There were many who had shared

the benefit of freedom thus acquired, without enduring the hardships, or earning the honours of the struggle. These men had no land of their own, though, from being once the slaves, they had now become the free peasantry of the country. With their emancipation from the bondage that made their life and services the personal property of another, they had not acquired an exemption from a state of dependency. The prescriptions of the rural code which bound them to agriculture, in the absence of other and better employment, merely acted on that necessity which obliged them, as husbandmen, to attach themselves freely to some fellow-citizen, possessing lands, so as to draw a subsistence from their labour.

“The divisions of rank, and the relationship of the cultivators and proprietors, recognized and regulated by the ‘code rural,’ are but the recognition of distinctions not created by the law, but arising from circumstances originating in the events through which they had passed, and which time must be ever changing.

“In regulating the acquisition of property, the legislature has deemed it necessary to restrict the minimum of land which a purchaser can acquire to an estate of five carreaus, or fifteen acres; and this being just deemed a substantial provision for a free man and his family, it cannot be subdivided. The law thus prescribes that there shall be no proprietor of land under the condition of an independent farmer.* The rest of the population, whose means cannot reach this measure of wealth, must have recourse to a life of service for hire, and to them the law has secured the enjoyment of the fruits of their labour, by a certain portion in the proceeds of tillage, so as to give them a visible interest in the progressive improvement of the agriculture on which they subsist. It recognizes the cultivator and proprietor for useful subjects in a state of reciprocal dependency. The negro peasantry may be said to be in the situation of the ‘*coloni partiarum*,’ or the metayers of the feudal times, with this difference, that the lord is bound to divide every grain with the metayer, instead of the metayer with the lord; and the bargain has a limited duration; after which, it may be mutually renewed or dissolved, a circumstance arising out of the essential freedom of the cultivator, and the nature of the proceeds, and of the commodity which the capital of the one, and the toil of the other, elaborates for the market.” We now return to our traveller’s narrative.

“Aug. 8. By day light this day we were to be stirring for a visit to the highlands of La Coupe, but we loitered about town till the sun was well up. We met the gardeners of Grand Fond coming with ass loads of European vegetables and fruits to the market in town. I remarked, for the first time, that very many of the young females were deeply pitted with the small-pox, and learnt that the disease, as well as the measles, had been an importation brought by the American immigrants. It is computed that in the time these diseases prevailed, not less than 50,000 of the inhabitants perished. Dr. Williamson, formerly the

* It is evident from Mr. Mackenzie’s statement, quoted at p. 138 in the last No. that the number of these independent farmers; or Haytian yeomen, as they may be called, must be considerable, and they are necessarily a growing body.

health officer of Port-au-Prince, tells me, that he not unfrequently saw three persons lying dead at the same time in one cottage; and that the living could scarcely perform the rites of sepulture. So limited had been the intercourse of the islanders with the world at large, under that European policy which shuts them up within the confines of their own shores, that, in their healthy possession of liberty, every variolous disease had exhausted itself, and the small-pox was so entirely unknown, that they had forgotten its very name. When the mortal pestilence came among them, and swept off by thousands the young and robust, the terrified people gave it the appellation of the 'great master,' (le grand monsieur,) looking upon it as an unprecedented visitation. Since that time, they have vaccinated their young, and the variolous pock has been rendered harmless—such has been the better knowledge gained by dreadful experience.

"As we rose on the gentle and continuous ascent, we looked down into the ravine beside us, and saw some well built cottages, with corn fields, and banana grounds.

"La Coupe is a little village situated on the plateau of some marly mountains, and receives its name from being a sort of *short cut*, to the Cul de Sac, into that part of it where the Grande Rivière just issues into the plains; the soil is stony but fertile; a stream of water rushes with vigour from its rocks, dividing itself through numerous channels into the gardens of the cottagers. The French Consul's place of retirement is at La Coupe, and I enjoyed its wild gardens in a visit to the hospitable proprietor from whom the grounds are rented, and whose humble Sunday cottage stands within them. From these hills the plains and the lakes of Cul de Sac are discerned.

"August 9th. Before sunrise we were away through the woodland roads from La Coupe to Bellevue, to see the plains Maturé, a scene described to us as one of incomparable beauty. Our road was a narrow track through vales and defiles, formed by the irregular acclivity of the mountain. Little coffee settlements and provision plantations skirted the road side, having quiet humble cottages hid by the fruit trees in the hollows. Pathways diverged here and there to the successive breaks above us. The cultivation, without being dense, was frequent. Some of the lands were newly planted. A settlement belonging to the secretary of state, Monsieur Imbert, was richly verdant with young coffee trees, cleanly kept, and diligently pruned. One or two of the peasants of the district speeded by us on their mountain palfreys, and we passed some two or three of the female cottagers, both coloured and black, who were lively, comely, and well clad. The proprietors here are generally those small farmers who hold from five to fifteen carreaus of land, cultivated in coffee, corn, vegetables, and esculent roots, having a range of twelve or fourteen miles to the market of Port-au-Prince. We stopped and conversed with a negro, who had saved a little money by service in France, and retired here with his wife and son, on a property he had purchased of five carreaus or fifteen acres, the least extent of land for which a title can be passed. He had just finished erecting his cottage, seated on the brow of a hillock, green with maize, patate, and manioc, having enclosed his ground with an 'entourage' of live stakes of the

medecinier, one of the Tithymaloides plants. The whole bore evidence of an industry that had reclaimed its fields from the recent woodland.

“When we had crossed a limpid rivulet that descended a shallow ravine, we entered the newly cleared lands of Maturé, a coffee plantation lately purchased by his Excellency the President of Hayti. The coffee shrubs are little more than the underwood of upgrown forests of large timber trees, intermingled with the wild orange, the avocadier (*persea gratissima*) the cirouelle (*spondias myrobolanus*) the abricot (*mamea americano*) and the shrubby caimite. Hillside and hollow were being cleared of the superfluous wood, and the newly pruned trees were fast assuming all the importance of the old plantation. Lofty latiniers, the most gigantic of the class of fan palms, and the elegant plummy foliage of the palmetto royal, were left here and there to enrich the sumptuous vegetation of the mountain forests.

“Maturé is situated in the bold and broken descent of the fort crested mountain of Bellevue. Green peaks projecting from the principal range, shut in the landscape to the south east. From the terrace of the old habitation, embellished with fruit trees, and blossoming shrubs, grapes, figs, oranges, pomegranates, roses, and jessamines, we looked down on the vast extent of the Cul de Sac. The teeming plain was laid out, like a map before us.—Roads intersected the country, and cottages and sugar mills spotted the landscape, some in ruins amid the wilderness, and others newly erected sending up their smoke in the midst of the rich vegetation of verdant cane fields, divided into rectangular squares by lines of green hedges, and irrigated by the numerous canals that draw their waters from the stream of the Grande Rivière.

“We returned to La Coupe by mid-day. An annual feast had been formerly kept there, where the stream rushes from under the rocks by the hill side, pouring its little cascade by the roots of high and shadowy trees. The death of the individual who particularly patronized this sort of propitiation to the waters, had caused a discontinuance of the yearly benediction for many seasons, and now the people imagining that on this account, the rivulet had never flowed as abundantly as heretofore, the neighbours determined to indulge the popular superstition this year and to revive the ancient ‘barbaco’ or ‘festival’ at the fountain. We found a party of persons of all classes assembled beneath the shade of a guazuma tree in the open road, within the sound of the tumbling waters as they rushed past them, a far more inspiring music to my ears, than the beat of the bamboula or rustic drum, to whose measured sounds a man and woman were figuring the chica dance, and a chorus of girls singing. The ceremonies of the morning had been a solemn sacrificial offering of the blood of victims slain for the feast, and of libations of wine poured out upon the fountain. Whether it was an Indian or African superstition I could not learn, but it was certainly a vestige of those heathen adorations, where the pleasant places of wooded hills, cool recesses, and sequestered springs were rendered sacred by offerings to the rural gods. These observances are still general, as well as the funeral banquets, where the ‘cup of consolation’ is drunk at the grave in commemoration of the dead. The Catholic clergy have endeavoured to

compound with these superstitions, by converting them into Christian ceremonies. There have accordingly been processions to river sources, which have converted the heathen oblations into pious offerings for still continued blessings; and devout remembrances of the dead, which have changed the sensual orgies into masses at the grave for the repose of the soul. Many a needy cultivator hoards his little wealth, that he may requite himself of this duty to a deceased parent or relative, at least once before he dies.

“ August 10.—We had set off as early as three o'clock in the morning, with a bright moon and clear starry sky over-head, to visit the cool uplands, and cultivated valleys of Grand Fond, and to reach the scenes of the black mountains.

“ Our road lay over the ascent of the mountains above La Coupe, and we were gratified, as we proceeded along the high ridges we had to pass, with the sight of finely cultivated spots, amid the breaks of sequestered valleys, or along steepes that seemed scarcely accessible to the hand of industry. We saw them but dimly by moonlight; but as we returned, we perceived they were plantations of coffee interspersed with corn. The cottages had about them gardens arranged with admirable order, in regular beds, with pathway intervals, kept free from all extraneous vegetation, and filled with the esculent vegetables of Europe, such as the cabbage, the cauliflower, the artichoke, the pea, the onion, the lettuce, the endive, the carrot, the beet-root, the turnip, and the potatoe, or more propely the pomme de terre of France, the solanum tuberosum of the botanists; besides these, there were the malvacious, the leguminous, and sectaminous plants of the tropics, and many more, such as the melon kind, the manioc or cassava, and the convolvulus patata. One of the small coffee planters of the neighbourhood passed us on our road; his horse, though loaded, climbed the steep acclivities of the mountain with the agility of a cat. I was surprised at the fearless confidence with which he rode over ridges, where a single false step would have plunged him into the deep ravines many a hundred feet below him.

“ When we arrived at the foot of the Morne Noir, the day was just dawning. We had heard in the copses by the road side, as we travelled, a peculiar kind of lizard, whose sounds so resemble the hammering of a workman on a small anvil, that the people have given it the name of the machoquet, or the blacksmith; but when we got among the woodlands, as the first light of the morning broke, we were surprised by the voice of a remarkable thrush, common only in these lofty solitudes. Its song was composed of about five notes, but so finely modulated and combined, and so much like the music of a small pandean pipe, that although I had been prepared by previous information for the wild melody of this little minstrel of the mountains, its sudden sweetness came upon me with a sense of strange and unspeakable admiration. A hundred of them in the groves about us, were pouring forth their matin song; many appeared to preserve a sort of harmony together; and the wild music, as it rose and fell, was repeated with scarcely any intermission till the sun was fairly upon the heavens, when the multitude of voices ceased, and the chant of that constant melody, so much like an artificial song, was continued only by one or two birds;

in the more lonely and sequestered recesses of the forest. We were not without other woodland songsters. A bird of the finch tribe, warbled with a shrill and delicate sweetness, like that in the winter notes of the robin, but they were not as varied. The wild doves breathed their melancholy music from the rocks, and the woodpecker's harsh voice was heard as it climbed the trees for the morning insects waiting the sunshine and the evaporation of the dews, before they took to their wing, or crept from the holes in which they had nestled for the night.

“The day dawn felt excessively cold; my very fingers were shrivelled into numbness, and my feet cramped with the cold as I dismounted from my horse. By Reaumur's thermometer there are eight degrees difference between the temperature of these mountains and the plains. In the gardens of the district we found the fruits of Europe hanging in heavy clusters on the trees. Peaches were in wonderful profusion; apples and medlars were mingled with oranges and pomegranates. The roses were beautifully large and fragrant. Geraniums were flowering, and lilies and myrtles in blossom. The whole tribe of the garden vegetables of milder climates was thriving vigorously, and we saw wheat cultivated for experiment, rearing its head of grain for the autumn.

“Our visit did not extend beyond the coffee plantation of Dronette, an abandoned property, but about to be rented by the British consul, Mr. Schenley, from the secretary general Inginac. Its commons, like all the lands about the black mountains, abound with the white clover, the same as that of Europe; but the horses, sheep, and cattle reject it, having much sweeter herbage to feed upon in the indigenous and naturalized grasses of the country.

“A native of France, much respected for his industry and talent as a gardener, had cultivated here a beautiful spot, rich in all vegetation. The sheep of his little farm were in the fold; geese were swimming in the rivulet that crossed a sort of common by the road, and pigs and poultry were in abundance.

“We descended the plantation of Kernschoff close by, where we breakfasted. It was an old ‘habitation,’ as the French call an estate here, recently reclaimed from the forest of wood that had overgrown it since the revolution. The cottage formed a good roomy dwelling house, with a bower of the milleton, one of the cucurbitaceous family of plants, before the door. The circular coffee mill, with its heavy roller had just been erected, and the glacis for drying the berry, was then employed for sunning corn and peas. On the hills and in the valleys, the coffee trees were cleared out and pruned, and where the old shrubs had withered, or failed to produce abundantly, young ones were being planted. The gardens had their peaches and apples, and rice and wheat were here growing experimentally. The vegetables were those of the tropics, as well as those of the temperate zone, and were intermingled with the well pruned coffee trees. A waterfall descended down a wooded steep, to a valley in which the horses and asses wandered. Fir trees grew on the more exposed uplands; and poultry, such as turkeys and fowls, supplied plenty of food for household wants.

“Kernschoff comprises thirty carreaus, of which only two are in tillage by the proprietor, that is about six acres. The proceeds of these

six acres average 1000lbs. of coffee annually; on some occasions as much has been gathered as 1700lbs. Madame Kernschoff is almost the only tiller of her own farm. The lands were formerly the property of her husband's father. Being a white colonist, it was sequestered after the revolution, and has since been repurchased by the present descendant.

“Two indigene families, of African blood, rent parts of the plantation, which they clear and cultivate upon an arrangement with the proprietor to proportion the quantity of coffee to be set in, to the quantity of garden appropriated to provisions and vegetables. They have the use of the mill to pulp their coffee, the half proceeds of which, from the annual crops, is to be paid as the yearly rent. No limits are placed to the quantity of land the renter cultivates, since whatever it is, there is always an adequate increase of rent paid for it, from the half proceeds of the coffee farm. This is the common method resorted to in Hayti to restore the cultivation of this staple, under the changes the civil condition of the people has undergone since the revolution. The grounds of these renters were in excellent tillage. They were laid out with great carefulness, the vegetables being set out with as much order as those of London market gardens. There were at least three quarters of an acre in cabbages, and half an acre in potatoes alone. As we proceeded home we saw the wife and daughter of one of the cottagers engaged in picking their crops of peas and corn. They wished us a good journey as we passed their dwelling. The climate, with the pine trees and cottage scenery, might have led one to mistake the district for a mountain prospect in England.

“We had descended a steep pass to cross the vale of the Grand Fond, bounded by the Bellevue mountains on the one hand, and the uplands of the Morne Noir on the other. A narrow ridge stretching from both sides of these chains, but lower than either, is the high road. To the left hand a dark wooded glen extends to the west. To the east the valley is more spacious, with small hills and dales, making gentle inequalities in the cool and shadowy bottom. The summits of the hills within the valley have each their cottages with cultivation around them. These are plantations of coffee, fields of corn, manioc, and other vegetables, with bananeries in the hollows and declivities. Bellevue, crowned with its two fortresses, commanding this pass, and overlooking the plain country to the north, scored as it was with ravines like the furrows of a ploughed field, exhibited on its gentler slopes scenes of productive tillage. The whole district of Grand Fond appeared very justly to be reputed for the beauty of its scenes, the mild salubrity of its climate, and the excellence of its cultivation. The soil is every where a deep, mellow, hazel-tinted mould, remarkably light and friable, free from stones, and inexhaustibly fertile. The plough might pass over the whole of it.

“When we had arrived nearly abreast of the fortified heights of Bellevue, a little settlement, being a village of cultivators, appeared in a gentle vale on the left hand. It was rather a sink in the brow of a wooded mountain. Fields of maize lined our path to the right, from which a kind of common, where asses fed, descended to the village.

Straggling coffee trees, but well pruned, and full of their harvest of berries, were glowing here and there through this common, till they thickened about the cottages into dense and luxuriant plantations. On the ascents all around the cavity were fields of corn, provisions, and vegetables. Clumps of trees crowned the bordering heights. Amid this scene, men, women, and children, were engaged in tilling the ground; each family in the culture of his own garden and plantation. As the smoke ascended silently from among the cottages, there seemed in the whole of this scene a spirit of quiet cheerful toil, presenting a striking view of domestic happiness. The cottage of the proprietor, a plain simple residence, stood a little higher up, surrounded by its tilled grounds, and overlooking the valley. These were the settlements of Mascaron and Langlade.

“As we descended, the glorious prospect of the plains was spread before us, lighted by the western sun. The lake marking the frontiers of the old French and Spanish colonies, with its adjoining scenery, closed the view to the east. The sea, with its white sand beach, and the mountains by the Bay of St. Mark, were to the west. Every intermediate object—roads, houses, and plantations were spread out with wonderful distinctness. The river made its desert belt through the woods and fields. The mountain of La Coupe, with the white marl road we had ascended two days before, appeared far below us, and the sterile hills between it and the plains, lost to the eye in their character as elevations, seemed only a wooded border of the champaign country. A cloud of their misty vapours, which hung over the mid vale, coming rushing past us before the sea breeze, warned us of the probability of rain before night-fall. We descended the wooden road by which we came in the morning, and after dining and baiting our horses at our friend's at La Coupe, arrived, by nine o'clock that evening, once more within the heated city of Port-au-Prince, having performed a mountain journey of about sixty miles since we left it.”

“August 30th. An opportunity presenting itself of visiting the Spanish frontiers, in company with two friends going into the mahogany district, on the banks of the Artibonite, I availed myself of it before the rainy season now near should set in, and departed on a journey thither in company with them. We quitted Port-au-Prince at half past eight o'clock in the evening, determining to make our halt for the night at the foot of the opposite mountains. As we should accomplish, before our return home, a circuit of nearly eighty leagues over mountains and through rivers, it became a necessary act of prudence not to push our horses beyond a sharp walk for the first evening, that we might start fresh and vigorous the next day. We did not arrive at Digneron before midnight. The weather was really fine, though the moon was obscured, and the sky lightened incessantly. It was a sparkling and scattered brilliancy—a sort of heat-flashes that precede the setting in of the autumnal rains.

“We passed through the Croix des Bouquets at about eleven o'clock. The inmates of its peaceful homes were slumbering in darkness and silence, a contrast to that eventful period when the fusillade of the

night sallies were heard, and the conflagration of the neighbouring fields lighted each combatant to his enemy.

“Arrived at the farm of Dignerou, the bois chandelle, or ignited torch wood, soon provided us a light for the unsaddling of our horses, and the disposing of our baggage and accoutrements, for we were armed in the usual mode of forest travellers in this country, who wear the machete and knife, more for the convenience of cutting through thickets than for defence; and as to the holsters of our saddles, they were rather cases for enlivening wines and liquors than deposits for such deadly missiles as pistols and bullets.

“August 31. By day-break we were on our journey to the pass of Cabrite. Our road lay into that district of the Cul de Sac formerly known as les Marecages, or the Marshes. Where of old the pastures extended, a wood of fan palms stretched a ceaseless shadow of radiated leaves, among which cows, horses, and asses, found shelter and food. The road had been recently raised beyond the influence of the periodical floods. It was ramparted between a stockade of hard wood through the marshes, and rose with a gentle ascent up to a sterile tract of country that bordered all this side of the plains.

“Before arriving at that turn of the road which winds up the cliffs of the mountains, and carries us to its accessible summits, we pass a steep gravelly kind of sand hill, spotted with a few shrubs and trees—this is the Morne à Cabrita; at its feet are deposited about fourteen or fifteen brass ordinance, long guns, and howitzers of the fabric of Strasbourg and Pisa, with a pyramid of iron balls. They are placed here to be mounted on this and the neighbouring commanding heights, in case of emergency. The narrow ascending road, constructed out of the rocky scarp in 1772 by laborious mining, is entirely overlooked by the sullen Ferrier Rouge, a cliff fortress. Both in the ascent and descent of the mountain, and long before an army could gain the interior, shot and shell from these hill forts would convince them, as they threaded the glens and defiles, that they indeed walked through the valley of the shadow of death.

“Between this hill and the mountain a shallow black soil covers the stony surface where grows the fine fibred aloe, called here the pite, from which the Haytians have of late prepared a valuable species of kemp. Formerly the commerce in this commodity was confined to the Spaniards, whose exportations of it under the name of Cabonya, from the banks of the Dexton, annually amounted to 6000 dollars.*

“It is the policy of the Haytians, while they fear an enemy, never to smooth away too much the asperities of their mountain roads, but to render all progress slow and laborious through them, that they may deliberately destroy their assailants. The tediousness of our progress over them was relieved by the magnificent view we commanded of the adjacent scenery, and by the loveliness and variety of the flowers that garlanded the black rocks above and below us.

* “In the American market it realizes 260 dollars the ton. It is unaffected by frost, and is highly prized for river tackle.”

“ A turn of the road carried us away from these ‘ wild and wondrous’ scenes, and we wound through thickets fresh with the morning dews, till we descended a grassy hollow shut in by the encircling mountains; a rich grazing spot where cows were feeding, and where other travellers beside ourselves found the luxury of rest.

“ The place where we reposed ourselves and breakfasted, was called the ‘ *fond au diable*,’ or the devil’s hollow. When we arrived at the cottage where the corps de garde is stationed, we delivered our passports to be inspected, and proceeded on. It was here I observed for the first time, the mode of preparing the pite hemp. An upright post in the ground supported another in an inclined position; a large nail at the junction of the two, received a bunch of the aloe leaves, which rested at their outstretched length on the table of the inclined post. The process of macerating the fibres simply consisted in scraping the leaves with a blunt knife, used as a currier’s tool is in the currying of leather, only it was drawn towards the person instead of from him. The process of scraping is continued till the green mucilaginous pulp is entirely extracted, and the fibrous leaves assume the appearance of a coarse flax, when they are hung on a line and dried. It is in this state that it is exported.

“ Our road to the fortified village of Trianon, the exit to the mountain pass, leading to the hilly lowlands about Mirebalais, was through wooded scenes in a rocky defile, richly embowered with foliage and flowers.”

“ We had stopped at a farm to rest ourselves and feed our horses, before making any further progress on our journey. It was a poor cottage, but the inhabitants seemed plentifully supplied with food. A penfold contained cows that had recently calved, and an enclosure by the hill side, was green with the earing maize, and with all the vegetable productions of a garden ‘ potager.’ The family were at their dinner, beneath the shelter of an open ‘ ajoupa,’ a species of hut made of palm leaves, and used as a boucan or kitchen. They were grouped, like a party of Indians, around the fire and its cooking utensils. The robust, fine featured children, dark as ebony, were entirely naked, their beads and bracelets being the only ornaments of nature. Boiled and grilled pieces of the sun-dried flesh of the cow, called ‘ tasajo,’ with bananas, rice, corn, and patatas, composed their repast.

“ Our future journey lay through the hilly and grassy lowlands. There was scarcely a hollow that we traversed, which had not its rippling streamlet sheltered by groups of palms and indigenous fruit trees, among which the orange, the lime, and the guava, were collected, thick with their golden honours. Occasional cattle sought the shadowed valleys, and small herds spotted the hills. Farm houses were seen in the uplands, but few and far apart, for the pasture grounds were not sufficiently luxuriant to feed large flocks and herds.

“ When we had approached somewhat near to the foot of the majestic mountain, called the Grand Bois, clothed with lofty and scarcely accessible forests, we crossed a tributary stream of the Artibonite, whose bowers appeared all fertility and beauty. The graceful palmettos, the

sure indication of a deep luxuriant soil, rose in crowded clusters, mingled with a variety of other trees of picturesque foliage.

“The alluvial soil of the river bed, whose limits were marked by the extent of their beautiful groves, formed a narrow plain on either bank of the stream. The hillocks near by were crowned with some smart looking cottages, and cattle and horses, more numerous here than in the other portions of the savannas, sufficiently shewed the increased richness of the land.

“Hill and valley, wood and rivulet, still continued to embellish and diversify our journey, till suddenly we entered the little plain of Gascoigne, extending along the Fer à Cheval to the very foot of the Montagne à Tonnère. The whole champaign, though now one stretch of pasture land, was once rich with fields of sugar-cane; vestiges of water-courses, and remnants of aqueducts, crossing it from one end to the other.”

“The scenery between the banks of Fer à Cheval, or more properly the Rio de los Indios, and las Caholas, the nearest town within the Spanish frontiers, is much more diversified than that of the savannas. The hills are more irregular, more wooded, and form more picturesque varieties. The pasture grounds, less bare of detached trees, assume the appearance of ornamented lawns. Frequent rivulets fertilize the vales. Canopied by forest and fruit trees of stately stem and splendid foliage, they present, wherever we crossed their silver waters, bowers of great elegance and beauty. Groups of cattle and horses enlivened the rural scene; and cottage farms, with fields of corn and rice, intermingled with the usual scitaminous vegetation of the tropics, imparted a cultivated character that seemed to connect the labours of art with that sort of arrangement seen here in the display of nature.

“We staid to dine at the cottage of one of General Benjamin's cultivators, and to rest and feed our horses. Nothing occurred there worthy of notice, except that we saw the cottage children employed braying rice in a mortar, the process of disengaging the husk in this country. A fine field of this grain was growing in an enclosure close by. Our dinner was served in dishes and plates of earthenware, with metal spoons, a clean napkin covering the table. I have never travelled without observing, among the lowest class of the people, a strict observance of this sort of respect to strangers.

“The night had overtaken us, heavy, dull, and threatening rain; we however reached Las Cahobas at about eight o'clock. The road thither lay through a wooded pass of the Montagne à Tonnere, and the Morne à Pierre. It was in the very best condition, dry and gravelly. A corps de garde is still stationed at the frontier barrier, called, ‘le poste de grosse roche.’ We there shewed our passports, and were permitted to proceed on. It was too dark to observe the inscriptions, ‘France,’ ‘España,’ on either face of the rock, according to the statement in the treaty of limits, where this station, numbered 193, is called La Roche de Neyboue; but they were pointed out to us. A masson, or ceiba tree, of great height and size, growing by the road, close to the frontier rock, bears evidence, in the number of balls lodged in its trunk, to the determined but ineffectual resistance made by the Spaniards, to the occupa-

tion of their colony, when the revolutionary troops, under Toussaint L'Ouverture, entered it in 1801, according to the stipulations of the treaty of Bâle. It is by virtue of this acquisition, that General Boyer has declared, in taking recent possession, that he holds the country, not by conquest, but by the resumption of a vested, but long dormant right, coeval with the independence of the old French colony, to whose fortunes it was united."

"September 1. Las Cahobas is prettily situated;—a grassy plateau, chequered with cottages, and separated from the dark sierras of the frontier by a brawling streamlet. An amphitheatre of wood-crowned hills, half robed in mist, one or two picturesque and shrubless peaks, and a wild hill or two, barely fertile, with a few trees, close the prospect on all but one point, where the eye has a glimpse, afar off, of the dark forests that border the Artibonite. The town contains forty-five dwellings, and about two hundred inhabitants. It gives name to an arrondissement of five communes, and though its shops have no pretensions whatever, wood-cutters, carpenters, and blacksmiths, give it an air of business, and the droves of cattle and horses, passing through it from the Spanish hatos, to the markets of the maritime districts to the west, impart to it a transient appearance of bustle. The hospitality of M. Casaneuve, the juge de paix, had kept us, during the day, in good humour with the rains of the preceding night, and the mud of the cottaged streets; but by the afternoon, finding it dry and pleasant enough for a ramble, we curvetted our horses over the turf-covered common above the town, and crossing the river, visited the sugar-mill and distillery of Capt. Lerebour. The cane fields were a rich, loamy level of the stream, abundantly fertile. The rice cultivation was carried on very extensively. There are two descriptions of the grain, the bearded and the common eared rice. They generally sow them together, imagining that the serrated spikes of the bearded description, which is said to be inaccessible to birds, by interlacing with the common kind, protects it from their rapacity. The sugar-mill of Capt. Lerebour's estate was a small wooden machine, admirably constructed. The distillery was a very complete establishment. Not more than ten able cultivators, male and female, were located on it, having ten carreaus, or thirty acres of land, in tillage.

"Previous to the last wars of the frontiers, in which it was destroyed, Las Cahobas is said to have been a very considerable town. Its streets were planted with palm trees, of which some few yet remain, and its church, large and splendid in those times, has now nothing but the vestiges of its two circular belfries existing. The foundations of the former dwellings extend in a line from the church to the shrubby mound, where the English soldiery, in their contests, had erected a redoubt. The traffic in horses, mules, and cattle, and the contraband trade of the borders, gave wealth to its former inhabitants; but it owes its recent rise to the facilities of transport that these immense forests of mahogany, from which it derives its Spanish name, receive from the waters of the Artibonite, the conversion of the old colonies into the present republic of Hayti having rendered the embarcadier of its western gulf accessible to the woodmen.

“ Since the annexation of the Spanish portion of Hayti, the inhabitants of the ancient French district have found new resources of industry in the mahogany forests of the valleys of St. Thomas, Banica, and Guabas; and the streams of the Bouyaha, the Guayamuco, the Rio-à-Canàs, and the Juan-de-Vera, which pour their tributary waters into the Artibonite, supplied the means of transporting to the western coasts the hitherto unavailable wealth of the midland forests. It was to inspect the progress of this species of laborious industry, in company with persons from mercantile houses here proceeding to see the condition of their timber, and its preparation to be floated down by the floods, that I travelled into these parts. In the rich alluvial loam of these river banks, thousands and ten thousands of palm trees, from forests as far as the eye can reach, are intermingled with other trees of differing foliage, among which the olive-tinted mahogany is seen to abound. Here the enterprising wood-cutter, followed by his dependants, employed as fellers and rafters of timber, resort, and purchase from the Spanish proprietors the trees upon their lands, paying a stipulated price for each tree they fall. The usual average is a dollar the tree. There is a good deal of competition. The cutters are paid by the log—the raftsmen by the day. The Artibonite sweeps in its course with a steady, broad, and rapid flood, presenting no danger except in one spot called the Peligro, and the rock of Balthazar, where its waters flow through a deep, narrow, and rocky channel, between the mountain of thunder and the cahos. The raftsmen swim, through days in succession, after the timber, resting on a float made of the limb of the bamboo. When all the timber is consigned to the floods, the foreman follows in a boat, seeing that none of the logs with his mark have been neglected by the raftsmen. This labour has necessarily great difficulties and privations. The pay is good; but from the very nature of the adventurous services of these men their morals are very indifferent.

“ The scenery of this district is extremely beautiful. The mountain heights, far and near, form superb masses in the back ground. The pastures assume the appearance of sylvan slopes, and ornamented parks, blending the pine tree with the palm, and uniting the scenery of Europe with the wondrous foliage of the tropics. On descending to the rivers fertilizing their lands, the grassy dells, and wooded belts and clumps, with the winding pathways through them, would induce a person to suppose that he traversed the embellished shrubberies of England; the disposition of trees, fruits, and flowers, seems so judicious, so artificially and elegantly arranged, and the grassy turf spreads through sun and shadow so clear and weedless. The frequent chesnuts would deceive him into this belief, notwithstanding the prevalence of the palms; but, he is wandering amid scenes where nature has never experienced the pruning-hook, and where the Spanish Hatero, poor in all things but his herds and flocks, feeds his cattle on a thousand hills.

“ On the smaller streams of this district, where the lands run less into masses of forest, and the soil is light and luxuriant, the little sugar properties, preparing what is called ‘raspado,’ for the home market,

abound. A thatched and wattled cottage, on a little rise, with slopes of garden ground for the ordinary wants of the family, and where trees and shrubs afford fruit, shadow, and shelter from storms, and give a sort of snugness to the peasant's home, is encircled by plantations of sugar-cane, intermingled with fields of rice and corn; round about these, the uninclosed pastures extend into the savannas. A well compacted mill, with wooden rollers, and turned by two horses, but frequently by bourriques, on account of their smaller size enabling them to wind the circuit of the tread more easily, is situated conveniently to the cottager's residence. A shed, open on all sides, and covering two cauldrons, from one end to the other of which the juice is ladled, until it arrives at the usual consistence of raspado sugar, is the remaining building. The whole outlay of these works does not exceed more than 100 dollars. Conceive a cottage, composed of a husband and wife, a family of some six children, with one or two persons hired occasionally, to cut canes; imagine the father standing on a platform under the shed, engaged at the furnaces and boilers; picture the mother, and one or two of the stout daughters, at the coolers, or large shallow trays, scooped out of timber of immense breadth, and laid on the floor of the shed, engaged with wooden ladles, pouring the granulated juice into moulds of about nine inches long, and two and a half inches in diameter, composed of the membranous sheaths which envelope the trunk of the *palma nobilis*, at the junction of each of its trenches with the stem, and called, by the French inhabitants, 'l'attache;' then view the lesser children bringing and carrying away these moulds, which may be called their rustic sugar barrels, setting them in baskets to drain, while the robust sons are engaged in the garden, or the corn and rice fields; and you will have a picture representing the economy of a family making raspado sugar. It receives its name, I should judge, from the Spanish word, 'raspar,' to scrape, because it is disengaged in this manner from the mould for domestic use. Its taste is that of a sugar not entirely boiled. It is extremely clean, of a good grain, quick and fresh in its flavour, and more agreeable than ordinary sugar, from the quantity of vegetable mucilage in it, not separated by boiling. It is packed in panniers on horses and asses, and brought to the town markets. It is the universal sugar of the midland districts. The seasons are so constant in their vicissitudes of sun and rain, that the family grind every ten days a portion of their canes. I was informed that about a thousand pounds weight of the article are produced at each grinding and boiling, and that a family can elaborate 30,000lbs. weight in the year. Admitting it is thirty-three per cent. less pure than the sugar of commerce, from the prevalence of the mucilage, that will be 20,000lbs. weight, an extraordinary quantity to be produced with scarcely any outlay of capital, and subjected to so few contingences, from the use of barrels being dispensed with. Beside the interest excited by seeing all this profitable labour, in so important a commercial staple as sugar, the richness of the scenery, and the verdure of the landscape, add, as you may conceive, to the picture of comfort and happiness among these peasant families. The population of this district are a fine looking race of people; the men are light in figure, but

athletic, and the women beautiful exceedingly. The blood of the Indian, as well as the African, mingles in their veins, being indicated more in the flow and texture of the hair, than in the contour of the features, though it is there perceptible.

“I would wish, before I close this letter, to take this opportunity of calling the attention of our friends, to the injury which the already restricted commerce of this country sustains, by the prohibition of the import of its tobacco into England, in packages less than of a certain size. The article cannot be brought to an embarcadier but in seroons of a comparatively small bulk. To repack, would be to deteriorate the commodity, and would greatly lessen, by the additional expense, the chance of fair competition. The tobacco is not inferior to that of Havana; but these restrictions act as a prohibition of the English market. An exception has been made in favour of Colombia; why not extend it to St. Domingo?—A similar evil is felt in regard to mahogany, from the duty being charged on measure instead of on value. The crooked and branched mahogany is notoriously the best for ornamental furniture, but it cuts to waste. Merchants will ship none but compact and squared logs. Hence, the loss on the branched woods is not made up by an additional price on the trunk, and the market suffers. If the duty was charged on value and not on measure, it would be otherwise.—The prohibition of trade with Jamaica, is also a serious injury to the mahogany market there. I saw vessels at St. Thomas, loading with St. Domingo mahogany for Jamaica, when the Artibonite timber might be supplied near and cheap; and the voyage to St. Thomas is desperate beating against the trade winds. Jamaica would return her purchases in carriages, which she would supply better than the Americans, because the materials of which they would be made, would be suited to the climate; the English carriages are not. Furniture they have here cheap and beautiful.

“The agriculturist of Hayti would be greatly tempted by a free trade with Jamaica, and the handicraftsman of Jamaica would find a market here for much of his industry. Between the Bahamas and north coast of Hayti, there is a great trade recently opened, by a proclamation of Sir G. Murray’s, the prohibition of the Act not extending to these islands; and no injury has occurred to the morals and political feeling of the slaves of the Bahamas, who come and go freely, for they find, that Hayti is not a country in which the people live without labour.”

“The sun had yet near two hours to its setting when we entered the mahogany forest of the Agnesera, just where it forms a subsidiary branch of the Juan de Vera. The woods were thickly intermingled with palms, the trees, with their thin leafy heads, rising two hundred feet above us. The forest was deep, dark, and heavy; cold and damp as the last days of autumn. The fantastic twirls and festoons of the *lianes*, twining from tree to tree, suspended their long tendrils, from their lofty roofs, or dipped them in the stream as they glided among the moss-embroidered trunks, stretching their branches over their flowery bowers. A cascade came rushing over the whole breadth of the Juan de Vera, then glided away so silently, and apparently so motionless, just below the white wall of the sounding waters, that the mingled and picturesque foliage in a

Hato garden on its banks were seen reflected in the deep blue stream without a dimple.

“ We found a great deal of bulky timber felled and squared, and dragged out to the edge of the stream, to await the floods that were to float them into the Artibonite, at some distance off. The forest was channelled by the tracks through which the cattle had been recently hauling out the wood.

“ September 3.—We rested for the night at the cottage of the lieutenant of the rural police, a black person, who treated us with great attention and hospitality.”

“ There was a cottage or two on the Hato where we stopped for the night. Being anxious to see what was the domestic condition of one of the poorer families of this district, I entered into conversation with a Spanish female of Indian descent, engaged in some household affairs under her *cobertizo* or shed. A *guanapanaa*-tree, a peculiar species of acacia, with leaves and pods singularly twisted and tufted like green tassels at the end of its stem, growing near an orange tree or two, spread its branches closely as a shelter from the blaze of day. At this hour, however, the uprising sun levelled a clear stream of light beneath it, giving a grateful warmth to the chilliness of the morning, so that the household dogs lay sunning themselves under its leaves, in the very spot where the shadows would be found ‘soothing their reveries’ at noon-day. A goat’s pen with kids looking through the *cercado* and bleating impatiently to be out upon the steeps, stood a little to one side. The open cottage shed had a half-floored ceiling made of boards of the palm-tree, to which a rustic ladder of unhewed wood gave access. This was a sort of roof loft into which their household utensils were packed away after use. Large gourds, so large that they formed jugs with spigotts, basins with handles, and oval tubs of three and four feet long, were hung about the rafters and posts. Immovable wooden benches lined the cottage side. The parrot on his perch chattering his morning salutation to his Spanish mistress; the cats slumbering; the children with ‘tropic cheeks, suffused with the sunborn blood,’ playing on the goat skin carpet; the mother pounding the morning meal, and preparing the fire; and the athletic father looking out at the door with a tuft of cotton for the gin which we heard whirling within, formed altogether a picture of an Hatero’s home, in which all was simplicity and poverty, but where there was no indigence. The house contained a centre room, and chambers, where there were beds composed of stretched cow-hides; but the open shed was their ordinary sitting room. We had seen them there the previous evening, seated *al-fresco*, and chatting around the flickering light of a fire, that was quickened with torch wood.

“ We journeyed to the Rio Seco. The scenes were still interesting, beautiful—but not wild. They had that sort of arrangement of mingled shrubberies, thickets and green lawns, embowering trees, and sparkling and gliding waters, already noticed. It was pleasant to see in the nooks of the woodland side, the cottages with their patches of rice and corn fields around them, and the cattle and horses feeding out in the green pastures. We sometimes crossed the beds

of clear brooks, that came sweeping and murmuring past us, from among mighty trees, with flowering shrubs overhanging the streamlet. Sometimes goats, sleek and comely as antelopes, returning home or wandering out, would rush by us and leap from stone to stone of a little rivulet, or if the brook was wide, seek where it was shallow, and make one bound into the stream, and out again. The poultry, amid the woods, the hens clucking, the turkeys wandering in search of the nests of the social ants; the cock, with its rich plumage, running from one sunny spot to the other, by the solitary water side, where the butterflies and insects frequented; would point out the vicinity of woodland settlements, when we saw no other indications, and give an interest, as if we were strolling in the countries where the domestic birds were existing in primeval wildness.

“It is on these smaller streams, where the lands run less into masses of forest, and the soil is light and luxuriant, that the little plantations abound which prepare the sugar called raspado, for the home market, as already described. (See above, p. 231.)

“We visited on the banks of the Rio Seco, another Hatero's cottage. The children, six in number, were uncommonly fine looking; there were four boys, forming the future wealth of the father's plantation. The elder daughter was already a mother, and lived with her husband in the same cottage with her parents. The usual furniture, the cotton-gin, and the gourds cut into all convenient shapes, were there. It was easy to see that the fictile vases of the Indians, were a mere imitation of those shapes which the early vegetable bowls and jugs had long consecrated to domestic use. The dogs, fierce and full fed, about eight or ten in number, were a fine breed of the Spanish hound. Their grounds, by the river side, were extensive, and rice and corn formed a principal article of cultivation.”

“September 5th.—Towards sunset, on the day previous, the sky, gathering thick over the west and south-east, we determined to remain all night at the Hato from which we had set out in the morning, rather than encounter the risk of rain at night-fall by pursuing our journey. Towards sundown, a shower of hail fell, and the rain poured heavily during the whole evening and part of the night, coming with much lightning, and with thunder claps, that boomed loud and dismally through the whole valley of the river. In the morning, we proceeded on our journey homewards. Our road coursed its way through dark forests, rugged hills and dales, ravines and rivulets that dashed in cataracts. The scenery was wildly beautiful.” “Amid these wilds, apparently inaccessible for all agricultural purposes, we broke into spots, whose fertility of soil, sufficiently marked by the prevalence of the lancewood and palmetto, had drawn settlers into it. We passed a little village newly formed, and among the inmates of it, found an American immigrant family, tenanting a comfortable little farm.

“The Artibonite rolled its waters beneath us, in frequent windings amid the hills, deep and dark. The plain of the Todo-el-mundo, into which we could see, from some of the heights, was a garden of palm-trees.

“When we approached the thunder mountain, a storm, gathering

fiery and fierce, was sending forth showers and lightning from all sides of its cloud-crowned summit. We heard the rush of the rains every where, saw its white drifts obscuring, by degrees, every face of the mountain; but travelled a full hour before we felt its wrath: but when it came, there was no moving a foot further, so we took up our rest, for the night, at a cottage in the 'Petit Fond,' right at the foot of the surly mountain, glad to be sheltered from a tempest that raged unceasingly till the morning. We owed this timely hospitality to some American wood-cutters, part of the immigrants from the United States, and found them intelligent industrious men. They had prepared for us a dinner of fowls, fricasseed and hashed, into what is here called 'gros bouillon,' before they tendered their offer of shelter; and I found an ox-hide stretched on the floor no bad bed to a wearied traveller."

"The rural superintendant of the Petit Fond, was pointed out to me, as the father of twenty-two children, by three wives, and his brother, the father of twenty-three, by six. They were Africans."

"September 6th.—In our journey to the bourg of St. Louis, we traversed the old indigo plains of Sarrasin, now mantled in logwood, having a deep black vegetable loam for its soil, then crossed the river Fer à Cheval, rushing angry and muddy, and entered the fortress town of Mirebalais.

"The town of Mirebalais, known generally as the bourg of St. Louis, is seated on a plateau, on the left bank of the Artibonite, raised some height above the bed of the river, but leaving the stream itself just within sight to the northward of it. A little detached from the rest, is situated the citadel, once intended as the nucleus of an interior city, for which the situation is excellent. The arsenal and magazines are a fine range of brick buildings, with a colonnade of irregular architecture supporting the roof. There are only two well built houses in the town. The rest are humble cottages, covered with thatch. The soil of the uplands is arid and poor; but the plain of Sarrasin, and the alluvial loam on either bank of the Artibonite, are productively rich. This district was originally settled in grazing farms. The land being found favourable for indigo, it became one of the principal parishes in which that staple was cultivated by the old colonists. It was found, from its easy irrigation, admirably adapted to rice. That article is perhaps still more grown there now, for the home market, than formerly; but cotton, is at present, its principal resource for commerce. The president has there a water-mill for cleaning that grown by the surrounding cultivators, at a regulated mulcture. Its circus of mountains, of all hues and forms, gives its plain a magnificent character, when viewed from the neighbouring mornets; but to a person merely journeying through the town, its aspect of ruined houses, its demolished church, substituted by a building within its scattered walls, as humble as a hut; and its old place d'armes, wild and green, like a country common, gave, notwithstanding its citadel and arsenal, a melancholy interest to these memorials of revolutionary contests and frontier wars, in all which it

so suffered, that it remained, till very recently, abandoned as a desert.

“We were hospitably entertained during our brief sojourn at Mirebalais, through the broiling and breathless noon, at the house of Commandant Michel. We found here, in submitting our passports to be viséed, a circumstance very general through our travels, that an educated African officiated as military secretary of the district.”

“We reached Trianon by 3 o'clock. The road was gravelly and good the whole way; the undulation of the hills gentle, and the whole distance from Mirebalais practicable for carriages. At Trianon our horses found abundant fodder, and we rested for the night.

“Sept. 7th.—By the morning moon we descended on foot to the plains. Saw the valley of the lakes enveloped in mist; and reached Port-au-Prince to a noonday breakfast, sufficiently wearied with our sunny and stormy journey over mountain and moor.”

“Nov. 12th.—We had made up a party to visit the Lake of Assua.”
 “We retraced the wood I had passed heretofore to the higher borders of the Grand Rivière. The recent rains had given freshness to the desert, enlivening, with green newness, the fantastic intermixture of the tree cactus with the delicate foliage of the numerous guaiacum and acacia trees. At Mocquet we received that ready hospitality with which its cheerful proprietor welcomes his guests; a welcome, that, in our case, was tendered as an earnest for a renewed visit when looking homeward. At Noailles we saw the remains of the aqueduct and mill houses of the old splendid sugar estate. Its ruin had been complete; but the fresh industry, which the proprietor of Mocquet had called into exercise, was doing something towards renewing its former productiveness. We turned in among the cottages of Dignerou, the fine estate of the Treasurer General mentioned before, a very village in size. We remained at Dignerou all night, faring sumptuously.”

“Nov. 13th.—Before day-break we were up for our journey. It was a melancholy sight, on our road from the Treasurer General's to the Croix des Bouquets, to see the extent of grounds covered by the ruins of the old estates. Walls that enclosed rich gardens and farmyards were standing desolate, or had their highest purposes of utility as the circuit to a bananery and thatched cottage of some less ostentatious proprietor than the old colonial lords.

“We passed Vaudreuil and saw its newly erected dwelling-house, built by the President; reached the village of Cotard, a cluster of large sized cottages, on a soil so singularly marly, sandy, and sterile, that it must have been a lively representation of some of the towns of the Zahara. Further on we crossed water courses and fine flowing rivulets, spreading out their floods into the old artificial basins, and fertilizing fresh settled plantations. At Joineau, the property of General Lerebour, we saw all the indications of the renewed culture of the cane on a large scale. The fields looked park-like and pleasant, and the works were admirably established. In this vicinity there is a great deal of newly opened lands and provision grounds, and the road runs on still dry and excellent.

“Through a leaf covered pathway, whose lengthened vista shone like a spot of mysterious light in the distance, we entered into a devious wild of acacia and log wood, where the blossoms were exceedingly fragrant. A village of straggling cottages was situated in the midst of this wood, having a number of old folks, grey and bearded, stirring about with limbs full of health and vigour.”

“We returned to Dignerons petit place that evening. Next morning, the 14th, passing through La Croix des Bouquets in the high bustle of a thronged market, we proceeded on to Mocquet, where we spent the remainder of the day, and arrived at Port-au-Prince at night-fall.

“Nov. 15th.—One of the most remarkable men in Hayti and one of the most useful and respected of her citizens is General Caye-la-Rivière. Having an opportunity of an introduction to him this day at a dejeuner, he informed me that Mr. Thompson, the British Counsel at the Cape, had especially recommended me and my mission to his notice, and that he felt happy in assuring me of his willingness to aid me when I should visit his arrondissement. The district of Grande Rivière in the north, once the most refractory and unprofitable, is said now to present the best evidences of industry and morality of any portion of the republic, all which it owes to his energy and patriotism. He is greatly beloved and as greatly feared by the people he commands. As a soldier he is a strict disciplinarian, as a magistrate just and severe, as ready to protect the right, as he is strenuous to punish the wrong. His district, though an interior section of the country, gives the best agricultural results of any part of Hayti, and he boasts that such is the habitual sense of honesty of the people in it, that a traveller and a stranger shall leave his watch on the high road and it will be brought to him for the discovery of its owner. He pays visits to the houses of the little farmers and planters, to ascertain what relation the tale of their produce should bear to their land and the numbers of their families, and such is the paternal persuasiveness of his government, that he finds no difficulty in urging the people to accomplish the highest possible rate. His administration is so strictly just, that having adopted the scheme of mulcting the community for all the robberies of which the perpetrators are undiscovered, he never hears of a theft without, at the same time, seeing the thief before him. The devotion and love shewn to his person are unbounded. The inhabitants have found their interest in his strictness, and seeing that his motives are benevolent, aid him so strenuously in effecting all beneficial reforms, that his commands are obeyed as the persuasions of a father and a friend. In person he is extremely tall, of a fine countenance, and in his youth must have been esteemed a handsome man. He is mild and playful in moments of relaxation from the duties of his magisterial office; but in the discharge of them he has

“The grave stern look of men inform'd and wise,
A full command of feature, heart, and eyes,
An awe compelling frown and fear inspiring size.”

CRABBE.

He formerly served as a dragoon officer in the French army in Europe, he has the bold, confidential air of the revolutionary warrior. His walk is a perfect swagger, and he strides as if he wore the seven league boots of Jack the giant killer. The people are full of anecdotes of him. Bold deeds, and desperate, and heart stirring stories are the heroic adventures of Caye-la-Rivière.”

“1830. Dec. 9th.—From the high mountains which compose the district usually denominated Les Hauts de St. Mare, a fertile plain extends to the chain of the Cahos, and subsidiary branches of the mountains of Ennery. A variety of small streams, which the toil of the ancient colonists had rendered subservient to the purposes of irrigation, diffused about it an air of artificial beauty and fertility. Two principal rivers flowed through it. The Ester having its rise in that part of the Cahos called by the Spaniards the Sierra Prieta, and by the French the Morne Noire, was to the north, while to the south, winding its way to the sea along the sinuosities of the neighbouring mountains, flowed the larger stream of the Artibonite, from which the intermediate plain derived its name.

“All the ancient colonial territory north of the Artibonite, and south of its embouchure as far as the mountain torrent of Montroni, formed the recently important kingdom of Christophe. One of its most interesting features is the fortress city of Dessalines, situated not far from the right bank of the Ester. After the overthrow of the European domination in the colony, the negroes having rendered themselves independent, and sworn solemnly to the act of liberty, at the Port of Gonaives, Dessalines determined to erect, on the mountain cliffs, a citadel to the whole champaign country, so impregnable both by the resources of nature and art, as to secure the steady cultivation of the plains, and in defiance of hostilities, the advantages of the neighbouring coasts. A survey of the remnants of the city, and of the fortresses on the precipices above it, suggest a high idea of his power, and of the energy of the people, in the burst of their enthusiasm, when they first found themselves free and victorious.

“When we consider that not four years elapsed from the period of the chief command of Dessalines to his death, that amid the toils of warfare, and under the pressure of the various evils of a commerceless country, and an annihilated agriculture, these buildings were erected, and the immense massy cannons we still see in numbers lying every where, were dragged from the sea to the interior, and from the interior to the mountains, we shall form no contemptible idea of the energy of this singular man, and of the devotion of the people he commanded.

“After Dessalines had fallen a victim to the mutiny of the troops, two rival factions divided the state—Christophe in the north, and Petion in the south. All the advantages of the new capital having been estimated from the integrity of the republic, this division arrested the progress of the city, and ultimately led to its entire abandonment. There is, however, a cheering interest in contemplating these remains; the first regulated efforts of an emancipated people, turning from the wide desolation of war, to pursue the arts of civilized life, in the

hazardous security of a peace, only calculating the fruits of patient labour, under the protection of fortresses, which nature as well as art had rendered impregnable.

“At 7 o'clock we were on our way to make the perilous ascent of the Innocent, one of the fine mountain batteries that protect the city. We ascended these heights, computed at 700 feet, in thirty-two minutes, and descended in twenty-five. Afterwards we walked into the fortress of the Somus, a construction of Petion's, when serving in the army of Dessalines. It is a battery with two circular redoubts, highly defensive, and important on account of containing the spring of water which supplies the rivulet. This is the Cul-buté. It is situated a little eastward of the town at the foot of the hills. A valley rich in verdure, and pretty abundantly cultivated, runs between the fortress hills and that lower range, by whose base lay our yesterday's road.

“Pursuing the heights above the city of Dessalines, at their descent into the plains, the road passes along the borders of the Lagoon of the Ester. The soil, subjected to the floods of the rainy season, is sandy and unproductive, but in the higher grounds, within and around the lake, it is equally fertile with any part of the neighbouring plain. These verdant marshes are the feeding grounds of many herds of cattle, finding shelter from sunshine and rain among the clumps of acacia and bamboos, festooned with flowered lianes, and contributing greatly to give life and diversity to the wild aspect of the country.

“Plantations of cotton, millet, and rice, are seen on the edges of the Lagoon, and cottages appear coved into the recesses of the forest. The people, though poor, are cleanly in their dress, and the cows and calves, and horses and asses with their foals, wandering the woods, shewed that they were provided with the means of rendering their distance from the embarcadier markets no material inconvenience. The gardens of the poorest here, were not suffered to depend on the periodical rains, but had the mountain springs that would have fallen through barren defiles into the lake, conducted through circuitous channels to the higher grounds, for the purposes of irrigation.

“La Croix is a wide grassy forest road, where formerly a cross was erected. It passes through ranges of hills, steep, but not lofty, bare of trees, but covered with a long dry grass, that supplies, in the moister season, forage for cattle. Two or three provision plantations, fenced in with a high stockade, from the trespasses of the woodland herds, were seen along the road, thick set with bananas, corn and millet.

“The banks of the river Quinte had collected together a few good houses and cottages, that varied a long line of desolate road to Gonaives. The women were gathered in the stream at their washing, and ass-loads of linen were being carried away by the laundresses. This river being the only one of the plains, and its stream uncertain, so great a quantity of clothing is occasionally washed on its banks that it assumes the appearance of a bleach-ground. Its waters flow through a fine line of bamboos, whose dense foliage and deep

shadows, entirely embower it, and render it dark at mid-day. Cotton plantations are on either hand of the road, but not frequent.

“ Dec. 12.—Since the ruin of St. Mark's, Gonaives, commanding a more secure and accessible harbour, has risen into some importance, and is a rapidly thriving district. Its great advantages are the cotton cultivation of the plains. The mahogany of the Salines, and the coffee of the neighbouring mountains, more especially since the construction of the escalier road, has enabled the numerous peasant farmers of Plaisance, to avail themselves of the market on this side of the mountain wall supporting the more elevated and fertile interior country of the old department of the north.

“ But the great historical interest of Gonaives and its neighbouring mountains is above any accidental importance arising from physical peculiarities. The rise of Toussaint L'Ouverture may be the episode of other districts, but that of his fall is the tragic story of the republic. Between the Quinte and Artibonite, the hills of Ennery and the mountains of the Cahos, the fortunes of this extraordinary man were wrecked, and Gonaives beheld his latest footsteps, and received the last prophetic words of liberty, when departing, as a prisoner, from the country he had emancipated from bondage and raised from ruin.

“ The slave of Bréda owed his rise to his own supereminent talents. His triumphs were over the most indomitable of enemies, those who confounded social order with tyranny. Yet he reconciled the victorious and emancipated slave to the defeated master. He had quitted the tumult of civil war when pride and avarice, cruelty, envy, and revenge alone influenced the minds and excited the actions of men. His talents and address found means to subdue all passions, and to convert them to the uses of government, in promoting the public good. In the place of anarchy and usurpation, was seen the authority of the laws. Justice was administered with regularity. The revenue was collected, and agriculture restored. Whilst he humbled the pride of the ancient colonist, by his own pre-eminence, and in his station above them presented the practical evidence of the equality of the Negro and the European; he flattered the avarice of the old proprietor by securing the benefit of the labour of his former slave. Slavery was abolished, but the relation of master and servant was recognized. To the one he gave the right of exacting toil by the operation of fixed laws, but protected the other from oppression. He balanced while he preserved all interests, investing every one with a liberty at once safe to the colony and beneficial to the state. When the world's admiration of his success, had rendered him an object of alarm to the French republic, his refusal to surrender his authority excited their suspicions of his fidelity. The expeditionary army was sent out as a provision against his influence, it being deemed necessary, by the infatuated colonists, at all risks to cancel his power. Toussaint determined on resistance, because their liberties were menaced. A new insurrection broke out. A civil war followed; and the contest, of which he became the ever memorable victim, ended in establishing those liberties for ever.

“The treachery which had made Toussaint an exile, condemned upon no better testimony than suspicion, was soon followed by the disturbed tranquillity of the colony. It was evident that every act of the colonial government was now rapidly tending towards the reestablishing of slavery. The danger, as Christophe expressed it, was not in the first out breakings of rebellion, for these were feeble and conducted by obscure persons; but in the general opinion of the blacks, who had heard, with dread, of the decree of April 1802, for the regulation of slavery and the slave trade in the colonies now restored to France by the treaty of Amiens. The arrest of Toussaint was an event of July. By the middle of September the once devoted Petion had taken his measures for revolt, attacked the Cape, and nearly annihilated by a single, bold, and decisive blow the sovereignty of France in St. Domingo.”

“In the bay of Gonaives much salt is manufactured. To carry on the operation of salt raking, square pools are dug in convenient situations to receive tranquilly the flooding sea waters. The sluices are dammed up with loam. The water lying to the depth of eight or ten inches. Large cubic crystals of bay salt are deposited at the bottom and around the margin of the pool. When perfectly desiccated it is raked out in heaps, and afterwards washed in baskets to separate from it the impurities brought over it by the prevailing land winds, from the parched and dusty plains, or whirled from the arid mountains of the neighbourhood. The whole sea coast, between St. Mark's and Gonaives, is a continuous saline; but at the mouth of the Artibonite these incrustations whiten the surface for many miles. Detached pools shine like frozen lakes. The salt receives a crimson tint from the earth of the plain, which is said to be more or less crystallized with it. Three months are the period of time in which the water evaporates and leaves a dry crystallized residuum.

“All exported salt pays a duty, that for home consumption none. The commerce is not of sufficient magnitude to be very productive to the revenue.”

“December 28th.—Judging by the arid appearance of the mountains skirting the road to the northern plain of Gonaives, and by the desolate condition of the plains generally, the whole district, to the cross roads of Poteau, would scarcely be considered cultivable. Some good cotton plantations, with the customary intermixture of the millet, or holcus soyhum lined, however, the road to the right. To the left were a farm or two, in which the appearance of horses, cows, asses, and goats, feeding in the stockaded yards about the cottages gave a character of tranquil happiness, as well as productive industry to the humble and domestic scene. The entire district, as I have already remarked, is badly furnished with water. The military village of Dolan, about midway between the sea and the mountains, though forming a cluster of wretched looking cottages, was erected by the side of extensive fields of cotton and millet, cultivated by the soldiers, in very superior condition. The lofty millet was filled with well eared bunches of corn, and the cotton was bursting into blossom, with the promise of a full harvest.

“The Bourg of Ennery, celebrated as the favourite retreat of Tous-saint L'Ouverture, is situated on the banks of a pleasant stream, that winds through an agreeable mountain valley. The whole road is an even carriage way, extremely fine, of an ascent so gradual that you scarcely perceive its rise, is wide and grassy, shadowed by large and leafy trees. The orange and the sapodilla, with the anana, are common, and the low shrubs that intervene are generally the coffee of overgrown plantations. The old habitations, with their divisions of gardens and fields, were generally marked by fences of the *jatropha curas*, or physic-nut of Jamaica.

“Our whole road had been a sheltered valley of the stream. There were seen some cottages situated among bananeries and millet fields, whose inhabitants found also a harvest in the coffee now growing wild and frequent in the woods. Near one of these little homesteads by the road we passed a group of black persons reading a public paper. One of them, apparently an officer of the rural police, having overtaken me soon after, conducted me into the village and to the house of the Commandant, for whom I had a letter from the General of the arrondissement. I have always found the people practising this sort of civility by the ready suggestion of their own sense of usefulness and propriety. This person served us at some personal inconvenience, for he had no sooner seen us at our journey's end, than bidding us good night, he departed out of the bourgade, at a hasty gallop, by the same road he had entered it with us.

“The face of the parallel ridges of mountains, between which the vale of the Ennery river extended, was barren, and though covered with stunted trees, so parched as to be entirely verdureless. When, however, we entered the hamlet we perceived signs of fertility in the white cottages on the uplands to the south, shining in the light of the full moon, which was just rising as our journey ended, and shewing, on the clear radiance of the sky it was entering, the foliage of lines of straggling pine trees that crowned the brows of the mountains.

“29th.—I rested at a well built cottage, the residence of a worthy kind-hearted woman. It was such a building as an Englishman would find among the substantial farmers of York or Lincolnshire, well furnished, with a floor made of the fine laminated limestone of the district, laid, not in squares, but in angular fragments, having the angular spaces filled in with pieces broken to fit, a paved gallery sheltered the front, ornamented with seats of mason work. The recollection of the kind attention I received while sojourning here, both in the cleanly accommodation of the house, and in the substantial and palatable variety of the usual country fare of poultry, and indigenous vegetables and fruits, will be cherished by me as among the many pleasant and unregretted days I have passed in Hayti. The climate was a fine chill mountain air.

“30th.—The line of mountains to the southward overlooking the deep hollow, forming the quiet bourg of Ennery, is the scarp ridge of the forts of Bayonnai, whose mighty gorge and angular hummocks are so remarkable a feature in the wild scenes of the plains below. These lofty eminences, clothed with trees and the rich verdure of the

guinea grass, are embellished with many cottages and plantations, some situated on the brows of the projecting hills, and others in the low, warm, intervening valleys, and form the homes of families who have earned an inheritance in the lands they have defended. Viewed from the vales below, these cultivated uplands appeared not unfrequent, but far apart. Groups of the pine trees spotted the pasture slopes, or sheltered cottages from which the smoke went wreathing upwards at morning and evening. The voice of the watch dog was heard, and the shrill cock answered from steep to steep, at the accustomed hours, their 'midnight centinels.' When I journeyed into these ravines and climbed the successive heights, I soon found these were but faint evidences of the numerous inhabitants of the rocks, and of the dense cultivation of the hills and defiles. I seized the early opportunity which the kind attention of Captain Mouscardy, the Commandant, in company with the Administrator of the district, afforded me to journey on to the frontiers of the old colony. Having rested for a day, and being provided with a fresh horse, my own being out at pasture on the hills, we passed through the ruined plantation of Sansy, where Toussaint L'Ouverture met his children and returned them to the French Government, when the price of their being restored to him was the sacrifice of what he owed to the people, by whose devotion he had purchased the glory he enjoyed. We descended to the bed of the river, which here now rolled its full stream over huge rocks that had fallen from the cliffs that bordered it. Pine trees clustered our road in their open coppices of chequered sun and shadow. The neglected coffee formed shrubberies by the way side, and orange trees and sapodillas bowered about us." "The mild climate of these mountains under the influence of a serene sky, with hills clothed with verdure and the cliffs leafed with forests to the clouds, induced me to turn with many a gaze at the white cottages, that every where presented themselves, amid the culture of the broken surface in such tranquil and luxuriant happiness. Further, the stream rolling on its murmuring waters at the foot of glossy-leaved bananeries, presented the animated scene of horses and cows refreshing themselves, and tethered calves feeding beneath the expanded branches of the wild fig trees growing upon its banks. There was every thing to delight the sight in the novelty and beauty of the landscape, and to interest the heart in the useful industry of its inhabitants.

"Our ride was extended beyond the once fine plantation of La Rivière, whose extensive ruins and splendid glacis cover the brows of the cliffs above the stream. The grassy savannas on the mountain side once watered by an aqueduct over a deep ravine, still cheer with their verdure the landscape. A few miserable looking cottages with banana grounds near them, stand where once the slave village spread out its numerous roofs. The aspect of this desolation was a melancholy contrast to the home of the free mountaineer, who now looked down in avoidance of this once proud beauty in decay, the lost paradise of some ancient colonist, who 'must never more walk in that forbidden place of joy.' We journeyed into the Savanna quarée to the edge of the hill, whose gorge forms the pass to the frontier

commune of San Miguel of Hispaniola, and then turned into the ravines of the Montagne Noire, whose steep, dark cliffs rose before us in mighty majesty, clear and cloudless.

“ Just where a neat unfinished cottage of large size stood, on the brow of a little hill above the river, with a park of pine trees sheltering it from the winds, and with the dark cliffs of the Morne Noire at the back, we turned into the cultivated defiles of the ridge, since the union of the north and south, parcelled, among a portion of Christophe's army, in concessionary grants of from five to forty carreaux. We soon found ourselves commanding an agreeable view of these ravines, green with newly planted coffee trees covering the slopes, intermingled with orchards profuse with mangoe trees, avocadiers, sapodillas, pome canelles, ananas, and oranges : fields of cassada, corn and peas varied the broad leaves of the musa or banana. The shrubberies and plantations announced by the vigour of their foliage a strong power of vegetation in the soil, generally a black mould on a marly base, peculiarly favourable to the coffee. A brook flowed glittering through the bottom of the glen. We saw the hills that projected from the mountain had a scattered cultivation all along, up to the wooded crest which robed in morning mists and mid-day clouds, poured down its little silver rills through the ravines, spreading fertility and coolness wherever they swept. The vantage ground, which, at every turn, ‘ disclosed the dwelling of the mountaineer,’ with the variegated maze of mount and glen, shewed that the district was well inhabited. I was particularly pleased with the comfort and size of the residence of a widowed negress, the wife of a cornet named Jean Hector. His property was a part of the *ci-devant* habitation *Lucasmaix* ; but every thing on the present estate had been recently constructed. I was delighted with the neat and commodious condition of the whole establishment. On the brow of a bold rise, overlooking, on the back and front, luxuriant valleys filled with vegetation and tillage, and wooded all along its summit with trees combining the advantages of both utility and ornament, stood the capacious cottage, constructed in the usual fashion of the country, with an open gallery in the centre, having the extremities closed in so as to form closets. The glacis or terrace for drying the coffee, was, at this time, unemployed, and the pulping mill, with its heavy wooden roller, was laid up in ordinary, being covered with an envelope of plantain leaves to protect it from the sun's heat. The cottages and out offices were arranged along the same hilly brow. There were the colombier, with its careering pigeons going and returning—the stables for horses—the pens for pigs—the poultry—all combining to give that farm-like appearance, which, added to the precise and systematic industry of the spot, shewed there existed that attention to home comforts which make the social enjoyments of civilized life. The proprietress was away from home, and we saw only the families of the cultivators, their wives and children, an extremely well dressed, clean, and goodly race. These were pursuing their avocations in the shadow of their cottages, drying their linen, ironing it in the shed of their yard, attending the poultry, or spreading out the pods of leguminous vegetables in the sunshine to

dry in such quantities as shewed that they were a portion of their staple productions. The capital with which this mountain farm was established consisted only in the industry of the people, for they had had nothing but health and strength to aid them; but no garden could be better ordered than the whole 'habitation.' The grounds were thoroughly weeded, the trees attentively pruned. The plantation comprehended products for the home and foreign markets, and I was assured by the Commandant, that the three or four families I saw associated with the proprietress in this culture, bore no adequate proportion to the quantity of land in cultivation.

"I accepted a present of delicious oranges, brought me by one of the cottager's daughters; and taking a turn or two higher up the mountain, descended through trackways in the wood lands to the banks of the stream, by whose romantic and pine-sheltered declivities we had been before travelling. Coming in sight of the ruins of La Rivière, which looked on this side like a mouldering castle above the devious stream, we retraced our old pathway homeward, through a rocky glen of Roche à Durant and the wilderness plantation of Sansy, to the quiet hamlet we had left.

"When, in future years, the agricultural resources of the Artibonite shall be called forth, and Gonaives be the city of the plains, the sequestered scenes of Ennery, when the cold wind, in the language of Scottish song, 'shakes the dark firs on the stay-rocky brae,' will become a favourite haunt of the merchant. Its valleys hemmed in by towering mountains; its wood-crowned heights, and precipices of the bare rock; its streams chilly and crystal clear; its wild glens of the skirting hills, reminded me much of those of the Nith by Knaresborough. Its grounds which combine the rich and romantic, and its climate which unites the cool atmosphere of Europe with the bright skies of the tropics, will not only make it the garden of the peasant, but the retreat of the citizen. Even at this period it has an interest to the traveller not unworthy its romantic scenery, by the story of the fall of Toussaint L'Ouverture, whose estate of Sansy, now lying amid ruin and desolation, still contains reliques of the man, not indeed intrinsically worthy of notice, but deserving of respect from association, and to be cherished, as simple songs are that are wedded to sweet airs, or as homely flowers that are prized for their fragrance only. A humble thatched cot of the meanest kind stands where stood the house in which he received his children. The glacia of the estate remains with two or three cocoa nut trees in the garden, the only ones in this part of the country. The lemon hedges intermingled with dwarf fan palms line the roads in spots, and the stone belfry exists, white and solitary, amid the waste. The bell still hangs there, an epitome of his once history. The iron tongue that regulated the time of labour and assigned each man his appointed duty, the voice that sounded the alarm, the tocsin at which the people mustered, is heard no more among the hills and rocks. Its occupation is gone, and the magical influence which could bring the bustling mountaineers to their useful toil, or marshal them for the contest, under the

dread of renewed servitude and uncompensated labour, exists a memorial of what once stood there in splendour and usefulness.

“31st.—I descended the plains on the last day of the year, being anxious to witness the fête of independence in the town of Gonaives, and to be present at the festivities at General Beauvoir’s, which were to celebrate the departure of the old year, and the coming of the new.”

Here we suspend our Extracts for the present, referring for our remarks, upon the general tenor of our traveller’s communications, to the last number (No. 78, p. 213—216). We think it right, however, once for all, to apologize, to our readers, for what they may deem the somewhat florid descriptions with which his interesting narrative is intermingled;—as we were anxious to avoid even verbal alterations which might affect its genuineness and identity.

II.—THE REV. G. W. BRIDGES AND HIS SLAVE, KITTY HYLTON.

THE official statement of the cruelties perpetrated, by Mr. Bridges, on the person of this wretched female was laid, a few days ago, on the table of the House of Commons. It is numbered 231 of the present session.

On comparing this official statement of facts with the minutes of evidence on the subject contained in our number 76, p. 140, we find so exact an agreement, that we need not repeat the horrid details. We are happy, however, now to be able to add the humane and enlightened judgment of Vicount Goderich on the whole of this infamous transaction, as it is contained in his despatch to Earl Belmore of the 18th February, 1831.

“I have received your Lordship’s despatch of the 1st of December, 1830, enclosing a copy of the proceedings before the Council of Protection, in the complaints of Kitty Hylton against the Rev. Mr. Bridges.

“Your Lordship was instructed to obtain this information, in my predecessor’s despatch of the 23d October, 1829, and the instruction was repeated on the 15th August 1830.

“Obviously desirable as it was that this department should be in full and early possession of all the documents bearing upon this case, I cannot but express my regret that your Lordship should have allowed more than twelve months to intervene before you transmitted the copy of the proceedings before the Council of Protection.

“I have perused this record with feelings of the deepest concern. For a trifling mistake in the execution of her master’s orders, this female slave appears to have been first violently struck and kicked by her master, and then, by his directions, flogged with such severity as to have excited the commiseration of every person who bore witness to her appearance after the punishment.

“Thomas Raffington, Esq. was sworn; and deposed,—That Kitty Hylton came to witness ‘on Saturday morning the 4th, A. M. A servant came in, and told witness a sick woman wanted to see him; saw her and her situation; never saw a female in such a situation: had seen the woman before, but did not know her name. Witness did not examine her particularly, but she was terribly lacerated, and never saw a woman so ill treated.’

“Dr. Stennett, who was sworn, states,—That the woman had two black eyes

when sent to the workhouse, and that he examined her and saw severe marks of punishment; but he says, if she had had 'thirty-nine, she would not have been healed so soon.'

"Mr. F. Harker, sworn; states,—That he saw the woman in the morning of Wednesday: 'had heard a report of a woman being severely flogged; examined her; her eyes were black as if she had received a severe blow; her posteriors were very much cut up; on the inner part of her thigh on each there were several black marks.'

"The Hon. Henry Cox, sworn; states,—That Kitty Hylton came to him to complain against her master, Mr. Bridges. 'She was very much injured; saw her bruises, evidently switching, from the nape of the neck to her posteriors; her face and thighs dreadfully bruised: has never seen any thing so severe of the kind.'

"It is further stated, and is corroborated by the evidence of Miss Moreland, that Mr. Bridges struck or kicked the slave after she had been flogged, as well as before, and that he caused her to burn the clothes which had been stained with her blood. The only part of this evidence which is in any degree impugned, is that of Dr. Stennett and Mr. Harker, to the fact of her having 'black eyes;' and all that appears to the contrary is the evidence of 'Colin,' apparently a servant, or at all events an inmate in Mr. Bridges' house, who says that he did not perceive marks of violence upon her face.

"When Mr. Bridges was called upon for his defence, all that appears upon the record is, that he 'admitted that he had ordered the woman to be switched for her insolence, but denies that he went down from his house; on the contrary, he had sent her down to be switched by the watchman.'

"The result of these proceedings was, that 'on its being put to the vote whether Mr. Bridges should be prosecuted or not, it was carried by a majority of 13 to 4 against the Prosecution.' And when a Bill of Indictment was nevertheless preferred against Mr. Bridges, by the Attorney-General, under the directions of the Secretary of State, it was thrown out by the Grand Jury.

"It would be with extreme reluctance that I could be induced to doubt that the gentlemen who composed the Grand Jury upon this occasion, performed their duty conscientiously, according to the terms of the oath which they had taken; but I have the opinion of the Attorney-General for Jamaica before me, who reported, that having maturely considered the Evidence which had been offered to the magistrates and vestry, he could feel no hesitation in declaring that the Grand Jury have committed an error of judgment, which, for every consideration of what is due to the ends of public justice, to their own good repute, and to the credit of the Colonial Society, is deeply to be deplored.

"Were I to assume the judgment of the Grand Jury to be correct, it would follow that the Laws of Jamaica afford to the Slave no protection from such sufferings as those which are shown, by evidence upon oath, to have been undergone by the Slave Kitty Hylton.

"With respect to the offender, in this case, your Lordship will readily conceive how much the regret, which I should feel at such conduct on the part of any person filling a respectable station in society, is aggravated by the circumstance of that person being a Minister of the Gospel.

"Unmanly and disgraceful as the conduct of Mr. Bridges would have been, even had it proceeded no further than the blows inflicted by his own hand, I should have been willing to seek some apology for it in a momentary ebullition of anger, however apparently unprovoked, and however unbecoming the sacred character of his profession. But, for the repeated and persevering cruelty of his subsequent conduct, I can find no extenuation; and I can only lament that the ends of justice have been defeated, and that the crime of Mr. Bridges must be left unpunished.

"If Mr. Bridges be a Magistrate, your Lordship will lose no time, if it be not already done, in erasing his name from the Commission of the Peace."

But even this despatch, creditable as it is to its author, exhibits but a small part of that illustration which the case affords of the deplorable state of law and manners in Jamaica. It is not merely the perfect impunity of the culprit for "the unmanly and disgraceful" outrage, as it is well designated by Lord Goderich, of which he had been guilty, that merits attention; but his exaltation, by the white community of that Island, to the rank of a hero and a martyr in the sacred cause of Colonial slavery. In a former case, that of Lecesne and Escoffery, the Governor of the Island, a British nobleman of the highest rank, was made the instrument in the hands of his own secretary and the King's then Attorney General, aided by members both of the Council and of the Assembly, to persecute and cruelly to crush, without even the form of a trial, those innocent and meritorious individuals, and by every expedient of delusion and falsehood to frustrate their application for redress to the Government and Parliament of Great Britain. In spite, however, of all this combined effort by which they unhappily succeeded in blinding not only the Duke of Manchester and the Commissioners of legal inquiry, but, for a time, even the British Government itself, the injured and outraged sufferers have at length, through the force of truth, obtained the justification and the indemnity to which they were fully entitled.

In the case of the Rev. Mr. Bridges, there appears, from these papers, to have been the same unhallowed combination of the Governor misled by his secretary, of the Jamaica press, of many of the magistrates, of the grand jury, and of the community at large, to protect him from the demands of justice, and to defeat every effort of His Majesty's Secretary of State, and of the present Attorney General of Jamaica, to bring him to trial.

And yet it is to men, capable of such conduct, that we are expected to continue to intrust uncontrolled and uncontrolable power over the legal rights, the moral and religious improvement, the social and domestic condition, the lives and limbs, the bodies and souls, and in short, the destinies and entire well being of upwards of 320,000 of our fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects! It is impossible that such a proposition can now be entertained by a British Parliament for a moment. The veil has been torn away, and at length light has shone into this den of darkness and of crime. The British Parliament can no longer hesitate to interfere, and to pronounce, in a voice that must be heard, that these abominations shall cease.

III.—ANTI-SLAVERY PETITIONS.

MR. BUXTON'S motion on Colonial Slavery, has been unavoidably deferred to the 15th instant. To this day, (March 31) the number of Anti-Slavery Petitions presented in this Session, to the House of Commons, amounts to 5,329.

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 80.]

MAY 9, 1831.

[Vol. iv. No. 8.

I.—PROCEEDINGS OF A GENERAL MEETING OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AND ITS FRIENDS, HELD AT EXETER-HALL, ON SATURDAY, THE 23rd OF APRIL, 1831, THE RIGHT HON. LORD SUFFIELD IN THE CHAIR,—CONTAINING THE SUBSTANCE OF THE SPEECHES DELIVERED, AND THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED ON THAT OCCASION.

II.—ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, ADOPTED AT THE SAME GENERAL MEETING.

I.—PROCEEDINGS OF A GENERAL MEETING OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AND ITS FRIENDS, HELD AT EXETER-HALL, ON SATURDAY THE 23rd OF APRIL, 1831.

THIS was the most numerous meeting of the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause probably ever yet assembled in England under one roof. The new and spacious Hall where it met, and which is capable of containing nearly three thousand persons, was filled to overflowing, long before the proceedings commenced; and multitudes went away without being able to obtain admittance. Among those present, we observed the following noblemen and gentlemen, viz :—Lords Suffield and Calthorpe, the Hon. and Rev. G. Noel, Sir James Mackintosh, Dr. Lushington, Messrs. T. F. Buxton, William Smith, W. Whitmore, D. Sykes, Daniel O'Connell, Shiel, Briscoe, Weyland, Allen, Pownall, G. Stephen, Rev. Messrs. D. Wilson, J. W. Cunningham, Richard Watson, John Burnett, and many other persons of high respectability.

LORD SUFFIELD, having been called to take the chair, in the unavoidable absence of His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, opened the proceedings.

He assured the meeting that it was with unfeigned diffidence he took the post of honour, to which, by its kindness, he had been advanced. He came not there expecting to take any precedence on account of his rank—or believing that he had any peculiar qualification for that station on account of anything he could offer in support of the object of the meeting. He came there without pretension to any other qualification than the zeal which he possessed for the extinction of slavery. On this, however, he would assert his right firmly and stoutly, for he yielded to no man—not even to his Hon. Friend (Mr. Buxton)—in cordial, deep-rooted, and, he hoped, persevering detestation of that most wretched and degrading system. It was not his province, as Chairman, to enter at any

length into the subject; but he felt it his duty to say a few words as to the constitution and objects of this Society. Although in the abolition of the Slave Trade, the entire extinction of slavery itself was never lost sight of, fifteen years were suffered to elapse before this Society was instituted. And why was it instituted? And how did it originate? The high station, the rank, the wealth, the Parliamentary influence of the West India planters were so great and powerful, that it became necessary to have some active and well-organized Association to compete with them. He meant no disrespect to the press, to the freedom of which he was a sincere friend, when he said that it was but too ready to act, as we are all too prone to act and to speak—for money: and by writers in the pay of the West Indian Colonists it had been frequently made the organ of attacks upon the character of those who wished to put an end to the abominable system of slavery. To meet this influence, as well as to promulgate well-authenticated facts which were necessary to be known, and to produce those arguments which should prove that the friends of abolition were not engaged in an idle speculation, the formation of such a Society as this became necessary. Such facts and arguments this Society had furnished; and he felt convinced that the public only required to have these brought fully before them in order to ensure the final triumph of this great cause. He was not one of the founders of the Society, but he was very early induced to join it, from his attachment to freedom as an Englishman, and from his sense of humanity as a man and a Christian: but if he were not a lover of freedom, even if he did not believe in Christianity, he should still believe himself bound to support this Society from a natural sense of justice and a deep abhorrence of the hideous effects of slavery. In what did the evils of slavery consist? Was it in the personal suffering of the slave—in the abridgment of human comfort and of human life, and the sad degradation of human nature, which were incidental to his condition? Was it in the separation of the parent from the child, the husband from the wife, the severing of all social ties—for all these he charged upon the advocates of slavery? But he charged more. These poor creatures had souls like ourselves; and he must say, without presuming to measure the extent of Divine mercy in another world, that owing to the deplorable neglect of moral and religious instruction to the negroes we expose them to guilt and crime, for which we may be made responsible; and he feared that for such crimes the vengeance of Heaven might fall upon those through whose neglect they had been committed. The Noble Lord then proceeded to contend, that such power as owners held over slaves, was in its very nature liable to gross abuse, and could not be safely trusted to any class of men. He did not mean to say that there were not men of good and kind feelings among the owners of slaves. But he maintained, that as a class, the slave-owners are blinded by their residence in the West Indies; that they cannot judge of the effects of the system as others do; but are led by early habits and associations to look upon the slaves as so many animals, and not as being possessed of the same common nature with themselves: and such, even upon men of the best natural dispositions, were the inevitable effects of the slave system. He would not advert, in detail, to the cruelties which are exercised upon the slaves. That such atrocities do exist, we had the testimony of undoubted facts. But he would advert to the one fact of the reversal of the law of nature in the West Indies. That law is, increase and multiply: but in the sugar islands there is a diminution of the population to an enormous extent. This argument was recently brought forward by Mr. Buxton, in Parliament, and it is unanswerable. Under the very same heaven, and tread-

ng on the very same soil, those who are held in slavery, diminish—those who are free, increase. This was proved from the population returns. There was one circumstance worthy of special notice, in regard to the cruelties practised in the West Indies. It has been said, “Don’t tell us of the cruelties practised in the Colonies; go and look at the records of the Old Bailey, and see what cruelties are committed in England; look at the conduct of masters towards their apprentices, for instance.” But there was a remarkable difference in the two cases. In the West Indies, if a man be convicted of the murder of a slave, (which is no ordinary or easy matter), he may be fined a sum of money and be imprisoned for three months; but then petitions will be sent to this country to have his sentence mitigated, and when this is not allowed, and his punishment actually takes place, his case is deeply deplored, and at the expiration of the period of his confinement, his friends prepare for him a grand *fete*, and unite in congratulating him on the termination of his *hard* punishment! Now what is the case in this country when a tyrannical master inflicts cruelties and death on his servant or apprentice? He is dragged to Bow-street; and such is the rage of the populace against him that the police are called in to protect him; if he is convicted, he is hanged for his crime, while hundreds and thousands assemble to pour their execrations upon him. Did not this contrast speak volumes as to the state of feeling in the Slave Colonies? And should it not determine us to act with vigour? “It has been said,” added his Lordship, “that we indulge in these enthusiastic views without any regard to the property of others. I would not designedly injure any man—but I say, let them prove their damage, and I will be among the first to repair it. The British public will unite with pleasure to repair any real damage which may be done by the abolition of this execrable system. But the planters shift their ground wonderfully: at one time they will not hear of compensation at all; at other times they speak of a sum almost like our National Debt. And then, they wish the compensation to come first. But I say let them do justice first, and then I, for one, will go to the utmost extent of my power to make up for their damage.” His Lordship sat down amid much applause.

Mr. Buxton observed, that he had to propose a very short, but very pithy Resolution. It was this—“That the object of this Meeting is the entire extinction of negro slavery.” (Cheers.) He could not address the Meeting on this occasion without feelings of peculiar satisfaction—a satisfaction arising chiefly from the contrast of the situation of the friends of abolition at present with what it had been ten years since. About ten years ago he attended a meeting—not an assembly like the present—but a meeting composed of a few individuals, who, though of high character, were not distinguished by rank or influence; whose forlorn purpose was to consider whether it was possible to do *any thing* for the cause of the negro. Now, however, what was their situation? That immense theatre in which they were assembled was not sufficient to contain the large concourse of respectable individuals who were anxious to be present at their deliberations, and who were all, he firmly believed, disposed to assist in promoting the abolition of slavery. But the friends of that good cause were not limited to that great assembly. He held in his hand a letter from a prince of the blood royal of England, the Duke of Gloucester, lamenting that indisposition, and that only, should deprive him of the happiness and the honour of assisting on this occasion. (Cheers.) He had also a letter from the Lord High Chancellor of England (immense cheering), who in his present elevated situation expressed the same hatred of oppression and detestation of slavery which distinguished him when he was only the most eloquent

and most powerful commoner in England. He had also a letter from their excellent friend William Wilberforce, the exertions of whose early life were crowned with one of the greatest victories that were ever achieved in the cause of humanity, and who now panted that in the autumn of his years he might have the happiness of seeing the completion of a work so nobly commenced. (Great cheers.) But were these the only grounds of satisfaction which he had on this occasion? Were the public at large indifferent to this great work? Had they not a proof in the 5,000 petitions already deposited in the archives of Parliament, unequivocally declaring that the voice of the people was in favour of this great cause, and that that great voice *would* be heard? * (Hear, hear.) But what had been heard from the Ministers of the Crown, within the walls of Parliament? He had thought it his duty to oppose their wishes as to the bringing on of this question; for he was resolved that it should be discussed before a dissolution could take place. They differed from him as to the time and mode of bringing forward that discussion; yet what had been the sentiments expressed by them on that occasion? Was it a tame and dastardly intimation, that, perhaps, at some very distant time, and by some means exceedingly gradual indeed, it might be expedient to consider whether it might not be as well, to introduce something like justice into our dealings with the Negro?—to mix at least a little temperate portion of humanity in our dealings? No; it was a bold and manly avowal on their part, that the Negroes are men, and that they shall no longer be treated as brutes—(applause;) that those whom some, most irrationally and most presumptuously, have dared to call their *chattels*, are God's rational creatures, and entitled, as well as the loftiest amongst us, to a full and unqualified participation in every natural right and every moral privilege. (Cheers.) That is the point in which they ought to be looked at and treated, most assuredly, and there is no distinction but that of colour. (Cheers.) In point of natural right and of moral privilege, the lowest Negro is equal to the Noble Lord who now sits in the chair. (Cheers.) From the lips of persons closely connected with Government, he had heard within these few days, language, sentiments, and doctrines, which he might actually have mistaken for his own, had they not been infinitely more eloquently expressed. (Hear, hear.) Now he might differ with Government as to one point—as to the mode of operation, as to the best means of attaining a common object. They might think that the first step ought to be to *lighten* the chains that bind the Negro slave—whereas he thought that the first step should be to *burst the chains asunder*. (Great cheering.) They might think, and might adduce very plausible reasons to support their opinion, that we ought in the first place to *mitigate* the rigour of slavery, and alleviate the condition of the Negro—while he thought (and it was rather reluctantly that he had been obliged to come to that decision) that the first thing to be done is to resort to the *eternal principles of justice*. (Great cheering.) But if perhaps they might differ as to the means of attaining the ultimate ob-

* The number of petitions for the Abolition of Slavery, presented to the House of Commons from the commencement of the Session in October, 1830, to the Dissolution of Parliament on the 23d of April, 1831, was *five thousand four hundred and eighty-four*;—a number far larger, it is believed, than has ever before been presented in one Session on any other subject of public interest. An alphabetical list of this immense body of petitions, has been carefully abstracted from the Votes of Parliament, and arranged in Counties, with a view to publication.

ject, they differed not at all (and this filled him with unspeakable satisfaction) as to the object of their common aim—the utter extinction of slavery, the emancipation of every slave throughout the British dominions. To that they were pledged as deeply and decidedly as we ourselves—and most heartily did he thank them for it. (Great cheering.)

But whatever satisfaction we might derive from the voice of the people—and he felt the greatest satisfaction in the fact that that voice had been raised so unequivocally in our cause;—however grateful we might be for the declarations of Ministers, who have spoken honestly on this question;—and however animated we might feel by the concurrence of the great and good in endeavouring to promote our glorious object; yet all these were feeble and trivial encouragements, compared with that which we had when we began, and which, he doubted not, would attend us till we closed our operations—the settled conviction, namely, that this cause is in unison with the principles of eternal justice, and with the tenets of the Christian religion; and that, therefore, the work *will* prevail, *will* prosper, in spite of all adversaries and all obstacles, because (he repeated it humbly but confidently) it is the work of God himself. (Great applause.)

His noble friend in the chair, had adverted to the debate on the subject of slavery which recently took place in Parliament. It would be deception on his part if he did not confess that he looked back to that debate with feelings of great satisfaction, and of gratitude to some of those who took part in it. Not to all—nor to some even who took a very prominent part in that discussion—not for example to his worthy and learned friend Dr. Lushington—nor to the Attorney-General—did he presume to tender his gratitude. It was not his cause more than it was their own cause. He merely did them the justice to suppose that they would stick to their principles; and if they had, on that occasion, most ably and eloquently supported him, it was only what he had confidently expected from them. He knew that no alteration of circumstances could possibly induce them to abandon those principles. It was true that amongst the numerous arguments which were urged for the purpose of persuading him that it was expedient, just at the eve of a Dissolution of Parliament, to abandon his motion, one was to this effect—“Your old friends are now some of them in office—and office works a wonderful transformation in human character. When ‘in place’ men see things in an altered light, looking down, as it were, from a higher eminence. A mere lawyer, for instance, may hate slavery as much as he pleases; but an Attorney-General—and above all a Lord High Chancellor—whatever might have been their former prepossessions, must necessarily speak with a becoming courtesy and reverence of so ancient, so venerable, so lawful, and so laudable a system as that of slavery!” (Hear, hear.) He however knew the men better. The circumstance reminded him of a captain of a British ship of war, who was told that there was a disposition to mutiny amongst his crew, and that he had better not bring his ship into action, as his men would not fight. “Not fight!” said he, “I shall soon try that.” And he immediately gave directions that the ship should be brought right into the line of battle. Then addressing himself to the crew, he said, “Now, my lads, I have been told that I ought not to bring you into action, for that you will not fight; but I shall instantly lay you alongside of one of the enemy’s ships, and then let me see if you can be prevented from fighting.” (Cheers and laughter.) He (Mr. Buxton) had acted on the same principle. He had brought his excellent friends alongside of the enemy, and fight they did, and most nobly too,—and no thanks to them, for they could not help it. (Hear, hear.) But though he would not

express any gratitude to his Hon. and Learned Friends, he must offer his thanks to one who took part in that debate—he meant the Noble Lord Howick. His speech showed that he had not been idle since he came into office. His speech was also one of eloquence, and showed very commendable industry. But though entitled to praise on these accounts, he gave the Noble Lord far greater credit for this, that though the son of the Premier—himself too holding office—he threw off, with noble manliness, all official reserve, and spoke of slavery as a man and an Englishman ought to speak of a system so inhuman and detestable. (Cheers.) In what he (Mr. Buxton) had stated in the House on this subject, he had studiously avoided any appeals to the passions or feelings by any detail of the recent atrocious cases of cruelty to negro slaves—some of which had been brought to light here only a few hours before that discussion; but he owned that he felt it a hard task to abstain from mentioning some of them: for instance, that of the Rev. Mr. Bridges, who had cruelly flogged his female servant for the offence of over-roasting, or under-roasting, (he did not precisely recollect which,) a turkey which he had for his Sunday's dinner. Yet so little was thought of the circumstances of that cruel case, by the local authorities, that, as he learned by letters received within these two days from Jamaica, this very gentleman had been, ever since, a frequent guest at the table of the Governor. Another case which he might have brought forward was that of the worshipful Mr. Betty, a magistrate, who had flogged a slave to the very verge of the grave—till the back of the unfortunate man was one mass of corruption—and for what? for presuming to worship his God in that way which his conscience dictated. There was also the notorious and most revolting case of the Mosses. He owned he had great difficulty in restraining himself from the mention of these and similar topics during the discussion in the House. He had, however, thought it a duty which he owed to the cause, to abstain from such details, and to confine himself to a dry, dull, stupid statement—as dull as a parish register, and stupid as a mathematical problem. The only one merit it had was that it was, in point of fact, a parish register, sworn to by the West Indians themselves, and proving to mathematical demonstration, from official returns of the mortality that existed amongst the slaves, that this ancient, this venerable, this patriarchal system of slavery, had caused the destruction—the murder, he might say—of 45,000 human beings in our colonies, in the brief space of ten years! He had shewn that this system was actually at this moment in operation—that this deadly and devouring mortality was in hourly operation, compared with which the worst scourges of human nature,—the havoc of war, the visitations of pestilence and famine, as operating upon the life of man, were feeble and transient evils. It was a dull and dry statement perhaps; but it was a convincing one; and he had not yet heard any thing in the shape of argument in reply to it. (Cheers.)

In the House of Commons, one might meet with many gentlemen who would tell us that slavery is the best possible condition for the Negro, and that that condition is a very happy one. Why, what said a Gallant Admiral, who was once examined on the subject, and who stated that he had witnessed much of the practice of colonial slavery? “The condition of a slave,” said he, “is so happy, that it is to be envied. I wish that I myself were a slave.” (Hear, hear, and a laugh.) But as for the advantages and blessings of slavery, of which he had heard so often, he (Mr. Buxton) was never able to discover them. He had never, to be sure, been in the West Indies; but he would just ask one question of those who eulogized and defended this humane, and commodious, and comfortable system—how does it happen that it should cause the

destruction, in ten years, of 45,000 of our fellow creatures? You allege that the Negroes are a happy people—happier than the British peasantry. We don't contradict you; we only ask how happens it that this superlatively happy people, and who enjoy so many comforts, do not increase? or rather why do they decrease, while the free black population is increasing rapidly? This is the question—and he declared that slavery, with all its merits, must answer for this; or rather that we—that the British people, must answer—to our own consciences, and to the God of heaven, for the sanction which we give to such an enormity. (Hear, hear.) This was the dull—the stupid argument he had used. He had abstained from bringing forward any particular cases of cruelty, not that he did not think it right to bring them forward—but because he thought it might be more convincing to the judgment of reasonable men to be furnished with a statement of deaths to the amount of 45,000, within the last ten years, occasioned by the cruelties of a system of degradation and misery, than by dwelling upon any particular isolated instance, however great its enormity might be. He thought it was in some respects to be lamented, that individual acts of cruelty should excite more attention, and elicit more sympathy from the British public, than all the combined evidence of the population returns. That case of the Mosses, for instance, had excited, as undoubtedly it was well calculated to do, a very intense feeling in this country. In the inimitable despatch of Mr. Huskisson, the whole picture in all its affecting details, had been brought before us. In the first line was the mention of “the seventeen nights,” the last seventeen of her existence, which this poor tortured female slave passed in the stocks; then the bringing in of her own father to flog her, for even this refinement of cruelty was not wanting, making the hands of the parent the instruments of the torture of his agonized child; then the statement of the amiable mistress, who put red pepper into the eyes of the wretched victim until she became blind; then flogging her for being blind; then flogging her for pretending to be ill; and at length finding her dead on the field a few hours after she was released. And what followed? Not the irritation of the public, which, in such a case, in this country, would have required, as had been well observed by his Noble Friend, the intervention of the police to prevent the infliction of summary punishment on the offender: no such thing,—but a petition of the whole white population of the island, praying for the mitigation of the paltry sentence, on the ground too of the “great humanity” of the perpetrators of this outrage on human nature; and last of all, a grand *fete* to celebrate their release on the completion of their period of imprisonment, as if they had been heroes in the cause of freedom, or martyrs in the cause of religion. This no doubt was an atrocious case; it was almost impossible that any one ingredient of additional atrocity could be imagined; and the utmost indignation of which our minds are capable, is lavished on the foul perpetrators of the cruelty. But here comes our argument:—That individual case is, after all, but a trifle compared with the multitude of murders which slavery occasions as a system; it is only one murder out of 45,000, which the system within the last ten years has inflicted. (Hear, hear.) It was an incident of more graphic and picturesque effect perhaps; but far less conclusive to the sober judgment of reasonable men than those population returns which prove the astounding fact, that not merely one, but ten murders have been perpetrated every day for the last ten years in our own Colonies, and that this wholesale destruction of human life is still going on at the same ratio! Much as he deplored the occurrence of a single instance of cruelty and barbarity, he owned he could wish (he knew

not whether the meeting would go along with him) that such acts of violence and atrocity were more frequently made known, in order that the public attention might be more forcibly called to the horrors of the system, and the public voice more loudly raised to demand its speedy extinction. But only look again at the population returns. From these documents it appeared that two thousand eight hundred and ninety-two persons, a number nearly as great as that of the assembly he then addressed, had perished in the small island of Tobago within ten years, by the effects of slavery. If it were said that 2,892 human beings, charged with no offence, were dragged into the public market, and there put to the sword, would not the meeting consider it one of the most appalling acts of barbarity ever perpetrated? would we not almost wonder that the earth had not opened to swallow up the perpetrators of such an outrage on humanity? Yet, incredible as seemed the fact, we were the very people who provided the soldiers to protect those who caused equal destruction of human life—and who paid, out of our own pockets, the bounties and protecting duties by which this odious system, with all its horrible details, was encouraged. And yet the facts were demonstrably true, that by this system, there were destroyed within the time he had mentioned—in Tobago, 2,892; in Jamaica, 17,000; in Demerara, 6,000!—But it was unnecessary for him to go through the melancholy detail. He would repeat the astounding truth, in order that they might carry it home with them to reflect upon, that for this we provided the means—we paid the troops—we paid the bounties by which the whole was encouraged.

The result of all his study and all his inquiries into the nature and effects of slavery was, that he abhorred it more than ever. He hated slavery from the beginning to the end. In every stage and condition it was detestable, as founded upon the grossest injustice. See what was the condition of the Negro slave—condemned to perpetual slavery, without hope of release; his posterity condemned to the same dreadful state. And for what: What had he done to deserve this? Nothing. His misfortune was made his crime; his ancestors had been made the victims of British cupidity—had become the prey of pirates, sent out to tear them from their country and their friends—to rob them of that which was dearer to them than life—their liberty; and because this act of outrage was committed on the ancestors, the whole of the posterity were condemned to perpetual slavery! Or, if any of them should come to a sense of his degraded condition—should attempt to throw off his chains, and to assert his claim to the character and dignity of man, British soldiers were ready to put him to the sword, or British judges to send him to the scaffold. (Cheers.) To his Reverend friends who might address the Meeting, he would leave the task of pointing out that other and still more dreadful effect of slavery; by which the slave-owner attempted to shut him out from that portal which God in his mercy opened to all the human race. The comforts of religion which were open to, and should be the solace of all, were either wholly denied to the slave, or he was so restricted as to religious instruction, that he derived little or no benefit from it. Marriage was not legalized to him—to him the Sabbath was not yet appointed—Yes! it was appointed his market-day. The labour of the week was taken by his owner; the Sunday, from want of other time, he was forced to devote to his own temporal affairs, and to the cultivation of food for his own subsistence. His owner taught him not the value of a Sabbath in any other sense; nay, so far from it, that instances were not wanting in which the slave was subjected to the lash, for no other offence than that of meeting and joining in prayer with a few of his poor abject brethren—for doing

that which tended most of all to raise him above the degrading condition to which he was reduced. He would not longer dwell upon these things. It was impossible for him to express the feelings with which he looked upon the whole system. The honest and sincere effect of the discovery of these facts was, that he was more than ever resolved to exert himself to the utmost for the early and utter extinction of slavery. He well remembered the feelings of horror and indignation with which, in early life, he had read the history of the extermination of the original inhabitants of South America by the Spaniards. He then thought there never was a people so atrocious and so wicked as they, and if anybody had told him that our own countrymen were equally criminal—were participators in similar cruelties, he could not have believed it possible. Spain, before she had loaded herself with this atrocious guilt, with this weight of innocent blood, was a proud and a powerful nation. What had she since become? From that moment, had she not gradually continued to fall lower and lower in the scale of nations, till she had reached the present abyss of her debasement? In this fate he beheld the punishment for their atrocities by the hand of God—the vengeance of heaven for the blood of the helpless. But he would put it to every man's conscience, are not *we* doing the same thing? What was the crime of the Spaniards? Was it not the extirpation of innocent people? And what are we doing in Demerara and Trinidad and our other slave colonies? We are exterminating innocent people. He confessed that he looked upon the permission of slavery one hour longer than is absolutely necessary, and that necessity limited only by considerations for the Negro, as a crime, —a crime of the deepest die—a crime distinct and apart from all others —one of those crimes, in short, which, if Scripture is to be believed, has called down upon delinquent nations, the severest vengeance of heaven.

Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH said, that he had so often had occasion to state his sentiments on this, which he considered the greatest of all public questions, that he might have contented himself with merely discharging the duty of seconding the motion of his hon. friend. But he could not content himself with a silent or formal discharge of his duty on such an occasion; he would, therefore, offer a few observations, although his noble and hon. friends had left but very little to be said by any one.

He had more than once congratulated the friends of this cause on the exertions made by females to advance its success. In several parts of England he had witnessed their zeal, and he had uniformly observed, that in proportion as they possessed the retiring virtues of delicacy and modesty, those chief ornaments of woman, in that proportion had they come forward to defend the still higher objects of humanity and justice. He was sure that their own hearts had already answered any objections which might be made by a superficial observer with respect to the supposed inconsistency of these various qualities. They felt, which is better than any description he could give, that these various classes of virtues flow from the same source, and flow towards the same object; and that thus, in all times and places, of the characteristic virtues of their sex, the one class have served to regulate and sustain the other; while both combine towards the great object of their destination in the order of Providence, to humanize the world, to soften the hearts of men, and inspire them with that tenderness and humanity to which he now appealed on behalf of the enslaved Negroes.

It was not his intention in the least degree to depart from that spirit of calm and unanswerable argument which was adopted by his honourable friend on a late occasion in Parliament, and from which he had not departed on the present occasion; for he (Sir James) was so far from

being opposed to the English proprietors in the West Indies, that one of his chief objects was, to provide for the safety of the European inhabitants there, to rescue them from those dangers which every impartial eye must see suspended over their heads, to deliver them from those calamities which will be fatal to their lives and fortunes owing to the effects of the present system on the character and morality of the slaves. It was for the sake of every interest—of masters as well as slaves—that he earnestly desired as speedy an emancipation as it was possible to adopt. It was in order to prevent one portion of the human race in the West Indies from being degraded and destroyed, and another from being barbarised—to preserve the one from bodily, and the other from moral evils.

His excellent friend (Mr. Buxton) had not dwelt much upon details of cruelty, and had alluded only in general terms to recent atrocities of which the narrative had just reached this country, and which probably were yet unknown to the greater part of the persons who now heard him. What he should state shortly to the meeting would relate merely to a very few facts, and these not insulated and detached facts affecting only the individuals who were engaged in the cruelties they involved. They would not be at all important in that view; for mere acts of atrocity affecting only the characters of the perpetrators, might be found in any other community. But they were such as to be most intimately connected with the general character and temper which slavery never fails to create. They were the most horrible proofs, not of the guilt of this or that individual, but of the moral effect of slavery,—of the exercise of despotic power in corrupting and depraving the mind of the owner, and thus ensuring the misery, degradation, and oppression of the slave. Slavery first produced horrid passions in the mind of the master in order by these to inflict the greatest cruelties on the slave. Its road, indeed, leads to physical misery, but it is through moral guilt and atrocity and barbarity of the worst kind, that it travels thither. (Great applause.) Mr. Buxton had adverted to the dreadful story of the Rev. Mr. Bridges, a clergyman in Jamaica, who, because his female slave had roasted a turkey on the wrong day (for that was the specific offence) had first called her into what is called his *library*—where, however he did not seem to have learned many of those lessons which ought to be the chief object of visits to such a place—and there rebuked her with stern severity for this enormous offence. She knew his character, and offered to buy another turkey. He rejected that offer with indignation; and proceeded to beat and kick her. A minister of the Gospel to beat and kick a defenceless woman!—humanity shudders and religion blushes at the thought. He then ordered her to be severely flogged: and it appeared that he had another ornament for his house, a governess for his children, who in order to justify the outrage, and aggravate the punishment of this wretched slave, observed, that, “she did cook the dinner yesterday most abominably.” Now if this were all it would only be the atrocity of Mr. Bridges; and our feeling would merely be that of horror in prefixing the word *Reverend* to the name of the man who could be guilty of such an offence; but unfortunately this is the smallest part of the story. In the island of Jamaica it had appeared requisite that certain officers should be appointed to protect the slaves from oppression by their masters. The Assembly of Jamaica declined to adopt that recommendation; but they said they would adopt another institution which would answer the purpose better than that suggested by the Home Government; and they formed what they called “Councils of Protection” in the different districts of the island. Mr. Bridges was brought before one of these “Councils of Protection,” consisting of

17 persons chosen and selected for the professed purpose of protecting the negroes from oppression. These persons held a kind of council of inquiry to decide upon his case; and examined witnesses, whose testimony was now in our possession, and which leaves no more doubt of the aggravated brutality and atrocity of the conduct of Bridges than could be entertained with respect to the truth of a proposition in geometry. The result, however, was, that thirteen voted for his acquittal out of the seventeen, and four only for his conviction. This was the issue of the pretended Council of Protection—ironically so named. Now there might be persons who would say, “But you are prejudiced: perhaps these thirteen were right;—you ought to presume they were, and that your own predilections have induced you to condemn conduct which was in reality praiseworthy.” But let us proceed a little farther. A statement of the facts was transmitted to England, and the Governor of Jamaica received instructions from His Majesty’s Government to make inquiry into the case. The Governor endeavoured to evade the subject, and he succeeded for a certain time; but at length he was obliged to refer the case to the Attorney General of the Colony, Mr. James; and that officer gave a most excellent opinion, condemning the Council of Inquiry, and advising a prosecution immediately to be commenced against Bridges. It was not, therefore, his (Sir James’s) opinion—or the opinion of the Anti-Slavery Society—--or of any enthusiastic abolitionist, as to the guilt of Bridges, and of the still greater guilt of those pretended “protectors” who acquitted him, that was to be received; but it was the opinion of the Chief Law Officer of Jamaica, who though living solely in the society of West India Planters, listened to his sense of duty and justice, and in defiance of their violent prejudices pronounced a merited condemnation of this atrocious case. He referred the meeting to the excellent letter of Lord Goderich and to the papers printed by order of the late House of Commons, on this case, and which he hoped would soon be reprinted in such a manner, as that every person who chose might read and examine them, with the most searching, prying, suspicious scrutiny. For here he would warn those gentlemen who are accustomed to repeat from year to year hackneyed phrases respecting the “exaggerated statements” of the friends of Negro Emancipation, that this was not a document got up nor published by the Anti-Slavery Society, nor issued by any of the meritorious persons connected with that Association, the best proof of whose merits are the calumnies with which they have been loaded by the friends of slavery. But it is an official and parliamentary document, containing the papers which were at last extorted from the Governor of Jamaica by his Majesty’s Government, and laid upon the table of the late House of Commons, by whose order it was printed. (Hear, hear.) It would be well for any man in future who denied the natural effect of slavery in corrupting and depraving the mind of man to read the whole of these papers, where he would learn that the whole of a great community, from the highest to the lowest, were so tainted by the baneful influence of the system in which they are unhappily involved, that they saw in this case nothing but blame of the prosecution and joy at the acquittal. (Hear, hear.) It was in the highest degree to be regretted that any British Governor should have advised the Government at home against instituting further inquiries into the case, under the pretence, forsooth, that Bridges was “an indiscreet man, and that it would give a triumph to the sectarians of his district.” What must be the feelings and principles of those who look at the case with such views! When he (Sir James,) found Bridges thus described, it recalled to him a humorous passage in which Mr. Addison describes with his usual success a friend

of his who used to observe great moderation and caution in his language, in so much that he sometimes carried it to the bounds of absurdity; and who, having passed some time of the morning in reading Suetonius, with inimitable gravity and composure, said to him in the evening, that "it must be admitted that Nero was a wag." (Cheers and laughter.) In the same manner the Governor of Jamaica with the most inimitable candour and justice towards this rev. gentleman, was pleased to say, that "it must be admitted that he was *somewhat indiscreet!*" But the view taken by Lord Goderich was rather different. With the feelings of an Englishman his Lordship called his conduct "unmanly and brutal," and directed that "if Mr. Bridges were a magistrate he should be immediately struck off the commission." (Loud cheers.)

To another case he would call the attention of the audience, not with the paltry view of reflecting on individuals, but with the view of exhibiting the practical effects of slavery, in the temper and character of English communities in various parts of the king's dominions, and of the absolute necessity, were it only for this degrading and pernicious effect, to abolish a system which creates such diabolical vices. In the year 1829, Lord Combermere had a plantation in the island of Nevis, called the Stapleton Estate. When he was governor of Barbadoes, with all the aid and information that position enabled him to collect, he had chosen an overseer, named Walley, and servants of various descriptions, for the management of his plantation, and who had been so very strongly recommended to him, that he thought he might, with perfect satisfaction to his feelings and conscience, return from the West Indies, leaving, as he imagined, the Negroes of his estate in Nevis, an example of what could be accomplished by a benevolent master—to shew how happy even slaves might be rendered by good treatment. The experiment proved the utmost that such a master could effect, and how little that amounted to. After all the particular care his lordship had taken to place suitable persons in charge of the property, what was the result? He would not speak of the general effects of mortality; but on the Stapleton Estate, which contained 240 slaves at the time that Lord Combermere unsuspectingly delivered it over to Walley, in two years and a half forty-four slaves had died. (Hear, hear.) Allowance being made for the births, the consequence was, according to the most rigid calculation, that if Walley had continued to administer that estate for ten years, he would have reduced the number from 240 slaves to 28. He did not think it worth while to pursue the calculation further, but this point of it he must confess struck him with horror. (Hear, hear.) There was something in human nature which makes particular cases to take hold more deeply of the feelings than any general statements. In the former there was an approach to individuality, while in the latter there was something too undefined to strike and permanently to impress the mind. When there were only small numbers, they are more easily comprehended, recollected, and reproduced to the imagination, than in the case of the destruction of great multitudes of men. In the latter case, we feel as if we perused the page of fictitious narrative, while the former has, from its very construction, the individual features of simplicity or truth inscribed upon it. What we can hardly distinctly conceive or imagine, it is difficult for us to sympathise with. (Hear, hear.) Here we had the whole system of the West Indies concentrated within the narrow limits of a private estate. We saw that in two years and a half nearly one-fifth part of the negroes were destroyed; and we saw also under what apparent advantages this vast proportion perished. Could there, then, he asked, be a more melancholy proof of the

incurable evils of the state of slavery than this, that a person so well qualified, so much disposed, to place his Negroes in the happiest condition that their circumstances would admit of, should thus be so cruelly disappointed?—that his plantation in Nevis, instead of being, what he fondly dreamt it would be, a sort of imaginary paradise, had become an example which would be cited with abhorrence to the latest generations of mankind, to prove how little can be effected, in the case of institutions so detestable as slavery, by the kindness and humane anxiety and consideration of any individual—and how little, above all, the respectable part of the West Indians in this country are aware of the manner in which their authority is opposed, discredit brought upon their character, and their best intentions defeated, by those whom they had selected even with the utmost care to carry them into effect. (Hear, hear.)

He came now to another stage in those proceedings. The Attorney General here again did his duty. He presented bills against Walley for murder and for manslaughter, supported by ample and indisputable evidence. But Walley escaped from both, either owing to the indisposition of the inhabitants of that Island to do justice, or to the inadequacy of those laws which they had passed, relative to the admissibility of the evidence of slaves. He was acquitted upon all. In order to prove that his (Sir J. Mackintosh's) indignation at this acquittal was just, he would refer to Lord Combermere's letter to Lord Goderich on the proceedings, which would fully bear him out. In that letter, he stated, that Lord Goderich's communications both pained and surprised him, for that he had himself visited the estates, appointed new men, lightened their labour, and thought to give comfort to his slaves; but it was all in vain, as every good effort of his had been blasted by the pestilential effects of this immitigable system. One sentence of this letter would give an indication of the temper and character which was amongst the worst effects of slavery. It was, "But I cannot expect that a jury of St. Kitt's or Nevis will do their duty." And Lord Goderich had properly remarked, that if "the grand juries in the case of Walley had been right, the consequence was, that the slaves were not protected by the law." Such, then, were the melancholy features of this atrocious case. And yet there was nothing peculiarly pestilential in the moral atmosphere of St. Kitt's or Nevis; but the general atmosphere of all the slave colonies was just what might be expected to produce results such as were in this case manifested. (Hear, hear.)

Now what was it, he would ask, that we were here meeting to do? To contribute by every effort in our power, to put down and to extinguish for ever this atrocious and accursed system. An opportunity was now afforded, of which he would not speak in a political point of view; but the opportunity now furnished by the dissolution of Parliament, he was persuaded this assembly would not suffer to pass without employing it to the best of their power, to obtain once more that strong and general manifestation of disapprobation and abhorrence of the system, which the people of England had unanimously expressed at the last general election, and which, he believed, they were ready to express again. When, he said, the people of England, he referred to the people of the British Islands, not meaning to insinuate that any part of the United Kingdom had evinced less forwardness than another in this great cause. (Loud cheers.) He trusted that this demonstration of public feeling would be made; and that at a moment when such declarations had been made, and such measures proposed by the king's government, (whether entirely satisfactory to all benevolent men or not,) he hoped the people would do their utmost to obtain from can-

didates such declarations as might aid a friendly government in putting an end to this frightful system, at which humanity shudders. (Loud cheers.) No man was more desirous than he was of adhering to the strict line of demarcation, which ought to separate all religious allusions from political and civil discussions; yet he could not help stating to the meeting, that in other places, where men claim the character and feelings of Christians, he had very frequently heard an opinion expressed, that this cry about Colonial slaves is only the cry of sectarian preachers—of Wesleyan Methodists, of religious enthusiasts and fanatics of various sects, who pretend to impose their fantastic whims on the wisdom of Parliament and Government, and who have the presumption to claim for their fanatical fancies higher consideration than the greatest interests of the empire. He would not presume to say much upon this subject; but if their object was to deliver as soon as practicable 800,000 slaves in our Colonies, from the condition in which Kitty Hylton was under Mr. Bridges, and from the humanity of such overseers as Mr. Walley;—if their object was to prevent the repetition of such scenes of atrocity, as, upon the credit of most indisputable authority, had recently occurred;—if such be their design he should like to know what could be alleged in fair argument against it. If it be methodistical or fanatical to contend for the annihilation of such a system of crime and misery, he could wish that we had in parliament many more such fanatics—and then a system which insured impunity to such “indiscretions” as those of a Bridges or a Walley, would speedily be put an end to.

It had been advanced with ludicrous effrontery that the condition of the English peasant was worse than that of the West India slave. He would not stop to ask what would be the universal cry of horror that would be raised in this country against such masters as the Mosses, such magistrates as Bridges, or against the power of perpetrating with impunity such a massacre as Walley has committed on the Stapleton Estate. (Loud cheers.) But there was an observation which he would make. The West Indians were at least some centuries behind in this objection. The people of England knew the facts of the case. Their ancestors were never indeed subject to the cruelties and unutterable abominations of the Bridges and the Walleys, but they had had, at least, some little share in the “paradise” of middle-age darkness. We did not find however that there had been any cry to have this “paradise regained.” We had not yet heard of any applications from our peasantry (whatever were their sufferings) expressing by petition or otherwise, their desire to be again bound like their forefathers to the glebe, and subjected to such paternal authority as that so recently exercised by the Bridges and Walleys. (Hear, hear.) With respect to the interference of ministers of religion, of any denomination, he would say only this:—he had always understood that there is, no precept held more sacred in the code of divine morality, which is the glory of the Christian religion, than this—“Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.” He would ask whether the maintenance of such a system as West India slavery be likely to afford many opportunities of compliance with that sacred precept; and if not, what could be a more obvious and imperious part of the duty of the teachers of morality and religion than to inculcate not only the guilt of such irreclaimable wretches, but of us Englishmen who fancy we are innocent because we do not take a direct part in their guilt, but who are nevertheless undoubtedly answerable for all the horrors inseparable from that state of slavery which owes its continuance, in a great measure, to such connivance. (Loud cheers.) If it were the duty of ministers

of religion to preach duties in proportion to their importance, no subject could be more clearly within the sphere of their vocation than that of endeavouring to raise from lethargy those who fancy that they have no part in such abominations and cruelties, because, though their connivance keeps up the system, they themselves have no active share in its execution. He had a Rev. gentleman in his eye, (the Rev. Richard Watson) who had discharged that duty himself, and had inculcated it on others; and if the Wesleyans were at present most conspicuous in the cause, the most sacred principles ought to excite an active rivalry among all clergymen of every denomination, to consider themselves never more effectually the advocates of Christianity, than when they were promoting the abolition of an institution which makes it impossible to observe the rules of Christian morality towards nearly a million of human beings.—(The Rt. Hon. gentleman sat down amidst loud and long continued cheers.)

The motion was put by the chairman, and unanimously carried.

Dr. LUSHINGTON then rose and spoke as follows:—

“I RISE to address you with the deepest feelings of the importance of the present period; knowing, as I do, that upon the result of what may occur within a short time will depend, in a very great degree, the continuance of that system which has so long disgraced England, and inflicted numberless woes on the sons of Africa,—or the adoption of measures for its complete and utter abolition. For my own part, in defiance of the threat of being deemed an enthusiast, disregarding the imputation of imprudence, and of want of regard for the lives and liberties of the white population,—I profess myself the advocate for the *speedy* and *entire* emancipation of every slave. (Enthusiastic cheers.) I am not content to wait till it pleases the good judgment of their masters—until they, who almost up to the present moment, have defended the system itself, and who contend that on the continuance of that system is embarked their own earthly prosperity—I am not content to wait until *they* shall grant us that boon. Well I know that if we depend upon their exertions—if we rely upon their good will—if we trust to their promises—not one of the vast assembly whom I now address will live to see the happy day when England shall be able to boast that slavery no longer prevails in any part of her dominions.

“Some progress indeed we have made; we have at least obtained an acknowledgement of the principle of abolition. No longer (and I heartily rejoice in the fact,) dare the most strenuous advocates in the House of Commons for the continuance of slavery defend the system itself, or venture, in the face of that house, and before the public, to broach those doctrines so long insisted on—that slavery was consistent with happiness, justice, charity, and a regard for the Word of God. That hour is past. England will not bear it—men of sense will not endure it—men of humanity abhor it. (Loud cheers.) There is not one at this hour, even though he may believe his own worldly wealth, the comfort of his wife, the advantage of his children, to be wrapped up in the perpetuation of the system, who is not compelled to express his abhorrence of it. I well remember the time when we were entertained with representations of the peace, the happiness, the tranquillity, the enjoyments of a state of slavery. I remember the time when we were told, that the negroes were well fed and comfortably clothed at the expense of the master—and comfortably maintained in old age and sheltered in sickness; having no other return to make for all these numberless favours, than easy labour for his benefit. We were taught to believe that there was nothing but merriment and joy in the West Indies; that the negroes danced in their chains, and praised

the master under whose domination they lived.—That time, I say, is gone by, and for ever. The time is come when such gross insults to the common sense and feeling of mankind can no longer be ventured upon. It is not seven years from this time, when in one of our colonies,—perhaps the one in which slavery is existing in almost its most odious form,—it was publicly announced that slavery was inconsistent with Christianity; but what was the conclusion?—not that slavery should be abolished, but that Christianity should not be taught. That was the result to which the wise, the good, the considerate, the merciful, the religious men of Demerara came! It was published in their *Gazette*—made known to the world—and thus their disgrace perpetuated. “Can you,” said the words of that publication, “can you make your negroes Christians, and use the words ‘dear brother’ or ‘sister’ to those you hold in bondage?” Why, what would be the consequence? The consequence would be “they would conceive themselves, by possibility, put on a level with yourselves, and the chains of slavery would be broken.” Most true were the words they uttered. There never was a sentiment truer than this, nor one which, if it ever came to be carried into practice, would more clearly exhibit its intrinsic truth. Make the slaves Christians—and (harder task yet!) make the owners of them Christians, and slavery must speedily cease. I know to what I expose myself. It will be said, “You slander the West Indians; you give them a character they do not deserve; large bodies of men ought not to be subject to such imputations.” Mark my answer!—1696 was the date of the Jamaica Act, in which it was declared that every slave ought to be educated and receive instruction in the Christian religion. This very year they came forward in Parliament and told you, that they have renewed that Act; but they owned at the same time that, it never had been carried into execution—for one hundred years together! I make a just charge; and, I ask again, without the interference of the British Parliament what hope have we? What prospect, but that another hundred years may elapse before that period shall arrive, when, according to the opinion of these planters, their unfortunate slaves shall be in a condition, from their religious and moral education, to receive the boon of freedom. If we postpone it till the masters have done their duty, we postpone it to an hour that never will arrive.

“I verily, and in my conscience believe, that the time is now come, when, with prudent precautions as to the manner, every slave may receive his freedom without the minutest chance of injury to the rights or the properties of the other inhabitants. Nay, I go infinitely farther:—I believe, as far as relates to the property of the white inhabitants, their interest will be most materially improved. Instead of living, as now, in perpetual fear and agitation,—instead of exacting an unwilling and precarious labour under the influence of the lash, they would then have a body of labourers, who, if paid but a very small proportion in the way of hire, would discharge a double duty with satisfaction to themselves and benefit to their proprietors. And this is the real state of human nature. There must be some motive to actuate man. You now actuate him by the fear of the lash, and, alas! by the infliction of it. Make him a freeman, and reward him for his labour, and you hold out to him the very motive which God has designed to actuate mankind—the hope of benefiting himself and improving his condition.

“I have little hope in measures of amelioration. I am thankful to His Majesty’s Government for what they have done; but I look for more. I expect but slight benefit from what they have done—some little improvement in the state and condition of the negro—some little acceleration of the means whereby some few additional individuals may acquire their

freedom. But the main mass of iniquity, the greatest evils of all—can never be removed by measures of amelioration, because these evils are, either by the blessing of Providence or by its curse, so interwoven with the system that, so long as it continues, the effects must follow the cause. I have said before, and I say it again, God hath not permitted man to say, “Thus far will I proceed in defiance of your word and no farther!” He has declared, Thou shalt not violate it; and if, in defiance of mercy, humanity, religion and truth, you will make slaves, you cannot establish a system of law by which that unfortunate condition can be safely and effectually regulated. And though it be difficult to escape from it, it is but the difficulty which attends all perpetration of crime; the greater the offence the more difficult is the task of repentance. But God in his mercy has given you the means if you have the will: if you have penitence in your hearts, he has promised to give you power to resist temptation, and finally to put down the atrocities in which you have revelled.

“The great question is, what is to be done at the present hour? By what means can we best accelerate the attainment of the object we have all now so much at heart? for I hold it but a waste of words to descant on the evils of slavery, especially to an audience long ago convinced of the degradation and wretchedness necessarily attendant on that condition. Much may now be effected, but not without great and strenuous exertions. Some of my friends, who have preceded me, have said, we will not talk of politics. I could not, I believe, so completely violate every principle of conscience and sense of right and wrong which I possess, as to intrude into this discussion any thing so entirely foreign from it as relates to the struggle of two conflicting parties. My great object—the principal object of my life—has been the attainment of the mighty end of this Society; and I regard every political object chiefly as it may furnish more effectual means of removing the enormous evil of slavery, and wiping off the disgrace which thence attaches to the British name. I say that Government have not done all I ask; but they have gone some way towards it. If I am asked what course we ought to pursue in the ensuing elections, this is my proposal:—When a candidate seeks for the favour of an elector, ask him not whether he be the friend of the Duke, or my Lord Grey, or Sir Robert Peel. Let no such question be proposed by a friend to Negro emancipation; but let him ask this question—“In your heart do you detest, abhor, and abjure Slavery?”—(*Cheers.*) Let his next question be—“Will you vote for the extinction and abolition of the system?” Mark him well—no general professions of abhorrence of slavery, no low bows and smiling countenances will do:—what Englishman is there who can refrain from expressing his detestation of slavery? But ask him whether he will lend his cordial assistance and co-operation to its immediate extinction? Should he urge—(for I am pretty well versed in the ingenious shifts with which candidates evade these questions,)—should he urge this objection—“Consider the danger to the whites?” Ask him in return, “What was the result in Mexico where the slaves were emancipated at once?” Inquire what are his reasons for apprehending danger. Make him state all those circumstances which have made such an impression on his mind. But should he go a step further, and say, “I am an advocate for amelioration, with a due regard to existing interests.” If once these words escape his lips, *vote against him.* The bitterest enemy, openly avowing himself, is infinitely less mischievous than that pretended friend. He prevents your exercising your influence to send to Parliament a man according to your own heart; and he goes determined to keep his promises only in appearance, and to violate them in reality. He does

not feel, in its due intensity, abhorrence of the state of slavery; he does not feel disgust at its inhumanity; he does not feel horror at the degradation and pollution in which it has involved indiscriminately white and black;—he will not do for you. But if the answer is, “I believe slavery to be a violation of the law of God; I believe it to be in utter repugnance to every dictate of morality, and to set at nought every feeling of mercy; and, feeling it so, I think it my first duty to erase it from the colonies of Britain;”—if he say, “I know not what it is to create a freehold in a human being;”—if he say, “that if men shall make a law establishing such right, they do it in defiance of the law of God;”—if he feels the weight of the guilt incumbent on the people of England; and remembers the extent of suffering which is hourly and daily, even while I address you, prevalent over 800,000 of our fellow subjects;—if he say to you, “I am the advocate for *the utter extinction of the system*; I long for the opportunity, when by my vote, influence, and speech, I may declare to the Parliament, to the country, and to the world, that my object is to relieve my conscience of its guilt, my country from its foul disgrace, and the Negro from his chains:”—if such be his replies—*vote, I say, for him. (Immense cheering.)*

“Now mark—that aid and assistance can be given by all those whom I now address, by supporting the proper candidates in various modes, saving them from the trouble of a long canvass, and preventing the unnecessary expenditure of money. These are the objects to which I call the attention of those I now address; and I wish at the same moment (would to God I possessed the power of doing it more effectually!) so to impress upon the minds of all who hear me, the description I have just given of men who are persuaded in their heart’s core and conscience that such are the atrocities of slavery, that they may go home resolving not to comment on the proceedings of this day, but determined and resolved by their deeds, and not their words only, to shew that the cause is in their hearts, and that exertions according to their ability shall be made in support of the judgment which their consciences have pronounced. I ask you all to do this. Let no one think himself insignificant; combined effort may do much. And little as the efforts of a single individual may do towards the ultimate accomplishment of our aims, yet, at least, he will have relieved his own conscience, discharged his duty to his God, and endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to benefit his suffering and outraged fellow creatures.

“I shall now take the liberty of proposing that an Address be circulated among those with whom we correspond in the country, for the purpose of stimulating them to similar exertions: and I am convinced that the appeal will not be made in vain; for I am assured in my own heart, that however powerful may be the opposition banded against us elsewhere; however strenuous the exertions of those who believe that their wealth and power depend on the continuance of the system; I am confident that the great bulk of the people of England, the great body of the people who have now received information on the subject—the whole of those who are accustomed to look into their own hearts and ask the question, “Am I doing right or wrong?”—the whole of those whose principal object of existence is to discharge their duty to their Creator and to mankind,—all, almost without exception, feel how deeply at stake is not merely the character of the nation, but the satisfaction of their own consciences, if they do not contribute every effort which God in his mercy has enabled them to make for the extinction of this opprobrious and criminal system.

“I beg to assure this assembly, that if I return to the next Parliament, I shall return with the most resolute determination, under the

blessing of God, to make this cause second to none; and in my place to advocate this truth, to support these doctrines which I have now stated; and, so far as my feeble means may go, to render all assistance to my honourable and excellent friend, whom I am proud to call my leader in this great cause; to give him every aid,—despite the scoffing of the scorners—regardless of the outcry that I am a wild enthusiast—regardless of the feelings which I know are so constantly entertained by those who never considered the subject,—that these are the imaginary portraits of a diseased mind, and not the real state of things existing in the West Indies. But I hold him an enthusiast who, ignorant of the subject matter—without taking pains to investigate, imagines that he has come to the just conclusion; and, regardless of the ordinary process of arriving at truth, professes himself at once the advocate of a cause without being able to explain the reasons of his opinion. And I hold, if a man has learned what the truth is by patient and deliberate inquiry,—if he does know the system in all the atrocities of its villany—to speak mildly, to utter sentiments of *moderation* (as they call it) on the subject, is to betray the truth—is to suppose that a man of feeling, honour and honesty, can behold these things, and yet talk of them as if they did not violate the laws of God and man, and outrage the feelings of every right-minded individual who rightly appreciates them.”

The learned Gentleman's speech was cheered throughout by enthusiastic acclamations. The Resolution and Address proposed by him were then read to the Meeting, and unanimously adopted. The Resolution was in the following terms:—

“That the time has now arrived, in which the people of England may give by their votes, as they have already given by their petitions, efficacious assistance towards delivering the Negroes from the evils of Slavery, and the nation from the guilt of tolerating it; and that the Address now read be adopted by this Meeting and circulated throughout the country.”*

The Rev. DANIEL WILSON, rose to second the resolution. It had been asked, he observed, how far the system of West India Slavery was consistent with the maxims of mercy and the general tendency of Christianity. He held the very question to be an affront—the very thought to be a slander—the very supposition to show an utter ignorance of the mercy, and benevolence, and power, which for these six thousand years, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, has been developing in his different dispensations of religion, till it has been poured forth in all its glory in the New Testament dispensation, and which taught us that “God is love, and he that dwelleth in light, dwelleth in God, and God in him.” Before the grace and loveliness of Christianity, — the tenderness which it infuses—the kindness it inculcates,—the laws of equity and justice which it imposes,—before the objects and designs of God in redemption; before all these—West India Slavery appeared to be one of the most intolerable and flagrant and deeply debasing crimes that can attach to a nation bearing the sacred and glorious name of Christian. He desired to separate himself from any man professing Christianity who could hold the lawfulness of West India Slavery. For himself he thus publicly made the declaration, which he was ready to make in any other place, that after having waited,---culpably waited, he believed,—for thirty years, in the examination privately of this subject, and in the accumulation of evidence in his mind regarding it; having during that period rather shrunk from any public testimony regard-

* The Address here referred to (for which see page 280 of the present Number,) was extensively circulated in a separate shape, immediately after the General Meeting.

ing this question, and leaving such duty to devolve upon those right hon. gentlemen who advocated the Cause in Parliament; that after keeping thus long aloof, when he found, notwithstanding all the disclosures of the enormous criminality of the system which had forced themselves upon the attention of the public, that every promise of redress had been forfeited, every expectation that the wrongs of the Negro might be righted on the grounds of political justice, disappointed;—after seeing this, his opinion two years ago, completely changed, and he now firmly believed it to be the duty of every minister of religion to come forward and join the sacred phalanx who called on the legislature to listen to the demands of justice and the sympathies of humanity; and on this moral and religious question to give their frank, and unreserved, and energetic assistance. Ministers of every denomination ought to unite here. Give him the Wesleyan minister, and he was his brother on this subject, and would cordially give him the right hand of fellowship. There was not any man bearing the Christian name with whom he would not join heart and hand in using all means for awakening the consciences of men, and impressing on their minds the great duty of aiming to put an end to this horrid system. He was far from being convinced that many of the most dreadful visitations of Divine Providence that have lighted on our country may not have been inflicted in righteous retribution, for our tardiness, our coldness, our lukewarmness on this great moral question—the emancipation of our wretched and injured fellow-creatures from West Indian bondage. He would add no more. He had risen merely that this company might feel assured that it will be more and more the united determination of the ministers of Jesus Christ, in every division of the Christian church, to relax in no fit effort to give their testimony and their support on all suitable occasions till the extinction of this mighty evil shall be accomplished, and the foul stain be effaced from our country which for so many generations has blackened and disgraced it. It never would become him to interfere with regard to giving votes on political subjects; but the morning after the recent debate on Mr. Buxton's motion, he said, "I will turn round to the ministers directly; I will do all I can do to uphold the first administration who have proclaimed simply, honestly, fairly, and determinately, their abhorrence of slavery." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. O'CONNELL rose to propose an amendment on the motion. He would substitute the words "Great Britain and Ireland," instead of "England" merely. Scotland and Ireland felt an equal interest in this great question with the people of England, and ought not to be excluded from their share in the Resolution and in the Address which accompanied it. No man could more sincerely abhor, detest, and abjure slavery than he did. He held it in utter detestation, however men might attempt to palliate or excuse it by differences of colour, creed, or clime. In all its gradations, and in every form, he was its mortal foe.—He would now explain why he proposed an adjournment of the debate on Mr. Buxton's motion the other evening in the House of Commons; though he was not then aware that there would not be another opportunity this session. But the speech of Mr. Burge had filled him with such disgust and indignation that he could not then have spoken calmly. "What," said Mr. Burge, "*would you come in between a man and his freehold!*" "I started," said Mr. O'Connell, "as if something unholy had trampled on my father's grave, and I exclaimed with horror, 'A freehold in a human being!'—(Loud cheers.) He knew nothing of Mr. Burge; he would give him credit for being a gentleman of humanity; but if he be so, it only made the case the stronger; for the circumstance of such a man upholding such a system showed the horrors of that

system in itself, and its effect in deceiving the minds of those who are connected with it, wherever it exists. Mr. Burge referred to the Jamaica Assembly, and boasted of the slaves being now admitted to give testimony.* And what had made the difference since 1824? The exertions of the Anti-Slavery Society. As the friends of abolition in England went forward they dragged Jamaica along with them. In 1826, the majority against that proposition was reduced to 23, and in 1828, the bill was passed to allow slaves who were baptized and instructed to give evidence.† But mark how they coupled this with a resolution not to permit any man who was not a clergyman of the church of England the power of baptizing and instructing the negroes in Christianity. This Mr. Burge justified, and said, who else had a right to judge who were the safest persons to be intrusted to do this? The safest persons! What, and was it not enough to hold their bodies in thralldom, but must they usurp the dominion also of the immortal soul! The safest persons! and was that a question for them to decide? It was a question between the Christian and his God—and they would not allow the negro to be a Christian unless according to the shape and fashion they thought fit to prescribe. (Hear, hear.) Oh, the debasing system! It was not enough to hold in servitude their bones and sinews, and blood and flesh, but they must have in thralldom also their spiritual feelings and sentiments—they must prescribe the way in which they shall serve their God who loved and died for them.—(Loud cheers.) They say the slave is *not fit* to receive his freedom—that he could not endure freedom without revolting. Why, does he not endure slavery without revolting? With all that he has to bear, he does not revolt now; and will he be more ready to revolt when you take away the lash? Foolish argument! But he would take them up on their own ground—the ground of *gradual* amelioration and preparation. Well, and are not eight years of education sufficient to prepare a man for any thing. Seven years are accounted quite sufficient for an apprenticeship to any profession, or for any art or science; and are not eight years enough for the Negro? If eight years have passed without preparation, so would eighty if we were to allow them so many. There is a time for every thing—but it would seem there is no time for the emancipation of the slave. Mr. Buxton had most ably and unanswerably stated to the House of Commons, the awful decrease in population; that in fourteen colonies in the course of ten years there had been a decrease in the population of 45,801—that is, in other words, 45,801 human beings had in that period been murdered by this system—their bodies gone to the grave—their spirits before their God. In the eight years which they have had to educate their slaves for liberty, according to the resolutions of 1823, but which have been useless to them—in those eight years, one twelfth have gone into the grave, murdered! “Every day,” continued Mr. O'Connell, “ten victims are thus despatched! While we are speaking, they are sinking—while we are debating, they are dying! As human, as accountable beings, why should we suffer this any longer? Let every man take his own share in this business. I am resolved, if the people of Ireland send me back to Parliament, that I will bear my part. I purpose fully to divide the House on the motion, *that every Negro child born after the 1st of January, 1832, shall be free.*—(Loud cheers.) They say, O do not emancipate the slaves suddenly, they are not prepared, they will revolt! Are they afraid of the insurrection of the infants?

* The assertion for which Mr. O'Connell gives credit to Mr. Burge, we beg to observe, is an untrue assertion, a false statement.

† But this bill has had no operation. It was disallowed on account of its wickedly persecuting clauses.

Or do they think that the mother will rise up in rebellion as she hugs her little freeman to her breast, and thinks that he will one day become her protector? Or will she teach him to be her avenger? O no, there can be no such pretence.—We are responsible for what we do, and also for the influence of our example. Think you that the United States of America would be able to hold up their heads among the nations,—the United States, who shook off their allegiance to their sovereign, and declared that it was the right of *every man* to enjoy freedom—of every man, whether black, white, or red;—who made this declaration before the God of armies, and then, when they had succeeded in their enterprise, forgot their vow, and made slaves, and used the lash and the chain;—would they dare to take their place among the nations, if it were not that England countenances them in the practice? And then look at Mexico; there the slaves were liberated, not in a time of peace when they could be watched and guarded, no, but in a time of revolution and of war. Did they rise up to cut the throats of their former owners? Ah, no! they entered into the society of freemen with a feeling of generous and deep oblivion of the past; and continue among the most useful and peaceful of the inhabitants.—(Cheers.) With this example—with the splendid instance of one whose name and exploits would long be held sacred in the annals of freedom, the memorable Bolivar, who commenced his glorious career of liberty by giving freedom to 800 Negroes that he possessed himself—sacrificing his fortune, and consolidating the civil institutions of his country—and who concluded with the sacred words, “finally I beseech my countrymen never to allow any distinction in colour to make any political distinction between them.”—(Cheers.) With these examples—and with the example of Britain before her, America could not long resist; and we would thus not only have the happiness of redeeming 800,000 of our fellow-subjects from slavery, but give to mankind an example that will make the existence of the system of slavery elsewhere wholly impossible.”—(Great cheering.)

He was sorry to say that the Press had not done its duty. He arraigned the press of England of turpitude on this great subject. Some important discussions lately took place in the House of Commons on the subject of compulsory manumission, and he looked the next morning in the papers for what had been said, hoping it would go forth to the world, but not one word could he find. No doubt the reporters did their duty, but the blame rests on the editors and proprietors. It could not be inhumanity—it could not be chance—it must therefore be something infinitely baser. Now what did he suggest? This, then; newspapers of course are mere commercial speculations. Let the friends of freedom make them good commercial speculations to those only who protect the cause of humanity. (Loud cheers.) Very little of that dexterity would soon bring the press to our side. And whether that should be the effect or not they discharged a duty, which would be a sufficient reward. This power might be at present a great power against our prospects; but let the friends of humanity lay their shoulder to the wheel, and it would go concurrently with them.

And were we, he would ask, to endure this disgrace of slavery longer? Were we not parties to it if we endured it? Did this assembly know that the slave can still receive thirty-nine lashes without excuse—any number of lashes with excuse? He urged them to reflect, how deplorable must be the state of things in a community where the ruffians who flogged Kitty Hylton and Eleanor James were secure of impunity. Was it not true that in Jamaica women were still cruelly beaten? And was this wretched system to be longer tolerated?

After urging those who heard him, and the electors of England in

general, to do their duty, by supporting such candidates as were pledged to support the cause of Negro emancipation, Mr. O'Connell concluded a speech, which had been cheered throughout with the most enthusiastic acclamations of the meeting, in the following terms:—"I will carry with me to my own country the recollection of this splendid scene. Where is the man that can resist the argument of this day? I go to my native land under its influence; and let me remind you that land has this glory, that no slave-ship was ever launched from any of its numerous ports. It has been said, that the Wesleyan Methodists have been very useful in this great cause: I am glad of it; they may on some questions have been my opponents, but I must honour the men who aim to do good, and to show their love to God by their love to men. It is to their honour, and not to their reproach, that they have been persecuted. It is my wish to imitate them: we agree on the general principle of charity, though we differ on matters of faith. I will gladly join my Methodist neighbour to do good to the poor Negro slaves. Let each extend to them the arm of his compassion; let each aim to deliver his fellow-man from distress. I shall go and tell my countrymen that they ought not to be laggards in the race of humanity."

Mr. SHIEL seconded the amendment of Mr. O'Connell, that "Great Britain and Ireland" should be substituted for "England." He said, he, and those who knelt at the same altars as himself, bore as strong an abhorrence to slavery as its most zealous antagonists in that great assembly. "If a sceptic," said he, "were to ask me, wherefore I feel so profound a sympathy for the children of Africa; I would answer in the celebrated response which elicited such plaudits from the instincts of humanity in a Roman theatre, 'I am a man;' and if a Christian and not a sceptic, were to put the interrogatory to me, I should raise my hand and point to heaven. Where is the man familiar with the Gospel of Christ, the manual of pity and the pattern of kindness—where is the man who believes in Him who came into the world with the songs of angels and the accents of peace, and whose last words were words of mercy to mankind—where is the man who has embraced this system, that will not gladly combine with his fellows in this holy confederacy of pity and benevolence? This is a case in which, as far as facts are concerned, we may all come to an issue. No facts can be more free from exaggeration; no facts can be less complicated. In the year 1823, Mr. Canning proposed three resolutions; they were adopted by the House of Commons without a single dissenting voice; they were issued as ordinances to the Crown Colonies, and recommended for adoption for the Chartered. But were they obeyed? No! Jamaica took the cartel which contained her sovereign's mandate, and shook it, dripping with the Negro's blood, in England's face! I shall not go through the resolutions *seriatim*. It will be sufficient to show the prominent features of African suffering, in which Government has interposed in vain. The sabbath is not to the Negro a day of rest. He fulfils upon it the primary malediction, and pours his sweat out of his forehead depressed in toil to the earth, instead of lifting it up in supplication to heaven. The slave is denied even the miserable privilege of being a fixture to the estate. He is treated as a moveable,—he is sold apart from his family. The husband is torn from the wife—the child is plucked by the hand of heartless vendition from the mother's arms. The evidence of a Negro is not received against that of a white. The African father is struck dumb, as the violator of his daughter's honour takes the Gospel of Christ, and presses it with an Iscariot kiss to his lips. The cart-whip is still used as a stimulant to labour. It is

the implement which serves to distinguish the few wretched diversities of slave existence. It announces the tropical morning, and summons the Negro to his task: its dreadful reverberation peals through the groves sacred to cruelty, and urges on the labour which ministers to European luxury through African torture; it calls the slave to his shed, or rather to his manger,—it is his matin and his vesper-bell; its cracking is a substitute for the curfew, and intimates the brief respite which is allowed for renovation, in which the Negro is permitted to forget in a few hours of sleep that he is a slave. Thus the cart-whip, associates itself with all the varieties of Negro being. It is ever either in his ears, before his eyes, or on his back. An effort has been made by Government to put the power of tormenting under some control, and to prescribe limits and regulations to the caprices of cruelty. But what horrors are at this very moment before us. The records of colonial judicature are steeped in blood. Two facts are sufficient to illustrate the entire system. A woman seized her female slave, and, to season her own appetite for torture, turning epicure in the feast of agony, she opened the eyelids of her victim, introduced pepper into that delicate and precious sense, and aspersed it with the subtlest particles of pain. There is another, and, if possible, a case still more horrible. What will be said by the apologists for colonial atrocity, of the priest who, with the very same hand which had distributed the sacramental bread, and put the commemorative chalice in circulation round the altar, perpetrated an outrage against humanity upon a female slave, a creature redeemed by the blood of the same God as himself; and for this outrage against the instincts of manliness, and this insult to Heaven, he has been acquitted by a tribunal which, by its implied assent to his enormities, has become the participator of his infamy, and entitled itself to share in the immortality of his crime? With these facts before us, what regard shall we pay to those, who tell us, with a saccharine suavity, and dropping sugar from their mouths, that we can form no judgment of these matters at the distance of 4,000 miles? But the shriek of agonised humanity can traverse 4,000 miles of ocean, and through winds and over waves pierce into England's heart. I think that those who have lived in the colonies are, in many respects, the worst judges. The worst feature of slavery is, that it alike degrades the slave and vitiates the tyrant. A familiarity with oppression produces an ossification of the heart—it hardens and petrifies all the sensibilities of our nature. (Cheers.) It is idle to look to the colonial legislatures for redress. The experiment has already been made with respect to the slave-trade. The colonists made it the subject of encomium: to them a ship wafted from the coast of Guinea with its freight of human agony; presented an object of moral and picturesque beauty. They insisted that it was beneficial to the Negroes to be transferred to their merciful superintendence. They told us that slavery was beneficial to the Africans themselves; that they removed them from their own adust and barren clime to bring them to a land of unrivalled beauty and plenty.—They told us such tales as these; and continued the trade in human flesh. England waited long; but at last, finding that it was in vain to expect their concurrence, issued her mighty fiat against that impious traffic. We are thus taught by experience the futility of looking to the colonies for an alteration in their system. What then remains? To legislate for the colonies. I am not insensible to the obstacles which may stand in the way of instantaneous liberation, but at all events means may be taken to nurse the rising African population into liberty. If we cannot effectually relieve the parents, we may take the cradle with the Negro child and lay it at the feet of our legislators: if the

arm of British sympathy and benevolence is not strong enough to reach across the Atlantic to rescue the adult from the grasp of the oppressor, it may yet be able to press the infant negro to its bosom and give it wholesome aliment, and thus prepare it for future emancipation. I trust that the time is not distant when the proud aphorism of the poet, "Slaves cannot breathe in England," shall dilate itself, and spread beyond any limit of insular locality, and when English power and English liberty shall be commensurate. It was the boast of the Spaniard that "the sun never set on his dominions;" let it be the vaunt of Britain that the sun of liberty shines wherever her power exists or her banners wave."

Mr. POWNALL congratulated the Society on what they had gained, but cautioned them against being deceived by Ministers in their professions of abhorrence of slavery, and to beware lest the artifice of 1823 should again be practised upon them. He advised them to take the advice of Dr. Lushington, and to make it their determination not to rest till a time was fixed after which no subject of the British Government should longer be held in bondage. The blast of liberty, he assured them, would go forth from this country, swell in its progress over 4000 miles, purify the atmosphere of the country to which it reached, and be wafted back again in grateful praises and thanksgivings.

The Rev. J. BURNETT rose to propose the third and fourth resolutions:—

"That the buying, or selling, or holding of our fellow men as slaves, is contrary to the Christian religion, and to the principles of the British constitution.

"That, under the strongest rational conviction, fortified by the experience of all ages, that the holders of slaves are, by the very circumstances of their situation, rendered as unfit, as they have always proved themselves unwilling, to frame laws for the benefit of their bondmen, this Assembly cannot refrain from avowing their utter despair of receiving any effectual aid from the Colonists in the prosecution of their great object."

He said, he recollected the time when all that was looked for by the friends of the slaves was the abolition of the African Slave Trade. That object was gained, and the trade in human flesh was abolished by England, and partially by other powers. The second period was when only the *mitigation* and *gradual abolition* of slavery was asked for. But the third period had now arrived, when the friends of the slave spoke out, and, throwing away all such timid qualifications, openly demanded that slavery should cease altogether. (Hear, hear.) They had heard the demand made that day with a force and feeling which thrilled through this great assembly; and earnestly did he hope that the appeal might retain its influence until it had produced the utter extinction of this abominable system. He would ask whether the assembly which he then addressed, splendid as it was, did not feel itself degraded in belonging to a country in which it was found necessary to discuss at the present day the propriety of abolishing slavery. It was a foul disgrace to our country that such discussions as this took place in the nineteenth century. It was a stigma on our national glory which must go down with our annals, even if abolition takes place, and it would never be forgotten that Britain struggled so long and stoutly to maintain the existence of such a monstrous system as slavery in her colonies. (Loud cheers.) Notwithstanding the eloquent speeches they had that day heard—speeches in which the feelings of the speakers were visibly conveyed to their hearers—notwithstanding all that had been said of the propriety of emancipating every slave born after January 1st, 1832, there still remained a consideration on which he should like to express his opinion—What was to be done with the adults? Were the fathers and mothers of these free negro children to be allowed to be left in their chains, to go down in their present degraded situation to their graves? Was this generation to be left until its last man and woman had dropped into an untimely

grave? Was the proposition that had been set forth so touchingly by Mr. O'Connell to be carried into effect—and was nothing to be done for the adults? We were told that they must be *educated* for freedom. Through what channel was this instruction to be conveyed? Was it to come from the colonists themselves? He would trust *them* with nothing. If they were persons of whose character and principles we were ignorant—if he had just arrived from Pekin, or some other distant country, and had only heard of England's honour, and England's honesty, he might, looking upon these slave proprietors as Englishmen, be disposed to commit to their keeping any trust however sacred. But we knew these Colonial Assemblies; they had been long tried; they were opposed to England; and therefore he would not trust them, as Englishmen. England was libelled in being associated with them. Some evil star gave them to England in their birth, and caught them away under its malign influence to their present abode; but in being wafted across the Atlantic they appeared to have lost all the right spirit and feelings of Englishmen. He would, therefore, leave nothing to their discretion, even under a penalty for disobedience. We knew well how they could evade, and combine to evade, and therefore under no security could we trust to their co-operation. (Cheers.) If he might give his advice, it would be to this effect—that as Parliament was about to entertain a proposition that no slave should be born after the 1st of Jan. 1832, so no slave should exist after the 1st of Jan. 1833. (Immense cheering.) He was glad to find the Meeting not dissatisfied with the proposition, and disposed to deal honestly with the adults—by the fathers and mothers of those infants to whom they were disposed to grant the boon of freedom. This measure once adopted, he would say to the colonial legislatures, We will not prescribe to you any particular rules or regulations, but we tell you that all your present slave population shall be free after a certain date; and having apprised you of that circumstance, we leave it to yourselves, who say you know best how to deal with the Negroes, to make such legislative regulations as this new state of things shall require. After January 1833, they will be about your ears, and you will have to deal with them as freemen. If Parliament did its duty, we should have all the Attorneys General at their work, endeavouring to promote the great cause of freedom, and should see none of their class coming here to effervesce in a spirit of contumacious hostility against the advocates for the extinction of slavery. But under present circumstances, the colonists and their partisans acted differently. They were not bound to act reasonably. And why? Because the British people sent soldiery enough to protect them in their mal-administration.

The Rev. Gentleman adverted to what had been stated by a former speaker, that we were responsible for the existence of slavery in the West Indies by the support and encouragement which we gave the colonists. He fully approved of the catechism which had been suggested by the Hon. and Learned Gentleman for Parliamentary Candidates at the approaching elections, but he would go somewhat farther, and in addition to making the candidate promise that he would support this question whenever it came forward, he would also make him promise that on every occasion when it was discussed he should be in attendance in his place, and nothing should excuse him but the *bona fide* certificate of a physician. (Cheers.)

Referring to the words of the motion, he proceeded to contend, that neither in the principles of the British Constitution, nor in those of Christianity, was there any thing which could justify the existence of slavery. The very foundation of Christianity was hostile to the principle of slavery. It was when man was morally enslaved—when he had sold himself to another master, that the Son of God came down to re-

claim him and redeem him. In the Epistle of St. Paul to Philemon we find that he recommends to him to receive Onesimus his former slave, "not now as a servant;" (The word is rendered servant in the translation, but in the original it means a slave;) "but above a servant, a brother beloved, especially to me, but how much more unto thee, both in the flesh and in the Lord." Onesimus had been a slave, and having robbed his master, went to Rome, where Divine Providence gave him an opportunity to hear the Word of God from the mouth of the Apostle. That Word he received to salvation, and the Apostle had sent him back to his master with the words which he (Mr. Burnett) had quoted, advising him to receive him as a friend and a brother, and not as a slave. This was the language of the New Testament, and if the colonists studied its precepts, they would not if they felt their power permit so foul a stain on Christianity as slavery to exist. He proceeded to contend, that even according to the Old Testament, which was a peculiar economy, slavery was prohibited; in support of which he quoted the text, "He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, ye shall surely put to death." He wished the colonial assemblies, who professed to lay great stress upon passages from the Bible, would look to that book for every thing, and not select such parts merely as they thought suited them. He wished they would take the book, the whole book, and nothing but the book. (Cheers.) If they did, we should not hear them talk so much nonsense as they now did, in flying from text to text without any regard to the connexion. The Rev. Gentleman then contended, that the slavery of the Egyptian house of bondage mentioned in the Old Testament, though such as ultimately drew down the utmost severity of Divine vengeance, was light and trivial compared to the slavery of the present day. He would be ready at once to give up the whole question if he were not able most satisfactorily to prove, that the slavery of the people of Israel in Egypt was perfect freedom compared with the slavery which now exists in our West India colonies. What was the statement in the Old Testament? That seventy came down to Egypt, and that their descendants settled in the land of Goshen. Where was the Goshen of the West Indies? All the West Indies together would not make one Goshen. But let the colonists mark the result, and note the striking contrast which it exhibited, in the conditions of Israelitish and negro slavery. After this kind of bondage had been going on for 400 years, what was the result? Why, that the descendants of the seventy who went down to Goshen, had increased so much, that at their going out of Egypt there were 600,000 fighting men. Yet that was the slavery for which Pharaoh and the Egyptians were so fearfully punished—an example which it would be well for the colonists to consider. Let them contrast that immense increase with what had been stated that day by the Hon. Gentleman who opened the proceedings, that in the last ten years there had been a diminution of 45,000 in our colonial slave population. (Hear, hear.)

He then proceeded to a brief examination of the principles of the British Constitution, which he happily compared to a tree, from which any excrescence or misguided branch should be cut off as it arose; and he went on to show, from the nature of our institutions, the construction of our legislature, our free debates and free discussions, that slavery was incompatible with the constitution which we enjoy. If slavery had crept in, and for a time been sanctioned by our legislature,—if man-stealing had grown up into a profitable trade, it was because the British lion slept, and was betrayed by his jackalls. Man-stealing was permitted, and slaves were brought in thousands to our colonies, until at length the clanking of their chains aroused the lion from his slumbers: but now he shakes the dew-drops from his mane, and raises his terrific

voice, and the West India hydra trembles before him. When the object of this Meeting should be obtained, slavery itself would fall a lifeless corpse, and be buried for ever amidst the triumphant cheers of the British people. (Cheers.) When the abolition of the slave trade was called for, it was said, that the colonists afforded a home and a protection to the negroes; that they enjoyed personal comforts, which they could not enjoy if left in their own wild and uncultivated state in Africa. This was the language of the colonists. How did their conduct tally with that language? They bought the slaves to treat them kindly, they said; but unhappily their kindness killed them! Where was their kindness when they flogged them, when they branded them, when they sold them from one to the other like cattle, and, as was proved by the returns alluded to, when they destroyed them in thousands by severity of labour! (Hear, hear.) This was colonial kindness; let it be judged of by its fruits. But when any other parties but the colonists themselves offered to shew real kindness to the slaves, by procuring them some mitigation of suffering, some protection from outrage, they were termed meddling enthusiasts. Indeed, such was their notion of slavery, that some of them actually talked of it as a blessing. Were they disposed to apply it to us across the Atlantic? It would appear as if they were. He attended a meeting some time ago at the Thatched House Tavern, at which a gentleman got up and gravely said, that the abolition of the feudal system in so many countries of Europe was the reason why so many poor were found amongst them, and particularly in England. Another gentleman referred to the opinion of Fletcher of Salton, that every pauper ought to be made a slave, and seemed to hint that something of the kind would be a great improvement in the condition of our poor; and these sayings were loudly applauded by the West Indians present. Was it then, he would ask, to such men that we should intrust the improvement of the condition of slaves—to men so enamoured of slavery as to dare, within a hundred yards of the palace of William the Fourth, to suggest its application to England and Ireland? (Hear, hear.) He then went on to shew, that in the present age of impetus, in the present state of public feeling, the cause of abolition must go forward, and would not cease, until it had carried the influence of British spirit and British legislation to every part of our colonial possessions. The cry was raised, the game was up, the British people were joining in the chorus, and he hoped a new Parliament would come in at the death, and close the chase for ever.

The Rev. RICHARD WATSON observed, that two practical objects had been brought before the meeting. The first was the Address proposed by Dr. Lushington in reference to Parliamentary candidates; the second, the hint thrown out by Mr. Pownall, that we do not accept of the plan proposed by Government. He said, that greatly as he confided in the patriotism and public spirit of our present ministry, and fully persuaded as he was, that if hope could not be placed in them, no hope could be reposed in any ministry on this subject, yet he was not satisfied that the inquiry had not been gone into. Neither was he satisfied with the plan of ministers. It was bottomed on the Resolutions of 1823 and the ordinances that were founded on them. But these Resolutions were very suspicious in their origin. They were connected with the name of Mr. Canning, it was true, and perhaps that name derived much of its splendour from them; (Hear, hear;) but when they came to be looked strictly into and embodied for practical operation, they were found to be exceedingly defective. Nor have succeeding governments dealt honestly with them; for it has come out by the avowal of some of those statesmen, that it was considered a great

error and embarrassment to be pledged to these resolutions. The plans, then, which are founded on those resolutions can never satisfy us. So far as they went they were to be applauded and supported by us; but unless they went a step farther, unless a period were fixed, and that not a distant one, beyond which slavery should not continue, all these preparatory measures would have no good effect. (Cheers.)

He would touch only on another subject. It has been said, that Christian instruction should be employed in order to *prepare* the slaves for the enjoyment of freedom, after some very long period had elapsed. Now in his (Mr. Watson's) opinion it was impossible to spread Christianity through the mass of the slave population so long as it continues in slavery. Christianity had indeed had some noble triumphs in the West Indies, but few comparatively among the field-negroes. And this was the great objection to the system. Legislators might give them sabbaths: but they would be robbed of them practically; for there was a power in every planter greater than the power of the British Government itself. Christian zeal might multiply missionaries; and yet none of these missionaries could enter an estate without leave from the owner, to instruct his slaves: the consequence was that a variety of obstacles were continually thrown in the way of the diffusion of Christianity throughout the population at large. But even if it were possible to extend Christianity throughout the mass of population, those persons who imagined that it would make the slaves quiet and content with slavery were greatly mistaken. (Hear, hear.) Christianity would make better *servants*, but worse *slaves*. It creates honesty, industry, and conscientiousness; but it cannot create them without the love of freedom; and slavery was felt to be an evil most deeply by the man who had been brought under the influence of Christianity. (Cheers.) By religion the mind becomes enlightened, the feelings acute and tender, and the social relations become more united and strengthened. Would a Christian father then endure it as well as a Pagan father that his children should be separated from him?—that his daughters, whom he had educated in virtue, should be subdued for pollution by the influence of the whip?—a thing most general throughout the slave Colonies:—and if the whip be employed not merely to cut the flesh, but to cut deeper, to separate the marriage ties—was it possible that Christianity should teach a man to tolerate that? There was no libel so gross as that Christianity could be made the instrument of defending such an outrage. Our religion was not a religion to teach slaves to kiss their chains; but a religion to teach freemen how to use their freedom.

He thought there was now ground for hope and comfort, especially from this, that a free press had been established in Jamaica: the secrets of that prison house could no longer be kept; that mighty engine would disclose them to the population of the colonies and likewise to this country. There was hope also arising from the free coloured population, who had declared that although holders of slaves themselves, as soon as the British Government required them they would liberate their bondmen, (loud cheers,)—a circumstance which not only greatly redounded to their honour, but was of the greatest importance also in the argument—because it refutes all the objections as to the practicability of emancipation, consistently with the interests and safety of the Colonies.

He placed no confidence at all upon what ministers proposed to do, unless we could, by our zeal and perseverance, induce them to take another step, and to *fix a period beyond which slavery shall not exist*. Without that, little or nothing could be effected; for whatever the legislation of this country might do in the way of amelioration, if it come through the agency of the colonists, it would be vain and might be pernicious,—like the pure dew of heaven that descends upon

the manchineel-tree, which is converted into poison, and blackens and cauterises every thing that has fled to it for shelter. (Loud cheers.) He had hope however from the ministers themselves; for the spirit in which they had spoken, and the determination they had shewn as far as they had gone, warranted a good deal of confidence; especially when they should be better supported by the expression of public opinion. Long might they possess their seats if they would but apply themselves honestly to this subject; but if they did not, the sooner they fall from them the better. (Loud cheers.) Let them remember that every administration that has ever trimmed with this great question has tumbled to pieces. (Hear, hear.) The time was now come when the work must be done. God himself had heard the cry of this oppressed race; and he thought we might say, without being charged with enthusiasm, that HE himself had come down to deliver them. (Cheers.) And though the thunders of the firmament might not be audibly directed against their task masters, as in the case of the Egyptian bondmen, yet there was a thunder now heard—the thunder of the indignation of a free and freedom-loving people—a thunder which shall not cease to roll from year to year until it has forced Avarice to loosen her gripe, and Tyranny to give up his claim upon the wretched creatures they have so long held in bondage.

Mr. BUXTON observed, that although Mr. Burnett had drawn a very accurate comparison between the condition of the Egyptian and West Indian bondmen, there was one point he had overlooked, and one of which we hear a great deal, namely the subject of *compensation*. Now there really was compensation in the former case, for the bondmen of the Egyptians went out laden with jewels of silver and of gold. This was the compensation given in the case of the Egyptian slaves—and it was given precisely as it should be. He was a friend to *equitable* compensation—a little to those who suffer a little—and a great deal to those unfortunate slaves who have suffered so much.—(Great applause.)

Mr. EVANS in proposing the fifth and sixth resolutions, very briefly addressed the meeting, congratulating them on the evident progress which this great cause had made, and exhorting them to improve the present favourable political crisis, and to rest satisfied with nothing short of a complete and perfect triumph in the entire emancipation of every bondman in the British dominions. The Resolutions moved by him were in the following terms:—

“That this Assembly consider it incumbent on them to renew the declaration of their decided conviction, that Slavery is not merely an abuse to be mitigated, but an enormity to be suppressed; that it involves the exercise of severities on the part of the master, and the endurance of sufferings on the part of the Slave, which no laws can effectually prevent; and that to impose on the British people the involuntary support of a system so essentially iniquitous, is an injustice no longer to be endured.

“That the experience of the last eight years has not only furnished additional evidence of the criminality and incurable inhumanity of Slavery, but has also demonstrated incontrovertibly, that it is only by the direct intervention of Parliament that any effectual remedy can be applied to this enormous evil; and that it is the unalterable determination of this Meeting to leave no lawful means unattempted for obtaining, by Parliamentary enactment, the total abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions.”

Mr. GEO. STEPHEN rose to second the resolutions, and proceeded to address the Chairman, [Mr. Buxton, who had been called to the chair on the departure of Lord Suffield,] in the following terms:—“I shall not detain the meeting many minutes; but I have a duty to perform of no ordinary kind. I am charged publicly to declare to you the chairman, and to this great meeting, that there are many who are absolutely dissatisfied with the amendment proposed in the House of

Commons upon the motion made by you the other night. I have received that commission—not from a parent whose name I cannot mention here without reverence;—he will declare his sentiments at his own time:—but I am charged by parties officially connected with many of the Anti-Slavery Associations throughout the country, to take an opportunity of declaring most publicly and most emphatically, that they deprecate any appeal to the Colonial Legislatures. You have told us what their Councils are. You have mentioned the case of the Mosses—but I quote the shocking fact from Mr. Huskisson's despatch, that the most respectable people in the island came forward to testify to the respectability, and the humanity of those who murdered the slave by flogging.—(Hear, hear.) Now if this be so, if murder, under the most cruel circumstances, aggravated murder, entitled those who were guilty of perpetrating it, to be called the most humane and respectable people of the island, such views and feelings will not, assuredly, tend greatly to heighten our regard for the Colonial Assemblies themselves. I know full well that it is fashionable to say, "you don't know the dangers of immediate emancipation,"—but you never hear those dangers specified; you are told in general terms that there is hazard and danger, but nobody will venture to say in what that danger consists. Now I may appeal to yourself, Sir, whether I have not some reason for saying that there is no danger in immediate emancipation, but that there is danger if emancipation be deferred until the Negroes make common cause with their free coloured brethren, and emancipate themselves by the sword. There lies, in my view, the only real danger in the case, and I at least will declare it, if no one else will.—(Cheers.) It is quite absurd to provide slaves with rights, to give them privileges, and to declare them incapable of asserting those rights, and defending those privileges; to give them legal powers and subject them to legal incapacity.—(Cheers.) To refer them to protectors, to magistrates, and councils of protection is absurd, is trifling. I for one declare that the only council of protection in which any confidence can be placed, is that before which I have now the honour to stand.—To you I intrust their cause—to your maternal bosoms I commend their children—to your fraternal affections I commend their fathers; show yourselves worthy of the trust, and let your voice be raised in the words of these resolutions, with acclamations that shall re-echo through the West India Isles, that we will endure this inhuman, this detestable system no longer!"—(Loud cheers.)

The Rev. J. W. CUNNINGHAM said, there ought to be no men more interested in the cause of this meeting than the Clergy of the Church of England, and, God helping him, he would give it every aid in his power. They had been told that particular instances were most powerful; and supposing he introduced a murderer with a dagger into that assembly, who before a year would put every one there to death, would they let him out of doors? would they talk to him of amelioration? No. They would say, seize the monster. Well; just such a monster was Slavery, which annually destroyed 4,000 persons in our Sugar Islands. It went farther; it not only put bodies but souls to death; wearing out, as far as in its power, the body by intolerable bondage, and preventing souls from reaching glory. Another word and he was done. Now was the time for action—for every arm to be raised and every lip opened to aid the cause of Negro emancipation. The Rev. gentleman concluded by moving a vote of thanks to His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, the Patron of the Society, expressive of the regret of the Meeting for his unavoidable absence, and of the grateful sense they entertained of the uniform support he has given to the great cause they were associated to support. The motion was carried unanimously and with acclamation. The meeting then separated, after also voting thanks to the Right Hon. Chairman, Lord Suffield.

II.—ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,
UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED AT THE GENERAL MEETING, APRIL 23.

THE Society for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British dominions, earnestly request your attention to the present state of the question. The Dissolution will probably soon take place, when the great body of Electors will be strongly agitated with discussing the measure of Reform, which has divided the existing Parliament. At this crisis we entreat you, in the midst of conflict and excitement, to remember the sacred cause to which, in conjunction with ourselves, you are solemnly pledged. Upon the exertions now made, as far as human wisdom may foresee, mainly depends the continuance or extinction of that system which has so long prevailed, in violation of all the principles of the British Constitution, and in subversion of all justice, outraging every feeling of humanity, and utterly repugnant to the precepts of the religion we profess to acknowledge. We pray you to rouse yourselves to strenuous, persevering and well-organized exertions; and we suggest for your consideration, the following measures;—To call meetings of your Committees, and to invite to join you all who prefer humanity to oppression, truth to falsehood, freedom to slavery;—to appoint frequent periods for assembling; to form a list of all the Electors who can be properly influenced in the approaching contest, each individual answering for himself and as many more as he can bring to aid:—to make strict inquiries of every Candidate, not only whether he is decidedly favourable to the extinction of Slavery, but whether or not he will attend the Debates in Parliament, when that question shall be discussed; herein taking special care not to be deceived by general professions of disapprobation of Slavery, but ascertaining that the Candidate has adopted the determination to assist in carrying through measures for its speedy annihilation. None look with greater horror on the shedding of blood, or the remotest chance of occasioning such a calamity than ourselves; but we are in our consciences convinced, and that after investigation the most careful and scrupulous, that from the emancipation we recommend, no risk to the safety of the white inhabitants could arise; on the contrary we verily believe, that the continuance of Slavery renders desolation and bloodshed much more probable; and that if the country does not repent of the sin of Slavery and cast it from her, it may, by the just retribution of Providence, terminate in a convulsion destructive alike of life and property.

On behalf of Candidates who are known to hold these principles, and on behalf of such Candidates only, we ask your assistance; and this assistance may be most powerfully rendered, not merely by votes, but by open and public adoption of the Candidate on these avowed grounds, by the exertion of lawful influence, by saving him time in his canvass, and by relieving him from expence in going to the poll.

We assure you, that on our part, we will not be backward in our efforts for the attainment of the same ends; and we will, from time to time, afford you all the information we may deem requisite.

In the truth and justice of our Cause we are all confident; but men must work by human means. Without strenuous efforts, the gold and combination of our interested opponents, may leave the cause without that support in Parliament which is essential to success, and so continue, for an indefinite period, sufferings indescribable and iniquity incalculable.

We solemnly conjure you to shew yourselves, by your courage, energy, and perseverance, faithful in the cause of Truth and Mercy, and then, with His aid to whom all good is to be ascribed, we trust this accumulation of guilt and misery may be speedily annihilated.

Signed in behalf of the London Committee,

T. F. BUXTON,	Z. MACAULAY,
S. GURNEY,	D. WILSON,
W. WILBERFORCE,	R. WATSON,
W. SMITH,	S. LUSHINGTON,
T. CLARKSON.	

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 81.]

JUNE 1, 1831.

[Vol. iv. No. 9.

I.—STATE OF LAW AND MANNERS IN JAMAICA ILLUSTRATED :

1. *Presumption of Slavery from Colour*; 2. *Case of W. O. Chapman and two Negro boys.*

II.—DISTURBANCES IN ANTIGUA.

III.—THE RECENT WEST INDIAN MANIFESTO.

I.—LAWS AND MANNERS OF JAMAICA ILLUSTRATED.

1. *Presumption of Slavery from Colour.*

“THE Christian Record” of Jamaica, continues to supply valuable illustrations of the character and effects of Colonial Slavery. The fourth number of that work which has recently reached us, contains, among other excellent papers, a letter from a correspondent on *the presumption of slavery from the colour of the skin*, one of the manifold iniquities of this most unrighteous system, on which we have frequently animadverted in the Anti-Slavery Reporter. After some stringent introductory remarks by the editor of the Christian Record, his correspondent, who signs himself Robert Grundy, proceeds as follows :—

“I was in a gentleman’s house the other day, and while sitting by myself in the hall, I took up the Royal Gazette of November 27th, 1830, and read the following advertisement :

“*Morant-Bay Workhouse, Oct. 27, 1830.*”

“Notice is hereby given, that, unless the undermentioned slave is taken out of this workhouse, prior to Thursday the 23d day of December next, he will, on that day, between the hours of ten and twelve o’clock in the forenoon, be put up to public sale, and sold to the highest and best bidder, at the office of F. and J. M’Donald, in Morant Bay, agreeably to the workhouse law now in force, for payment of his fees :

“Emanuel Brown, a creole of Curacao, 5 feet 5½ inches, wears whiskers, some of his upper front teeth are lost; says he is free, and that he came to this island in the schooner Eliza, Captain Tighe, during the American war, and that his papers are with a negro man belonging to Wheelersfield, named Richard Saunders; taken up by the maroons, and committed by Thomas M’Cornoek, Esq., August 2.

“This negro was brought before a Special Sessions of the Peace, on the 6th September, but could not establish his claim to freedom, having no document whatever.

“Ordered, that the above be published in the newspapers, appointed by law, for eight weeks. By order of the Commissioners. F. and J. M’Donald, Sup.

“I had often seen such advertisements before, but, somehow or other, never thought much about them. This time, however, it came into my mind, all of a sudden: what a strange proceeding is this! To buy and sell *slaves*, some people say, is bad enough. They tell us it is quite contrary to the Word of God; but on that subject I know there are different opinions; so let it pass. Here, however, said I to myself, is a man who declares he is free, and *nobody comes to contradict him*. He gives a history of part of his life, which surely ought to be believed, till it is proved to be false. I think this would be good law in England;

and I am sure it is no more than justice. But, sir, that it is not law in Jamaica, the foregoing advertisement fully proves. The man is brought before what is called a 'special sessions of the peace,' (though I think that fellow, Wilberforce, or that other fellow, Macaulay, would give it a harder name, and talk something about 'pirates' or 'piracy,') and there we are told 'could not establish his claim to freedom, having no document whatever.'

"I bought a new pair of trowsers the other day; but if they brought me before a 'special sessions of the peace,' I am sure, if it must be done by written documents, I could not establish 'my claim' to them; and must go away without my trowsers. Here, however, is a much greater loss sustained, and that too, by a still poorer man—even the loss of his liberty. We all love liberty—indeed there are no people more clamorous about their's than the gentlemen of Jamaica, at least if we may judge from what they have been doing, and saying lately. It is not very long since the magistrates of Trelawny assembled to resist some 'infringement,' I think they called it, of their rights, attempted by the British government; and the worthy justices of St. Thomas in the East, (the very men who formed what the advertisement calls a 'special sessions of the peace,') spiritedly met together, to back their oppressed brethren of Trelawny. It is not very long since the magistrates of St. Ann's refused even to reconsider their proceedings in the case of Mr. Bridges, and adopted some flaming resolutions about 'the unconstitutional interference of the colonial secretary.' It is not very long since the grand jury of Middlesex, in their great anxiety for the defence of their rights and privileges, as *freemen*, forgot that they were upon their oaths, 'diligently to enquire, and true presentment make:' and refused to go into the case of the reverend accused, merely making enquiry whether a council of protection had been held, and ascertaining its decision. And the brave editor of the Courant, told us then, 'that they had nobly performed their duty, and vindicated the injured rights of their fellow colonists;' and yet, Mr. Editor, if these men, thus strenuous in defence of their liberty, should be brought before a 'special sessions of the peace,' I doubt if one among them all could 'establish his claim' to freedom by written documents, and, if not, would not the 'special sessions of the peace' be authorized, upon the principle recognized in the advertisement before us, first to commit them to the workhouse, and then, secondly, to sell them, for having put the parish to the expence of board and lodging?

"From this advertisement I have gained one piece of information, at all events. I have been taught the meaning of the word '*slave*' in Jamaica. Mind you, it is said 'unless the undermentioned *slave* be taken out of this workhouse, &c.' A slave, then, is a man of very dark complexion, who says that he is free, and satisfactorily explains, how he came, in the capacity of a freeman, to this happy land, and whose story no one ventures to contradict, but who '*has no documents*' to tell it for him. This is good, but what I am going to say is better. Some years ago, if there be any truth in history, Englishmen, and, I believe creoles too, used to go to some place away over the seas, called Africa, and there steal free men to make them slaves. The British government, very properly, I think, forbade this practice of taking, by force, a man's liberty from him, and declared it to be *PIRACY*, that is, the worst species of *robbery*. Now, I know there is this vast difference, between the practice of which the advertisement before us records one example, and the practice declared to be robbery by the king and the people of England; that in the former case, the practitioners stay in Jamaica, and that in the latter, they went to Africa. But, Mr. Editor, will you, who are a learned man, I am sure, tell us in how many other respects they differ? for in good truth, I am unable to say.

"I must just ask two questions, and then have done. Suppose, long after '*the slave*' has been sold, 'the documents' should all be found, and it should really appear that the man did tell the truth, although he had a black skin; what's to become of him? Is the buyer, (for it is nonsense to say 'owner') to lose the price of him, or is the parish, or the 'special sessions of the peace,' to pay it back again; or what is to be done? One more question; when the ex-

penses of 'entertainment' in the workhouse are all paid, what, after the auction, is done with the surplus money? Does it go to the 'special sessions of the peace;' or what becomes of it?"

2. *Case of W. O. Chapman and two Negro boys.*

In Nos. 68 and 69 of the Reporter we gave some account of the cruelties inflicted on a slave by William Ogilvy Chapman, overseer of Windsor Castle estate, in the parish of St. George's, and of the disgraceful conduct of the Council of Protection of that parish in most iniquitously screening this man from trial, and denying all redress to the maltreated slave. The Rev. Mr. Hanna, Curate of St. George's, who had the Christian courage to denounce this case to the public and to the colonial authorities, was assailed by the public press of the island (with the exception of the Watchman) with the most envenomed obliquy, and held up to colonial opprobrium as a partizan of the "Saints" and a spy of the Anti-Slavery Society; and two members of this same Council of Protection, Mr. Gray and Mr. Maxwell, in an attempt to vindicate their vote on this occasion, while they were forced to admit the facts stated by Mr. Hanna, concluded their address to the public of Jamaica in the following terms:

"We regret exceedingly, that a clergyman of the Established Church," (meaning Mr. Hanna,) "should identify himself with a faction that seeks the destruction of the Colonies, or that he should have taken such a zealous part in a political matter, of which he could have only a confused and superficial knowledge by retail. He ought to recollect that he was sent here not to destroy Temples, but to build them up; not to weaken the fabric of our institutions, assailed by every heartless demagogue, but to add strength and unanimity to them, to preach peace and good-will to men, and a cheerful obedience to constituted authorities. We are as feelingly alive to the melioration of our slaves, and at all times ready to punish wanton severity, as any class in the country, but the rude materials of which our population are formed, require no small degree of firmness and consistency to maintain the authority of a manager. We have nothing to fear from Anti-Colonial virulence, if we are true to ourselves: once divided, with so many irresponsible incendiaries amongst us, and we shall soon see our enemies triumph, and this beautiful island, now the seat of peace, happiness, and plenty, become a sterile desert."

The conduct of such "slave protectors," in thus screening from punishment the most intolerable outrages against the slaves, in open contempt of the inoperative slave laws which they had assisted to enact and were vainly sworn to execute, and in thus identifying themselves and the planters in general with such delinquents as Chapman, could not fail to encourage the frequent perpetration of similar enormities; and we accordingly find by the last arrivals that his former impunity has led on this man to new excesses of cruelty and brutality almost incredible even in the demoralizing atmosphere of a slave colony. The disgusting nature of some of the details will probably prove offensive to many of our readers, but they must not on that account be suppressed. If it be revolting and abhorrent to our feelings even to read of such things, with what sentiments ought we to regard the conduct of those who perpetrate them, or that of the scarcely less criminal colonial magistrates and assemblies who have constantly resisted all adequate redress of such abuses until they have attained a pitch of enormity which renders concealment vain. Mr.

Chapman, proceeding from bad to worse, as Mr. Bridges and others had done before him, has at last brought himself within the jurisdiction of the Attorney General, under such circumstances that even a Jamaica Grand Jury did not venture to throw out the bill. The following are the entire details of the case as reported in the Watchman newspaper:—

“ *Rex v. Chapman.*—The Attorney-General briefly stated, that this was an indictment preferred against Mr. Chapman for an act of brutal outrage committed on the persons of two negro boys, who were in a bad state of health from dirt-eating. He caused these boys to eat their own excrement; and afterwards compelled them to scourge each other in a very severe manner. He was instructed to call witnesses who would prove the charges laid in the indictment.

“ Mr. Spencer is book-keeper on Windsor Castle estate; knows the prisoner; he was the overseer; recollects the boys in question; between the 18th and 20th October, can't be positive, the two negro boys were in the hospital for eating dirt; they were ordered out at two o'clock on one of those days by the overseer to work, but they did not go, and were flogged; he again ordered them to be flogged; witness said, oh! no, let them alone, they will go to their work to-morrow probably; the house boy said they had dirtied themselves; Chapman said, make them eat it; the house boy, Henry Forbes, said they would not do so for him; Chapman then came down, took the whip out of Henry's hand, and caused them to eat it; of this he is positive.

“ *Cross-examined by Mr. Panton.*—Was quite near enough to hear and see what passed; knows a person of the name of Donn; they are brother book-keepers; have had several conversations with him relative to this transaction; had a conversation with him prior to the meeting of the magistrates at Golden Grove; never told him any other story than the one he had just told; is positive of the truth of what he had said.

“ Dr. Robertson sworn—Is medical attendant at Windsor Castle; knows the two boys; their condition was very bad; he recommended Mr. Chapman to take the boys into the house, in order to their being taken care of and properly fed; Chapman said he had nothing to give them, if he had he would. It appeared to him that they were more hungry than any thing else: this is as far as regards one boy; the other was reduced to a skeleton, from the want of food; I told Mr. Chapman to take him from the hospital, *and give him food; he said he had none*; I told him to apply to Mr. Lambie if he had none. On my second visit to the hospital I found the boys all scratched; I asked Chapman what was the matter with them, he said they had been fighting; I thought it very strange that two boys who were almost unable to stand could have been fighting; they were all bloody and bruised; I recommended them to be taken care of and *fed*; medicine could have been of no use whatever. On my third visit there was no improvement at all in their condition; one of them was about seven, the other about nine years of age; one was naked, the other partially so; he had some rags about him.

“ Case for the Crown closed.

“ Mr. Panton, for the defence, said he had no evidence to offer.

“ Chief Justice—Gentlemen, you have heard the evidence which has been adduced, and you have also heard that there is no evidence in the defence. The Court expected that in the course of the cross-examination evidence would have been elicited of a contrary description—this has not been done. The evidence, therefore, remains uncontroverted—and leaving the case to your honesty and integrity, we consider further observation from us perfectly unnecessary.

“ The Jury, after consulting for a few minutes, without retiring, returned a verdict of guilty.—Upon which the Attorney-General moved that Chapman be committed.”

On this case the Editor of the Watchman makes the following remarks:—

“ The trial of Chapman is one which cannot be perused with any other feelings than those of astonishment and disgust—astonishment, that a wretch could be found in human shape, so depraved as to commit the act of which Chapman has been found guilty : and disgust, at the until now unheard-of method of punishment adopted by this man monster.

“ We have been repeatedly accused of being unnecessarily severe upon those who have the management of slaves in the country parishes, and of being violent in our advocacy of the amelioration of their condition, but we would ask those who thus charge us with undue severity, whether the tender mercies of such men as Chapman are not cruelties, and if it be possible to find language sufficiently strong to express our reprobation of such conduct. It is easy to anticipate the reply which the advocates for the perpetuity of slavery will bring forward. We are aware that it will unblushingly be asserted that such are only exceptions to the general conduct of overseers. A little, very little acquaintance with the system will, however, satisfy reasonable men to the contrary. So long as unlimited power is vested in the hands of men who equally disregard all laws, whether human or divine, so long will cases of cruelty continue to present themselves.

“ Some of our readers, perhaps, remember the remarks which appeared in the public prints of this city, and the address which the grand jury thought it advisable to present to his honour the chief Justice, in consequence of the open and honest manner in which he gave expression to his abhorrence of the conduct of this very individual. We then thought, and so would any man not blindly wedded to the system of slavery, that the expressions then used reflected credit on the head and heart of their author.

“ Mr. Chapman has managed at last to get himself under the lash of the law. In August last he committed, with impunity an act which, but for the improper conduct of the St. George’s magistrates, would have been visited with that punishment which it so richly deserved.—It was then thought by the magistrates that he ‘ acted more from an error of the head than the heart ; and as it was his first offence, wished him to be reprimanded.’ What effect their indulgent conduct has had is manifest.”

II.—DISTURBANCES IN ANTIGUA. PROHIBITION OF SUNDAY MARKETS.

SOME disturbances have recently occurred among the slave population of Antigua, in consequence of the total abolition of the Sunday Negro Market, without allowing any other period for their accommodation. The details have been copied into the London papers from the Colonial journals, together with additional statements from private letters, and the whole commented on by most of the newspaper writers and their correspondents in a strain of wilful, or of ignorant misrepresentation exceedingly disgraceful to the conductors (with some few exceptions) of the English daily press. The following extract of a letter, dated Antigua, April 1, which we copy from the *Morning Herald*, gives the leading facts of this “insurrection,” as it has been termed, and exhibits at the same time a fair sample of the truth and candour of the Colonial partizans on such occasions :—

“ The island has been under martial law since the 21st of last month, and still is. The Legislature, some short time since, passed an Act doing away with the Sunday Market altogether, and allowed a certain time (one month) after the publication, to warn the negroes. They were accordingly warned each Sunday previous, by the police, that they were not to attend on a Sunday after the month ; but they were very dissatisfied, and expressed themselves in strong language to the police and magistrates ; in fact, they stated their determination to attend market on the very day after the time had expired. On that day the magistrates, police constable, &c. attended at the market-place by daylight in the

morning, notwithstanding which they (the slaves) assembled in great numbers, armed with sticks, &c. ; nor was the presence of the magistrates, who continued the whole day in the market, any sort of check upon them ; in fact, they appeared ripe for any mischief. That very evening Mr. Lydeatt's canes were set on fire, and during the night several other estates—Pells, Edward's, Rev. Mr. Gilbert's, &c. The Monday following the Governor had martial law proclaimed, and on the Monday evening a detachment of the 2d Regiment of militia was posted at Briggins, which they had scarcely reached when six other estates were seen on fire. *The people at home and the clergy here are the sole cause of it.* When it was stated by several planters that if the Sunday market was done away it was but justice to give the negroes another day, the clergy declared they did not ask another day. Court-martials are sitting every day. One man was executed yesterday, and I suppose there will be several others. What is to become of us in this part of the world God only knows ! It appears to me that the proprietors at home do not exert themselves sufficiently. When this state of things is to be at an end I know not."

Such is the statement of the Antigua correspondent : now for the facts. We shall adopt for the present the account here given of the conduct of the negroes ; and, supposing that account to be correct, we maintain that no other result could have been reasonably expected by the Legislature and Governor of Antigua, as the natural effect of this their own preposterous Act of pretended amelioration, but really of wanton and inexcusable oppression. To allege, as the writer of this letter has done, that "the people at home" and the clergy in Antigua have occasioned the disturbances by *opposing* the granting of another day to the negroes on which to hold their market in lieu of Sunday, is one of those examples of reckless and audacious falsehood, for which the partizans of slavery have distinguished themselves beyond any other writers in any other controversy of modern times ; and such allegations on the present occasion are well worthy of the school in which M'Queen, Macdonnell, Barclay, Burge, and Co. are eminent Professors. The simple fact is, that the Antigua Assembly, after long discussion and by a large majority, passed the Act for the total abolition of the negro market on Sunday without the substitution in lieu of Sunday, of any other day during the week, although they could not but be perfectly sensible of the injurious effect of such a partial enactment in abridging the comforts and deteriorating the condition of the slaves ; and this oppressive Act the authorities of the colony thought fit to enforce in defiance of the obvious consequences.

The intolerant and oppressive conduct of the Colonial assemblies, in every instance where they have attempted to legislate for the observance of the Sabbath, or the religious instruction of the slaves, has been a subject of animadversion, even to satiety, in the pages of the Anti-Slavery Reporter. No farther back than January last, in our strictures on Sir George Murray's correspondence with the Governors of Slave Colonies, (No. 73, p. 6.) we made some remarks respecting the abolition of Sunday markets in St. Vincent's, which will be found most strikingly applicable to the present occurrences in Antigua. Familiar as these remarks must be to the majority of our readers, we are induced to repeat them here verbatim, both because it would not be easy for us to state in stronger terms our reprobation of the wicked policy which has on this, as on other occasions, characterised, the proceedings of the authorities of Slave Colonies ; and also because the

passage in question furnishes an unanswerable reply to the unscrupulous allegations of the pro-slavery partizans (whether residing in the colonies or connected with the newspaper press at home), in mendaciously imputing to the Anti-Slavery Society, the advocacy of such rash, and oppressive, and iniquitous proceedings as have just been brought vividly under the notice of the British public, by these Antigua disturbances.

“ Sir G. Murray,” (we observed,) “ in reference to the ninth clause of the Slave Code of this island, (St. Vincent’s,) passed in December 1825, by which the Sunday markets were ordered to terminate at ten o’clock in the forenoon, says, he understands that this is wholly disregarded, and in practice absolutely nugatory; and he requests the governor, Sir C. Brisbane, to inform him what the fact really is. The reply of Sir C. Brisbane is very instructive, and throws so much light on the real nature of pretended colonial reform, and on the colonial prejudice and partizanship of at least some colonial governors, that we shall give it entire. It is dated the 22d May, 1829.

“ I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, dated the 2nd of April, 1829, relating to the Sunday markets. It is certainly true that the efforts of the legislature have not been able hitherto to put down this irregular proceeding; and such are the inveterate habits of the negroes, arising from a long customary enjoyment (as it is estimated by them) of marketing on Sunday, that nothing but absolute force will remedy the evil at present complained of. The slaves consider the abolition of this privilege as one of the greatest hardships imposed on them; and I am of opinion that hitherto no moral improvement, or more strict observance of the Sabbath, has taken place in consequence. The prices of provisions also are increased, to the great injury of domestic and other slaves in Kingstown, who rely upon the market for subsistence. Until the negroes shall have acquired a sufficient degree of religion to induce them to observe the Sabbath from a principle of morality, they will not give up their habits of trafficking on Sundays. I have, however, endeavoured to remedy the evil as far as I can by issuing most peremptory orders to the clerk of the market, the chief constable, and all others under him, to carry the law into complete effect.’

“ On several occasions we have dwelt at great length on the unjust and oppressive policy pursued by the colonial legislatures respecting Sunday markets, a policy for which they have too ready a sanction in the unaccountable course adopted on the same subject, in the Orders in Council for the Crown colonies. We will repeat now what we said in the Reporter, No. 52, p. 67, when treating of the Act of Grenada, to prevent holding markets on Sunday. It contains no provision whatever by which the act can be made to contribute in the very slightest degree to the amelioration of the condition of the slaves. They can no longer attend Sunday markets; but no legal provision is made for their being able to attend them on any other day. No other day is given to them; nor are they on any other day protected by law from being seized and sold for their master’s debts, which would inevitably follow, in a great majority of cases, from travelling to market on any day but Sunday. To the slave, therefore, without some law

which shall appropriate a certain day to his use, and which shall protect him on that day from arrest for his master's debts, the pretended amelioration of either abolishing or restricting Sunday markets is a positive injury instead of a benefit. It is an act of cruel oppression superadded to all his other wrongs.

"This truth has been repeated in the pages of the Reporter, whenever the same unjust course has been pursued in the legislation either of the crown or of the chartered colonies. It is impossible therefore that it should not have attracted notice, and that all parties concerned should not be fully aware that the only effectual remedy which can be applied to the evil of a public market on Sunday is not only to fix, by law, another day for it, but, by law also, to give that day to the slave, and to protect him, during its course, from being seized and sold for his master's debts.

"The legislature of St. Vincent's was perfectly aware of this, and yet they affect to abolish Sunday markets without a single provision to render such abolition practicable. Doubtless the slaves consider this a great hardship, and so it is. And Sir Charles Brisbane though equally aware of the fact, insults the common sense of Parliament and of the Secretary of State, by saying '*that nothing but absolute force will remedy the evil at present complained of.*' What is this but a complete misapprehension, at least, of the real nature of the case? Is not then the remedy we have proposed practicable? Has it ever been tried and found to fail? Has the slightest rational attempt been made by this governor, or by the St. Vincent legislature, to facilitate their own professed intention to abolish Sunday markets? And yet Sir C. Brisbane, offering his counsel on this subject to the Crown, to whom he is bound to give faithful counsel, tells the Secretary of State that '**NOTHING** but absolute force will remedy the evil at present complained of;' although he might know that a better and more effectual remedy, one too in perfect accordance with the views of his sovereign and of parliament, and one unattended with oppression and cruelty to the slave, is in the power of the legislature over which he presides; and on this he is nevertheless not only silent in his intercourse with that legislature; but, in his communications to the minister of the crown, virtually denies that any such remedy is to be found. It would be difficult for us adequately to convey our impression of such conduct."

III.—THE RECENT WEST INDIAN MANIFESTO.

A Manifesto from the West Indian Body in this country, in the shape of an Address to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, and signed by forty-one gentlemen "possessing property in the West India Colonies," has just been issued, and is now in the course of being most extensively circulated throughout the United Kingdom. We shall proceed in our next number, (which will appear forthwith,) to examine, with due attention, the adventurous statements made by the framers of this Address, and to analyse what they have given as an "abstract of the existing laws of our West India Colonies;" and we pledge ourselves to a complete exposure of the deceptious character of the representations which have been thus authoritatively sent forth with most zealous activity, and at enormous expense.

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 82.]

JUNE 25, 1831.

[Vol. iv. No. 10.

THE WEST INDIAN MANIFESTO EXAMINED:—

Abstract of Ameliorating Laws, viz. 1. On Religious Instruction, Observance of the Sabbath, Baptism, Marriage; 2. Food, Clothing, Lodging, &c.; 3. Labour, Exaction of; 4. Arbitrary Punishment; 5. Separation of Families (Mr. Burge's Misrepresentations); 6. Manumission; 7. Slave Evidence; 8. Right of Property; 9. Legal Protection.

THE following Address to the People of Great Britain and Ireland has been of late most extensively circulated throughout the United Kingdom by the West India Body in this country. When we say *extensively*, we mean by hundreds of thousands.

“Fellow Countrymen! We, the undersigned persons, possessing property in the West India Colonies, have seen with regret and astonishment an Address to the People of Great Britain, put forth by a body of persons styling themselves the ‘London Anti-Slavery Society,’ and signed on behalf of that Society by Messrs. T. F. Buxton, S. Gurney, W. Wilberforce, W. Smith, Z. Macaulay, D. Wilson, R. Watson, S. Lushington, calling on all the people of this kingdom who prefer ‘humanity to oppression,’—‘truth to falsehood,’—‘freedom to slavery,’—to support those candidates only to represent them in Parliament, who have determined upon adopting measures for ‘the speedy annihilation of slavery;’ and in that Address they proceed to assure you that ‘none look with greater horror on the shedding of blood, or the remotest chance of occasioning such a calamity, than themselves; but that they are in their consciences convinced, after investigation most careful and scrupulous, that, from the emancipation recommended, no risk to the white inhabitants could arise.’

“Fellow Countrymen! We also prefer humanity to oppression, truth to falsehood, freedom to slavery; but we possess, with our property in the West India Colonies, the means of *correctly ascertaining* the actual state of the Negro population. We know, and are ready to prove, that the general condition of the Slaves has been most grossly misrepresented by the London Anti-Slavery Society; and we assert, in the face of our country, our well-founded conviction, that the ‘speedy annihilation’ of slavery would be attended with the devastation of the West India Colonies, with loss of lives and property to the white inhabitants, with inevitable distress and misery to the black population, and with a fatal shock to the commercial credit of this empire.

“We deny the injurious slander that ‘the holders of Slaves have proved themselves unfit and unwilling to frame laws for the benefit of their bondsmen;’ on the contrary, out of the various measures suggested by the British Government, for ameliorating the condition of the Slaves, the far greater proportion of them are now in force under laws enacted by the Colonial Legislatures. We have desired, we still desire, and will most actively promote, any investigation on oath which Parliament shall be pleased to institute, for the purpose of ascertaining what is the real condition of the slave population—what laws have been passed for their benefit—what progress they have made, and are now making, towards civilization—and what further well-digested measures are best calculated ‘to prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by

other classes of his Majesty's subjects'—and this '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.'

Simon H. Clarke, Bart.	John H. Deffell.	Neill Malcolm.
Henry W. Martin, Bart.	James B. Delap.	William Manning.
W. Windham Dalling, Bart.	John Fuller.	John P. Mayers.
William H. Cooper, Bart.	Alexander Grant.	Philip John Miles.
William Fraser.	Alexander Hall.	John Mitchell.
Wm. Max. Alexander.	Robert Hibbert.	Rowland Mitchell.
J. L. Anderdon.	George Hibbert.	G. H. Dawkins Pennant.
David Baillie.	Thomson Hankey.	William Ross.
John Baillie.	Isaac Higgin.	George Shedden.
J. Foster Barham.	Hugh Hyndman.	A. Stewart.
Æneas Barkly.	John Innes.	George Watson Taylor.
Andrew Colville.	William King.	Robert Taylor.
John Daniel.	Roger Kynaston.	John Watson.*
Henry Davidson.	David Lyon.	

London, April 29th, 1831.

"The Anti-Slavery Society declare—

"That the experience of the last eight years has demonstrated incontrovertibly, that it is *only* by the direct intervention of Parliament that any effectual remedy can be applied."

"And one of the Resolutions proposed to the House of Commons at the close of the last Session, by Mr. T. F. Buxton, also declared—

"That, during the eight years which have elapsed since the Resolutions of the House of Commons in 1823, the Colonial Assemblies have not taken adequate means for carrying those Resolutions into effect."

"As it is, therefore, on the express ground of the alleged refusal of the Colonial Assemblies to take adequate measures for carrying into effect the Resolutions of 1823, that the Anti-Slavery party invoke the interference of Parliament, it has been thought fit to show what are the existing laws of the several Colonies, and which laws (with one exception, p. 12,)[†] are either entirely new, or have been re-enacted with great improvements, *within the last eight years.*"

These *forty-one* gentlemen then proceed to give, what they call, an "Abstract of the existing laws of our West India Colonies" compiled, they say, from Parliamentary documents. The correctness of this abstract thus vouched, and the value of the enactments it boasts of, it shall now be our business to examine.

1. The "Abstract" commences with a view of the measures said to have been adopted in Jamaica for the benefit of the slaves, in pursuance of the suggestions of His Majesty's Government; and the first point which they select in proof of the compliance of the legislature of this island is that of "*Religious Instruction and the Observance of the Sabbath.*" Now, we should be quite willing to rest the whole merits of this controversy on the truth or falsehood of the alleged compliance. The recommendation of the British Government was that Sunday markets and Sunday labour should be abolished, and a day in lieu of the Sunday given to the slaves for those purposes. But in what respect has the legislature of Jamaica complied with this suggestion? It has given the slaves no day in lieu of Sunday, nor do its present

* We have inserted the *forty-one* names subscribed to this paper by way of securing a lasting record of them. They are names which ought not to be forgotten.

† We shall hereafter show how unfounded is this statement,

advocates pretend that it has done so. Neither has it abolished Sunday markets. On the contrary, it has given them, as the "Abstract" itself admits, the express sanction of law, by permitting them to be held and kept open till eleven o'clock. The legislature of Jamaica, these *forty-one* gentlemen gravely tell us, has passed a law for the observance of the Sabbath; and yet that law, on their own shewing, makes Sunday markets lawful, permitting them to be kept open till eleven o'clock. The enactment in question, therefore, instead of providing for the *observance* of the Sabbath, actually provides, (as if in mockery of the recommendation of Government and of the wishes of the parliament and people of Great Britain,) for the *non-observance*, for the *deseccration* of that sacred day. The markets may *now* by positive law (a law that had no previous existence in the Statute book of Jamaica) be kept open for nearly half the Sunday. But even the having thus legalized Sunday markets for so large a part of the day is only a small part of the evil consequent on this pretended act of compliance. The slaves, be it remembered, who bring their produce to be sold in the Sunday market, kept open by a new and express law till eleven o'clock in the forenoon, must previously have travelled with their loads from their residences in the country; and having consumed half of the Sunday in this labour, and in effecting their sales and their purchases, must again retrace their weary steps, under a noontide sun, to their respective plantations, at a distance of five, ten, fifteen, or perhaps twenty miles from the market-place. Can Sunday, under such circumstances, be designated with any truth as a day of rest and religious observance? Is it not rather absolutely converted, by the pretended ameliorating enactment itself, into a day of toil and fatigue, into a day devoted to the most secular of all employments, into a day of peculiar hurry, and distraction, and dissipation? What period of such a day, so spent, would it be possible to appropriate with any effect to the work of religious instruction? What, then, is it that we have to contemplate in the statement made to us under the solemn asseverations and the formal attestation of these *forty-one* gentlemen? Is it not something which very much resembles a deliberate attempt to impose on the public by a representation, not which slightly varies from the truth of the case, but which stands in direct opposition to it? Those must have formed a strange idea of the gullibility of that public who could boldly venture to stake their credit on such a statement, a statement so notoriously contradicted by the very words of the Act, that they themselves, if they opened their eyes, could not but know, at the very time they affixed their signatures to this paper, that it was destitute of even the shadow of truth.

And let it not be here forgotten that the West Indians generally, nay that many of these very gentlemen themselves, have told us repeatedly, and in the strongest terms, that, in their opinion, it is only by means of religious instruction the slaves are to be improved, or fitted for freedom; a consummation which they further profess to desire as ardently as we do ourselves. And yet, the grand proof they give of the sincerity of these opinions and these professions, and which proof they render peculiarly prominent by placing it in the very front of their

present laboured defence, is an enactment which, instead of abolishing Sunday marketing and Sunday labour, and allotting other time in lieu of Sunday for these purposes, so as to afford to the slaves their only opportunity of religious instruction, confers for the first time a legal sanction on the gross and systematic violation of the Sabbath, by recognising it as *the* day, the exclusive day of traffic for the slaves, and thus imposing upon them, as an inevitable effect of the law, the necessity of undergoing on that day much severe and exhausting toil.* We put it to the understanding of every impartial man, nay, we put it to the consciences of the *forty-one* subscribers to the paper before us, whether this be a fair, open, ingenuous, and honest course; and whether, therefore, both the enactment of the Jamaica legislature on the subject, and their own attempted vindication of it, do not wear an air which in the case of less honourable men would be deemed somewhat akin to imposture? We dwell on this point the more intently and explicitly, not only because these gentlemen have made this point a prominent part of their case, but because they have uniformly chosen to represent the religious instruction of their slaves as an indispensable preliminary to improvement and ultimate emancipation. The legislation however, of Jamaica, of which they boast, and for which they claim credit with the public, is manifestly so far from tending to promote religious instruction, that it seems to have been skilfully adapted to retard, if not wholly to frustrate, that object.

These *forty-one* gentlemen charge the Anti-Slavery Society with having most grossly misrepresented the general condition of their slaves. It is obviously impossible for us to reply to so vague and indefinite a charge; and on that very account, we doubt not, they have found it convenient to avoid all specification. We, on the contrary, in dealing with their statements, wish to avoid mere generalities, and to grapple with their assertions on the ground of fact and evidence. Such is our course in the present instance. We have proved by the best of all testimony, namely, by their own, that their defence is invalid; and that, notwithstanding their bold affirmations to the

* The *forty-one* gentlemen who have affixed their names to this paper, will probably allege that we deal unfairly with the legislature of Jamaica, in not admitting that it has passed an act, which relieves slaves from arrest for their master's debts, not only on Sunday but also on Saturday, and this with the *professed* object of facilitating their attendance on a Saturday market. But of what use is this pretended indulgence to the slave, while the same legislature who passed this clause (the only purpose of which seems to be to furnish an argument against the abolitionists,) has not chosen to appoint the market to be held on Saturday, or to give Saturday to the slave on which to go to that market. To the slave, therefore, it is obviously of no use.

Again, what benefit does it confer on the slave to pass a law that he shall not be required to perform plantation work on the Sunday, when not only, as we have shewn, the state of the law respecting the Sunday market compels him to toil and fatigue and secularity on that day, but when the refusal to allot time to him in lieu of Sunday for cultivating his provision grounds, (which grounds furnish to him and his family their means of subsistence) drives him to the alternative that he must either labour on that day, or starve?

contrary, Jamaica has not complied with the suggestions of the Government on this most vital point of religious instruction and the observance of the Sabbath. By the very evidence, therefore, which they themselves have adduced, and which stands foremost in their defence, they “have demonstrated incontrovertibly” the truth of our position, “that the holders of slaves have proved themselves unfit and unwilling to frame laws for the benefit of their bondsmen;” and “that it is only by the direct intervention of Parliament that any effectual remedy can be applied” to the admitted evils of Colonial slavery; being the very point, by their own statement, at issue between us.

Now if we have established in this single instance, avowedly one of the primest importance and of peculiar solemnity, that this “Abstract,” deliberately framed as it has been, and sanctioned by so many high names, is nevertheless a deceptive document, calculated to mislead the public, and to convey false views of West Indian improvement, we might well be spared from proceeding farther with our inquiry, and might be justified in at once calling on the public to refuse any longer to listen to representations so wholly undeserving of regard.—These *forty-one* gentlemen lay claim to public attention on the ground that their possession of West India property affords them the means of *correctly ascertaining* the truth. If we were to concede to them this claim, the concession would neither disprove facts that are incontrovertible, nor convert truth into falsehood, though it might add to the discredit of those whose authority, grounded on the claim of superior knowledge, should be exerted to that unhallowed end.

But we must not omit to remind the public that the very misstatements which we have now held up to merited reprehension, have been already, over and over again, exposed in our pages, in terms similar to those which we have now employed. And yet the very same misstatements have continued to be repeated, by nearly the same parties, without a single attempt to disprove those direct charges of deliberate misstatement we had preferred against them; those charges, too, being supported by evidence which they themselves (the West Indians) had supplied. We might refer, indeed, in order to confirm this heavy imputation, to the three volumes of the Anti-Slavery Reporter already published; but we will only point out at present, to those who wish (in addition to the statements given in our very last number) to satisfy themselves of the fact, the Anti-Slavery Reporters, No. 37, and No. 60. No. 60 especially, contains an unanswerd and unanswerable exposure of an attempt, under the same title of an “Abstract,” in many respects similar to the present, and from which, indeed, the present has evidently, in great part, been borrowed. And this circumstance, coupled with the uniform and determined policy adopted by these parties, cautiously to avoid all notice of the *specific* proofs we adduce of their deliberate misrepresentations, furnishes, of itself, no light presumption of the correctness of our statements. These gentlemen, naturally enough, prefer, in such a case, general and vague abuse to any thing like distinct refutation.

With respect to the points of *baptism* and *marriage*, comprised under the general head of religion, it will be sufficient to observe, that

baptism can be considered of little value if disjoined from the religious instruction which is, to a great degree, unattainable under the system which prevails in Jamaica, in regard to the Sabbath;—and that the law of this Island, relative to marriage, instead of promoting, serves rather to obstruct and discourage that institution, though it be the necessary foundation of all domestic and social improvement. (See *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. iii. No. 60, p. 193—195.)

The above statement with respect to Jamaica may be considered as applicable, in one most material respect, to all the Colonies, whether Crown or Chartered. In none of them, even where Sunday markets have been abolished, as in the Crown colonies and in Grenada and Tobago, has a day been given in lieu of Sunday. But even the entire abolition of the Sunday market, and the appointment of another day for holding markets, will be of no value to the slave unless the day so appointed shall be made *his* by law, and unless the slave be also protected, by law, on that day, from arrest for the debts of his master. A slave going to market on any day but Sunday may now be seized and sold for his master's debts. How, then, can he go to market on any day but Sunday? Jamaica, indeed, has exempted him from arrest on the Saturday, but has dexterously contrived to nullify that provision by refusing to give him the Saturday for the purposes of marketing and labour.

In the case of the mere limitation of the Sunday markets to nine o'clock as in Barbadoes, or to ten as in St. Vincent, or to eleven as in most of the other chartered colonies, the case is equally disadvantageous to the slave as we have shewn it to be in Jamaica. They are in fact only different modes, under the hypocritical shew of a compliance, of depriving the slave population of the benefit intended for them by the Government and legislature of this country, in requiring that Sunday markets and Sunday labour should cease.

The remarks respecting baptism and marriage are also with slight variations equally applicable to the other chartered Colonies as to Jamaica; the regulations respecting marriage being, in general, calculated to discourage rather than to promote that institution.

2. The next topic on which these gentlemen choose to insist as establishing their claim to humanity, and their fitness to legislate for their bondsmen, bears this title:

“ Food, clothing, lodging, general treatment.”

Now the highest scale they give us of their estimate of the sufficiency of the essential articles of food and clothing, on which so much of human comfort necessarily depends, is contained under the head of Demerara, and is as follows—

“ Weekly Allowance of Food and of Clothing, to be given to Slaves in the United Colony of Demerara and Essequibo.

“ Adult working male or female, to have of salt fish, herrings, shads, mackerel, or other salt provisions, 2lbs. : if fresh, double the quantity, with half a pint of salt : one and a half bunch of plantains, weighing not less than 45lbs., or of other farinaceous food ; 9 pints corn or beans ; 8 pints pease, or wheat or rye flour, or Indian corn meal ; or 9 pints oatmeal ; or 7 pints rice ; or 8 pints Cassava flour ; or 8lbs biscuit ; or 20lbs. yams or potatoes ; or 16lbs. eddoes or taniós, and not

less. Invalids, and boys and girls from 10 to 15 years of age to have two-thirds, and boys and girls from 5 to 10 years of age, to have one-half of the above quantities of salt provisions, and of plantains, or other farinaceous food. Children from 1 to 5 years of age, to have one-third of the above quantity of salt provisions, and one-third of the quantity of plantains, or other farinaceous food.

“*Yearly Allowance of Clothing* :—

“Working males : 1 hat, 1 cloth jacket, 1 check shirt, 1 pair Osnaburg trowsers, 2 Salampore caps, 1 razor or knife, 1 blanket every 2 years. Working females : 1 hat, 1 gown or wrapper, 1 check shift, 1 Osnaburg petticoat, 1 pair of scissors, 1 blanket every 2 years. To invalids and children in proportion.”

The allowances of food for the slaves in the Leeward Islands including Antigua, St. Christopher’s, Nevis, Montserrat and Tortola are on nearly the same scale, except that the salt fish is reduced to $1\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. a week and the fresh in proportion, and that a permission is given to the owner to diminish, with the exception of the fish, even these scanty allowances by a fifth part, in time of crop. The clothing consists of a single suit annually. The allowances of Tobago do not differ very materially from these.

No specific allowances are by law assigned to the slaves generally in any of the other Colonies excepting the Bahamas. But there, instead of eight pints of flour a week as in Demerara, &c. the legal allowance is twenty-one pints for each slave, and instead of seven pints of rice, fourteen, and instead of one suit, two suits of clothing yearly.

In Jamaica, though no specific allowances of food are prescribed by law for the field or working slaves, that is, for the slaves generally, yet the law of that island, as these *forty-one* gentlemen admit, fixes, as *sufficient*, the rate of allowance, for slaves confined in gaols or workhouses, at twenty-one pints of flour and seven herrings weekly.

It cannot be supposed to be the intention of the legislature of Jamaica to pamper their criminal slaves, or their apprehended runaways, by giving them a superabundance of food. On the contrary, the utmost that justice and humanity could require would be that the food, afforded to these offenders against the laws, should be *sufficient*. But when we compare their twenty-one pints of flour a week with the eight pints allowed in Demerara and the Leeward Islands, to hard working field slaves, toiling under an exhausting sun from day dawn to dusk, and often much longer; what must we think of the cruel parsimony which can have dictated such a law? We marvel what any one of the *forty-one* subscribers to this address would say to his being kept for a single day on such fare as this—a pint and one-seventh, or about a pound, of raw undressed flour, and three ounces of salt fish a day? The utmost such a pittance could do for him would be to keep soul and body together for a brief space. In truth it is an absolutely starving allowance, and of itself sufficiently explains the frightful waste of life in our slave Colonies. Still we think that each of these advocates of the sufficiency and humanity of this provision, if he persists in his plea, is bound fairly to put the matter for once to the test of a week’s experiment in his own case, and to favour the public with the result. And if not, he is at least bound to refute

the authentic facts which Mr. Stephen, in the second volume of his *Delineation of Slavery*, has adduced to prove the miserable and destructive insufficiency of such an allowance as that which is here held forth as ample. (See his eighth chapter, p. 243 to 341.) "The shocking and opprobrious result" of the elaborate comparison which Mr. Stephen has there instituted between the allowances to the field slaves in the West Indies; and those to the inmates of our gaols and penitentiaries, both when idle and when put to hard labour, in England; is thus stated by that able and accurate writer:—

"The English vagabond or felon, when imprisoned for his crime has a subsistence which, on the lowest general estimate that can be formed, is, at least, two-fold superior in nutritious value to that of the poor West Indian negro, whose freedom has been forfeited by no crime of his own, but solely by the deep, publicly acknowledged, legislatively recorded crime of this enlightened Christian land, perpetrated against himself or his African progenitors. The one is thus fed while in idleness. When forced to labour his subsistence is still greater. The other (the slave), though his forced and permanent labours are twice as great, has, at best, not half the food. Yet the former's allowances are limited by the necessity of the case, the necessity of saving him from the wasting of the body, from debility, sickness and death. What, then, must be the consequences of giving less than half the subsistence to the ultra-laborious slave? What they actually are, my readers have sufficiently seen. They cannot be better summed up than in the emphatic words of Dr. Collins,* in his *Practical Rules, &c.* p. 87, 88, 'With so scanty a pittance, he says, it is, indeed, possible for the soul and body to be held together for a considerable time with no other resource.' 'They (the Negroes) may crawl about with feeble emaciated frames,' but 'their attempts to wield the hoe prove abortive; they shrink from their toil, and being urged to perseverance by stripes, you are soon obliged to receive them in the hospital, whence, unless your plan be speedily corrected, they depart but to 'the grave:' and he goes on to 'aver it boldly,' on the 'ground of his own experience, that numbers of Negroes have perished annually by diseases produced by inanition.'" (Stephen's *Delineation*, vol. ii. p. 318.)

We need say no more to prove that West Indian legislation, respecting the subsistence of the slaves, does not go very far to es-

* Dr. Collins was an eminent medical practitioner in St. Vincent's, where he became possessed of many slaves. He was one of the most able and zealous apologists of the West India system. He published a work entitled "Practical Rules for the Management and Medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies," which was so highly valued by some West Indians, that Mr. G. Hibbert, the agent of Jamaica, caused an extensive edition of it to be printed and circulated. It was not till afterwards that the melancholy impression of the condition of the negro slave, which this faithful though indirect exhibition of its evils was calculated to produce, became fully known to the public. Mr. Stephen has drawn from it a most remarkable confirmation of every part of the horrid case which his own masterly *Delineation of Colonial Slavery* has laid bare to the eye of the national conscience.

establish the planters' claim to humanity, or their "fitness to frame laws for benefit of their bondsmen."

As for the legal provision of *clothing*, it is almost too ludicrous to be seriously mentioned, were it not for the melancholy consequences which it involves. One suit of clothing in the year, to men and women! and of such clothing! made of the vilest and most flimsy materials! What must be the state of this annual suit at the close of the year, if it has indeed been worn and washed during that time? Will it be pretended that such an allowance can provide for comfort or even for decency? It would be utterly inadequate even to cover the nakedness of these human cattle, if they have no other resource, which many of them have not. The whole value of it probably does not exceed that of the cloth of one of the pampered horses of any one of the *forty-one* subscribers to this address.

As for the articles of *lodging* and *general treatment*, the terms in which these are spoken of in the Colonial Acts are too vague to serve any purpose but that of imposing, by a mere shew of legislation, utterly worthless in itself, on the ignorance of the good people of this country. As for general treatment, that is obviously to be measured, not by any vague terms they may employ on the subject, but by the quantity of food and clothing secured to the slaves, the labour exacted from them, the punishments arbitrarily inflicted, the protection given by law, the instruction imparted to them, and a variety of other particulars which have already appeared, or will hereafter appear under their separate heads, and which, united, go to form the aggregate of what may be called general treatment.*

3. Our *forty-one* West India advocates produce, in the next place, the legal regulations respecting *labour*, as proving "the humanity" of the planters, and "their fitness to make laws for their bondsmen." It might indeed be assumed *à priori*, that as the benefit of the slave's labour was to belong to the planter exclusively, and as the slave had no voice in regulating its amount, the tendency of enactments, framed and enforced by the interested party, would be to an excess of exaction. And that such has been the actual result, is shewn by this very "Abstract," which professes to establish a contrary conclusion.

Taking the new law of Jamaica as a sample of the whole, both because it is a fair sample, and because its slave population is nearly equal to that of all the other colonies, what, on the shewing of these *forty-one* gentlemen, is the state of the case? The slaves then of Jamaica, as well as of most of the colonies, are compellable by law, to labour *in the field* from five in the morning till seven at night, being fourteen hours a day, with intervals of two hours and a half, which still leave, even supposing them to be effective intervals, eleven hours and a half of field-labour in each day, under the blaze of a tropical sun, which the planter may exact, and the slave is bound to yield, on pain of the lash. Eleven hours and a half of compulsory labour *in the field* during each day, the whole year round! Was any thing like this

* The reader has only to turn to our last number, p. 283 and 284, for a striking illustration, in the case of Jamaica itself, of the hunger, and the nakedness, and the maltreatment incident to Slavery.

exaction ever known, even in temperate climates? But then this is only the labour they may be actually compelled to perform *in the field*. The additional night labour of crop-time, to which there is no limit, is expressly excluded from the eleven hours and a half which may be consumed in field work. The night work of crop-time is over and above this, and may be estimated at five hours more, namely, from seven in the evening till midnight for half the gang, and from midnight to five in the morning for the other half, alternately. And this period of crop lasts for from four to six months of the year, according to circumstances. During those four, five, or six months, therefore, the slaves may be legally required to be actually employed in plantation labour, for sixteen hours and a half out of the twenty-four. Thus much, we repeat it, the law expressly authorizes the master or his delegate to exact from them, for the sole benefit of the master. But in addition to this enormous continuity of labour, it is obvious that there are various indispensable demands on the time of the slaves, which are of constant and daily recurrence, and which must greatly abridge their broken intervals of repose. They must be ready for the field in the morning, in order to be there at five, and must travel thither in the morning and afternoon, and must return thence at noon and at night. They must prepare and cook their raw and undressed food, collect fuel for that purpose, obtain water, often from a distance, take care of their children, wash their clothes, and attend to other domestic objects which we need not enumerate; and for all which it would be unreasonable to assign less than an hour and a half or two hours in the day; thus swelling their time of actual occupation, during crop-time, to eighteen hours or eighteen hours and a half in the twenty-four, leaving only five or six for meals and for repose.

During the six or eight months which may remain, exclusive of crop-time, their case is doubtless mitigated. Still they are liable, even then, to thirteen or fourteen hours of unceasing employment, independently of the time for meals and for repose. Even this, however, is too luxurious a state of ease and indulgence to be suffered to subsist without encroachment. Accordingly it is considered, out of crop, to be, in most cases, a regular part of the duty of the field-slaves, after the labour of the field is over, (that is, after seven o'clock at night,) to employ themselves in collecting fodder for the horses and cattle on the plantation, and in bringing it to an appointed place, to be inspected and duly deposited, before they are finally dismissed to their rest for the night.

This most onerous task of grass collecting, in addition to all the other labours of the day, is seldom alluded to by West Indians. They seem anxious to hide every trace of it from the knowledge of the public, and at this we cannot wonder, for it is a most grievous and wanton aggravation of the miseries of their bondsmen. The following is the manner in which Dr. Collins speaks of it:—"The picking of grass in situations where it is most abundant, is a labour more felt and regretted by the negroes than others much more severe." Again, he says, "The neglect of grass-picking is another frequent cause of punishment. On some estates it draws more stripes upon the negroes

than all their other offences put together, as the lash seldom lies idle while the grass-roll is calling over." "As it (this grass-picking) is to be performed when the negroes are retired from the field, and no longer under the eye of the overseer or driver, it is apt to be neglected. Besides it encroaches much on the time allotted to their own use; and even after they have, with much trouble, picked their bundles, they are frequently stolen from them by other negroes, and their excuses, however just, are seldom admitted to extenuate their fault." Dr. Collins strongly recommends some other mode of meeting this want, if it were only that the negroes might escape the whip, "which," he adds, "is too intemperately employed on this as on other occasions. The misfortune is, the whip is always at hand, and therefore supplies the readiest means of punishing; for the overseer, having such a summary mode of balancing offences, never thinks of any other." p. 192—205.

The common practice with respect to grass-collecting is, that all the field slaves shall be compelled, after quitting the field at night, (and in many cases at noon also,) to collect a bundle of grass, and to proceed with it to the stable or cattle-pen, and when all are there assembled, to have their names called over and their bundles examined, in order to see that they are sufficiently large. If not, or if they fail to attend this roll-call, they are punished. The bundles are then thrown into a heap, and the slaves are dismissed. Nor is it only the demand on the time and labour of the slaves, after the fatiguing toil of a tropical day, which is to be lamented in this inhuman practice, but their exposure to the chilling effect, on their heated bodies, of the night air, and often of the rain, which, when it falls, soaks their bundles, and streams down from the head, on which these are carried, over their whole bodies, generating colds, fevers, and consumptions.

Nor is this a practice which belongs only to ancient times, or to the days of Dr. Collins which are comparatively modern, but which exists, at the present hour, even in the Crown Colonies. And it will be found, by the Protectors' returns, which have been laid before Parliament, that in Trinidad, Demerara, Berbice, Mauritius, &c. there is no part of the fatiguing exactions required from the slaves which brings down upon them now, as it did in Dr. Collins's time, more frequent floggings than this. The same is the case in most of the other colonies; the laws of some of them expressly giving the master a right to exact this bundle of grass after the labour of the field is closed.* This practice, however, is neither so onerous nor so universal in Jamaica as in most of the other colonies. It nevertheless prevails there to a considerable extent. And wherever it does prevail, it is unquestionably a practice of the most oppressive and injurious description, as it respects both the comfort and the health of the slaves.

* The Act of Grenada expressly provides, that the slaves are not to be compelled to work beyond the period of field-labour, except "in manufacturing such produce as necessarily requires night or extra labour," or "in the carrying a bundle of grass or stockmeat from the field to the stable or other place, where the same is consumed."—They must collect this bundle before they can carry it.

Such is the general system of labour which, our *forty-one* advocates of slavery affirm, proves the “humanity” of the planters, and “their fitness” to make laws for the benefit of their bondsmen!

4. The next point we shall advert to is that of arbitrary “*punishment.*” Now, the *forty-one* gentlemen who have undertaken to vindicate the humanity of the colonial legislatures, and among them of that of Jamaica, tell us that “the *existing laws,*” of which they profess to give an “abstract,” “are either entirely new, or have been re-enacted, with great improvements, *within the last eight years.*” They here make no exception. Now, we beg to ask of them to point out, under which of these classes they mean to place the clause of the Act numbered by them 36, of which they give the following abstract, viz:—“No slave shall receive more than ten lashes, except in presence of owner or overseer; nor, in such presence, more than thirty-nine in one day, nor until recovered from former punishment; under penalty of £20.” This is neither a new nor an improved enactment. It stands forth in the latest Slave Code of Jamaica, with precisely the same grim and ferocious aspect which it exhibited in the consolidated Slave Act of 1788, and in every intermediate renewal of it! But let us give the very words of the clause as it now stands: they ought never to be lost sight of by the British public. They bear now, it seems, the date of 1831. “AND IN ORDER TO RESTRAIN ARBITRARY PUNISHMENT, be it further enacted, that no slave, on any plantation or settlement, or in any of the workhouses or gaols of this Island, shall receive any more than TEN LASHES at one time and for one offence, unless the owner, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or overseer, of such plantation or settlement, having such slave in his care, or keeper of such workhouse, or keeper of such gaol shall be present; and that no such owner, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or overseer, workhouse-keeper, or gaol-keeper, shall, on any account, punish a slave with more than THIRTY-NINE lashes, at one time, or for one offence, nor inflict, nor suffer to be inflicted, such last mentioned punishment, nor any other number of lashes on the same day, nor until the delinquent has recovered from the effect of any former punishment, under a penalty of not less than ten pounds, nor more than twenty pounds for every offence.”

Such then is one of the laws which these *forty-one* gentlemen, the acknowledged representatives of the West India body, ostentatiously hold forth to the public, as an evidence of colonial humanity, and as a refutation of what they term the gross misrepresentations of the Anti-Slavery Society, when it affirms that “the holders of slaves have proved themselves unfit and unwilling to frame laws for the *benefit* of their bondsmen,” and that “the experience of the last eight years has demonstrated incontrovertibly that it is only by the direct intervention of parliament that any effectual remedy can be applied.” And yet, what farther evidence can be wanting to establish these positions than the very existence of such a law, retained, cherished, unmodified, vaunted, not only by its framers, but by their distinguished defenders. Would the oaths these gentlemen tender, in proof of the humanity of colonial bondage, efface this revolting enactment, an

enactment not dragged from the records of some barbarous age, and long since become obsolete, but deliberately renewed from time to time, during a long series of years, after reiterated debate and discussion, in contempt of the strongest recommendations of the crown, the denunciations of Parliament, and the indignation of the whole British nation; nay more, triumphantly re-enacted by the assembly, as a part of the Jamaica Slave Code of 1831, and then exhibited, by *forty-one* West Indian planters and merchants of the first eminence, as a decisive proof of the humanity of slave-holders, and their fitness to legislate for their bondsmen.

But let us contemplate more nearly and particularly the whole enormity of this clause. We are continually reproached with dwelling on individual instances of cruelty, which, as they may occur in the best regulated community, prove nothing as to the general state of law and manners which may prevail in it. But here we have whole communities, acting by their representatives freely chosen, strenuously contending for the continuance of this monstrous and revolting power of lacerating, at their pleasure, the prostrate bodies of their dependants, and pertinaciously clinging to it, as if it was their life. They seem to hug the cart-whip to their bosoms as their glory, their grand badge of distinction. And not only are those, it would seem, ready to fight for it, who actually wield it, who exult in its explosions, and whose lust of power is gratified by directing and witnessing its application; but by *forty-one* chosen advocates of the West India body, residing among ourselves, mixing in our assemblies, joining our convivial parties, occupying seats in our imperial senate, and claiming the name and the character of English gentlemen.

And then, over whom, and by whom, is this power, thus fondly cherished and thus firmly grasped, thus reasserted in the year 1831 by the Assembly of Jamaica, and thus defended by no less than *forty-one* select and distinguished members of the West India body;—over whom and by whom, we ask, is this power to be exercised? It may be exercised over every slave of the 325,000 who inhabit the Island of Jamaica. Every man, woman, or child, by this law, is subjected to it. Each and all of them may, by this law, be laid prostrate on the earth, and have their bared and quivering limbs shamefully exposed to the common gaze, and torn and mangled with thirty-nine lashes of the torturing cart-whip. And to all this they are liable, without even the form of a trial or the order of a magistrate; at the mere caprice or bidding of another; for no defined or specified offence; but merely because the individual, armed with this tremendous power, chooses to exercise it.—And then who are those to whom the law delegates this frightful exercise of arbitrary power over the persons of their fellows? They are, to the extent of TEN lashes, every driver or *quasi* driver, and to the extent of THIRTY-NINE, every one, whether male or female, who is the owner of a slave, or to whom such owner may think proper, at his sole discretion, to transfer or delegate his legal rights of proprietorship. In short, every *owner, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or overseer*, nay every *keeper of either gaol or work-house*, is armed, by this law, with the power of thus lacerating the body of every slave under his charge; at his discretion; without

being required, by this or any other law, to assign a reason for so doing; nay, being actually protected by law, in so doing, from all responsibility whatever, provided he does not kill or maim his victim.

And yet, as if in mockery of every feeling of humanity and justice, and as if to mark the pernicious effect of participating in the administration, or even in the gains, of slavery, the legislators of Jamaica, and their *forty-one* British advocates, continue to maintain that the very object for which this clause has been framed, is, "IN ORDER TO RESTRAIN ARBITRARY PUNISHMENT!"

Now let us never forget, when considering the degree in which the boasted limit of thirty-nine lashes may be considered to operate as an effectual *restraint* on cruelty, first, the candid declaration of the Assembly of Barbadoes in 1826, (when apologizing for its refusal to limit the number of lashes which an owner might arbitrarily inflict,) namely, that even "a given number of stripes, in the hands of a relentless executioner, may, under the sanction of the law, be so inflicted as to amount to an act of cruelty;" and second, the candid and humane statement of Mr. Barrett, himself a large owner of slaves in Jamaica, who, in his place in the Assembly, asserted that the cart-whip was a base, cruel, debasing, detestable instrument of torture, thirty-nine lashes of which might be made more grievous than five hundred of the cat, though the latter was only inflicted after solemn trial, and the former, "at the pleasure of an individual, at his sole command, as caprice, or passion," (and he might have added or drunkenness, or brutal lust) "dictated."

On this head we have confined ourselves hitherto chiefly to Jamaica. We will now briefly advert to the other chartered colonies. In none of them has the flogging of females been abolished by law, and in practice it is still continued, and in no one more shamelessly and cruelly than in Jamaica itself, of which recent Parliamentary papers furnish abundant proof. (See Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. iii. No. 71, p. 481, and vol. iv. No. 76, &c.) In the crown colonies, indeed, this abomination has been prohibited, not by the planters, but, in spite of their clamorous opposition, by the authoritative mandate of the supreme government.

Barbadoes stoutly maintained, that "to forbid, by legislative enactment, the flogging of female slaves, would be productive of the most injurious consequences." There are, however, *forty-one* eminent planters who vauntingly tell us, that, by the humane law of that island, women when flogged, are to be flogged *decently*, and *with the military cat*, and that "*pregnant women*" are no longer to be flogged, but merely confined. Could the most inveterate enemy of the Colonists have imagined, beforehand, that in the year 1827, such a law could have been unblushingly framed, by a body even of Barbadian legislators; and that in 1831, the humanity of it should be vindicated by *forty-one* English gentlemen? So seems to have thought the late Mr. Huskisson. In his despatch of the 18th October, 1827, he observes, that the military cat was an instrument "intended for the correction of men in the maturity of life, guilty of serious offences. It would be most formidable, if the young, the aged, and the infirm, were to be the sufferers. In the case of females," he added, "I

should hope that *no man could seriously think of resorting to it*. The case supposed of a woman being flogged in an *indecent* manner, or of a *pregnant woman* being flogged at all, would seem to require some much more severe punishment than a fine of £10 currency." How must these Barbadian legislators, who had been flogging naked women all their days with the *cart-whip*, have laughed to scorn the squeamishness of Mr. Huskisson, and his horror of the *army cat*! So far were *they* from sympathizing with him, that they solemnly and officially declare, that to discontinue the flogging of women, would be inconsistent with "the safety of the inhabitants, the interests of property, and the welfare of the slaves themselves." And yet these men are held out to us, by the distinguished *forty-one*, as men of humanity, "*fit to make laws for the benefit of their bondsmen!*"

St. Vincent, the Bahamas, and several other colonies, in respect to severity of punishment, stand precisely on the same footing as Jamaica. In some of them we have a similar affectation of *decency*, in the flogging of women, as is shewn in Barbadoes. In Grenada, St. Christopher's, and Tobago, the limitation of stripes has been reduced from thirty-nine to twenty-five; and Dominica has substituted the *cat* for the *cart-whip*. As for the laws *professed* to be passed in a few of the chartered colonies, for abolishing the driving-whip, they are nothing more than a gross attempt to blind the eyes of the British public. The remarks of Earl Bathurst, on that of St. Vincent, are applicable, with trivial variations, to all of them. "The law," he says, "is so constructed, that a free-negro may use it (the driving-whip) with impunity, and even a slave may be employed to use it, if not carried as an emblem of authority, but as a means of impelling other slaves to labour. The prohibition, too, extends only to *one* description of whip, namely, that which is usually called the cart-whip. And it is only on the plantation it is prohibited at all. In other places it may be exhibited even by a slave with impunity." (Papers by Command for 1827, p. 112.) Is it not an act of deliberate dishonesty to pass such a law as this, or to exhibit it when passed, as a law for abolishing the driving-whip?

We mean to reserve, for another occasion, some remarks we shall have to make on the gross violations of the laws humanely passed, by His Majesty's government, to regulate and restrain arbitrary punishments, which have taken place in the Crown Colonies, notwithstanding the appointment of Protectors. In the mean time, we have said enough on the subject, as it respects the chartered colonies, to invalidate the testimony of our *forty-one* West India proprietors, in favour of the humanity of the planters, and of their "fitness to make laws for the benefit of their bondsmen."

5. The next point in order, is "*the separation of families.*" But although our *forty-one* subscribers mention the subject, by way of swelling, we presume, the number of alleged ameliorations, yet they do not pretend to affirm that any thing effectual has been done to cure this evil. All they venture to say upon it is, that "where a levy shall be made of a family or families, each family shall be sold together and in one lot." This regulation, however, is most obviously nuga-

tory, so long as *levies* are permitted without regard to family ties, and more especially, so long as there is no law to prohibit the separation of families by private sale.

Mr. Burge, the agent of Jamaica, had indeed the extraordinary hardihood, on the 15th of April last, to affirm in his place in the House of Commons, that separations by private sale were not permitted in Jamaica. But the falsehood of this assertion was completely established by Lord Howick, who exhibited an intimate acquaintance with this and other parts of the Colonial question, which, considering the short time he had been in office, excited our surprise and admiration. His Lordship challenged Mr. Burge to "point out any clause of any law, in the whole statute book of Jamaica, in which the practice in question was denounced and proscribed." Mr. Burge, unable to meet this challenge, boldly resorted to the subterfuge of saying that, "the Courts of law would set aside the sale;" but this he said without being able to produce a single instance in proof of his allegation, although the case of separation by private sales is one of constant occurrence in Jamaica. Mr. Burge too, be it remembered, was actually the Attorney General of Jamaica, and a member of its legislature, in December 1826, when it was proposed in the Assembly, by Mr. Batty, "That it shall not be lawful in cases of sale" (making no distinction between voluntary sales by the master and sales under legal process) "to separate married people from each other, or from their issue if under ten years of age, provided the parties belong to the same owner; and it shall not be lawful for any collecting constable, the provost marshal, or any of his deputies, to levy upon, or sell them separately." This clause, however, was rejected; and the only provision made on the subject was this, that on levies, in execution, if mothers and children under ten years of age are seized together they shall be sold together. Some of the speeches on this occasion throw much light on the state of feeling among the legislators of Jamaica. Mr. Brown said, it would be very hard upon a man who owed a small sum of £50 to have a whole family sold by the marshal. (The hardship to the slave, was made no account of.) In reply to Mr. Batty, Mr. Hilton observed (and his opinion prevailed in the assembly) "that it would be violating the rights of property to dictate to the master how he should dispose of it: he had a *right* to sell one or more of his slaves, according to his wants and inclinations, in the same way as he had to dispose of any other property. The proposed clause, therefore, he considered as an invasion of property." (Royal Gazette of Jamaica, December 1826.)

Now Mr. Burge, we should think, must have been aware of these occurrences, when, trusting to the ignorance prevailing in the House of Commons as to the details of Colonial questions, he ventured to contradict Lord Howick respecting the liability of families to be separated by private sale, or to affirm that the Courts of law in Jamaica would annul such sale. It is difficult to conceive how *he*, at least, could have uttered either the denial, or the affirmation, in ignorance of its truth or its falsehood.

But can it then be true that the different legislatures of the British

Colonies should, for eight long years, have contumaciously refused to adopt any effectual measures for rectifying this crying evil of forcibly separating husband and wife, parent and child by sale, for the convenience, or at the caprice, of an owner; and that *forty-one* English gentlemen, holding respectable stations in society, and some of them members of the British Parliament, should be found to come forward before the public to praise the humanity of such legislators, and to guarantee their "fitness to make laws for the benefit of their bondsmen?" Such is the fact, though it is almost too bad for belief.

6. Our *forty-one* gentlemen have taken the trouble of raising a head for "*Manumission*;" but this could not have been with any hope to establish the claim of the legislators of the West Indies, to be regarded as willing to comply with the suggestions of His Majesty's government on this point; since all they have said and done, respecting it, has only served to prove their determination wholly to refuse to the slave the right of self-redemption *invito domino*. On this subject, indeed, Mr. Burge astonished the House of Commons by boldly and broadly asserting that slaves were a freehold property, which it was *unjust* to compel a master to dispose of against his will. "This observation," said Lord Howick in his able reply, "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 he mean to say 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 constructing a rail-road or a turnpike-road, we compel any man to sell property which he has neither acquired nor held by guilt, or with a shadow of injustice, and this too on 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 when the subject of 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 hon. and learned gentleman, and though it excited a great sensation in the House, I wonder it was not infinitely greater."—It was impossible for any liberal mind to listen to the manly and indignant expostulation of the noble lord without a thrill of delight.

7. The next head of vindication and apology refers to the "*Evidence*" of slaves. Of the law on this general subject, as it exists in our chartered Colonies, we know not that we could give a more accurate view than will be found in our third volume, No. 65, p. 370, viz. "Of the chartered Colonies, Grenada and Tobago have admitted the evidence of slaves without restriction. In the others the restrictions imposed on that admission are of such a nature as to render their *apparent* concessions perfectly futile and valueless." Our *forty-one* gentlemen, however, seem disposed to falsify this statement. Not content with affirming the fact, which we gladly admit, of the unrestricted admission of slave evidence in Grenada and Tobago, they assert, for

example, that, by the law of St. Vincent, "Slave evidence, except against owners, is admissible, as in the case of free persons." Now that our readers may judge of the misrepresentation which is involved in that assertion, we will here transcribe Lord Bathurst's comment upon this law in his despatch of April 3, 1827, "The law (*viz.* the law of slave evidence) excludes," says his Lordship, "the evidence of unbaptized slaves, and of slaves baptized by any ministers dissenting from the established Church.—It also excludes all slaves not sufficiently known to some clergyman" (a dissenting teacher will not do) "to obtain from him a certificate of their good character and repute, and of their being sufficiently instructed in the principles of religion to understand the nature of an oath.—What is still more objectionable is the necessity of obtaining a certificate to the same effect from the proprietor or his attorney, which will prevent the slave being heard as a witness in any case where the proprietor or attorney has a motive for preventing it.—The slave cannot be admitted as a witness in any civil case, and even in criminal prosecutions, he cannot be heard against his owner, or manager, or his delegates.—The testimony of a single slave, though supported by the clearest circumstantial evidence, or even by the testimony of another witness of free condition, would not, under this act, be sufficient for a conviction.—No public record is established for registering the names of slaves competent to give evidence." (Papers by command, part ii. p. 112.) Now our *forty-one* gentlemen, though they must have been aware that the law had been thus described by His Majesty's Secretary of State, yet, without advertg to any one of the many potent objections he had urged against it, give to the legislature of St. Vincent full credit for compliance with the suggestions of the Government, and describe this evasive and futile enactment in the untrue and deceptive terms we have already quoted.*

* We are here forcibly reminded of a very recent attempt, of the same kind, to mislead parliament on the subject of Colonial Slavery, made by the body of Colonial agents in this country, and of which, on account of its character, it seems desirable to preserve some reminiscence.

A paper of forty-six folio pages was laid on the table of the House of Commons, and by that House ordered to be printed, on the 28th of March, 1831, entitled, "Slave-laws: West Indies," and numbered 301. Notwithstanding its size, it passed through the press with extraordinary celerity, and was in the hands of members on the following morning. This paper was naturally presumed to be some important official document, which government had deemed it their duty to furnish, in the utmost haste, previously to the discussion on Colonial Slavery, which stood for the very day of its appearance, namely, the 29th of March. On looking beyond the first page, however, the attentive reader discovered, to his no small surprise, that this paper, though bearing, on its exterior, some marks of authority, was no *official* document, but a paper prepared by the West India agents, and having been transmitted by one of their number to Lord Goderich, was then moved for in the House of Commons, evidently in the hope that, in this transition through the colonial department, it would somehow or other acquire, in the eyes at least of superficial readers, a character of authority, and, reaching them on the very morning of the approaching debate, might influence the votes of many; while opponents would have no time to examine

Equally ineffective to its purpose is the new legislation, on the subject of slave evidence, of Jamaica, as well as that of the other Colonies, with the exceptions already mentioned. On the law respecting it in the Jamaica Act of 1826 (being the same as in the Act of 1831), Mr. Huskisson, with his characteristic good sense, thus comments: "It appears to contemplate the admission of the evidence of slaves in those cases of crimes *only* in which they are usually the actors or the sufferers,

and expose this new and artful contrivance for giving, to fallacious party statements, an official aspect. A suspicion of this kind appears to have suggested itself to the mind of Lord Goderich; and, to prevent his being implicated in a proceeding so manifestly unfair and disingenuous, he instructed Lord Howick, to give due notice of its real nature to all who might otherwise have been deceived by it. Accordingly, the pseudo-official paper was prefaced by a letter from Lord Howick to the Colonial agents, telling *them*, and through them the House of Commons, that Lord Goderich felt it necessary, "for the prevention of any possible misconception," that he should distinctly apprise them, that Lord Goderich declined to express any opinion respecting the accuracy of the various "Abstracts" which they had thus transmitted;—and that his Lordship could not too distinctly explain, that they were invested with *no official authority*, but must be regarded only as expressing the opinions of the individuals from whom they emanated.

Notwithstanding this prompt and honourable proceeding on the part of Lord Goderich, some effect might have been produced by this paper had Mr. Buxton's motion actually come on, as it was intended, on the 29th of March; but its unexpected postponement to the 15th of April, afforded the requisite time for discovering the disingenuousness of the proceeding, and for exposing the gross misrepresentations which the paper contained.

This elaborate work of these agents commences with an Abstract of the Slave law of St. Vincent's of December, 1825, accompanied by an apparently studied and deliberate misstatement, on the part of the framers, of the sentiments of his Majesty's Secretary of State respecting it.

"Upon this bill," the agents state, that "the Secretary of State for the colonies made the following observations, in a letter to the governor of St. Vincent, dated 3rd of April, 1827: 'His Majesty has observed with satisfaction, the progress made by these enactments in the measures to be taken for the improvement of the state of the slave population. Upon a review of the whole of the law, I am commanded by his Majesty to express his satisfaction with the general disposition of the council and assembly to adopt the recommendation addressed to them on this important subject.'"

Now it cannot be denied that these identical words occur in the Despatch of the Secretary of State of the 3d April 1827, (inserted in the papers presented to Parliament by his Majesty's command in 1827, part ii. pp. 110—114;) one half of them being part of the first sentence at the commencement of that Despatch, and the other half part of a sentence at the close of it;—between which two detached sentences, three folio pages and a half of observations intervene, of a wholly different character, which the framers of the "Abstract" not only do not quote, but do not even allude to in the very slightest degree! Thus, therefore, do they leave, nay, almost force, the reader to infer, that they have fairly exhibited the judgment of the Secretary of State respecting this law, and that that judgment is one of unmingled approbation. Whether this was fairly intended will be best understood by looking at the intermediate observations of the noble Secretary, Earl Bathurst, consisting of a series of severe animadversions on the different clauses of the Act in question. "*His Majesty*," says the

excluding their evidence in other cases," (indeed in all other criminal and in all civil cases*) "a distinction which does not seem to rest on any sound foundation.—There is not any necessary connexion between the baptism of a witness and his credibility.—The rule which requires that two slaves shall consistently depose to the same fact, on being examined apart, before any free person can be convicted on slave testimony, will greatly diminish the value of the general rule: In some cases, as that of rape, such a restriction might secure impunity to offenders of the worst description.—The rejection of the testimony of slaves twelve months after the commission of the crime would be fatal to the ends of justice in many cases; nor is it easy to discover what solid advantage could result from it in any case.—If the owner of a slave is convicted of any crime on the testimony of that slave, the Court has no power of declaring the slave free, though it may exercise that power when it proceeds on other evidence.—Highly important as it is to deprive a slave of every motive for giving false testimony against his owner, that object might be secured without incurring the inconvenience of leaving the slave in the power of an owner convicted of the extreme abuse of his authority.—In rejecting the proposal for a record of the names of all slaves sufficiently instructed to be compe-

noble Secretary of State, "has observed with satisfaction the progress made by these enactments, in the measures to be taken for the improvement of the state of the slave population." Thus far the quotation is correct; but the agents omit entirely the latter half of the same sentence which runs as follows:—*"But it is at the same time my duty to remind you, that there are several measures which, though recommended in the instructions approved by the two Houses of Parliament, are either entirely omitted in the bill, or are imperfectly accomplished; and that, unless the legislature of St. Vincent's take them into their serious consideration, and make some further provision on these subjects, they will not have satisfied the expectations of Parliament and the public."* (Papers by command, 1827. Part ii. p. 110.) Such is the whole of this garbled sentence.—Then follow the severe and lengthened animadversions to which we have alluded, and the substance of which may be found in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, Vol. ii, No. 29, p. 116. At the conclusion of them come the words which the agents have again garbled to make out their case of approbation by the King's Government. The words they have taken are: *"Upon a review of the whole law, I am commanded by his Majesty, to express his satisfaction with the general disposition of the Council and Assembly to adopt the recommendations which have been addressed to them on this important subject."* What follows of the sentence the agents have prudently suppressed; namely, *"But I have it further in command to signify to you, that his Majesty's expectations will not be satisfied until the law has been revised and amended with reference to the observations contained in my present despatch."* (Ibid.) But this is only one of a multitude of apparently studied misrepresentations which this pretended "Abstract" contains;—a charge we are perfectly ready to substantiate, when called upon to do so.

* The only crimes even, in the trial of which their hampered and restricted evidence can be given, are, murder, felony, burglary, robbery, rebellion, treason, rape; mutilating, dismembering, branding, or cruelly treating a slave; seditious meetings, and the harbouring of runaways.

tent witnesses, the legislature appear to have neglected the means of providing a cheap and effectual encouragement to good conduct, and of investing the religious teachers of slaves with a powerful and legitimate influence over them."

With such unanswerable objections to the wisdom and efficiency of this law, the West Indians have little reason to boast of it. But they give also an untrue view of its provisions. They say of it that it admits the evidence of slaves in *all* criminal cases against all persons; whereas it only admits that evidence in *some* cases; and they wholly omit to mention some of the most injurious of the restrictions specified by Mr. Huskisson.—Certainly the Jamaica Assembly furnish no proof, in this act of legislation, which has been the subject of their renewed deliberation for five or six years, of their "fitness to make laws for the benefit of their bondsmen."—What hope, moreover, can exist of a pure and effective administration of justice, where nine-tenths of the community are placed under so many harassing and degrading distinctions, as to their right of giving evidence in Courts of justice? And yet such is the strange perverseness of our Colonial legislators that their laws admit the evidence of a single slave unbaptized and unsworn, to convict a fellow slave even in capital cases, and to doom him to die by the hand of the executioner.

8. The representations of the *forty-one* distinguished individuals who have come forward on this occasion, are, if possible, still more wide of the truth, under the next head of pretended reform, namely, the slave's "*Right of property and Right of action.*" Their statement, in the case of St. Vincent, for example, is as follows: and as it varies little from their corresponding statements respecting Jamaica and the other chartered colonies, we may take it as the basis of our remarks:—

§ 5. "Secures to slaves the possession of personal property,* and guards against its invasion by a fine of £10 (currency), over and above the property taken from them."

To exhibit the whole deceptiveness of this statement, it will be necessary to transcribe the very words of this fifth clause, differing in nothing material from the corresponding clause in the Acts of Jamaica and of other colonies.

"*And whereas by the usage of these Islands slaves have been permitted to acquire, hold, and enjoy personal property, free from the control or interference of their owners; and it is expedient that such laudable custom should be continued and established by law; be it therefore enacted, That if any owner or possessor of any slave, or any other person whatsoever, shall unlawfully take away from any slave, or in any way deprive, or cause him to be deprived, of any species of personal property by him lawfully possessed or acquired; such person shall forfeit and pay the sum of £10, over and above the value of any such property, so taken away as aforesaid; the same to*

* Under the head of Jamaica, the "Abstract" says, that the law "establishes the right of slaves to personal property." The two statements are *substantially* the same.

be recovered by warrant under the hand and seal of the justice of the peace before whom the complaint shall be laid and the facts proved."

That the full measure of the evasion, deliberately practised in this enactment, may be duly appreciated by the reader, it will be proper to place in juxtaposition the 24th clause of the Trinidad Order of March, 1824, which was evidently before the eyes of the legislature of St. Vincent's, as well as before the eyes of the legislatures of the other Colonies, at the time their new Acts were framed.

§ 24. "*And whereas by the usage of Trinidad slaves have hitherto been reputed competent in the law, and have in fact been permitted to acquire, hold, and enjoy property, free from the control or interference of their owners; and it is expedient what the said laudable custom should be recognized and established by law, and that provision should be made for enabling such slaves to invest such their property on good security; be it therefore ordered, that no person in the Island of Trinidad, being in a state of slavery, shall be, or be deemed, or taken to be, by reason or on account of such his condition, incompetent to purchase, acquire, possess, hold, enjoy, alienate, and dispose of property; but every such slave shall, and is hereby declared to be, competent to purchase, acquire, possess, hold, enjoy, alienate, and dispose of lands, or money, cattle, implements or utensils of husbandry, or household furniture or other effects of such or the like nature, of what value or amount soever; and to bring, maintain, prosecute and defend any suit or action, in any court of justice, for or in respect of such property, as fully and amply, to all intents and purposes, as if he were of free condition.*" And by another clause (§ 8.) the Protector is empowered and required in all such cases to act for the slave and on his behalf. (Papers by command, 1824, p. 151.)

The corresponding terms in the two enactments are given in italics: a perusal of the whole will, therefore, at once exhibit, in full view, the evasive tenor of the affected imitation of the Trinidad law on this subject.

For the deceptive preamble to this enactment the legislatures of the chartered colonies stand, in some measure, excused by the example of the Trinidad Code. But that the statement it contains is incorrect, is abundantly proved by the official Report of His Majesty's Commissioner of Legal Inquiry, Mr. Dwaris, himself a considerable proprietor of slaves in Jamaica. That gentleman tells us, that neither in Barbadoes, Grenada, Tobago, St. Vincent, Dominica, Antigua, St. Christopher, Nevis, nor Tortola, the nine islands he visited, can slaves acquire any property *by law*, except for the benefit of their masters; nor can they claim any redress for injuries done them, either by their master, or his delegate, or even by third parties, except through the master.* And when in the last of his Reports, the third, at p. 106,

* See Mr. Dwaris's First Report, No. 587 of 1825, pp. 67, 90, 222, 223. Second Report, No. 276 of 1826, pp. 250, 251, 252. Third Report, No. 36 of 1826—7, pp. 13, 87.

he comes to sum up the whole of the evidence respecting the slave's legal rights of property, he thus expresses himself: "The slaves now labour under prodigious disadvantages. A slave is under a personal disability, and cannot sue in any court of law or equity, not even in respect of injuries done to him by other slaves. A slave cannot prosecute in the criminal courts. A slave cannot enter into a recognizance." "Slave evidence is not admitted against freemen, white or black, even against wrong-doers. In those cases," (namely, against fellow-slaves,) "where slave evidence is admitted, it very often is not upon oath." "If the property of a slave is taken from him, *he* cannot personally seek redress. His *master*, it is said, *may* bring trespass. This, however, is very insufficient; for he also *may not*; and if he does, and none but slaves are present at the infliction of the injury, as is likely to be the case, there is no satisfactory proof of the fact. The owner, suing for his slave, must establish his case by competent evidence, and cannot prove the fact by persons under legal disabilities." Mr. Dwarris then goes on to prove, by other considerations, that from the non-admissibility of slave evidence, "the slave is left defenceless," and concludes the whole thus: "From *all* we saw in *all* the islands, it was the *firm conviction* of His Majesty's Commissioners, and the foundation of every improvement, both as regards the white and black population of these colonies, must be laid in an improved administration of justice, and in the admission of slave evidence."*

It may even be true, that in many, if not most cases, the slaves are allowed to enjoy their *peculium* without direct control or interference; but this by no means affects the question of *law*. And, as Mr. Dwarris himself properly intimates, the question for the legislator is not what *is* done, but what *may be* done, in a case of this description. And that it is always in the power of the master, and may often be in his inclination, to disturb his slave's enjoyment of property, is unquestionable. He may do so every time he chooses to sell his slave, or to permit him (a very frequent occurrence) to be levied upon for debt or for taxes. He does so whenever he drives him, by severity, to run away, or whenever, by engrossing his time, he deprives him of the power of attending to his stock or to his grounds. He *may*, and often does, take from him his grounds, and he *may*, and often does, kill his stock, without the possibility of redress. (See House-of-Commons Papers for 1825, No. 476, p. 45, and for 1826, No. 401, p. 17.) In the Report of the Berbice Fiscal, we find the slaves of an estate complaining that the overseer had killed all their hogs.

* Even in Trinidad, before the new Code of 1824 was framed, this same gentleman and Mr. Jabez Henry, acting as Commissioners of Legal Inquiry in that Island, had ascertained as follows: 'The judge of criminal inquiry said, that a slave *could* acquire property for his own benefit;' but the chief justice was of a contrary opinion; for he said, '*a slave cannot*, by the Spanish law, acquire any property, except for the benefit of his master.' 'In case of property in the possession of a slave, whether belonging to himself or his master, being wrongfully taken from him, it is only recoverable by the owner.' (House-of-Commons Papers for 1827, No. 551, p. 29.)

One man, Leander, had ten hogs killed at one time by the manager, and for complaining of this act he was put in the stocks. The Fiscal, to whom Leander complained, regrets this harsh proceeding; which he does not however punish or redress, but rather extenuates. Here we have, probably, the accumulations of Leander's whole life destroyed, in one hour, by the merciless and irresistible act of the petty despot of the plantation; and for this injury there was no redress! —(*Ibid.*)

But besides the insecurity of his property, (for property must necessarily always be insecure in those circumstances of personal dependence and civil disability under which the slave is placed,) the slave is actually prohibited, even by this vaunted law of St. Vincent, §§ 81 and 82, from dealing in "sugar, cotton, rum, molasses, cocoa, coffee, or other goods, or merchandize of any sort, except firewood, fish, poultry, goats, hogs, grass, fruit and vegetables."* Indeed, in the colonies having legislatures of their own, the clauses that have been introduced into their new codes, on the subject of the property of slaves, are no more than an evasion of the recommendations of His Majesty. They set out, in general, with a preamble, like that of St. Vincent, affirming that, by *custom*, slaves have been allowed to possess and enjoy personal property. After this preamble, it might have been expected, that that would have been made their right by law, which, it is stated, had formerly been enjoyed by permission and sufferance. The enactment which generally follows, however, is, not that such custom shall be established by law, but that if any master, or other person, shall unlawfully take away from a slave, or deprive him of, what he may be *lawfully* possessed of, such person (not shall be punished as a felon, but) shall forfeit ten pounds currency (less than five pounds sterling), over and above the value of the property. We are not even told how a slave may *lawfully* possess property, nor is any legal title to it conferred upon him. No means of suit are afforded him, and he is generally debarred from giving evidence in all civil actions. In short, with scarcely an exception, the provisions on this point are, it is again maintained, a mere evasion of the king's recommendation, and leave the slave in the same helpless and unprotected state, as to all essential rights of property, as he was before those provisions were enacted.

The insidious clause which we have quoted from the St. Vincent's Act, on the subject of the slave's rights of property, and which is nearly word for word the same as that of Jamaica, obviously effects a complete revolution in the laws of theft and robbery, as they respect the property of a slave, which would, of itself, be fatal to his security. But the slave possesses, by law, no rights of property, for most assuredly this clause gives him none; while it effectually excludes him by its very terms from acquiring any interest in land,—a restriction which is at once harsh, impolitic, and unnecessary.

* The law is nearly the same in all the colonies, whether crown or chartered; and a most iniquitous law it is, independently of its being inconsistent with any valuable right of property in the slave.

Of Jamaica it is further affirmed, by our *forty-one* West Indians, that § 16, “secures to slaves the right to receive bequests of private property.” Never was there a clause framed which more strikingly exemplifies the evasive spirit of colonial legislation than this; for to the barren recognition of the right in question is annexed the following sweeping proviso:—“*Provided always that nothing herein contained shall be deemed to authorise the institution of any action or suit at law or in equity, for the recovery of such legacy, or to render it necessary to make any slave a defendant in a suit of equity.*” And even the law of Tobago on this point, though it advances more nearly than any other to the model of the Crown Colonies, yet is rendered almost equally inoperative with that of Jamaica, by the want of a Protector, or of any authorised channel for vindicating the slave’s rights of property.

Surely, surely, here are no proofs either of the *humanity* of the planters, or of their alleged “fitness to make laws for the benefit of their bondsmen,” but proof enough of studied evasion, and of deliberate and flagrant misrepresentation.

9. The only remaining head of the “Abstract” drawn up by these *forty-one* gentlemen, which it remains for us formally to notice, in the way of exposure and refutation, bears the title of “*Legal Protection.*”

The Secretary of state had required, as the only effectual means of securing “legal protection” to the slaves, that a Protector and Guardian of slaves should be appointed, who should not be a proprietor of slaves, or interested in slave property. The fulfilment of this proposal is thus announced in the “Abstract.” St. Vincent, § 25:—“Magistrates, a Council of Protection. On receiving information of ill-treatment of slaves, they are bound to inquire, and, if the complaint be well founded, to prosecute.” Jamaica, § 33:—In cases of maltreatment of slaves, “Justices and vestry to be a council of protection to prosecute offenders,”—and so with slight variations in other colonies.

It seems scarcely necessary to expose this stale and idle pretence, this mockery, of protection, by which the very persons to be guarded against, the owners or managers of estates, are themselves constituted the legal guardians of the slaves. Indeed the very clauses which are here referred to, and which also are not new but old laws, are so feebly and inadequately framed, as rather to deprive the slave of the means of protection, than to secure it for him. In case any justice of the peace shall receive a complaint that any slave has been wantonly or improperly punished, then such justice may associate to himself another justice, who may proceed to inquire, &c.; and having inquired, and found the complaint true, “it shall be the duty of such justices, and they are required, to prosecute the offender according to law;” or, if the complaint be found groundless, to punish the complainant with thirty-nine lashes, &c.: and all this is to be done by these two justices without penalty, or responsibility, or record, or report whatsoever. Was there ever such a barefaced imposition on parliament and the public as to call this protection? To prove this, it would be sufficient to refer to the uniform principle

maintained by government, of placing, in all the Crown Colonies, the office of Guardian and Protector of slaves solely in the hands of men disconnected with slavery.

But let us hear the judgment of Mr. Commissioner Dwarris, when speaking of this very clause; for it stood in the St. Vincent's Act of 1821, as it does in that of 1825, and in the Jamaica Act of 1816, as in that of 1831. There is "no other magistracy, board, or council, to discharge the delicate duty of investigating the complaints of slaves (whether of cruelty, oppression, excess of work, or subtraction or deficiency of food or clothing,) *except the attorneys or managers of estates.*" Hence the salutary provisions of the Slave Act are in danger of being rendered ineffectual." (House-of-Commons Papers, No. 276 of 1826, p. 24.)—One magistrate testifies to the commissioner, that he recollected only two complaints of slaves for ill-usage in three years. (Ib. p. 23.) Can this be matter of surprise, when thirty-nine lashes are ready for the unsuccessful complainant?

It is impossible to place in a clearer light, the uselessness of such provisions as those which are now boasted of by our *forty-one* subscribers to the manifesto, than has been done by Mr. Huskisson in his despatch of September 22, 1827. "The council of protection," he says, "cannot be considered an effectual substitute for the office of a distinct and independent protector. It will consist of those individuals over whom the protector was to exercise his superintendance. Their duties are limited to the single case of extreme bodily injury, and are to be discharged only if they think proper. The periodical returns required from the protector upon oath are not to be made by this council, nor are they even bound to keep a record of their proceedings. No provision is made for executing the duties of the office in different parts of the colony, on fixed and uniform principles; and the number of persons united in this trust is such as to destroy the sense of personal and individual responsibility."

The truth is, that Jamaica, Barbadoes, St. Vincent, and the other colonies, under the name of *legal protection* to the slaves, have actually contrived to give protection and immunity to the oppressors of the slaves. Against whom is protection for the slaves required? Is it not against their masters and managers? But to whom is their protection confided by the legislatures of Jamaica, &c.? To these very masters and managers, who, in fact, compose the entire of the magistracy, and of the parish vestries. Surely the *term* protection does not necessarily involve the *principle* of protection. On the contrary, it involves, under the laws we are considering, the extinction of that principle: for if the purpose had been to divest the slaves of all protection, no more effectual device could have been framed for accomplishing that object, than the insidious enactment in question.

Nor, we apprehend, are we singular in this opinion. If we mistake not, such is the clear and unambiguous judgment of Lord Howick, as expressed in his powerful speech, on the 15th of April last, in reply to Mr. Burge, the late Attorney General and the present agent of Jamaica, and one of the avowed framers of one at least of the fallacious abstracts we have been examining. "Of the many extraordinary

propositions," (proceeding from Mr. Burge,) "none astonished me so much," said his lordship, "as the remark that in Jamaica the council of protection answered the same purposes as 'a protector;' for I thought I knew, on very competent authority, that councils of protection were no substitute for the office of protector, as established in the Crown Colonies. It so happens that in the year 1826, Lord Bathurst sent out the heads of certain bills, formed on the order in council, which he wished to be regularly drawn up by the law officers of the crown, and laid before the different Assemblies. To the draft of a bill appointing a protector, which was accordingly prepared by the law officers of Jamaica, was appended the following note signed by William Burge, Attorney General, and Hugo James, Advocate General: 'We have not considered ourselves called upon to notice in the draft of this bill, either by way of repeal or otherwise, that part of the 25th section of the consolidated slave law, which constitutes the justices and vestry of each parish a council of protection, because *the duties assigned to that body are of a nature perfectly distinct from those which are committed to the protector and guardian of slaves by the provisions of this bill.*' I fully concur," added his lordship, "in this opinion, and I think it most able and just. A council of protection is a mere device for dividing the responsibility among a number of individuals; it is a protection to the oppressor, not to the oppressed. A numerous council of planters can venture to stifle prosecutions which would be instituted were the responsibility of refusing to do so to rest on a single individual only. I firmly believe that in the case of Kitty Hilton, a case which I have recently been compelled to lay on the table of the House with mingled feelings of regret and shame and horror, I firmly believe that no one of those individuals who voted as members of the council of protection, and, by a large majority, declared against a prosecution, would have come to such a decision if he had been called upon singly to pronounce upon the case: he would have feared to incur the undivided responsibility."

But be it remembered that Kitty Hilton's case is but one out of many which have lately encumbered the table of the House of Commons, in proof of the utter worthlessness of these boasted councils of protection, and of the utter unfitness therefore of the planters to make laws for the benefit of their slaves. We will not now enter further into them than to refer the reader to the following passages which have recently appeared in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, viz: vol. iii. No. 64, p. 341 and 345; No. 66, p. 373; No. 68, p. 416 and 419; No. 69, p. 429—441; No. 71, p. 481—495;—vol. iv. No. 76, p. 134—136; and No. 79, p. 246.

But this is not all. Every packet which arrives from the western world comes fraught with fresh tidings of horror to the same effect, and the difficulty we now feel pressing upon us is to find time and space for communicating to our readers the accumulated proofs of the inveterate and incurable evils of slavery, and especially of that state of utter destitution of *legal protection*, in which the slaves are unhappily placed, by leaving the work of legislating for them, a work

for which parliament alone is competent, to be performed by the planters.

We have thus gone through the principal heads of the "Abstract" on which the West Indians found their claim, not only to the forbearance but to the confidence of the parliament and people of England, and we think we have proved that it is so far from supporting that claim, that it furnishes the very strongest demonstration of the unfitness of the planters to legislate for their slaves, and that it is only by the direct intervention of Parliament that any effectual remedy can be applied to the evils of colonial bondage. And yet we have left wholly unnoticed a multitude of mistatements contained in this Abstract, which are either the blunders of ignorance, or the wilful perversions of fact. It would be endless to notice even a tythe of these. On a future occasion we may resume the subject.

But before we conclude, we are anxious to remind our readers that this "Abstract" exhibits to them only what our *forty-one* gentlemen deem the favourable side of West Indian legislation. We cannot commend their taste, indeed, in the selection. Still their object was to give us a succinct view of those Colonial improvements;—of those beauties in short of Colonial legislation, which raise the slave's enjoyments far above those of the British peasant, and which are to serve as convincing proofs that the West Indians were maligned and slandered by the Anti-Slavery Society when it pronounced them "unfit and unwilling to frame laws for the benefit of their bondsmen," and affirmed that it was a task which could only be effectually accomplished "by the direct intervention of Parliament." Had they chosen to give, not only what they regard as the light side of the picture but the dark side also; to give in short, a just, impartial, and unsophisticated whole length portrait, as it were, of the entire legal condition and liabilities of the Colonial slave, it would form a pretty exact counterpart, or rather amplification, of another Manifesto, namely, the Anti-Slavery Manifesto, dated the 1st of October, 1830, entitled "a Brief View of the nature and effects of Negro Slavery as it exists in the Colonies," with copies of which the *forty-one* authors of the West Indian Manifesto may be supplied on application at the Anti-Slavery office.

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

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 83.]

JULY 12, 1831.

[Vol. iv. No. 11.

OFFICIAL INFORMATION RESPECTING THE PROGRESS OF REFORM IN THE SLAVE COLONIES OF GREAT BRITAIN DURING THE PAST YEAR. 1. *Jamaica*; 2. *Nevis*; 3. *Barbadoes*; 4. *Antigua*; 5. *St. Vincent*; 6. *Trinidad*; 7. *Demerara*; 8. *Berbice*; 9. *St. Lucia*; 10. *Bermuda*; 11. *Cape of Good Hope*; 12. *Mauritius*. *Conclusion*.

WE are greatly in arrear with our readers. We have now before us a large and accumulating mass of official information, which strikingly illustrates the untractable nature of colonial slavery, but which the pressure of other matters, not admitting of delay, has hitherto prevented us from analyzing with due care. The first of these documents which we shall notice *was presented to Parliament by His Majesty's command*, on the 10th of March last, and is numbered 230. It consists of the usual annual exposition of the measures pursued by His Majesty's Government for ameliorating the condition of the slave population in the British colonies, being a continuation of a similar paper presented in 1830, and of which we inserted an abstract in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 73. We propose to give a like abstract of the paper now before us.

1. *Jamaica*.

The communications from this island, for the year, are almost entirely confined to a case of grievous oppression, brought to the knowledge of Viscount Goderich by Mr. Wildman, a proprietor of several plantations, and the unquestioned facts of which, as we collect them from this official document, are to the following effect.

Eleanor James, an elderly female slave, belonging to one of Mr. Wildman's estates, called Low Ground, in the parish of Clarendon, had sold a pig to a Mr. Macdonald, the owner of a neighbouring plantation, called North Hall. The payment having been unduly delayed, Eleanor James went, on the evening of the 28th November, 1829, to North Hall, accompanied by a fellow slave, named Joanna Williams, and applied to Mr. Macdonald for the money owing to her. Mr. Macdonald, instead of complying with this reasonable demand, instantly ordered her to be taken a short distance from his dwelling house, and there, he himself superintending the process, to be laid down prone on the earth and flogged. She was flogged by two drivers in succession; first with a whip, and then with a switch; and being then raised from her prostrate position, her wounds were washed with salt pickle. One witness counted 200 stripes, as having been inflicted upon her before the pickle

was applied; the lash of the whip with which she was flogged having been previously dipped in water to add to its efficiency. Mrs. Macdonald, the wife of Mr. M., and a young lady, the sister of Mrs. Macdonald, and a white young man, a Mr. Mackae, were in the house at the time the order to flog Eleanor James was given by Mr. Macdonald, with whom the young lady interceded for her in vain. The first driver whom Mr. Macdonald employed not flogging her to his satisfaction, he called another, named Edward, to execute his sentence. While Eleanor James was undergoing this merciless infliction, she asked for water; Mr. Macdonald said, with an oath, that "no water should be given to her; he did not care if she died on the spot." She was then sent to the negro houses of North Hall; and next morning Mr. Macdonald sent her two dollars, (probably meant as the payment of his debt,) and ordered her off the property. She immediately went home to Low Ground, and there told her tale, and exhibited her lacerated person.

The severe illness, both of Mr. Taylor, the attorney of Mr. Wildman, (then in England,) and of the overseer of Low Ground, prevented them for some time from proceeding to take the necessary steps for the legal investigation of this atrocity. A neighbouring magistrate, however, Mr. John Macleod, was requested to interfere; and Eleanor James waited upon him, along with Mr. Bellow, the book-keeper of Low Ground, and stated her complaint; but this magistrate declined all interference, and recommended that an application should be made to Mr. Townsend, the clerk of the peace for Clarendon, who resided at a distance of thirty miles from Low Ground. On the parties arriving, however, at Mr. Townsend's, he was found incapable of acting, being confined to bed by a serious accident.

As soon as Mr. Taylor, who resided near Kingston, had recovered from his illness, he repaired to Clarendon, and applied to Mr. French, the custos of the parish, to summon a council of protection to investigate the outrage. The council of protection met, and did nothing. Two more councils of protection were subsequently summoned, with the same result. At length, a fourth council of protection, which was formed on the 19th of April, 1830, having examined the case, came to the conclusion, "That the subject matter of this complaint is not properly cognizable by the council of protection; but that the owner of the slave Eleanor James has his remedy against the person or persons inflicting the punishment, if a slave or slaves, by indictment in the slave court; if by a free person or persons, by indictment in the quarter sessions, or grand court."

Mr. Taylor, finding himself thus baffled in his efforts to procure redress, laid the whole matter before Earl Belmore, the governor. By him it was referred to the attorney general, Mr. James, whose opinion was pronounced upon it to the following effect:—that having perused the affidavits, &c. relative to the complaint of Eleanor James, he must express his inability to comprehend the principle on which the resolution of the council of protection was framed; that the owner's right of appeal to other tribunals for redress ought not to have suspended the functions of that council, whose bounden duty it was (looking at the law of the island) to have investigated the complaint, and, if there were grounds for pro-

secution, to have submitted the same to the proper judicature; for if the owner's right to bring the complaint before other tribunals were to withdraw it from the cognizance of the council of protection, no case could exist in which its power of investigation might not be arrested, and be rendered a mere nominal institution, without the slightest benefit to the slaves, for whose protection it was specially intended.—He added, that he was not aware that the governor could now aid Mr. Taylor, except by expressing his disapprobation of the conduct of the council of protection for their culpable neglect in not bringing to trial a party implicated in conduct so inhuman and barbarous; and that Mr. Macleod was still more amenable to the governor's censure, for referring the slave to the clerk of the peace, at a distance of thirty miles, instead of acting promptly on the complaint, and summoning before him, as a magistrate, witnesses who were then on the spot, (but who had since, it seems, either died or left the island,) and binding them over in recognizances for the ensuing court.

“Thus,” observes Mr. Taylor, “every effort was abortive, and thus it has been proved that an attorney for an absent proprietor may, for months, persevere in his attempts to obtain redress for an act of oppression committed on a slave under his charge, but unavailingly. The strong impression made on my mind,” he adds, “by the conduct of the Clarendon magistracy, coupled with similar proceedings of other parochial authorities, is, that councils of protection are a mockery, and that, so long as slave evidence is rejected by the law, the slave has scarcely the shadow of protection from ill treatment.”

We need not point out how opportunely these observations of Mr. Taylor, as well as the whole details of this atrocious case of Eleanor James, serve to falsify the statements of the West India Manifesto, especially under the head of “legal protection,” which we have so fully examined in our last number (p. 313.)

Lord Goderich having placed all these circumstances fully before the governor, Earl Belmore, thus concludes his despatch:—“I have now to desire that your Lordship will inform me whether, in conformity with the advice of the attorney general, you conveyed the expression of your displeasure at their conduct to Mr. Macleod, or to Messrs. French, Dunn, Macwilliam, Macnaught, Turner, Macartney, Fraser, and Coleman, the magistrates who were present at the council of protection on the 19th April, 1830, and to the six vestrymen, or to such of them as concurred in the resolution of that council. If your Lordship adopted the advice of the attorney general, I am to request that you will transmit to me a copy of the communication made to them. If you did not adopt his advice, you will be pleased to report to me your reasons for rejecting it.”—The gentlemen whose names are here given were still in the magistracy of Jamaica at the close of 1830.

2. *Nevis.*

Many of our readers will probably recollect the atrocities perpetrated in this little island about twenty or twenty-one years ago by a person of the name of Huggins, which excited at the time the universal though

bootless indignation of Parliament and the country.* The papers laid on the table of the House of Commons in 1831 that are now before us, have brought to light a parallel even to these almost obsolete atrocities, which is of a much more recent date, and which adds another pregnant proof, to the many already produced, not only of the unmitigated lot of the colonial bondsman, but of the incurable viciousness and the deep criminality of the whole system of our colonial slavery.

It appears by a variety of official details, transmitted to the Secretary of State by the Governor of the Colony, that on a sugar plantation called Stapleton's, belonging to Lord Combermere, which had been entrusted by him to the management of a person of the name of Walley, a dreadful mortality was discovered to have taken place among the slaves belonging to it. Their number, in about three or four years, namely, between 1826 and January 1830, had decreased from 249 to 190, being a decrease of 59, or from 22 to 24 per cent. in that time; or about seven or eight per cent. per annum. And this frightful mortality appears to have been caused not by any epidemic disease, nor by such acts of violence as put a speedy term to the sufferings of its victims, but by a gradual process of exhaustion; by the excessive exaction of daily labour; by the parsimonious abridgment of daily food; by a system of lingering torture, which extinguishes human life as it were by inches; and leaves the unhappy sufferers no refuge from their misery but the grave.

In January 1830, a board of magistrates was appointed to investigate the conduct of Mr. Walley, which appears to have continued its sittings for three or four weeks. This board consisted of Messrs. W. Pemberton, G. Bucke, Lockhart Gordon, Charles Pinney, Peter Huggins, and J. Ede. The following are some of the facts elicited by their inquiry :—

One witness, William Huggins, who had been an overseer for seven months under Mr. Walley, stated on oath, that the gang on Stapleton's estate turned out as soon in the morning as they could see to work, and left off work in the field at sunset, to go to collect grass for the cattle. Each negro was obliged to bring a load of grass at noon, and another at night. A quarter of an hour or twenty minutes, he said, was the time allowed at breakfast; two hours were allowed at noon.† Sometimes, when the work was urgent, they had not breakfast-time and noon-time on the same day. The gang worked at breakfast and noon-time both in and out of crop occasionally, but not very often; the negroes complained of this. They worked very hard while he was on the estate, and some of them he thought beyond their strength; those who were the most able kept up their rows; the others were pushed to keep up with *them*. He added, however, that he thought they had sufficient time; at least they had the same time that was allowed on other estates. He had seen some of

* A full account of these atrocities is preserved in the Fifth Report of the African Institution, and may also be found in the Records of the House of Commons for 1811, (No. 204).

† The time required for grass collecting at noon was taken, we presume, from these two hours, thus shortening the noon-tide interval.

the gang exhausted from fatigue. Sometimes in the morning almost half the gang went up to Mr. Walley, complaining that they were sick, and Mr. Walley selected and sent back to the field those whom he thought able to work. The driver was unnecessarily severe: he would sometimes give the slaves from three to a dozen stripes. Mr. Walley would sometimes find fault with the driver for not having had a sufficient quantity of work done, when he (the driver) would push the negroes. There were nine deaths on the estate while he lived there, which he conceived to be a great number: the people who died were generally much swollen. Many of them, young and old, ate dirt. The slaves were generally addicted to this practice. He did not think that the stocks at Stapleton's were more severe than other stocks, though he thought the holes were rather smaller, and the negroes complained that they cut their legs. He had never known negroes worked so hard any where else, or yet so well fed. He did not mean to say that Mr. Walley was the cause of the death of any of the negroes.—The witness seemed to wish in parts of his evidence to extenuate Mr. Walley's conduct, denying that he punished the slaves severely, and affirming that the negroes were well fed. Such an assertion, however, was obviously at variance with the fact of the general prevalence among them of dirt-eating, a vice issuing in the fatal disease called *mal d'estomac*, and which is well known to be caused by low and scanty diet.

The general statements of Mr. Huggins were confirmed by the medical persons who attended the estate, and who added some further particulars of ill treatment and neglect. The sick, it was said, were not attended to as they ought to have been; they often complained of it. The sick were not allowed to remain in the sick house till perfectly cured, and, contrary to medical orders, were repeatedly sent out to work before they were so; and in consequence they were apt to return to the sickhouse in a worse state than before. In particular instances, where animal food was ordered, the order was not attended to. Miscarriages were also frequent: these might have been prevented had the women been kept quiet; but this was not done. Deaths generally proceeded from dirt-eating, or *mal d'estomac*, and this disease seemed to arise from debility, caused by hard labour, (Mr. Walley being anxious to put in large crops,) exposure to cold, want of nourishment, and indigestible or ill-dressed food. One medical gentleman testified that he had known the negroes to have been at one time for six weeks without provisions, except what they themselves could procure.—[Nevis is one of the foreign-fed colonies.] And yet these very medical men spoke of the goodness of the allowances given to the slaves by Mr. Walley, and of his supplying them, when ill, with meat and wine; adding that the negroes never complained to them of severe punishment, or of want of food, or of any harsh or harassing treatment; and an overseer of the name of Souch, who lived three years under Mr. Walley, even eulogized his mode of treatment. He said Mr. Walley flogged the slaves only as other people usually flogged them. He did not think that the negroes on this estate were over-worked; they did not work harder than other negroes. Mr. W., he said, had even increased their allowance from six pints a week to eight.—But even eight pints a week, be it re-

membered, is but a starving allowance for a working or indeed for any slave.

We confess that these extenuating and apologetical opinions, indicating as they do what is the prevalent feeling on the subject of negro treatment, when they are looked at in connexion with the unquestioned facts of this case, produce on our minds a stronger impression of the wretchedness of the slave, than even the most cruel inflictions to which he is subjected. They seem to prove that the hearts not merely of individuals, but of the white community at large, are steeled against sympathy with the negro, who is regarded, and even spoken of by them, not as a fellow being, but as a brute.

Hitherto we have confined ourselves to the evidence of the *general* treatment by Mr. Walley of Lord Combermere's slaves, as given on oath by witnesses who were white. Besides these, several slaves were examined, whose testimony went more into detail. They stated that the dirt-eaters had broad wooden collars placed round their necks. [We presume, to prevent their hands from reaching their mouths.] One of them, William Noble, had one of these collars fastened round his neck; he was heard to cry out with the pain produced by its tightness. The collar was at last taken off, but in three hours he died.—One witness stated that a woman slave, named Frances, was placed in the stocks three days and three nights. The first day both legs were in the stocks; she cried all day. Mr. Walley at night ordered the witness to release one leg, but she was never out of the stocks during the three days and nights. Frances said she was sick, and had fever, and could not work: Mr. Walley ordered her into the stocks: she looked sick. After three days she consented to go to work, and did not come to the sick house again for a week.—When witness put this woman's leg into the stocks, the hole proved too small: in about an hour she cried that her leg was cut. Mr. Walley could hear her cry, for he was at hand; but he gave no orders about her till night, when by his desire one leg was taken out; then the witness saw that it was cut. Frances was stated to be a very sickly negro, having a flux of blood. She also died.

We shall give the details of only one other case as deposed to by five or six slaves.—Eneas was fireman on Stapleton's estate. Mr. Walley flogged him four times in one day, with his own hands. He flogged him because the fire in the boiling house was not good. He flogged him on his bare back. The number of stripes in the first three floggings is not deposed to; the fourth flogging in that one day consisted of fifty stripes. After receiving them he was sent back to make fire, and when done was afterwards locked up. Next week he again made fire, but complained of pain. Mr. Walley found fault with the fire he made, and told the overseer to flog him whenever the fire was bad. The overseer did so. He had the fever upon him on the Saturday when the overseer flogged him. On the Tuesday after, he went to Mr. Walley complaining he had fever; but the driver, in Mr. Walley's presence, flogged him out of the yard. He was locked up in the stocks and died on Saturday night.

On a view of the result of this investigation by the board of magistrates, six indictments were preferred against Mr. Walley by the law

officers of the Crown, one for murder, two for manslaughter, and three for maltreatment. But they were either ignored by the grand jury, or failed from the nonadmissibility of slave evidence.

The whole of these proceedings were communicated by the Secretary of State to Lord Combermere. His Lordship professed to feel deep horror of the inhuman and abominable conduct of his manager, Mr. Walley. He has not, however, explained to Lord Goderich, how he came to place, in that man's hands, the uncontrolled power over his slaves with which he appears to have been invested. Lord Combermere says he had friends on the spot (namely, Governor Maxwell, and Mr. Swindall) who knew how anxious he was to promote the welfare and happiness of his negroes. Did he give them authority to interfere? Or was he not aware of the liability of his slaves to suffer from oppression? Mr. Walley's atrocities had been proceeding, for several years, unchecked by any one. Nay, we find that so long ago as the 1st of May, 1827, this very Mr. Walley, then the manager of Stapleton's, was actually indicted for the murder of a slave, named Davis, belonging to that estate; and that the indictment was then, as now, thrown out by the grand jury. Now it does seem strange that Lord Combermere should have been unapprized of this transaction; or, being apprized of it, that he should have suffered Mr. Walley to remain in charge of his slaves for about three years longer, until he had killed off nearly a fourth of them. His conduct, in 1827, appears to us to have been quite as abominable and inhuman as in subsequent years. We have before us the evidence taken upon it, on the 9th of April, 1827, by two magistrates, Mr. Claxton, and Mr. Gordon, and though the indictment founded upon that evidence was ignored, it is *prima facie* no less decisive of Walley's guilt, than the evidence taken three years later by another bench of magistrates, and of which Lord Combermere has expressed himself with so much just indignation. The evidence of 1827 is to the following effect:—

Richard Anderson, overseer on the estate says, that on Tuesday the 23d March, Davis was sent to the estate as a runaway, by Mr. Marr. He appeared very weak. Gave him victuals, and put him to pull the fuel to the copper holes on that evening. He was sent, the same evening, to the sick house, where he remained till the Tuesday following, when he was brought to the boiling house to pot sugar. Tuesday evening he was sent back to the sick house; he had refused to work; said he was not able. Next day, Wednesday, he was sent to the field. On Wednesday evening he died.

The evidence of Anderson was confirmed by Clement Souch, another overseer on the estate.

Robert Washington, the Coroner, heard that a negro had died suddenly on Stapleton's. Went to hold an inquisition on the Saturday after; found the man buried; had the body dug up; returned a verdict, 'Died by the visitation of God;' examined witnesses by whom it was proved that Davis died on his way from the field, being unable to walk farther. No medical man saw him till he was dead. There were no marks of violence.

Alexander, a slave belonging to the estate, was told, on Wednesday

at sunset, to carry Davis to the sick house. Davis had been in the field all day; and had been the day before at the works. He complained all day; could not work, could not eat. The driver put another negro in the row with him; *gave him a few licks in the morning, and at noon four more to force him to work.* Took him to the Mountain estate; he could not walk; was obliged to lead him; helped him as far as the upper windmill where he died. Witness went for help; when he came back, Davis was dead; there was no one with him when he died. The day he was sent home he was put to make fire; and the day after sent to assist at the works; he was unable to do any thing. Sunday he was in the sick house, Monday and Tuesday about the works, the last day (Wednesday) in the field; was locked up every night in the sick house; was buried on Friday, and dug up again on Saturday."

Two physicians testified that there were no marks of violence on Davis, but that he was much emaciated.

Thomas Marr sent Davis home to Mr. Walley; thought him in a very weak and low state: did not consider him capable of working, only fit for the sick house.

Such was the evidence against Walley in 1827.

Various other cases of cruelty, occurring in Nevis, were recently brought forward for trial; but they met with the same fate as those of Mr. Walley from the Nevis Grand Jury. But we cannot give the details, and must be content with the light thrown on them by Lord Goderich, who thus comments upon them in a despatch to Governor Maxwell, of the 4th December, 1830.

"Your despatches of 7th July have been received, and I have perused the evidence they contain of systematic cruelty and oppression with feelings which I will not trust myself to express. Entirely participating in the indignation with which you regard the atrocities perpetrated by Mr. Walley, I no less fully concur with you in regretting that all attempts to obtain justice should have been defeated by defects in the recent slave code of Nevis, and by the inefficient administration of the law in that island. The failure of four of the prosecutions against Walley is attributed to the act for the admission of slave evidence of October, 1728." "The inconvenience of such an enactment, and its inconsistency with sound principles of legislation, did not escape the notice of Sir G. Murray when that act was under his consideration." (See his despatch of 10th September, 1829.) "I regret to find that the practical mischief resulting from it has been experienced much sooner and more extensively than had been anticipated."

"The rejection, by the grand jury of Nevis, of the bills of indictment preferred in so many cases of alleged cruelty perpetrated against slaves on different plantations, when viewed in reference to the previous depositions, has unavoidably produced on my mind the painful conviction that the gentlemen of the colony have not correctly understood their duties as grand jurors. I cannot permit myself to believe that persons in their station of life could be insensible to the sacred obligations of the oath they had taken; and though I am not disposed to attribute to them such prejudices as would prevent the dispassionate exercise of

their judgment in questions of such serious moment, I cannot but feel that the course they have pursued in this matter is calculated to produce a very painful and unsatisfactory impression in this country.”

“ You will consult with the law officers of the Crown how far it may be possible to file criminal informations in those cases where bills of indictment against Walley and others have been rejected by the grand jury. I would particularly direct your attention to the cases of Davis and Harriot Simpson; and of George Tobin and Monmouth, punished by Mr. Cousins. In the last of these cases the grand jury, not content with throwing out the bill, thought proper to find, on their oaths, that it was ‘frivolous and vexatious.’ I apprehend that this finding was entirely beyond their province, and the previous examinations would almost irresistibly lead to the conclusion that the bill was improperly rejected.”

“ I perceive that on the investigation in Walley’s case, a large majority of the magistrates present deliberately quitted the bench, and abandoned the inquiry with which they had been charged. On an occasion of so much importance, some very serious cause ought to have existed to justify such a secession, and you will have the goodness to ascertain and report what that cause may have been.”

Lord Goderich concludes with expressing his earnest hope that the gentlemen of Nevis may derive from these proceedings, a lively impression of the absolute necessity of affording more ample protection to the slave population, and of providing more effective means for the punishment of offences against them.

It seems scarcely possible that his Lordship or any rational man, who knows the facts of the case, can now cherish such a hope. Nay, can a single doubt be entertained that it has at length become the proper and exclusive, the clear and incumbent duty of Government and Parliament no longer to commit this work to planters, but to perform it themselves?

3. *Barbadoes.*

All we have from this colony is the *draft* of a bill on slave evidence, proposed and agreed to by the Council, but not yet adopted by the Assembly.

4. *Antigua.*

The Governor of Antigua has only had to announce, that on the 22d of January last, a Bill on slave evidence, and one for abolishing Sunday markets, were in progress. The latter alone has since, it appears, passed into a law, but with provisions so extremely defective as to have produced to the slaves, as we have seen, (No. 81, p. 285,) evil instead of good.

5. *St. Vincent.*

The only advance in the reform of their Slave Code, made by the legislature of St. Vincent, is the removal of some of the restrictions which in their Act of 1825 had been placed on the evidence of slaves. That evidence is now to be admitted in all civil as well as criminal cases, excepting those in which their owners are concerned.

6. *Trinidad.*

The new Order in Council of February 2, 1830, came into operation in this Colony on the 23d of April, 1830.

7. *Demerara.*

The new Order in Council of February 2, 1830, came into operation in this Colony on the 14th of May, 1830. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the Governor, accompanied its promulgation by a farther ordinance, in which he not only supplied certain omissions in the Order of February, but considerably modified some of its provisions. These modifications, which he appears to have adopted on the advice of planters, are for the most part highly objectionable; and some of them, we are happy to find, have been very properly disallowed by His Majesty.

One of these new provisions, which we are sorry to see has not been disallowed or even reprehended, is that which enacts that provisions and clothing are to be furnished to the slaves agreeably to an annexed schedule; being the very schedule we have inserted in our last number, p. 294. To permit this provision to stand as the law of Demerara, would be to give His Majesty's sanction to an actually starving allowance for the slave population of this Colony—an allowance, as we have already shewn, which is less than half of what is necessary for their due subsistence. How Sir B. D'Urban should have permitted himself to be so imposed upon by the misrepresentations of the planters as to adopt this parsimonious and utterly inadequate scale of allowance for the slaves, we know not: but we trust that the eyes of His Majesty's government will be open to the cruel consequences which must result from its confirmation. To confirm it would be to sign the death warrant of many of His Majesty's subjects, and would indicate a most opprobrious inattention to the comfort and well-being of the whole slave population throughout our Colonies, which we are very far indeed from imputing to the Colonial Secretary. The precedent would be most disastrous. Lord Goderich, we cannot doubt, will revise this part of the Governor's supplementary regulations. It can only be necessary that he should candidly investigate the matter in order to be convinced of the shameful imposition which has thus been attempted upon him, and of the duty of repelling, with the severest reprehension, this cruel and oppressive frustration of His Majesty's benevolent purposes. The food and clothing of the slaves are points of the most essential moment to their life, and health, and well-being; and we hesitate not to say, that if this schedule is henceforth to be permitted to regulate the amount of their allowances, it will be productive of an infinity of evil; and may more than counterbalance all the advantages which can be hoped for from the other provisions of this Order. Having in our very last number dwelt on this subject at some length, it cannot be necessary for us to enlarge upon it any further at present. We will only repeat that the allowance thus sanctioned by law, as we are ready to prove, is, for adult labourers, absolutely a starving allowance. It does not amount to half of what is requisite for the comfortable subsistence and the due clothing of the working slaves.*

* In No. 82, there appears an ambiguity in the extract respecting the allowance of food, &c., printed at the bottom of page 294, which, though it is correctly transcribed from the original, seems to require explanation. The passage is—"One and a half bunch of plantains, weighing not less than 45lbs., or of other farinaceous food; 9 pints," &c. Now it would almost seem from this that the

A provision is introduced by the Governor to prevent slaves from quitting the estates to which they belong, on Sundays, without leave from the owner or manager, to which the Secretary of State justly objects, unless it shall be qualified by a regulation which shall authorize them to resort to any licensed places of worship on that day.

A farther provision is introduced, empowering the owner to employ Sunday morning, until eight o'clock, in delivering to the slaves their weekly allowances. To this provision, the Secretary of State also objects, unless it can be proved to be unavoidable. But is it not perfectly obvious that no such proof can be exhibited? Why must two or three hours of Sunday be occupied with a distribution which could, with equal facility, be made on two or three hours of any other day? It is wholly impossible that *necessity* can, with any truth, be pleaded here. The only question that can arise is, shall two or three hours of the week be taken from the time of the master, or two or three hours of the Sunday from that of the slave, or rather from that of God, for this necessary but wholly secular employment?

Another clause in the Governor's supplementary enactment, retaining all those unnecessary and most unjust restrictions on slave evidence, which disgraced the former Order, is positively and peremptorily declared to be inadmissible. "The object of the new Order in Council," says Sir G. Murray, "is to abolish all distinctions respecting the admissibility of slave evidence which turn upon the servile or free condition of the witness. His Majesty *cannot* sanction any enactment which encroaches upon the simplicity of this rule. Respecting the evidence of slaves, it is at once needless and undesirable that any addition whatever should be made to the enactments contained in the Order in Council."

The Secretary of State further requires, that a record should be kept of all other punishments which may be substituted for flogging in the case of males, and for which record no express provision has been made by the Governor's ordinance.

He also disallows a clause, introduced by the Governor, for empowering the Fiscal, on the application of the owner, to inflict, at his discretion, on the slaves, a greater punishment than the owner himself is allowed to inflict. "It is impossible," says Sir G. Murray, with admirable judgment, "to recognize a class of offences at once too grave for the domestic forum, and too light for the judicial tribunal;—offences which are to be punished by the magistrate without being previously defined by the law. Such rules rather confound than establish solid distinctions between different degrees of criminality."

The Governor pleads strenuously for reserving to the planter the power of *compelling* his slaves to perform such work on the Sunday as potting sugar, picking coffee or cotton during crop, or turning and drying of coffee or cotton; and he has promulgated a regulation to that effect. Sir G. Murray, however, most justly disallows this provision, and requires that all such work on a Sunday should be matter of

"9 pints," &c. were additional, which is not the case. To convey the true meaning the passage ought to stand thus:—"One and a half bunch of plantains, or, in lieu of this, other farinaceous food, as 9 pints," &c.

choice and not of compulsion. "After giving every attention to your remarks on this subject, I cannot concur in your opinion that the slave should be deprived of his free agency upon the question of engaging systematically in any kind of agricultural labour on Sunday." The same principle most obviously, and still more forcibly, applies to the work of distributing to the slaves their allowances on a Sunday, to which we have just adverted.

Sir G. Murray, moreover, requires that successive punishments should not be inflicted on females without a due interval between them; and he objects to permitting the punishment of stocks during the night, or of confinement during the hours of noon with task work;—"because such punishments," he says, "diminish that degree of repose which is absolutely essential to enable a woman to undergo her daily labour in the field with a due regard to health."

The wisdom and considerate humanity of these observations are highly honourable to Sir G. Murray.—After correcting some minor deviations from the rules laid down in the Order in Council, and reducing the enormous fees required on the appraisement of slaves for manumission, from £30 sterling to 15 guilders, or about 25s. sterling; he concludes with requiring Sir B. D'Urban to revoke his proclamation, which His Majesty cannot allow; and to substitute for it a new proclamation in which the various corrections he has pointed out shall be introduced.

In our last number we succeeded in demonstrating the unfitness of the planters to make laws for the benefit of their bondsmen. The details into which we have now entered will serve to indicate a similar inaptitude, in such British Governors as either submit to the dictation, or rely on the advice, of the owners of slaves.

8. *Berbice.*

The course which has been pursued by the Governor of Berbice is so nearly the same with that pursued by Sir B. D'Urban in Demerara, with whom he was desired by the Secretary of State to take counsel, that it will not be necessary to enter into the details of it. The variations in the supplemental Orders, issued in the two Colonies, are so slight, as not to call for specification. The Governor of Berbice has, however, in these variations, somewhat improved on his model; and he has been so judicious as to exclude entirely, from his enactment, the miserable scale of allowances of food and clothing, which has been so opprobriously introduced into the law of the sister colony.

The comments of the Secretary of State on the supplemental Order of Demerara, and its disallowance by His Majesty, are of course equally applicable to the case of Berbice.

9. *St. Lucia.*

The acting governor of this colony, Col. Farquharson, on the 7th of April, 1830, acknowledges the arrival of the new Order in Council, which he follows up, on its promulgation, with two supplemental ordinances, containing some clauses which appear liable to serious objection. In what light they will be viewed by His Majesty's Government we are unable to say, as they are not accompanied by any remarks of the Secretary of State; but we cannot doubt that some of the clauses will

be disallowed, especially the regulation for compulsory labour on the Sunday, and the revival of some sanguinary provisions of the ancient Slave Code of the Colony. Among the *habitual* emergencies which the governor considers as justifying compulsory labour, on the Sunday, are specified, the grinding and boiling off of the canes and juice remaining from the preceding evening; (as if there could exist any *necessity* for cutting more canes on Saturday than could be ground and boiled on Saturday); the plucking, drying, or preserving of coffee; and also such manufacturing labour as is rendered necessary by the state of the season!—Females may be punished by owners and managers with handcuffs and solitary confinement; and by a magistrate they may be punished, *for a month*, either with the treadmill or other hard labour; or with labour *in chains on plantations and public works*; or with solitary confinement.—The penalties on fugitive slaves are cruelly severe. A slave striking his owner is liable to death; or striking any free person, to imprisonment and hard labour for life.—A variety of actions also, not criminal in free persons, are severely punishable as misdemeanors when done by slaves.—Any offence committed by an emancipated slave against his former owner is to be more severely punished than against a stranger.—British born slaves, manumitted in a foreign country, shall not be considered free in St. Lucia, unless the manumission is confirmed by the proper authorities. Are they then in such cases to be reduced again to slavery? There are other regulations which we will not stop to notice; but which seem out of place in a supplemental order, intended merely to give effect to the Order in Council; but some of those we have mentioned seem most outrageous.

10. *Bermuda.*

We have nothing announced from this Colony, except the renewal of its very imperfect Slave Act for one year more.

11. *Cape of Good Hope.*

The Order in Council of the 2nd of Feb. 1830, came into operation in this colony on the 26th of August, 1830. Its announcement was accompanied by various subsidiary regulations promulgated by the governor, Sir Lowry Cole. One of these regulations, which professes to secure Sunday to the slave, goes, in the opinion of Lord Goderich, virtually to abolish the day of rest altogether. The works which Sir Lowry Cole has classed as works of *necessity* on that day comprise “ploughing and sowing the land, and completing other agricultural operations,” “reaping and securing the crops,” “pruning vines,” “gathering and housing grapes,” “making (manufacturing) wine,” “going on journeys, carrying letters, &c.” By sanctioning such provisions as these the very object in the Order in Council would obviously be defeated. Lord Goderich, therefore, requires the governor to revoke the proclamation which authorises them. He requires him also to revoke the regulations for confining slaves on the whole or part of Sunday, and to define more exactly than he has done the minimum of food, clothing, &c. with which they are to be provided.

Sir Lowry Cole shews a singular reluctance to take from the planters the power of corporally punishing females, or of imprisoning them on Sundays, and, as formerly in the Mauritius so now at the Cape of Good

Hope, he argues the point against the Secretary of State with an earnestness which would be quite amusing were it not for the consideration, that men capable of thus feeling and reasoning should be chosen to superintend and carry into effect reforms of the kind intrusted to Colonial Governors. If Governors thus feel and reason what are we to expect from the planters? "Corporal punishment of females is objected to," says Sir L. Cole, "as tending to lower and impair the sense of respect"—and he goes on gravely to admonish his Majesty's Secretary that "there is nothing which lowers and degrades the female character so much as debauchery and dissipation"—and these, he is of opinion, would be repressed by corporal punishment and imprisonment on Sunday.—Does Sir Lowry Cole then believe (it would seem so!) that stripping women bare, and exposing their denuded persons to the common gaze, and then lacerating their flesh with a whip or a cat is the best way to heighten their modesty; or that shutting them up on Sundays in a dark room is the best way to improve their morals? Happily Lord Goderich takes a view of the matter very different from that of the Governor. He on the contrary, is of opinion, that Sir Lowry Cole's plans of discipline would at once perpetuate and increase the evil which he aims to cure. In reply also to Sir Lowry's argument, that deferring the punishment of a slave over Sunday till Monday would place the proprietor "in a most unchristianlike position on the day of worship and rest," Lord Goderich well observes that, "if the punishment be merited, I cannot discover why the purpose of inflicting it should be regarded as unchristian: and if unmerited, or if inflicted merely from motives of revenge, it is alike contrary to the principles of religion, on whatever day of the week it may take place."

12. *Mauritius.*

The Order in Council of the 2nd February, 1830, did not come into operation in the Mauritius until the close of September in that year. The supplementary order of the governor, Sir Charles Colville, which accompanied it, fixes Saturday as the market-day instead of Sunday; but the terms it employs are such as leave it in the master's option whether the slaves shall be exempted from plantation labour on Saturday, so as to have the power of attending the Saturday market. "Masters," the Order says, "*may*, and are hereby *recommended* to send such of their slaves as may have for sale, whether on their own or their master's account, articles of furniture, live stock, provisions, &c.; and in particular to grant this permission to those among their slaves, who, by their general conduct and attention to their work, have merited the indulgence and favourable consideration of their masters, for the bettering the condition of themselves and families. Slaves will not be admitted to the said market unless furnished with a pass ticket from their master or manager." A very large latitude is also allowed for the compulsory labour of slaves on Sunday. The works said to be of *necessity* and which may be *compelled* are such "works of agriculture, fabrication, or manufacture" as cannot be delayed or postponed without loss to the proprietor, a point of which he or his manager appears to be left the sole judge. The slaves, it is true, are to be paid for such labours, but it is a matter not of choice but of compulsion to perform them if re-

quired. Besides this, a power is reserved to the master of employing his slaves regularly and constantly, on the Sunday morning, till eight o'clock, without any remuneration.

We cannot but feel confident that these various regulations, with respect to Sunday labour and Sunday markets, will be annulled by His Majesty's Government, and a better system substituted. Sunday markets may be abolished as in the Mauritius, but of what benefit is their abolition to the slave if his attendance on the Saturday market, instead of being made a matter of legal right, is left wholly dependent on the caprice of his master. This is not giving him time in lieu of Sunday for marketing and labour. Besides, these regulations not only put it in the power of the master to work his slave in the field for six days in the week without any intermission; but to take from him also, absolutely and systematically, the three best hours of the Sunday without any remuneration; and further to *compel* him, for fixed wages, if the master shall so will, to employ the rest of Sunday in plantation labour. This state of things, we are persuaded, will not be permitted to continue.

The only letter of the Secretary of State, addressed to Sir Charles Colville, is dated the 28th of February, 1831, and is entirely confined to one point, namely the continued employment of chains, collars, and fetters as instruments of domestic punishment. The disgraceful ordinance of the Governor which sanctioned them is now disallowed; and Lord Goderich, in announcing this fact, adds, "I cannot conceal from you the regret with which I have perused it." Sir G. Murray, in a despatch of the 8th May, 1829, had conveyed in the strongest terms his dissatisfaction with any such use of chains, collars, &c. in the full persuasion that the local government of the Mauritius would have passed an ordinance for their entire prohibition, observing that he should only interpose in case that expectation should be disappointed. "After such an intimation," says Lord Goderich, "it was scarcely to be expected that a second ordinance should be transmitted, for his Majesty's approbation, which authorises the chaining together of women and boys of the age of fifteen, and the chaining boys apart from each other, whatever be their age." "No attempt is made to determine the form of these instruments except that the collar should not have *three* branches; but *two* branches are amply sufficient to inflict extreme distress on the wearer. No provision is made as to the length of time these instruments are to be borne, or the crimes for which they are to be put on."—In consequence of this persevering refusal of the local authorities, an Order in Council was passed on the 22nd of February last, absolutely prohibiting, under a penalty of from £20 to £100, and imprisonment from one to six months, the use of all such instruments of torture; which Order Sir Charles was directed to promulgate the moment he received it. Lord Goderich expresses great concern at the necessity of this fresh interference; but he adds, "the paramount considerations of justice and sound policy have silenced all minor objections." And he closes his despatch with impressing upon Sir Charles Colville, "the indispensable obligation of withholding, in future, his sanction from measures opposed to the principles of His Majesty's Government, as such sanction cannot fail to impose on His Majesty an office the most invidious and irksome. It were far better to encounter at once whatever obloquy or discontent you might incur by a frank opposition to such measures, than to sub-

ject yourself to the responsibility of adopting, and his Majesty to the painful duty of disallowing them.”

From the Bahamas, Dominica, Grenada, Honduras, Montserrat, St. Kitts, Tobago, and Tortola, there is no report whatever of any kind on the subject of reform during the past year; and the reports from the other twelve Colonies, of which we have already given the substance, cannot be considered as very exhilarating. They not only indicate no real progress in the work of reform, but, in general, they exhibit, in characters of deepened malignity and horror, the innate, and, we firmly believe, incurable evils of Colonial slavery.

But the picture now presented to our readers, revolting and disgusting as it may be, is loveliness itself when compared with some of the details which we have yet to place before their view, in the analysis which we propose to give, in succeeding numbers, of the official Reports from the Protectors of slaves in the Crown Colonies of Great Britain. Here at least we have the advantage of seeing the evils of the system with less of the disguise which it has hitherto worn in all the slave Colonies, and which it still wears in the chartered Colonies. And it will be admitted that our growing acquaintance with its real, and unsophisticated features, does not tend to abate, but to aggravate its loathsomeness and deformity, its criminality and guilt.

And is such a state of things to be permitted to continue even for another year, in despite of the FIVE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED PETITIONS, which, during the last session, conveyed to Parliament the reiterated, and unequivocal, and concurrent expression of the feelings and wishes of the British people on this subject? The foregoing sixteen pages contain, we believe, a too faithful analysis of all the improvements which are exhibited in the last annual Report of the Colonial Minister, zealous as he has shewn himself to effect improvement.—And what heart but must sicken in the contemplation of its details? With some slight exceptions, the progress of our cause, judging by the practical results now brought before us, seems rather to have retrograded than advanced. And is it not most afflicting, that, at the very moment we are thus called to mourn over our deferred, and almost bankrupt hopes, we should learn that fresh propositions have been made, and are entertained in Parliament, for extending farther eleemosinary relief to the determined upholders of this vicious system?—The earnest, the almost universal prayer of the British people to Parliament, has been that it would adopt effectual measures for extinguishing, throughout the King’s dominions, the crime and the guilt of slavery, and thus effacing from the national character the foul and malignant stain which it inflicts. These petitioners will certainly, we apprehend, not be satisfied, if instead of proceeding to comply with this reasonable solicitation, Parliament should now call upon them to maintain, by farther premiums, and encouragements; and in fact, by farther contributions, to prolong and to aggravate those very evils which they deplore, and against which they have so long and so loudly protested;—those unchristian, unconstitutional, and murderous practices, which, from their inmost souls, they do utterly reprobate and abhor.

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 84.]

JULY 18, 1831.

[Vol. iv. No. 12.

PROTECTORS' OF SLAVES REPORTS.—I. DEMERARA.—*Observations of Secretary of State; Complaints of Slaves, cases of Rosey, George, James, Mrs. Lowe's Slaves, Acouba, and Fanny; unjust detention of Slaves in bondage; arbitrary domestic inflictions; marriage; manumissions; wages of Sunday labour.*

IN our last number we promised our readers some analysis of the official Reports printed by the House of Commons, which had been transmitted to the Colonial office, by the officers appointed by His Majesty, in the several Crown Colonies, under the title of Protectors, to watch over the interests of the slaves and to guard them from oppression and wrong. They are six in number, viz. :—1st. Demerara; 2nd. Berbice; 3rd. Trinidad; 4th. St. Lucia; 5th. Cape of Good Hope; 6th. Mauritius. We shall take them in their order.

1. *Demerara.*

We have often longed to be admitted to a full view of the interior economy of Demerara plantations. The horrific revelations of the Fiscal of Berbice, in 1825, served to sharpen our curiosity, which was still further excited by the apparent reluctance of the public functionaries in the adjoining Colony to disclose the secrets of the prison-house, and thus to open the eyes of the public, and even of Government itself, to the real condition of its slave population. The appointment of a Protector of slaves, in Demerara, bound to make periodical returns of all matters incident to his office, led us to hope for a full elucidation of their state. But his early reports were of the most meagre and unsatisfactory description, as we have already shewn. (See vol. ii. No. 43, p. 355; and vol. iii. No. 54, p. 142; and No. 66, p. 386.) Still enough was necessarily told to excite suspicions that the flattering generalities conveyed by the Protector respecting the contented appearance and happy state of the slaves of Demerara, could not be perfectly consistent, at least according to our European notions of happiness and content, with some broad facts of the case. The punishments, for example, of a single year, inflicted on this happy peasantry, when they came to be added up, amounted to about 20,500, the whole number of plantation slaves—men, women and children, being under 62,000. We learn, too, from the new law of Demerara, so much vaunted by the *forty-one* authors of the West India Manifesto, that the legal weekly sustenance of each adult labourer is fixed at what is equivalent to two pounds of herrings and eight pounds of raw flour, and the yearly amount of clothing is *one*

hat, *one* shirt, *one* jacket, and *one* pair of trowsers, for the men; and *one* hat, *one* gown, *one* shift, and *one* petticoat, for the women;—of which quantities, boys and girls of fifteen years of age and under, are allowed two thirds, and boys and girls of ten years and under, one half. How the planters contrive to halve the hat, the trowsers, or the petticoat, we do not pretend to guess. Still, in the teeth of these facts;—of this scanty food and scanty clothing,—and of these 20,000 inflictions of the whip or the stocks,—we are gravely assured by the Protector, that he “cannot refrain from remarking on the *contented* appearance of the negroes, (of Demerara) and that from his opportunities of judging, they generally have every reason to be so.”

In addition to these inconsistencies, on looking into the Reports of the Protector, there appeared an absence of all details respecting the nature and the issue of any complaints made to him by the slaves of maltreatment by their owners or managers. It was deemed necessary, therefore, to call for “Copies of the proceedings and decisions in each case of complaint between masters and slaves, which came before him, whether the proceedings may have terminated before the Protector himself, or may have been referred to Colonial magistrates, or other public officers or courts.” As a compliance with this call, we have now placed before us a detail of the transactions of this description, which occurred in Demerara during a single year, namely, from the 1st of May, 1829, to the 30th of April, 1830. But on the 1st of May, 1829, the Protector, Col. Young, had already been for three years in the execution of his important functions, and yet of the similar transactions of those three years, no details are given, nor is any reason assigned for their being withheld. Certainly if they shall prove to be as rich in valuable information as the details, now before us, of the complaints and the results of those complaints which were preferred to Col. Young during the fourth year of his administration, it would be highly expedient that they also should see the light. There seems no adequate cause for permitting the proceedings of the Protector, during the three years which preceded the 1st of May, to sink into oblivion, while those of the year following that date are given to the public. Even if an objection should be raised to the expence of printing them, there can be no objection made to their rigid examination, either by a committee or in some other way. It would seem to be unjust to the slave population of Demerara, if, after having seen the present specimen of their general condition, and their sad destitution of legal protection, measures were not taken to investigate the transactions of the first three years, as well as those of the fourth, of Colonel Young's protectorate.

The omission to which we have now adverted had attracted the notice of Sir George Murray; and in a despatch of the 2nd September, 1829, he called upon the Protector to supply it, remarking at the same time, that it had been stated by the Protector, that the complaints of slaves had not been numerous.—“Unfortunately, however,” he adds, “the same statement cannot be made respecting the number of punishments. They amount to the extraordinary number of 10,207, during one half year, upon a population of 61,626. The

infrequency of complaints, under such circumstances, must either imply a great consciousness of criminality on the part of the slave, or some distrust of their prospect of redress for any injuries they may have received. In either case the result is much to be lamented."

In consequence of this mandate of Sir George Murray, and of the subsequent Order of the House of Commons, we have now before us the complaints of the slaves of Demerara, for a single year, those being still withheld which had been made and disposed of previously, that is to say, prior to May, 1829. The impression produced on the minds both of Sir G. Murray and Lord Goderich, by this too tardy developement of the nature and result of those complaints, as given in the Protector's Report of his transactions for the first half of that period, namely, from the 1st of May to the 31st of October, 1829, may be collected from the following passages in a despatch of the Secretary of State, of the 30th of November, 1829, a despatch which seems to have been drawn up by Sir George Murray, though signed by Lord Goderich. After a variety of striking and judicious observations on the unsatisfactory nature of many of the Protector's decisions, the Secretary of State thus concludes his despatch:—"These observations are far from being the whole which the Record of the proceedings of the Protector, in the complaints of slaves, has suggested." (He had before said, in allusion to them, that "the protection afforded by such proceedings as these, must be all but nugatory.") "I avoid adding to the length of this despatch, by the repetition of remarks, which, though specially applicable to some cases selected for comment, may be justly used to characterise the proceedings generally." (We shall quote, hereafter, some of those generally characteristic remarks.) "The witnesses examined are in general few, and they are not those from whom the most impartial testimony was to be expected. Points essential to a correct understanding, remain without elucidation. There is no appearance of assistance or advice, or indeed of opportunity, having been afforded to the slaves, to substantiate their allegations; and even when apparently substantiated, it is in very few instances that the claims of justice, and the provisions of the law, seem to have been satisfied in the result.

"On a review of the general character of the proceedings, if I am compelled to comment upon them with severity, I am not the less anxious that my comments should be understood as having reference to Colonel Young, solely in his quality of Protector. The office is an extremely arduous one, and very peculiar qualifications are required for it. I would much rather attribute Colonel Young's decisions, in many of the cases which have come before him, to the want of a habit of weighing evidence, and of the penetration which such a habit generates, than to the want of an equitable mind. But from whatever cause the inefficiency proceeds, and whatever be the value which might attach to the services of Colonel Young in other situations, I cannot consent that he should continue in the office of Protector, whilst I remain under the conviction of his unfitness for it, to which his recent proceedings have led me. Under such an administration of the slave ordinance, as these proceedings appear to

evinced, I cannot, indeed, but entertain the most serious doubts whether in the many important provisions depending for their execution upon the Protector, that ordinance be not almost devoid of practical effect.* Some of the details to which it has been my painful duty to advert in this despatch, present sufficient indications of the responsibility which I should assume, were I not to require either that these doubts be forthwith removed, or that the office of Protector be intrusted to other hands. You will, therefore, grant the Protector six months leave of absence, that he may return to this country to explain his conduct; and until a final decision be taken as to his resumption of the office, you will make the best selection in your power of a person to execute the duties provisionally.

“You must allow me, in conclusion, to advert to the despatches from yourself, which have accompanied the Protectors' reports. These despatches have in general notified their transmission, and have contained little or no comment upon them. Sensible as I am of the vigour and penetration with which every inquiry is pursued which it devolves upon yourself personally to conduct, I cannot suppose that the imperfections of those conducted by the Protector would have escaped your observation, had you conceived yourself called upon to revise them. I am thus induced to believe that you have considered such a revision as not intended to constitute any part of a Governor's duty, I take this occasion, therefore, to request as one of the most important functions of your government, the exercise of such a superintendance as shall ensure the proper execution of the office of Protector of slaves. Without the most watchful performance of this duty, it is not to be hoped, that the law for bettering the condition of the slaves will be effectually administered. It is obvious that an immediate revision by the Governor, followed by a prompt resumption of imperfect investigations, must obviate many evils which are beyond the reach of remedy after such a lapse of time as must unavoidably intervene before the final revision by the Secretary of State.”

We trust that a copy of this well timed admonition has been sent to every governor of a slave colony within the dominions of the crown.

It would be impossible to enter very fully and particularly into the various complaints which are contained in the Protector's report, or are adverted to in the despatch of the Secretary of State, as occurring during the twelve months, from 1st May, 1829 to 30th April, 1830. They amount to above 100, and occupy upwards of 130 closely printed folio pages. All we can hope to do is to give a fair sample of them, and for that purpose we shall select a few which will convey to our readers a tolerably correct idea of the rest.

1. *Case of Rosey*, (No. 5, p. 48.)

May, 1829, appeared *Rosey*; says, she belongs to Plantation Grove, on the East coast; says, that on Tuesday last, the 12th of May, she got a pain in her bowels while at work in the field; that

* This would probably have appeared three years sooner, had the returns of the complaints of slaves and their results, been regularly made.

she lay down, and that Mr. Henry Chapman, the manager, saw her and asked, what ailed her? She told him; but he ordered her to go on with her work, and struck her with a small stick and then with his fist, which knocked her down. He then had her hands tied behind her and sent her home, and kept her in the stocks three days and three nights, and kept her sucking child from her during that time, and that in consequence of her child not being given her to give it suck, her breasts swelled very much. The doctor saw her and gave her some medicine for the bowel complaint. The manager afterwards wanted to confine her at night, but she hid herself. She left the estate last night, but did not ask for a pass.

The Protector summoned Mr. H. Chapman to appear and sent complainant to gaol. On the 23rd both attended at the office.

Mr. Chapman (the party accused) admitted, that he came to the field and saw the woman sitting down. On asking what was the matter, she would give no answer. He gave her a slap in the face in consequence of her great impertinence. She was not confined in the stocks, but in one of the rooms of the hospital; her child is sixteen months old, and had previously been in the yaws house: it had been thought fit to be weaned before it was sent thither with the yaws.

To this verbal statement he added a written statement of his overseer to the effect of confirming all *he* himself had said, and denying his having struck her with a stick, or knocked her down; and adding that she and her husband were always dissatisfied and disaffected, and that Mr. Chapman had always passed over their misconduct.

The result of this investigation is thus given by the Protector. "Complaint dismissed."

"On this case," says the Secretary of State, "I must make a remark, which might be applied to a majority of these investigations, that the only parties examined are those from whom the truth is least likely to be elicited, the party complaining, and the party against whom the complaint is brought. It does not appear to be denied, however, in this case that the woman who complains was sick, and that she was struck by the manager. The degree of violence used is disputed; and this is no doubt a point which will always be disputed, and cannot be ascertained; and the law is therefore more necessary to be enforced which forbids that a woman should be struck at all. The woman's allegation that she was confined *in the stocks* is disputed, but it is not denied that she was confined three days and nights; and that during this confinement an infant at the breast was not admitted to her. I am unable to discover on what ground the Protector dismissed the complaint."

2. *Case of George.* (No. 14, p. 58.)

This case will be sufficiently understood by transcribing the substance of the comment of the Secretary of State. The complaint, No. 14, is that of *George* against Mr. Thierens, for detaining him in slavery, he being free from birth. His statement is, "that his mother, Laura, was the daughter of the Indian woman Urina, of the Harno tribe; that his father was a slave of Mr. Trotts, and head driver on

Plantation Laurencia where his mother lived, and was always considered a free woman; that after her death, which happened while George was a child, Mr. Trotts took him and his sister as slaves, his sister having now alive a son named Remy; that after Mr. Trotts died, they were retained in slavery by his wife, and at her death became the property of her nephew, Mr. Thierens, in whose possession they still are. *George* referred to two persons who can prove his descent from the free Indian woman Laura; and said, that five years ago they had claimed their liberty and were assisted in doing so by the Crown Advocate, Mr. Gordon, who told them to return to the estate, and at the end of six months they should be manumitted; but the promise had not been fulfilled."

Mr. Thierens maintained that the claim of *George* to freedom was unfounded; that he only thought of it when in liquor; that at all other times the whole family had declared themselves contented and satisfied with their lot, and had even disclaimed any pretensions to their freedom, and this before two witnesses who certified the same in writing, but without giving the names of the disclaiming slaves.

The Protector's decision on this case was "dismissed; the claim being withdrawn by the parties themselves, and acknowledged by them to be unfounded, and that it was only made whilst under the influence of spirituous liquors."

Upon these facts, the Secretary of State observes to the following effect, "It appears to me that this case has been disposed of in too summary a manner. The statement of alleged facts, on which the claims to freedom were founded, is distinct and specific. It is in no single particular disproved or even contradicted by the opposite party. Considering the presumable ignorance of the negroes, and the means of persuasion" (and it may be added of intimidation) "a master may be supposed to possess, the abandonment of their claims formerly may be accounted for without any necessary inference of invalidity. One of the principal motives for establishing a Protector of slaves is deduced from the apprehension that the slaves may not be capable of forming a just judgment of their own interests, or in a condition to act for themselves. But the two negroes, *George* and his sister, who are said to have disavowed their pretensions to freedom, are not the only persons whose freedom was in question. *Remy*, the child of the female, would be equally entitled to freedom if *George's* statement were substantiated. It was the duty of the Protector, therefore, in this case, to take every means for substantiating the statement, and obtaining the freedom which would be the result. If any who might be so made free should desire to remain with Mr. Thierens and work for him as they now do, it would, of course, be in their power to offer him their services. You will direct the Protector to resume this case, and also require from Mr. Gordon, the Crown advocate, a report upon it."—In the course of the inquiry, Mr. Thierens had intimated that those claimants of freedom would not be able to subsist by their own industry. The Secretary of State acutely remarks, that "any exercise of industry that can make a slave of value to his master must be over and above that which is necessary to procure his own subsistence."

3. *Case of James.* (No. 21, p. 63.)

This case, the Secretary of State remarks, “ exhibits evidence of an habitual violation of a most important provision of the slave ordinance; that namely which exempts the slave from labour on the Sunday; and yet it appears to have entirely escaped the notice of the Protector of slaves, whose only note upon the case is in two words at the end of the proceedings, ‘ Complaint dismissed.’ ”

James's story was to this effect: On Friday he had been throwing green megass, (the sugar cane after the juice had been expressed by grinding and which is used as fuel when dry) out of doors, the megass houses being full. On Saturday he was ordered to the field, leaving the green megass of the preceding day out of doors. His Saturday's task not having been finished he was ordered to finish it on Sunday morning before receiving his allowance. It occupied him till eleven o'clock. He was then obliged to put into the house the megass which had been left out on Friday, and which occupied him till six at night, when he went with the rest of the people to throw grass for the cattle. The driver, however, charged him with not having housed his full share of the megass, and ordered him to the stocks on Sunday night. He denied the charge and got away, and did not go to the stocks. On Monday, however, he was put into the stocks and next day was flogged. The complaint of James was for having been unjustly flogged, not for having been made to work all Sunday. Of this last circumstance the Protector took no notice and dismissed the complaint of injustice as unproved. “ But this point,” observes the Secretary of State, “ is of far less consequence than the practice here incidentally disclosed ” by a transaction “ which shows that negroes are considered punishable for not having completed, on the Sunday, tasks which they have been either unwilling or unable to perform on previous days.” Having shown that this fact stands on the clear and unquestioned evidence of two drivers as well as of James himself, and is not denied by the manager, the Secretary of State remarks in conclusion, “ It is obvious that if this practice be suffered to prevail with impunity any quantity of labour may be exacted from the slave on Sunday by nominally assigning it to the Saturday. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, that either under the existing law, or by a supplementary enactment (if such be required) this practice be totally and effectually put down. I cannot close without calling your attention to the negligence of the administration of the slave ordinance, by which such a system has been allowed to escape notice, although by the examinations consequent on this complaint, it had been distinctly brought within the view of the Protector.”

4. *Case of the slaves of Mary Lowe.* (No. 33, p. 72.)

The facts established in evidence in this case were to the following effect: Mrs. Lowe, of lot No. 17, Essequibo (called Westbury,) was much addicted to drunkenness: she was also guilty of great cruelties to her slaves. In February 1829, she cut the wrist of her female slave *Present's* right hand with a broken cup, and afterwards unmercifully

beat her for going to a neighbouring estate to get it dressed: the hand being still so bad that it was likely she would never have the use of it again. In June 1829, she tied up a little girl called *Elvira*, by both her hands to the beam of the gallery, from eight A. M. to one P. M. and flogged her unmercifully while thus suspended. The girl fainted three times before she was cut down, and her hands still bear the marks of it, and her fingers are contracted in consequence. Some time before, she tied up a little boy called *Shigh* in a similar manner, from nine A. M. to six P. M. and the boy lost the use of his hands for some days. She had repeatedly taken a female child of Present's, about seven months old, by the neck like a kitten, and thrown her a distance of two or three yards on the floor, and over the gallery, to the hazard of the child's life. She often chased her slaves with a knife to stab them, and they only escaped by running out of the way. For years she had not given her slaves their allowance of clothing or food. She had now (21st Aug. 1829,) been in town for several weeks, and her domestics, four in number, have had nothing to live upon since she had been from home, but the fish they might catch in the trenches, or what they might get from neighbours. The slaves are prevented from complaining to the Protector, of the cruelty and bad treatment they receive from Mrs. Lowe, by the influence of her family over them. A neighbour of her's, a Mr. Mackintosh, testified further that her cruelties had increased so much of late, as to call for interference. Having no outbuildings, the negroes slept in her own house, and she had been in the habit, in rainy weather, of driving them out of the house, some being infants, in the middle of the night, to wander about for refuge.

All that was done by the Protector in this case, was, to get the Court of Justice to take, from Mary Lowe, the charge of the slaves, and to place them under a Curator.

The comments of the Secretary of State on this case are to the following effect. "I have perused the proceedings with extreme pain, and I am compelled to express my most serious displeasure at their result. The woman complained against, Mary Lowe, was unable to bring forward a single witness to negative any of the circumstances proved against her on the evidence of relatives and others. It is proved that she was an habitual drunkard, and her slaves appear to have been continually suffering from her cruelty and violence, and sometimes in imminent danger of their lives." "Complaints were made to the Assistant Protector, Mr. M'Pherson, but he always desired the slaves to go away, when they came to complain; and even when directed by the Protector to inquire into the case, the answer was, that "for a great length of time back he had had no communication, directly or indirectly, with Mary Lowe, and he would certainly like to have no words with her." The Secretary of State then proceeds to consider whether there was any ground for attributing insanity, as this would form the only excuse, if it were true, for the Protector's conduct, and he comes to the conclusion that she exhibited no proof of any other mental alienation than excessive drunkenness might be expected to produce. "But mere drunkenness," he adds, "cannot be

admitted as any plea to protect this woman from the punishment due to her crimes. Nothing but distinct evidence of contemporaneous insanity could justify the exemption of such an offender from the severest punishment which the law awards upon conviction of such offences: and the proof of insanity which might justify such an exemption, would equally justify, and indeed render imperatively necessary her confinement for life as a criminal lunatic. All that has been done in this case is to take away from Mary Lowe the care of her slaves, and place them in the hands of a Curator. I confess myself totally at a loss to account for the appearance of insensibility to the claims of justice which is presented by this result. The omission to bring this woman to trial is grounded on a mere conjectural inference which is not supported by even a single allegation of her having been deranged at the time when the crimes were committed." "You will lose no time in causing any steps which may be consistent with the law of the Colony, to be taken for prosecuting Mary Lowe. You will also institute the strictest inquiry into the conduct of the Assistant Protector, Mr. M'Pherson, who is said to have refused to receive the complaints of Mary Lowe's slaves,"—"and unless he explain his conduct to you in a satisfactory manner, you will supersede him without further reference to me."

5. Case of Acouba. (No. 45. p. 91.)

Acouba, a woman sickly and full of scrofulous sores, belonging to Mr. Sills, stated, that her master was too bad. He beat her with a stick, on Friday and on Saturday. Having lost some money he said she must find it, and not finding it, she was put into the stocks in order to be taken to gaol.—Mr. Sills said, he had merely *touched* her with a whip. The surgeon of the gaol certified that she was afflicted with severe ulceration of the right cheek, and that her right eye was in a very high state of inflammation, and that without great care she would lose it. The only result of this case was, that Mr. Sills engaged to have her properly attended to in her own house, stating that the expense of keeping her in the gaol hospital was too much for him to pay, and she was then delivered up to him with a direction to comply strictly with his engagement. "This same woman Acouba," observes the Secretary of State, had about seven weeks before "in her own behalf, and that of her brother afflicted like herself with sores, and that of her husband also diseased, complained of being kicked and beaten by Mr. Sills, and of no medical attendance being afforded them. The issue of that case was, that 'the Protector having found the statements of the complainants as to insufficiency of food and allowance to be incorrect,' (though how they were found to be so does not appear, unless by the mere denial of Mr. Sills,) 'dismissed the complaint, directing Mr. Sills to provide them with such medical attendance and care, as they stood in need of.' The inefficacy of this direction," the Secretary of State goes on to observe, "might have taught the Protector that something more was required than a repetition of it. And if the beating of the sick woman was denied in the former case, the Protector cannot have attached any weight to the

denial in the latter, which was accompanied with an admission that he had 'merely touched her with a whip.' The protection afforded by such proceedings as these," the Secretary of State adds, "must be all but nugatory."

6. *Case of Fanny.* (p. 149.)

The complaint of Fanny was, that she had been tied, both hands and feet, laid down and flogged with a horsewhip by order of her mistress, for not having found and brought back a boy who had run away, and in search of whom she had been sent. The complaint was corroborated by two witnesses, from whose evidence, and the admission of the accused, it further appeared, that the complainant had been put in the stocks for two days and two nights before the flogging; and that both these punishments were for the same offence, which was another violation of the law. The owner did not deny that she had caused the woman to be flogged, and only alleged that the punishment had been slight, and that the slave had not been tied, in which latter circumstance she was contradicted by the woman she had employed to inflict the punishment; YET the only result of this case is, that the Protector not thinking it expedient to institute a prosecution, cautions the owner not to repeat the offence. "I am at a loss to discover," says the Secretary of State, "by what authority the Protector thought himself empowered to decline instituting the prosecution." He says, "the chief object of the complaint was, to prevent a repetition of similar punishment on the complainant, who stated *that* to be *her* object in preferring it. Even supposing this to have been the only desire of the complainant, the duty of the Protector was not only, or mainly, to satisfy the complainant, but to vindicate the law, and to shew that it could not be broken with impunity. The allegation that the flogging was slight, rests merely on the evidence of her who ordered, and her who inflicted it. You will therefore direct the Protector to reconsider the case with a view to the prosecution of the defendant; and you will caution him against assuming in future an authority to remit the exaction of fines incurred by a contravention of the Slave Ordinance."

Cases occur frequently of persons held in slavery, though freed by the will of their owners. The Secretary of State comments upon them with just severity, and desires that legal provision may forthwith be made, to prevent such flagrant injustice in future.

But it would be endless to go over the whole of the black catalogue before us. We can only give, as we have said, a sample of them, one in each twenty or twenty-five cases, occurring in a single year, in Demerara, under all the discouragements which exist there to prevent slaves from complaining against their owners; for into the hands of those owners they are always returned, with the likelihood of experiencing treatment still more vexatious and annoying, though perhaps less directly illegal than what had led to the complaints. And this is a sample of only one year of the Protector's administration. If the remaining three years should prove equally fruitful of complaints of the same kind, and of complaints attended with similar results, what

a fearful spectacle of cruelty and wrong would it not exhibit to the view of the British public ; and all this over and above the eighteen or nineteen or twenty thousand domestic inflictions of the whip or of the stocks, which occur yearly, at the mere arbitrary pleasure of the 300 or 320 owners or managers of plantations, who, in this boasted land of content and enjoyment, have the uncontrolled power, within certain limits, and within those limits without the slightest responsibility, of punishing their fellows with stripes and imprisonment. And for what description of crime are they thus permitted to punish them? We may form some idea of this from the following computation of the inflictions of two whole years, as contained in the returns of the Protector, viz :—For stealing sugar canes, plantains, &c. (the effect probably of the scanty food allowed by their masters,) yearly inflictions to the extent of about 1,000.—For insubordination ; insolence ; stubbornness ; disobedience ; absconding and skulking ; false pretences of sickness ; not being at work in time ; loss of labour by drunkenness ; not finishing tasks ; laziness ; neglect of duties ; carelessness, &c. yearly inflictions to the extent of 16,500 ; the remaining yearly inflictions being made up of quarrelling and fighting with each other ; infidelity to husbands ; seducing wives ; dancing without leave on Sundays ; telling lies ; neglecting sores, &c. to the extent of about 1,200 cases.

The average number of stripes inflicted upon the male culprits, is stated to be between nineteen and twenty. Reckoning the males punished in a year, on the average, at about 12,000, we have an amount of 240,000 lashes arbitrarily inflicted in this single colony in the course of a year, by about 300 or 320 owners or managers, chiefly managers, the owners being mostly absent.

The exact returns of punishments, for the first four half years, viz. : from Jan. 1, 1828, to Dec. 31, 1829, are as follows :—

Date.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Jan. 1, to June 30, 1828,	6,092	3,962	10,054
July 1, to Dec. 31, 1828,	6,542	3,665	10,207
Jan. 1, to June 30, 1829,	5,666	3,044	8,710
July 1, to Dec. 31, 1829,	5,682	2,967	8,649

Total on two years,	23,982	13,638	37,620
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Among the punishments we observe some of portentous moment. In the first half year 62 drivers are punished for neglecting their duty, and allowing the gang to be idle ; in the second, 83 ; in the third, 49 ; in the fourth, 68.—What a tremendous influence must these applications to the driver's sensibility of pain, exert on the fears of the gang under him, in stimulating them to labour !

In the last half year of the above series the Protector has given us a list of the plantations, amounting to 305, and having a population of 59,492 slaves, on which the above 8,649 punishments had been inflicted in the course of six months. The returns from some of the estates are quite appalling. On the following estates, with the annexed population, there have been in six months the number of punishments also annexed, viz :—

<i>Plantation.</i>	<i>Manager.</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>Punishments.</i>
Tenezferme	Gordon	59	52
Ostend	Parke	24	21
Mes Delices	Tighe	13	11*
La Bonne Intention	Danket	290	129
Lusignan	Laud	439	188
Mon Repos	Stewart	464	292
New Tyle	Hood	95	57
Covent Garden	Dunkin	78	57
Arcadia	Dunkin	88	30
Little Diamond	Loof	240	100
Task gang	Macpherson	45	63
La Penitence	Rush	315	148
Le Repentir	Rush	129	74
Huis l'Diaren	Beatty	276	149
Velvoorden	Van Eeden	149	72
Maryville	Bayne	192	83
Amsterdam	Frankland	278	64
Hermitage	Roberts	107	35
Endeavour	Jeffery	218	68
Claremont	Marshall	176	57
Hoop en Vries	Read	171	71
Retrieve	Simeon	186	56
Belfield	Easton	23	11
Drill	Gardner	103	38
Zealand	Morris	9	10
Walton Hall	Kean	325	94
Sparta	M. Lennan	278	71
Byadeny	Couchman	43	21
Woodcutting	Frazer	46	23
Sans Souci	Reid	30	17
Grove	Chapman	125	29
Annandale	Nicholson	249	53
Ver Eeniging	Douglas	118	29
Groenveld	Kleyn	215	181
Anna Catharina	Schultz	266	114
Vreed en Hoop	Grant	550	157
Nouvelle Flandre	Murray	222	63
Potosi	Reid	108	31
Klein Poudereyen	Vollerelde	338	185
Vreedistin	Jellicoe	222	79
Reenestein	Leslie	105	56
Maria's Lodge	McDonald	99	34

We observe that in the case of Mary Lowe, the owner of Westbury, there is not only no return of punishments, but her property stands (p. 5.) as one of those honourably distinguished as being exempt from punishment. Now when we look back to p. 340 of this Reporter, and read the authentic account there given, of this woman's systematic cruelties towards her slaves, we are at a loss to reconcile it

* And yet this property of "Mes Delices," with precisely the same number of slaves, stands, by some accident, among the plantations exempt from punishment, though eleven punishments appear to have been inflicted on the thirteen slaves belonging to it in the last half year.

with the fact of this exemption. We must suppose that either the return sworn to by her overseer of the absence of all punishment, was a false one, or that there is that kind of irregularity and uncertainty in these returns which diminishes greatly their value. We can hardly doubt that during the two years for which we have the returns before us, the punishments inflicted by Mary Lowe must have been many and severe. Otherwise the extreme measure of judicially depriving her of all further control over her slaves, on account of her continued cruelties, would hardly have been resorted to. And if there be any ground for such a suspicion in this case, what confidence can be entertained that the returns, generally, do not fall short of the truth in their exhibition of the number of punishments actually inflicted. There is no danger of exaggeration in the contrary direction.—It is only by tracing such manifest though apparently trivial errors to their source, that we can succeed in discovering and correcting irregularities of perhaps far more extensive prevalence.

The number of settlements or gangs stated to have been exempt from all punishment, during the above period, amounts to from 40 to 48, and the slaves attached to them, to from 1,020 to 1,100, the particular settlements not being always the same. The result is that settlements, containing about a sixtieth part of the plantation slaves, or a seventieth part of the whole slave population of the Colony, are exempt in each half year from punishment. This is something, though not much, for which to be thankful.

Our estimate of the value of this list of exemptions, we must confess, has been greatly lowered by the two discoveries we have just made; one that the settlement of “*Mes Delices*,” with its thirteen slaves, which stands among the exemptions, appears in another return with eleven instances of punishment on these thirteen slaves in six months; the other that Mary Lowe, distinguished above others for her cruelties, should appear in this list, as if her seventeen slaves had never been visited with the slightest infliction. Who can tell how far this inaccuracy may extend; or whether the apparent immunity of the slaves may not, in this and in many other cases of even a more hopeful kind, to which we are about to advert, be more an effect of the perjury than of the humanity of the master or manager. How is it possible to divest ourselves of such a painful suspicion in the case of persons capable of perpetrating such outrages on their fellow-creatures, as we are continually called to witness? Truly there is no cure to be found for the evils of slavery but in its extinction.

There appear also in this list, 21 plantations out of 305, in which the number of punishments has been comparatively small, not more than three per cent. in the half year. These are

<i>Plantation.</i>	<i>Manager.</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>Punishments.</i>
Mundenburgh	Lindsay	47	1
Carpenter gang	Smith	42	1
Bel Air	Carpenter	215	5
Montrose	Simpson	292	7
Belle Plaine	Whitehead	293	7
Houston	Russell	857	14

<i>Plantation.</i>	<i>Manager.</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>Punishments.</i>
Providence	Read	651	15
Blenheim	Cox	337	7
Richmond Hill	Hart	320	9
Endeavour	Macfarquhar	130	2
Zorg	Bishop	285	8
Golden Fleece	Bruton	444	2
Abram's Zuil	Ross	116	3
Devonshire Castle	Banbury	486	10
Perth	Macpherson	128	2
Caledonia	Smith	109	3
Essex	Edwards	220	4
Helena	McLaren	371	5
Windsor Forest	McNeil	491	11
La Grange	Webster	282	6
Woodcutter	Mathison	118	3

Still we cannot forget that Mary Lowe was returned as having inflicted no punishment at all upon her slaves.

The number of marriages reported to have taken place from the 1st of July, 1828, to the 1st of May, 1830, is 129.

The number of slaves certified as competent witnesses from the 1st of July, 1828, to the 30th of June, 1829, is 172.

The number of manumissions from the 1st of November, 1828, to the 1st of May, 1830, appears to be 354.*

We observe, that in a great many instances of manumissions, and even in many cases which would seem wholly to preclude the necessity for such an exaction, the parties manumitted are obliged to give security for not becoming burdensome to the Colony. This security is exacted, in at least fifty cases, from persons who are stated to have been free from their birth; but who are now for the first time put into the legal possession of their freedom, by being registered as free. But it does seem a great injustice to impose the performance of so onerous a condition on persons who appear to have been free born, before *that* liberty, which has always been their right, shall be legally secured to them. So, in many other cases of slaves who have manumitted themselves or their children by the fruit of their own industry; and in one case of a daughter who paid the price of her mother's redemption; as well as in many cases of manumission by deed of gift; security of the same kind is, as it appears to us, most unreasonably exacted from the parties. We think it would be well if the Protector were made to specify his reasons in every case for interposing so very serious an obstacle in the way of manumissions. Some excellent remarks of Earl Bathurst on this subject will be found in a letter to Sir Ralph Woodford, contained in the papers laid before Parliament by His Majesty's command in 1825; in which he gives a clear opinion against the exaction of bonds of maintenance in most of the cases in which they seem to have been required in Demerara. We recommend that despatch to the consideration of all Protectors.

* We do not pretend to explain the causes of the discrepancies in the different dates of these returns.

At the close of Col. Young's latest report is inserted the copy of an advertisement of his in the *Gazette* to the following effect:—

“NOTICE. “*Office of Protector of Slaves, May 15, 1830.*”

“In obedience to the orders contained in the fourth clause of the Lieutenant Governor's proclamation of the 29th of April, 1830, I hereby fix

“One bit ($4\frac{1}{4}d$ sterling) per hour for potting sugar.

“One bit (ditto.) per hour for turning or drying coffee or cotton.

“Picking a basket of coffee weighing 70lbs. gross, three bits ($1s. 0\frac{3}{4}d$ sterling.)

“Picking a basket of cotton weighing 30lb. gross, three bits (ditto.)

“To be the lowest rate of wages for labour on Sunday in the above works.

“(Signed) A. W. YOUNG, Protector of Slaves.”

On this notice Lord Goderich remarks, “As the principle for fixing the rate of wages on Sunday was so fully explained in Sir G. Murray's despatch of the 2nd of Nov. 1829, I conclude that Colonel Young has followed the rule there laid down, in his present scale.”

Now it is quite impossible that any two things should be more widely at variance than this notice of the Protector and the principle laid down by Sir G. Murray in his despatch of the 2nd of Nov. 1829, respecting the wages to be allotted to the slave for Sunday labour; and as the matter is of the utmost importance to the poor slaves, we shall be excused, we trust, for going into it at some length.

On the 1st of May, 1827, Colonel Young communicated to government the following notice, on the subject of the wages of slaves for Sunday labour, as having been issued by him.

“Rate of wages fixed by the Protector for the labour of slaves in the picking of coffee or cotton, during the time allowed them by law.” (viz. Sunday.)

“Coffee two bits ($8\frac{1}{2}d$ sterling) for every basket of 10lb.

“Cotton one bit ($4\frac{1}{4}d$ sterling) for every basket of 10lb.

“N. B. Six baskets of coffee is the average labour per diem.

“(Signed) A. W. YOUNG, Protector of slaves.”

In commenting on this notice on its first appearance, (see our 2nd vol. No. 43, p. 357.) we were struck chiefly with the very unreasonable amount of the quantity of labour which Colonel Young assigned as an average task for a slave by the day, namely 60lbs. of coffee; and we then proved from the very best evidence, and which there has been no attempt to contradict, that it was double the fair and reasonable amount. If the Protector felt himself thus authorised to specify 60lbs. as the fair average of a day's labour, when it was proved that 30lbs. was the fair average task, it was obvious that he could not punish the planters for oppression, if, following his own scale, they were to exact from their slaves the larger instead of the smaller quantity. The Protector was therefore required to produce the grounds on which he had proceeded in stating that to pick 60lbs. of coffee was “the average labour,” (of course, a moderate task) for a slave “per diem.”

To this part of the case the Protector has given no answer. The

only point on which he attempts to defend himself (See Vol. iii. No. 66, p. 387,) is, his having fixed the wages so *low* as $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ for each basket of coffee of 10lbs. weight. He produces, indeed, the testimony of a planter, who states the proper price for picking a basket of coffee to be a guilder, $17d.$ sterling, being double what he had fixed; but then he excuses his reducing the price to $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ a basket, by the consideration of the relation in which the master who gives him food, clothing, &c. stands to the slave, who ought therefore to work for half the price that strangers might reasonably be expected to pay him.

We need not say that Sir G. Murray in his letter of the 2nd Nov. 1829, most decidedly repudiated such reasoning, and inculcated on the Protector the clear obligation of fixing, for the slave's Sunday, the rate of labour which would be given, at any time, to persons in a condition to make an independent contract. "Errors of this nature," he adds, (evidently adopted from the fallacious views communicated to him by the planters) "would, if repeated, abate that full confidence which it is necessary his Majesty's Government should repose" in the Protector.

And yet how very strange and utterly inexplicable, on any hypothesis we can frame, is the result to which all this discussion, and all this solemn admonition, have brought the Protector.

In May, 1827, he fixed the price of picking 10lb. of coffee at $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ sterling, being only half of what planters told him it was worth.

In May, 1830, he fixes the price of picking 70lb. of coffee at $4\frac{1}{4}d.$ sterling, being only half the rate which he fixed, on the former occasion, for picking a seventh part of that quantity, namely 10lb.

The price of picking 70lb. of coffee at the rate of May, 1827, instead of $4\frac{1}{4}d.$ would have been nearly $5s.$ and in the judgment of the respectable planter, whom Colonel Young consulted, nearly $10s.$ The unquestionable evidence adduced by Mr. Alexander Macdonnell, Secretary of the Demerara Committee, (See Vol. ii. No. 43, p. 358.) would make the picking of 70lb. of coffee the very maximum of two days' labour for an *able* negro, in "the most favourable circumstances," coffee being "plentiful;" and for this amount of labour the Protector now assigns $4\frac{1}{4}d.$ as a fair price, that is about $2d.$ for the slave's whole Sunday!

But it is endless attempting farther to unravel this tangled web. All we are sure of is, that not only has not the Protector succeeded in approximating to the principle laid down by Sir George Murray; but he has departed from it to an almost infinite distance. It will be for him to explain, what no one else can, by any possibility, explain, the reasons on which this last notice, so contradictory of all that went before it, has proceeded.

We have detained our readers too long, though, we hope, not unprofitably, with the single case of Demerara. We could have enlarged our extracts from the complaints of the slaves, so as to have still more fully illustrated the wretched circumstances of the slave population in that Colony; but we fear to fatigue our readers, and we are anxious to hasten on to the other reports still lying before us.

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 85.]

JULY 25, 1831.

[VOL. iv. No. 13.

I. REPORTS OF PROTECTORS OF SLAVES.—II. BERBICE.—*Manumissions*;—*Marriages*;—*Savings' Bank*;—*Domestic Punishments*;—*Complaints of Slaves*, viz. *Cases of 1. Friday*;—*2. Georgiana*;—*3. Jan Zwart*;—*4. Christina*;—*5. Richard*;—*6. Jason*;—*7. Geluk and Coenraad*;—*8. January*;—*9. Wilhelmina*;—*10. Quaco*;—*11. Paul and others*;—*12. Nancy*;—*13. Peggy*;—*14. Adam and others*;—*15. Castlereagh*;—*16. Johanna*;—*17. Margaret and Present*;—*General Observations on Excess of Labour*;—*on Sunday Labour*;—*and on Religious Instruction*;—*Concluding Reflections.*

II. DONATIONS AND REMITTANCES.

I. REPORTS OF PROTECTORS.—II. BERBICE.

THE Report of the Protector of Slaves in Berbice, (numbered 262) comprises Returns of his proceedings for twenty months and a half,* commencing the 1st of October, 1828, and terminating the 14th of May, 1830, on which day the new Order in Council of February 2, 1830, came into operation.

The number of MANUMISSIONS effected in that time was 92, of which 29 consisted of persons liberated from an illegal bondage, in which many of them had been long held, though fully entitled to their freedom, either as the descendants of Indian mothers, or on other grounds. The number that may properly be said to be manumitted, therefore, either by the will of the master, or by purchase, is reduced to 63.

The number of MARRIAGES of slaves, in the same period, was 26.

The sums deposited in the SAVINGS' BANK by slaves, chiefly mechanics belonging to Government, amounted to 1,543 guilders, of which 1,297 guilders had been withdrawn. The amount remaining in deposit, at the end of the above period, was 5,014 guilders.

The following is the number of DOMESTIC PUNISHMENTS inflicted on the plantation slaves of Berbice, during a period of two years, from Jan. 1, 1828, to Dec. 31, 1829, viz:—

Date.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Jan. 1, to June 30, 1828,	3,054	1,775	4,829
July 1, to Dec. 31, 1828,	3,320	2,313	5,633
Jan. 1, to June 30, 1829,	3,173	2,499	5,672
July 1, to Dec. 31, 1829,	3,097	2,009	5,106
	12,644	8,596	21,240

The punishments, therefore, inflicted in Berbice during these two years, at the caprice of the master or manager, amounts to more in

* The returns of domestic punishments embrace a somewhat longer period.

number than the whole population of the Colony, which, by the last return, was nearly 21,000. But this is far too favourable a view of the case. No Record is kept, nor any return made to the Protector, of the punishments inflicted by proprietors who are not possessed of six slaves or upwards, and these may be in larger proportion than the others. The numbers so circumstanced must, therefore, be withdrawn from the whole population in order to give the real number of slaves included in this return. Besides these, if we deduct the young under eleven years of age, and the invalid and aged, who are not likely to have been visited with the infliction either of the cart-whip or of any of its substitutes, the number of the remaining plantation slaves, among whom these 21,240 punishments must have been distributed, probably did not exceed ten or eleven thousand at most. So that it is as if each individual slave in this Colony, who, from his age and circumstances, is liable to be included in the Record of punishments, had undergone the penalty of the cart-whip or the stocks, at least once in each year. Can we even fancy any state of society more thoroughly degraded than this? Now all these punishments are inflicted without trial, not by a judge or magistrate, but at the bidding of any ruffian who may own a slave, or who may be employed to superintend the labour of a slave, and who may thus punish men, women and children, his fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects, made in God's image, and redeemed by the blood of Christ, for any offence real or imaginary, or for no offence; the said ruffian being, within certain limits, if he so please, in his own person, sole prosecutor, witness, judge, jury, and executioner. And let us note the nature of some of those undefined and undefinable looks, words, or actions which these notoriously low, ignorant, violent and licentious individuals, are authorized, not only to punish by stripes and stocks, but actually to create and constitute *crimes*. They are such, for example, as "disobedience," "insolence," "insubordination," "abuse," "neglect of duty," "neglect of prayers," "idleness," "laziness," "eating dirt," "lying," "lewdness," "indecentcy," "swearing," &c.,—offences defined by no statute, requiring no evidence, but resting alike, for proof and for punishment, on the sense of justice and the humane feeling of slave-owners, or slave-drivers.—Such is society and such is law in Berbice, a British Colony, subject to the direct and uncontrolled legislation of His Majesty and his Council; for the law which sanctions these violations of humanity and justice is theirs; and on their *fiat* alone it depends whether all these abominations shall cease, or shall continue to grind to the very dust thousands of His Majesty's subjects, and to load this nation and its government with guilt and crime. It is absolutely sickening to think of it! But to proceed.

We come now to the complaints preferred, by slaves, to the Protector between the 1st of September, 1828, and the 14th of May, 1830, when the new Order in Council came into operation.

1. By turning to our 2nd Vol. No. 43, p. 362, the reader will find the case of a slave of the name of FRIDAY, who, having a trade, and being allowed to hire himself out, had accumulated some money, and being unable, we presume, under the then existing laws of the Colony

to purchase his freedom, had invested it, through the medium of a trustee, in a piece of land, and on that land had erected a house which cost him 2,000 guilders. Of this house and land his master, Mr. Emery, had taken forcible possession, and dying in 1821, had left it to his concubine, Mary Emery. Mr. Hill, *Friday's* trustee, might indeed have opposed this iniquitous appropriation and disposition of the property, but he was timid, and did not wish to interfere between master and slave. It was not until the arrival of a Protector at Berbice, in 1826, that *Friday* had any hope of obtaining the slightest redress for this cruel wrong and robbery. He accordingly applied to the Protector, who, after calling in vain on Miss Emery to produce her title to the house and land, proceeded to institute a suit against her on *Friday's* behalf, through Mr. Daly, the King's Advocate. Mr. Power, the Protector, was forced by ill health to quit the Colony for a time. On his return, in August, 1828, he found that no steps had been taken to vindicate *Friday's* rights, and the reason given for this neglect by the King's Advocate was, that there was, in his opinion, no proof to substantiate *Friday's* claim, *Friday* himself having, since Mr. Emery's death, been sold, together with Mr. Emery's other property, to other parties. The Protector, not acquiescing in this view of the case, brought the matter, through the medium of another advocate, Mr. Firebrace, before the Court of Civil Justice, Mr. Daly then appearing as the advocate of the defendant, Mary Emery. The case was very ably argued by Mr. Firebrace, who exposed the gross iniquity of the whole transaction, as well as the base subterfuges, false pleas, and equivocations, by which it had been sought to defeat the just rights of the poor slave. The result of the trial is thus announced, in a letter from Mr. Firebrace to the Protector, dated February 1, 1829. (We should wish to have seen the sentence of the Court.)—"I have the honour to inform you that the first Marshal of the Colony has, this day, put the slave *Friday* in possession of the house and land decreed to him by sentence of the Honourable Court of Civil Justice, dated the 23d of January last. The defendant in the above cause, Mary Emery, having tendered possession of the property in dispute, previous to the costs awarded by said sentence being taxed, I directed such tender to be accepted under special reservation of the right of proceeding in execution (should it be deemed necessary) to compel payment of such costs. His Excellency has referred the account to the Court of Civil Justice for taxation, at its next ordinary session in April. The poverty of the defendant makes it very doubtful whether the amount can be recovered from her. It is therefore my intention to memorialize the Council of Government to pay the same." (No. 262, of 1831, p. 15.)

Not a word is here said of the arrears of rent owing to poor *Friday*, with interest for the eight years during which the land and house had been in the occupancy of Mary Emery; nor of the further arrears which may have occurred prior to the death of Mr. Emery, and for which his heirs, executors, and assigns, if he has any, must be considered as equitably liable. We trust that the Protector will be instructed to look farther into this matter.

In the earlier stages of this case, the Fiscal, to whom it had been submitted, refused to interfere, on the alleged ground that, at the time Friday was divested of his house and land, a slave could not, by law, hold any property. What an untruth then did the Council of Berbice put into the mouths of His Majesty and his Privy Council, when they suggested as a correct preamble to the 27th clause of the Slave Ordinance for Berbice, of the 25th of September, 1826, the following words:—

“Whereas, by the *usage* of this Colony, persons in a state of slavery have hitherto been permitted to acquire, hold, and enjoy property free from control; and it is expedient that the said *custom* should be recognized, and as far as need be, established by law: Be it therefore enacted,” &c. What is this but a deliberate fraud?

We dwell upon this incident at more length, as furnishing a decisive refutation of that barefaced imposture, we mean the Abstract appended to the West Indian Manifesto, by *forty-one* distinguished West Indians, and particularly of that part of it which affirms the right which the slave has always had to the acquisition, possession, and enjoyment of property. The country, and Parliament too, we trust, will at length come to understand the value which is to be attached to the statements of men who subsist by a system of oppression, thus upheld and protected by deceit.

2. GEORGIANA, belonging to Plantation Reliance, complained (September, 1828) that for not finishing her task she was placed in the stocks, her failure to do so arising from debility, caused by her having been worked for the preceding eight days on the treadmill.—And at the same time four other women belonging to the same estate, MERSEY, SALLY, SIBELLA, and DIDO, complained of having been placed in the stocks for refusing to water the canes after they had finished the day's task that had been allotted to them. The complaints were against Mr. Gray, the manager. The only witnesses heard in his behalf, as to *these* facts, (we omit some collateral but irrelevant matters) were Mr. Gray himself, the party accused, and his driver, William, both of whom denied their truth. On this most unsatisfactory of all defences;—the mere plea of *not guilty*;—the Protector decided as follows, “Taking into consideration that eight days work on the treadmill had not had any effect upon the conduct of Georgiana, to which, upon recommendation of the local magistrate, she had been sent for her past misconduct” (the very circumstance to which Georgiana attributed her debility and her consequent inability to finish her task) “the Protector ordered her to be deprived of all her finery, and not allowed to wear any other than the estate's working dress until her behaviour is improved; to be confined solitarily from Saturday evening to Monday for one month;” (working of course in the field all the rest of the time) “and on the next Christmas holidays also to be in solitary confinement;—the four other women to be placed, for three hours, in the public stocks next Sunday.”—*Ibid.* p. 23.

Sir George Murray appears to have viewed this sentence in the same light that we do. “Under all the circumstances of the case,” he

observes, "I am disposed to think that this punishment was at once injudicious and unduly severe. The inefficacy of the treadmill to improve her conduct ought not to have been admitted as a reason for increasing the severity of the second punishment."—*Ibid.* p. 45.

3. On the 6th of October, 1828, JAN ZWART, belonging to Mr. Barnstedt, stated that he was sold at the Cruysburg sale, and was then separated from his wife and two children, the youngest then only four months old; that Mr. Culley purchased his wife and children; that he was bought by Mr. Barnstedt and sent to work with a task gang on a sugar plantation, the estate he had been sold from being a coffee one; that he could not eat or rest for the grief this separation occasioned in his heart; that he had been born on Cruysburg, and that his eldest brother who had also been born there was now sold to a different owner; and that about forty more slaves were sold under similar circumstances.—*Ibid.* p. 23.

This complaint was referred by the Protector to the Fiscal.

On the 7th of November, 1828, Jan Zwart re-appeared before the Protector, complaining that the Fiscal to whom he had gone had given him no redress. The Protector wrote to the Fiscal on the subject, but received no answer. On the 12th of January, 1830, Jan Zwart again applied to the Protector, and was again sent by him to the Fiscal. The Fiscal committed him to gaol, and next day sent him with a letter to Mr. Barnstedt, his owner, residing at Plantation Augsburg, of which he was the manager. Mr. Barnstedt put him, (Jan Zwart,) into confinement in the hospital, where he was locked up for a week without any food, so that he would have been starved had not a woman whom he knew on the estate brought him some; and on the 20th of January, Mr. Barnstedt sent him as a prisoner in custody to a distant plantation. But on the way thither, and while his keeper slept, Jan Zwart effected his escape, and on the 23rd of January again presented himself at the office of the Protector, who summoned all the parties before him. On the 28th of January the Protector received a letter from the Fiscal stating, that he had taken the utmost pains to induce Mr. Barnstedt to sell Jan Zwart to Mr. Culley, the owner of his wife and children, but had failed, the parties not agreeing about price; and that as no positive law had been infringed by the sale in question (the sale not having been judicial) he could institute no criminal prosecution with any effect.

On the 2nd of February 1829, the parties met at the Protector's office, when Mr. Barnstedt substantially admitted the material parts of Jan Zwart's allegations, namely, as to his having been sold separately from his wife and children; as to his having been closely confined in the hospital of Augsburg plantation, but because he was sick, (though no medical man saw him); and as to his having been sent off thence to a place distant four days journey from the estate on which his wife and children resided; and again the Protector called upon the Fiscal to interfere. The Fiscal, however, maintained that in all this there was nothing contrary to law, and to justify himself in that view of the case, he referred it to certain commissaries of the Court of criminal justice, who, (as he tells Mr. Power in his letter of the 11th

of February,) having investigated the complaint of Jan Zwart, found it to be without foundation, the evidence, in their view, not affording grounds for prosecution, and the conduct of Jan Zwart in bringing this unjust accusation against his master, being also extremely reprehensible; notwithstanding which, he (the Fiscal) did not mean to visit his conduct with any further punishment, than that of giving him a severe admonition, and then returning him to his master.—The Protector, with becoming spirit, protested against this decision in the strongest terms, and especially against either any punishment of any kind being inflicted on the complainant, or his being removed to such a distance from his wife and children. He wrote, at the same time, to the Governor, requesting a copy of the examinations taken by the Commissaries, and urging the farther detention of Jan Zwart for a few days until he had perused them.

The Governor, though agreeing in opinion with the Commissaries and the Fiscal, and thinking that Mr. Barnstedt was entitled to have his slave forthwith restored to him, yet yielded to the Protector's request, so far as to direct the farther detention of the complainant.

On the 14th of February, 1829, Mr. Power addressed to the Governor a letter, from which we deem it right to give some copious extracts:—

“ I complain not,” he says, “ of the decision of the Commissaries; but I cannot disguise that the manner in which the Fiscal brought the complaint before them was not calculated to elucidate the justice of the case. Had I known of the Commissaries being appointed, I should have solicited to attend the examination, and to be examined on oath, with my clerk, Mr. Hart, as to the conduct of Mr. Barnstedt at my office, and the attempted prevarication of February, (his sole witness). Mr. Hart and myself had seen Jan Zwart on the very day that he went to Augsburg. He was not then sick, quite the contrary. But the Ordinance itself indicates the mode of proving, before a Court of Law, the sickness of a slave; for it requires that a book shall be kept in every hospital, in which the names and treatment of all slaves shall be entered by the medical attendant under a penalty for every omission. But in the proceedings before the Commissaries, neither the registry, nor the medical attendant, was produced. Now Jan Zwart is admitted by all to have been confined in the hospital for eight days. He was so, either as an invalid, or for punishment. That he was not an invalid is proved by his not having been visited by the doctor, or furnished by him with medicines. Am I not justified then in declaring that he was so confined because he had complained to me of a great wrong, and sought the redress of the law. Besides is it not most extraordinary, that this alleged sick man, without the aid of physician or medicine was quite well enough to be transported to Willem's Hoop, the moment the boat had arrived to remove him?”

In a former parallel case, that of Mr. Nixon, the Receiver General of the Colony, (see Vol. ii. No. 43, p. 364.) “ Your Excellency,” proceeds the Protector, in calling to it the Fiscal's attention, described this separation of families to be “ so much at variance with what I have always considered to be the usage of the Colony, and must be so

prejudicial to its interests, that I think it necessary to call your attention to it, if it have not, (as I hope) already attracted your notice." And the Fiscal admitted in his reply that, "though not prohibited by any specific ordinance, it was nevertheless contrary to the usage and custom of the Colony."

"Here then is the case of Jan Zwart, returned, by the manager of Cruysburg, as living at that period in reputed marriage with his wife Beata, and one child proceeding from that marriage. The Fiscal indeed states, it was proved to him, (but of this I know nothing) that Jan Zwart himself, at the sale, requested to be sold with his mother, since dead. But Jan Zwart could not exercise any such option. No man can at his pleasure orphanise his child, or disengage himself from his paternal obligations; the child at least could be no party to such a disposition, and as his Protector, I protest solemnly against the principle and the precedent."

"I feel that in the dreadful alternative of separating either from mother or from wife, a negro may suffer under a great conflict of feelings; but the law which wishes to hallow and encourage the fidelity and permanence of conjugal ties, sternly deprecates the facility of divorce, a pregnant source of immorality wherever it has been tolerated. It was but the other day that a negro belonging to Mr. Gallez, before his honour the Fiscal, wished to be sold with his mother, rather than with his wife and children. Every gentleman present remonstrated with him on such an option, and told him that it could not be. What is the value of that reputed marriage record, which, as contradistinguished from the proceedings of other Colonial governments, has entitled your Excellency's government to the thanks of the people of England, if the first overt act, after its reception at the Protector's office, should prove to the world that, practically, it was a delusion in England, and a dead letter in Berbice.

"I also complain to your Excellency, that the poor negro, Jan Zwart, has not only been torn from his family, but that for having complained of his wrongs in the most clear and consistent manner, he is now to be banished to the remotest extremity of the Colony, with as much chance of an occasional interview with his family as if he were transplanted to the banks of the Oronoque." "And I must, in justice to him, say, that he bears a most excellent character, his name never appearing on the last four punishment records, saving once, and that for the offence of allowing a person to pass in a punt with him, from town, without a pass." "Willems Hoop too has no provision grounds; is never visited by any of the legally qualified medical practitioners of the Colony; and is so distant from plantains that the Negroes complain of insufficiency of food, though engaged in severe labour. It is considered as a punishment to send Negroes thither, being wholly out of the range of magisterial protection;—and yet this is the destination selected, by Mr. Barnstedt, for a valuable Negro, who, though injured himself, has been guilty of no offence. May I then hope that your Excellency will not permit the exercise of such a power to Mr. Barnstedt, which was refused by the Fiscal to Colonel Nixon and Dr. Monro, though the distance to which, in that case,

the slave was to be removed, was not more than twenty-one miles : I cannot account why a distinction should be made by his honour" in this case—"but there are some records in the criminal jurisdiction of this Colony, which require a public officer to look, with considerable vigilance, at any course of proceeding which affords to Mr. Barnstedt the opportunity of exercising his caprice or his vengeance."

In consequence of this able representation the Governor forthwith issued "instructions to the Fiscal, to take such immediate measures as the law might direct for the purpose of annulling the sale of Jan Zwart, separate from his family."—*Ibid.* p. 32—37.

The case of Jan Zwart being thus committed by the Governor to the Fiscal, Mr. Daly, the King's Advocate was employed to bring it before the Court of civil justice ; and on the 10th of February, 1830, that Court decided it in favour of the defendant, Mr. Barnstedt, and against the complaining slave, whose claim to be reunited to his family the Court rejected, condemning him, at the same time, in the costs of suit.—(*Ibid.* p. 103.) These costs will probably fall either on the Protector or on the government, as the slave of course must be unable to pay them.—And is there indeed no remedy for this violation of every principle of right ? Must the people and the parliament of England and the king himself submit to this outrage committed in his name ?

We have given this case also at length, as an undeniable refutation of another of the falsehoods put forth by our forty-one West Indian representatives, under the head of the non-separation of families.

There are several other complaints of the same description, arising from the same sale of Cruysburg, namely, that of ALABASTER, (p. 24.) that of FLORA and her three children, (p. 40.) in which case the conduct of the unconscious purchaser is highly honourable to him ; and that of JAN BROOK, the purchaser of whom (Mr. Ross) refused to sell him to Mr. Prass the purchaser of his relations, though offered the price he had paid for him, and he sold him to another man, Mr. Patterson, for a larger sum.—(p. 52.)

4. On the 27th of October, 1828, CHRISTINA, belonging to plantation Nieuw Vigilantie, stated her case as follows :—My father was an European, a Dutchman, manager of this plantation on which I was born. My first husband (keeper, viz.) was Mr. J. V. Mittelholzer, the brother of my present manager, with whom I lived for a year and a half, when he went to Europe and got married. I had by him two children who are still slaves. I was brought up a domestic, and was never used to field labour. Last year I came down to complain to Mr. Manrenbrecker, one of the attorneys of Vigilantie, with whom I remained employed as a sempstress till the other day, when he sent me back to the plantation ; and, on my return, Mr. H. C. Mittelholzer, the present manager, ordered me to work in the field, to which I have never been brought up or used.

The Protector communicated this case to the Fiscal, adding, "I cannot withhold from your honour my opinion, that it exhibits a system of manners that baffles all my past experience." The Fiscal, in his

reply, admits that slaves, with European blood on the paternal side, are not usually treated as predial slaves, but chiefly as domestics or mechanics ; but adds, that there is no law to prohibit their being employed in the field. Of course, poor *Christina* had no redress, but is one of the many victims who even now realise what was supposed the imaginary tale of *Inle and Yarico*. *Ibid*, p. 24.

5. RICHARD, complained that his master, F. E. Overeem, had both flogged him most causelessly, and also flogged him without the legal intermission of time between the offence, and the punishment. This last fact could not be denied ; but the Protector having admitted Mr. Overeem to swear that he was ignorant of the law requiring such an intermission, (a fact perfectly incredible) consented to forbear to prosecute for the penalty, both because he promised not to repeat the offence, and because he being poor, the penalty and costs of the suit would ruin him.

We should have deemed this a very strong inducement for enforcing the penalty, as it must have issued in the forfeiture of Richard to the crown, and his consequent liberation.

We well recollect another Mr. Overeem, who was once manager of Sandvoort, and who about fourteen or fifteen years ago inflicted upon a poor Christian negress called America, then pregnant, 150 lashes of the cart-whip, for saying something which he deemed insolence to a worthless woman who was his concubine. The account of this horrid transaction, for which he suffered the mild infliction of three months imprisonment and a fine of £20 sterling, is officially given in the Parliamentary Papers for 1818, No. 433.

6. On the 10th of February 1829, JASON belonging to Mr. Ter Reehorst, stated that his master does not allow him either Sunday or noontide, and that he does not provide him with the usual allowance of food ; and that he is obliged to beg provisions for his subsistence. To avoid a prosecution, the master consented to hire him out.

7. On the 11th of February 1829, GELUK and COENRAAD, belonging to Mr. Lantz, and hired to Mr. Barnstedt, at Willems Hoop plantation, states that they are employed in cutting timber, and are not properly fed either with plantains or salt fish ; and it was impossible they should perform such hard labour if not properly fed. The plantains too which were given them were so bad that they deranged the bowels ; and when they got sick, they had no doctor to visit the estate. (This is the same estate to which Jan Zwart was sent.) The Protector referred the matter to the Fiscal, but his decision has not yet been given. *Ibid*. p. 38.

8. On the 12th of February 1829, JANUARY, a boy belonging to Barrack-master Sherburne, complained that his master almost starved him, and treated him in a most cruel manner, beating him for pilfering bread to satiate his hunger. The boy's emaciated state induced the Protector to send him to the gaol where he might be properly fed. The starving was denied by Mr. Sherburne, and no illegal punishment was *proved* to have been inflicted. The boy's appearance, however, bore such evident marks of harsh treatment, Mr. Sherburne too having been already before the Protector for similar conduct, that the Pro-

tektor ordered him to remain in gaol till his master could dispose both of him and his mother. The sale was effected on the 20th February.—In short, such was the hardship of his lot, that slavery under any other master who might chance to bid for him at an auction, was deemed to afford a chance of relief. *Ibid*, p. 39.

9. On the 3rd of March 1829, WILHELMINA, belonging to James Blair, Esq., M. P., stated that her mother was an Indian, named Annatje, and her father a white man, a doctor, residing at Anna Clementina, named Prange. Annatje died when *Wilhelmina* was very young. *Wilhelmina* then became the slave of Mr. George, and was afterwards sold along with his estate, (Plantation, No. 17, West-Coast,) to Mr. Blair. After Mr. Blair bought her, he took her to Barbadoes, and had her taught needle-work that she might provide for herself; in the intention she thinks of giving her her freedom. But, Mr. Blair dying, she was sent back to the Colony. *Wilhelmina* having established these facts in evidence, the Protector took the necessary steps for her liberation, and in August 1829, she, her two daughters, and two grand children were made free. *Ibid*, p. 50.

10. On the 27th of April 1829, QUACO, belonging to J. P. Dehnert, complained that going up the river in a boat with a free man named Christian, Christian, being in liquor, quarrelled with him, and then complained to Mr. Dehnert that *Quaco* had been saucy. In consequence of this charge he received twenty-five lashes on Saturday, April 18th. After having been flogged, he said he would go to the Protector to complain of being wrongfully punished. The driver reported the threat to Mr. Dehnert, who, on the very same day, caused him to be laid hold of and flogged with twenty-six lashes more; after which he was placed in the stocks till the Tuesday following. These facts being proved, the matter was referred to the Fiscal for prosecution. Mr. Dehnert was convicted and sentenced to be imprisoned in the common gaol for a month, and to pay a fine of 500 guilders, (about £35 sterling,) with costs of suit, &c. *Ibid*, pp. 51 and 67.

11. On the 29th of June 1829, PAUL, ANTHONY, and BONAPARTE, belonging to plantation D'Edward, complained that on Saturday last, after finishing their tasks, the manager Mr. D'Hankar ordered them to plant coffee; but having already finished their tasks for the day, they did not obey this order, and were flogged in consequence. A similar complaint was made by CHANTON, JULIA and PHILIDA, belonging to the same plantation that, for the same act of disobedience, under the same circumstances, they were punished with six hours in the stocks. The manager's excuse was, that though their task had been set, he had desired them to break off for other more urgent work, but they had refused. The result was, that the manager was simply admonished in future to fix the tasks the day before; and that the slaves were told they must not refuse to obey any orders issued to them by the manager. *Ibid*, p. 55.

12. NANCY stated that she was kept by Mr. Macdonald, manager of plantation Waterloo, and was with child by him. Going to Waterloo, she found Clarissa in Mr. Macdonald's bed, and going to strike her for this provoking infringement of her rights, was herself beaten

by Clarissa. Mr. Macdonald then interfered and drove *Nancy* out of the house with a horse-whip, Clarissa's mother also beating her with a shoe. The Protector reprobated in strong terms the disgraceful nature of this transaction, and referred the complaint to the Fiscal, who had not yet decided upon it. *Ibid*, p. 57.

13. PEGGY stated that her mother was made free by Mr. Katz, but that neither her mother's freedom nor her own, nor that of her three children, whose fate followed her's, had been properly secured. The Protector finding that the names neither of *Peggy*, nor her three children were inserted in the Slave Registry, summarily ordered their freedom to be declared and properly secured to them. *Ibid*.

14. On the 19th of August 1829, ADAM and four other slaves, belonging to plantation Reliance, complained that as they were *throwing grass* on the preceding night, some indecency was committed which raised a laugh among the slaves, and which the overseer considered as insolence to himself. Mr. Gray, the manager, not being able to discover the person who had thus offended, selected these five men and put them in the stocks, threatening to punish them if they did not discover the offender. They either could not or would not name him. They were therefore flogged. This case was referred to the Fiscal, that he might decide whether there was ground to prosecute Mr. Gray for punishing five men because they refused to disclose the author of an indecent act. The result of this reference has not yet been given. *Ibid*, p. 61.

15. On the 8th of March 1830, CASTLEREAGH, belonging to Mr. Bond, complained that yesterday he had been put in the stocks, and his mother MARGARET in the stocks in the dark hole, in which she was still confined, their common crime being that they had not Mr. Bond's breakfast ready for him in proper time. The Protector sent his clerk to Mr. Bond, who, on his return, reported that having obtained the key of the dark-hole, he had there found *Margaret* with both feet in the stocks, shut up in a dark room, eight feet by five, having no window, nor any opening for the circulation of air. The Protector went immediately to the Fiscal and obtained *Margaret's* release. Mr. Bond was prosecuted and condemned to pay a fine of 150 guilders, (£10 12s. 6d. sterling) and the costs of suit. *Ibid*, p. 111.

16. On the 24th of March 1830, JOHANNA, belonging to plantation Reliance, complained that last week she was placed in solitary confinement for not finishing her task. On Monday she again left her task undone, and was confined at night in the bed-stocks. Being threatened next day with further confinement if she did not finish her task, she had come to complain of its excess. It was indeed, she admitted, not half of what others performed, but then, she was pregnant, and as she advanced in pregnancy was less able to work. She thought she ought not in that state to be confined in the bed-stocks.—Mr. Gray the manager, was desired to consult the doctor, and to proceed in respect to *Johanna* by his directions. *Ibid*, p. 112.

17. On the 27th of April 1830, MARGARET and PRESENT complained that, though they were old and infirm, their master Andrew Ross, gave them the same tasks as the other slaves, and, if they did

not perform it, confined them in the *public* stocks. *Present* exhibited her feet affected with the Elephantiasis, and complained of the pain she endured from confinement in the *public* stocks. The doctor of the estate admitted the impropriety of confining her in the *public* stocks which require a standing position, and thought that she should be placed in bed-stocks in a reclining position! Truly, the tender mercies of this doctor are somewhat cruel. And this seems to have been all the redress these poor old invalid women received! *Ibid*, p. 113.

These are only specimens of the 129 cases of complaint brought before the Protector, and of which we have any returns. We need not repeat the observations they are calculated to excite, and which we have too frequently been called to make in reference to this colony. And if such be the state of things in Crown Colonies, what must it be in the others, where there are no responsible protectors; where the secrets of the prison-house are revealed, when they are revealed, only by accident; and where there is therefore none of that restraint, arising from a fear of publicity, which is now made more or less to attach to the administration of the slave-laws in the Crown Colonies.

A few observations arising out of this report, remain still to be made.

1. We have been charged with incorrectness in what we have at different times asserted, respecting the night-work exacted from the slaves in crop-time. It had been proved, to Sir G. Murray's satisfaction, that the planters were in the habit of employing their slaves, at the works on their plantations, during a great part of the night. But, "however culpable may have been this conduct," I fear, he says, "that there is no ground to expect that they could be prosecuted to conviction; as it appears, with sufficient clearness, that this offence is not punishable under the Berbice Ordinance of September 1826; nor can I find that any earlier law of the Colony has denounced any penalty for misconduct of this nature. This defect in the law cannot however be too speedily supplied. You will therefore avail yourself of the earliest opportunity for proposing a Supplementary Ordinance for defining the hours of repose to be enjoyed, by all plantation slaves, during each night in the week; and for punishing all persons, who, during those hours, may employ such slaves in any species of labour." (*Ibid*, p. 104.) This peremptory instruction was issued by Sir G. Murray, on the 24th of November 1828; but hitherto we have seen no copy of any such Ordinance, and we fear, therefore, that it has not been enacted. But, whatever be the fact in this particular instance, during the past year, as far as Berbice is concerned, the correspondence serves to illustrate what we have said as to the gross frauds practised by the Colonial Legislatures, and by the planters generally, respecting that most important point the exaction of slave-labour. The laws generally, on the subject, whether in the Chartered or in the Crown Colonies, limit only the hours of labour in the field, and that limit is regulated only by the possibilities of the case. In Jamaica, and in most other Colonies, it embraces the hours from five in the morning till seven at night, with intervals of two hours or two hours and a half; (every hour in short, in which a glimmering of light

can be had to direct the slave's labour *in the field*.) But his labour does not therefore cease with those hours. There is no limit to exactions *out of the field*, except the will of the master, or the physical capacity of the slave. Half the night, or even the whole of the night, (the ten hours in short left free from the field) may be exacted in crop-time, at the pleasure of the master, not only on sugar, but also on coffee and cotton plantations. Here, as we have said, there is no limit except the will, or rather the cupidity, of the master, and the power of endurance of the slave. And yet, in all the pleadings of the West Indians in favour of the ease and happiness and comfort of the slave's lot, this monstrous aggravation of his toils and his sufferings is wholly lost from the view.—The same tortuous policy is pursued out of crop, and means are found, without violating any law, to encroach on the hours of the slave's repose, by unnoticed but cruel exactions; such, for instance, as collecting and carrying grass for the cattle, and other operations not requiring day-light; as bringing home on their heads plantains, wood for fuel, materials for building, &c. The reader may remark above at p. 359, the incidental mention of "*throwing grass*," and in the record of punishments now before us, we find forty-two instances of punishment for the specific offence of "neglecting to throw grass" after the labours of the field have closed; and this, without a single comment, or one note of reprehension, either from the Protector, or from those to whom he is amenable. The unlimited power of the master, in the exaction of labour, is thus further illustrated in the following passage of the Report before us. "The increase of punishments" (in 1828, says the Protector,) "is most probably to be attributed to a very large coffee crop in comparison with former years, and where" "every effort was made by the planter to obtain *his fullest share of labour* according to" (that is compatible with) law." *ibid*, p. 9. "How ineffectually the law restrains the master, we have already seen.

But this remark further illustrates one of the positions which we have always maintained, and which we have been abused for maintaining, as if it were paradoxical and untrue; namely, that such is the innate viciousness of this system as to render the fertility of soil, the productiveness of crops, and the various elements of the prosperity of the planter, a bitter curse, instead of a blessing to the wretched slave. (See Reporters, Vol. i. No. 17, 19, 22, 26, 35, Supplement to No. 61, &c.)

And here, be it remembered, that the *forty-one* distinguished West India proprietors, in their recent Manifesto, have had the boldness to proclaim, in defiance of the known facts of the case, that the exaction of the labour of the slave is effectually limited *by law*, no less than by the humanity of the planters, and by regard to their own interests.

2. Another point on which we have often dwelt, but hitherto with little effect, has been the regular and systematic violation of the Sabbath, and the determination of the planters not only to appropriate to themselves all the hours of the six days of the week which they can extort from the nerves and sinews of their bondmen and bondwomen, but to forego no means of evasion which may give them

the power of encroaching upon the Sabbath of the slaves. Not content with withdrawing from them, on the groundless plea of necessity, the ready plea of all tyrants, the three best hours of that sacred day, for the purpose of distributing to them their miserable weekly allowances; and with compelling them also to labour on the Sunday, whenever the state of the crops may seem to them to require it; they have further discovered, that, by employing Sunday as the special season of punishment, they shall be able to preserve, unbroken, the continuity of week-day labour, and thus swell their guilty gains. And they would have succeeded, by artful misrepresentations, in obtaining the concurrence of the Protectors in all the Crown Colonies to this most unholy appropriation, but for the resistance of the Secretary of State. Of the opprobrious tendency to this new desecration of the Sabbath, some remarkable proofs will be found in the Reporter, No. 83; and the Berbice Report, which we are now considering, adds to their number.—“It is evident,” says Sir George Murray, “from this Report, that Sunday is frequently made a day of domestic punishment. This is a practice open to so many abuses that the owner should never be permitted to resort to it without the previous sanction of a magistrate;” (*Ibid.* p. 44)—and never, we submit with all due deference, even then. The Sunday must of necessity be included in any term of imprisonment which exceeds six days; but surely the magistrate, if he be also a planter, should be absolutely prohibited, in all cases where the imprisonment is for a shorter period than a week, to include the Sunday; a provision of the utility of which our estimate will not be lessened, when we come to consider, which we shall now proceed to do, the facts these papers disclose respecting the state of religion and religious instruction among the slaves of Berbice; facts which, with slight variations, are equally applicable to every slave Colony belonging to this *Christian* land.

3. On the 25th of September, 1829, Mr. Beard, the Governor of Berbice, thus writes to Sir G. Murray:—“It certainly is deeply to be lamented that *no measures* should yet” (at the close of 1829) “have been adopted to afford religious instruction to the generality of the slave population, more particularly to the junior part of it. There are but two clergymen, one of the Established Church, the other from the London Missionary Society, in the Colony; and as it is impossible for them to extend their labours beyond the town, *the great mass of the slave population is unavoidably left in its original state of profound ignorance.* The improvements adverted to by the Protector, with the exception of granting an extra day in the week to the slaves to cultivate their provision grounds”—(without which, let it not be forgotten, all talk of improvement is mere hypocrisy, and all attempt at improvement, utterly futile and worthless, an evasion and a mockery)—“have long since been generally *agreed* to by the Council.”—(A council of planters will of course *agree* to any proposal which, in existing circumstances, can have no practical effect, and will not deprive them of one hour’s labour of any one of their slaves. Thus is the Government, and the Parliament, and the British public, gulled and cheated by a profession of zeal for religion.)—The Gover-

nor adds, that “at their next Session, I will not fail earnestly to bring the subject again before the Council.” Did not the Governor know, at the time he wrote them, that these were vain and delusive words? (*Ibid.* p. 45.)

About the same period, (*viz.*: in Sep. 1829,) the Deputy Protector, Mr. Bird, thus addressed the Governor:—

“I beg leave to bring under your consideration the uninstructed state of the slaves in Berbice; a state of little perceptible difference from that of their African forefathers. I had hoped, on inquiry, to learn from the ministers of religion, that some plan was in agitation, if not already actually on foot, for conveying to them a knowledge of the principles of Christianity, and for affording, to the young at least, an opportunity of acquiring the first elements of education.” He thus gives the result of his inquiries. “From the Lutherans,” he says, “I have received no answer, nor do I believe they are able to afford one by any means satisfactory. Mr. Wray, the missionary, is the only person who has set himself zealously to work in disseminating knowledge among the slaves. He has proved plainly the necessity which exists for improving their minds, and that means of instruction and opportunities,” (*time, viz.*) “alone require to be provided, for there is every desire on the part of the slaves, under much disadvantage, to seek tuition. To his letter on this and other subjects, connected with the improvement of the slaves, I beg to solicit your attention, and particularly to the very general violation of the Sabbath, by its being made, especially, a day for secular pursuits in the cultivation of provision grounds, the sale of stock, attending markets, &c.” (doubtless including, in this &c. the three hours of Sunday morning given regularly and systematically to the distribution of the allowances of the slaves.) “This perversion of what ought to be kept sacred is now, (*viz.* in September 1829) at its height, and the practice is not likely to decrease, unless the legislature should interfere, and grant to the slave some other portion of the week, to make those additions to his comforts, which he does not expect to receive from any other source than the efforts of his own industry.” *Ibid.* p. 46.

The inclosure in this letter from the Rev. T. Rowland, the one Clergyman of the Church of England, is to the following effect:—

“The short period I have been resident in this Colony, makes it impossible to answer your inquiry as satisfactorily as I could wish. With respect to the slave population of this Colony, I believe that, since the passing of the New Code in September 1826, their improvement is very limited, and the number converted to Christianity very few.” “The Predial negroes are entirely without instruction. The Winkel negroes, in this respect, are better off. Indeed, they are the only ones within reach of instruction.” “Many of them attend Mr. Wray at his missionary chapel; and the children, to the number of forty, go to a daily school, and their progress is very satisfactory. The children in the first class read very well, and are very perfect in the *Church Catechism*.” (And yet Mr. Wray is a Dissenter.) “There are also some domestic slaves taught to read and write by some one in the family where they reside; but the number is not great. *There is no*

means of instruction provided by the established Church, for the slaves. There is no accommodation in my church but for very few. Shortly after I came here, I gave public notice, that if any proprietor should wish, or allow, their slaves to be instructed in the principles of Christianity, I should be happy to devote one afternoon each week for that purpose. I attended a few times, but none came."

This is very instructive. Not a proprietor was found in Berbice, who either wished or would permit, one of his slaves to attend on Mr. Rowland. On Sunday afternoon, he might possibly have collected a few; but the afternoon of a week-day, a day of labour, was too valuable to be thrown away in hearing of God, and Christ; of heaven and hell; of souls perishing, or of souls to be saved!

Next comes Mr. Wray's communication to the Protector. We mean to give some large extracts from it. He says,

"I am happy to observe that the change in the moral and religious conduct of many slaves, during the last three years, has been very considerable. A very great desire of improvement, and particularly to read and to say the catechism, has been manifested by a great number on various plantations. I have distributed 1,000 spelling-books, and a far greater number of catechisms, since February 1827, chiefly to slaves, and upwards of 50 copies of the Scriptures, since June 1828. The country slaves labour under great disadvantages: they can have no regular teacher to instruct them in reading; yet some make considerable progress, as they possess great perseverance, and get any one that can to give them a lesson. One negro told me last Sunday, that when any of the sailors went on the estate he asked them to give him a lesson."

"I beg to state that you might be of great service to the cause of Christianity, if you could use your influence with government that those heathenish dances and music, which are always accompanied with drunkenness, should be removed from the Sabbath to some other day of the week. They entirely unfit even those who wish to worship God, to do it with peace and devotion. It is a disgrace to the Christian community that two Sabbaths in the year should be legally set apart for dissipation and African dances and songs: and it is generally intimated in the *Royal Gazette*, that this dissipation is to begin at eight o'clock on Saturday night, and till Monday night at Easter; and till Sunday night at Whitsuntide. I know of nothing that has a greater tendency to demoralise the slaves, and keep up their African customs, than this. Surely some other day of the week could be given them in lieu of Sunday to practise their African songs and dances, and to get drunk. Nothing has a greater tendency to perpetuate heathenish superstitions than thus legalizing for them these two, and sometimes three, Sabbaths in the year. The abolition of Sunday markets is also an object worthy of your exertions, as they are a great obstacle to the moral and religious improvement of the slaves. How can these poor heathens believe the fourth commandment to be a part of the word of God, when they see our laws and customs in direct opposition to it?

"One proof of the good effects of the ameliorating influence of

Christian instruction, is the abolition of the superstitious practices of Obeah, which were once so prevalent, and which, according to the planters themselves, as well as of the negroes, had the most unhappy effects on the minds of many," and of their rites "in honour of the dead," which are attended with "great expense and superstitious ceremonies. I could give many instances of slaves converted from the belief and practice of these superstitions." "Formerly these things were very prevalent even among the Winkels," (his own peculiar charge,) "but they are now abandoned; at least they never come under my notice." "Except within a few miles of town, instruction has made but little progress: the negroes are yet in heathen darkness, and without the knowledge of the gospel. The estates high up the river, and all along the west bank of it, as well as on the east and west coasts have *no* means of instruction, and of course remain as ignorant as ever. And if I may judge of the state of the other slaves up the river, from the gross darkness in which we found the Crown negroes, on plantations Dankbaarheid, Dageraad, and Sandvoort, they are sad indeed. From the free access I had to these negroes, for the short time they were in possession of His Majesty's commissioners, I had an opportunity to become acquainted with their ignorance and moral darkness."*

* This commission was appointed in 1811. The commissioners were Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Stephen, Mr. Long now Lord Farnborough, Mr. Vansittart now Lord Bexley, Mr. W. Smith, and Mr. Gordon, deceased; and under their control and sanction, the conduct of the commission was placed in the hands of Mr. Z. Macaulay. It was but for a short space that the commissioners were permitted to retain their power; but short as that space was, their efforts were thwarted, not only by the local government, but by the government of the day at home, to a degree which almost wholly marred their purposes of benefit to the 1,200 slaves committed to their care. And they had the mortification not only of witnessing the frustration of the hopes with which they entered upon their office, but of having to endure a load of unmerited reproach for failures which were brought about by the very persons who calumniated them, but were attributed to their misconduct. In 1814 or 1815 the three estates were taken out of the hands of the commissioners and transferred to the Dutch government, and by it sold to English speculators. All Christian instruction, and all religious education were instantly banished from among the slaves, and the whole management reverted to the ancient system, from which it had been the effort of the commissioners to redeem them. The records of the Berbice Fiscal will shew some of the sad consequences which have resulted from the change.—But though the three estates were restored to the Dutch, there remained, in the chief town of the colony, a body of slaves belonging to the Crown, called the Winkels, consisting chiefly of mechanics of different kinds. To these, when they were replaced, by the commissioners, in the hands of the government, the Rev. Mr. Wray was continued as the religious instructor. He had been engaged by the commissioners, at the commencement of their undertaking, to superintend the religious interests of all the poor people entrusted to their care. When *the estates* were shut against his benevolent exertions, Mr. Wray still continued to instruct the Winkels, and his efforts among them have been marked by extraordinary zeal and diligence, and have been attended with gratifying success. But for the appointment of Mr. Wray to this station, not one spark of Christian light would have found its way into Berbice. The only germ of Christianity which exists there may be traced to Mr. Wray, and to the commissioners who nominated and

“Some time back a slave was sent to me to examine him, that I might furnish the requisite certificate of his being qualified to take an oath; but I found he knew no more about God, or Christ, or the Christian religion, than one of the untaught Indians: and that he had never been in a place of worship: and indeed how could he, for there was no place within his reach.” “I had hoped that an ecclesiastical establishment would have prepared the way for the more extensive usefulness of Christian missionaries, by the abolition of Sunday markets, and the establishment of schools for the slave children, so that they would have been prepared to receive and read the scriptures. But, in this colony, I have to lament that not a single institution, not a single school, has arisen from that appointment.”

“With respect to the instruction afforded by this mission to the slaves of the colony, you will form an idea from the returns I now send. In the three years since Sept. 1826, 91 adults, and 71 children have been baptized. In the three preceding years, 31 adults, and 10 children. Those denominated children, are boys and girls who have learned the catechism, and received instruction. As no slaves are baptized by me, till instructed in the doctrines and duties of Christianity, and till they give some evidence of a change of conduct, I trust some have become converts, and any who act contrary to the rules of the Gospel are censured, reprov'd, or excluded (from the communion.) The number admitted to the Lord's table in the last three years is 39; one has been excommunicated for immoral conduct. In the three previous years only seven slaves had been admitted to the Lord's Supper. In the Sunday School there are about 110 slaves, all learning to read. A number of these belong to the crown, many of whom read well in the Bible, and also religious tracts. Many of them being taught in a *day* school, the time in the *Sunday* School is chiefly occupied in religious instruction, the scholars committing to memory considerable portions of catechisms, the scriptures, and hymns. They attend for the same purpose every Wednesday afternoon. A class of adult slaves also read the Bible in the Sunday School, and also on Tuesday evening. Many of Mr. Blair's slaves, on the West coast, are learning to read, and a few can read easy parts of the New Testament. They attend chapel when they can get a conveyance across the river; and, during the Christmas and Easter holidays, a few of them spent all their time in the school-room or chapel, in preference to joining in heathenish customs.”

Now is it not marvellous that, after the attention of parliament and the public has been drawn, for years, to the state of our slave colonies;—after the repeated pledges of reform which have been given by the government, and the volumes of admonition which have been

supported him; and if their maligned commission had produced no other benefit, they would feel abundantly repaid for every sacrifice of time and trouble, and for all the obloquy it drew upon them, by the present aspect of the mission so happily established by Mr. Wray, and so successfully conducted, through years of trial and difficulty, to its present hour of advancing prosperity.

written by our Secretaries of State;—and after all the assurances conveyed from year to year, to parliament and the public, of progressive improvement;—is it not, we repeat, most marvellous that, in the year 1831, we should be doomed to witness, in a British Colony, not forty days sail from the British shores, scenes such as those which the preceding pages exhibit to our view? But such is slavery; and slavery too, not such as West Indian enactments alone have made it. Let us here do the West Indians justice. The laws of Berbice are the laws, not of Colonists, but of the British crown. The laws which sanction most of the outrages we have had the pain of disclosing, and recording, are laws emanating from the King in Council, passed, we fear, under the influence of Colonial delusion, while wiser and safer counsels, which would at least have saved the nation from some of the opprobrium which now attaches to it, and spared some of the blood which now stains our hands, and makes its appeal to heaven against this guilty land, have been contemned and rejected.* In the chartered colonies, there may be some semblance of excuse for the toleration of the crimes which have there been perpetrated, though it be only the semblance. But, in Berbice and the other Crown Colonies, the government have themselves been the lawgivers. The law, for example, which has permitted a few owners or managers of estates, without judge or jury or form of trial, to inflict 13,000 floggings, in two years, on the adult males of Berbice, and to imprison in stocks, and to immure, in dark and solitary dungeons, equal to its whole adult female population;—the law which has enabled the master to grind down the slave with exactions by day and by night;—the law which puts it in the power of the master to deprive his slave of the blessed rest of the Sabbath, and to shut him out from the light of heaven itself;—the law also which leaves the master free almost to starve his slave, and even to kill him by inches;—this law is the work, not of the planters of Berbice or of the other Crown Colonies, but of the government of Great Britain; of the King in his supreme council; of the ministers of the British throne.—And shall such laws, we ask again, be continued even for another year? If so, the time is surely come for the people of this Christian land, to protest still more loudly than they have yet done, against these abominations;—to wipe their own hands at least of this foul stain;—and perseveringly to employ their utmost exertions, and their unceasing prayers in labouring to break every yoke, and to deliver every British slave from his bitter bondage. From our present rulers, indeed, we look for better things. They seemed to have been raised to power, on a former occasion, in order to abolish the British Slave Trade. We trust, that, under the Divine blessing, they will now be made the honoured instruments of extinguishing British slavery also.

* Mr. Wilmot Horton, than whom there can be no more competent witness, told us, in his letters to the freeholders of Yorkshire, that it was the deliberate and systematic plan of the administration under which he acted, to seek the advice and concurrence of the planters, with respect to their measures of reform, but to exclude from all communication of their purposes, the advocates of the wretched slave.

II.—DONATIONS AND REMITTANCES IN AID OF THE FUNDS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, FROM JANUARY 1, TO MAY 14, 1831.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
The Rev. T. Gisborne . . . (Donation)	5	0	0	T. R. Guest, Esq. per Mr. Vatchell, Cardiff . . . (Donation)	1	1	0
Scarborough Association . . . (Payment)	10	0	0	Mr. Vatchell, Cardiff . . . (Payment)	1	10	0
Liverpool Association . . . (Ditto)	20	16	0	Aberdeen Association . . . (Payment)	27	17	0
Rev. M. M. Preston (Ann. Subscription)	5	0	0	Alton Ladies Ditto . . . (Ditto)	2	3	0
Whitby Association . . . (Payment)	5	8	6	Joshua Strangman, Esq. 17, Cheapside (Annual)	2	2	0
Reading Ladies' Association . . . (Ditto)	5	0	0	Kingston Ladies' Association (Payment)	1	14	11
Surrey Association . . . (Ditto)	5	7	0	A. B. . . . (Donation)	0	5	0
W. Everest, Esq. (Annual Subscription)	1	1	0	Peckham Association . . . (Payment)	6	16	4
Camberwell Association . . . (Payment)	3	0	0	Worcester Ladies' Association (Donation)	6	0	0
Manchester Ladies' Association (Donat.)	3	0	0	Colchester Association . . . (Payment)	14	6	0
Ditto Ditto . . . (Payment)	5	12	0	Leicester Ditto . . . (Ditto)	5	8	6
Sunderland Association . . . (Ditto)	5	8	0	Halifax Ditto (Ditto)	10	6	6
Berkhamstead Ditto . . . (Ditto)	2	2	0	Hertford Ditto (Ditto)	7	0	0
Hanley and Shelton Association (Ditto)	6	16	6	Gainsboro' Ditto (Ditto)	15	0	4
Mr. Joseph Davis, Taunton (Donation)	1	0	0	Legacy of Mrs. Macdonald, of Lymington, by the Rev. J. Millard . . .	22	10	0
Newcastle-upon-Tyne Ladies' Association (Ditto)	8	17	5	Lymington Association . . . (Payment)	1	3	5
Chipping Norton Association (Payment)	2	7	0	Mr. J. Marriage, Maldon . . . (Ditto)	0	12	0
Devizes Association . . . (Ditto)	3	12	0	Bridport Association . . . (Ditto)	0	13	0
Mrs. Kennaway, Charmouth (Donation)	1	0	0	Miss Crouch, St. Ives . . . (Ditto)	0	10	8
Mr. Jonathan Barrett . . . (Annual)	1	0	0	Margate Association . . . (Ditto)	1	14	3
William Hall, Esq. Cheltenham (Ditto)	2	2	0	Westminster Ladies' Association (Ditto)	5	16	1
Miss Yerbury, Ditto . . . (Ditto)	2	2	0	London Ladies' Depository, Gracechurch Street . . . (Ditto)	9	5	6
Miss Finch, Ditto . . . (Ditto)	1	1	0	Chelmsford Ladies' Association (Ditto)	16	4	2
A Friend, per the Record Newspaper (Donation)	1	0	0	Ditto Ditto . . . (Donation)	10	0	0
Worcester Association . . . (Payment)	20	2	6	Birmingham, Woodgreen, &c. Ladies' Negro Friend Society . . . (Payment)	7	7	0
Penzance Ditto . . . (Ditto)	4	1	7	Miss Prideaux . . . (Ditto)	1	0	0
Ditto Ditto . . . (Donation)	0	18	5	Hull Association . . . (Ditto)	11	14	6
Boston Association . . . (Payment)	7	18	0	Mrs. Archdale Palmer, Cheam (Annual)	1	1	0
Doncaster Ditto . . . (Ditto)	7	5	6	Rastrick Association . . . (Payment)	0	14	0
Ditto Ditto . . . (Donation)	1	14	6	North East London Ladies' Association (Payment)	3	2	7
Mr. Sarjeant, March, Isle of Ely (Paym.)	2	0	0	R. Purvis, Esq. Sunbury . . . (Annual)	5	5	0
Rt. Hon. Lord Calthorpe (Donation)	30	0	0	Mrs. Purvis, Ditto . . . (Ditto)	3	3	0
Leeds Association . . . (Payment)	21	13	5	Miss Jane Purvis, Ditto . . . (Ditto)	2	2	0
Taunton Association . . . (Ditto)	20	10	0	Miss Elizabeth Purvis, Ditto . . . (Ditto)	2	2	0
Miss Allen, Stepney Causeway (Ditto)	2	9	0	Miss Frances Purvis, Ditto . . . (Ditto)	2	2	0
T. E. Dacey, Esq. Claybrook Hall (Ann.)	5	5	0	Chesterfield Association . . . (Payment)	0	18	0
Rev. T. Galland . . . (Ditto)	1	1	0	H. Upher, Esq. (Donation)	10	10	0
Cirencester Association . . . (Payment)	10	17	4	York Ladies' Association . . . (Payment)	2	16	0
Salisbury, Calne, Melksham, Devizes, &c. Ladies' Association (Donation)	25	0	0	Ditto Gentlemen's Ditto . . . (Ditto)	5	12	0
A Friend . . . (Ditto)	2	0	0	William Evans, Esq. M.P. (2 yrs. Annually)	4	4	0
Stoke Newington Ladies' Association (Payment)	1	12	8	Mrs. Roberts, Charmouth, Dorset, (Don.)	20	0	0
F. Munro, Esq. Lower Bedford Place (Annual)	1	1	0	Peckham Association . . . (Ditto)	20	0	0
John Dickenson, Esq. (Ditto)	1	1	0	Birmingham, &c. Ladies' Negro Friend Society . . . (Ditto)	60	0	0
Archdeacon Corbett . . . (5th Donation)	2	0	0	Committee of the Society of Friends, for the entire Abolition of the Slave-Trade and Slavery . . . (Ditto)	1000	0	0
Edward Tipton, Esq. (3rd Donation)	1	0	0	Hanley and Shelton Association (Ditto)	10	10	0
Nicholas Broughton, Esq. (Donation)	5	0	0	Miss Yerbury, Cheltenham (Payment)	3	3	6
A Friend, by T. P. (Ditto)	1	0	0	Birmingham Association . . . (Ditto)	19	16	0
Gracechurch Street Ladies' Association (Payment)	1	1	0	Kendal Ditto (Donation)	12	0	0
Contributions from Litchfield, per W. G. Bird, Esq.	3	13	6	Ditto Ladies' Ditto . . . (Ditto)	8	0	0
Woodbridge Ladies' Association (Donat.)	5	0	0	Carlisle Association . . . (Ditto)	10	10	0
Ditto Ditto . . . (Payment)	3	15	0	Joseph Sturge, Esq. Birmingham (Ditto)	20	0	0
Neath and Swansea Association (Ditto)	8	17	6	Collection at Public Meeting . . .	78	12	11
Rev. J. Fisher, Clifton Campville, Staffordshire . . . (Donation)	0	10	0	Dorking Ladies' Association (Payment)	0	8	0
Tottenham Ladies' Association (Payment)	3	13	6	North London and Islington Ladies' Association . . . (Donation)	20	0	0
Plaistow and West Ham Ladies' Association . . . (Ditto)	0	17	9	George Long, Esq. (Ditto)	1	1	0
Hitchin Association . . . (Ditto)	8	7	0	Mr. Bousfield, Manor Place, Walworth (Annual)	1	0	0
Mr. Franks, Clapham . . . (Donation)	0	10	6	North Staffordshire Ladies' Association (Donation)	15	0	0
Mrs. Hoare . . . (Payment)	0	4	4	Bridlington Association . . . (Ditto)	7	8	6
Mr. Thomas Whitwell, Peterborough (Donation)	1	0	0	A Friend (Ditto)	20	5	0
Huddersfield Ladies' Assoc. (Payment)	7	5	9	Southampton Association . . . (Payment)	7	16	0
Rev. W. M. Bunting, Huddersfield (Annual)	1	1	0	Tottenham Ladies' Ditto . . . (Ditto)	2	12	0
Mr. J. Burnley, Gomersal . . . (Ditto)	0	10	0	Maidstone Association . . . (Ditto)	4	3	6
Ross Association (Payment)	6	15	0	Mr. Gibson, Saffron Walden (Donation)	1	0	0
Ditto Ditto (Donation)	5	0	0	John Barton, Esq. of Stoughton (Ditto)	5	0	0
Mrs. Pearson, Salisbury . . . (Ditto)	10	0	0	Rev. A. Brandram (Annual)	1	1	0
Nottingham Ladies' Association (Paym.)	0	11	0	Rev. J. Riland, Yoxall . . . (Donation)	4	4	0
Colebrookdale Association . . . (Ditto)	5	15	6	A. B. G. Wood, Esq. (Donation)	1	0	0
London Ladies' Association (Donation)	50	0	0	Mrs. Taylor, Hackney . . . (Subscription)	0	5	0
Kendal Association . . . (Payment)	7	13	8	Mrs. Clack, Hackney . . . (Subscription)	0	5	0
Rochester Ditto . . . (Ditto)	4	6	0	Anonymous (Donation)	0	2	6
Taunton Ladies' Association (Donation)	5	0	0	Gosport Association . . . (Payment)	1	16	6
Sheffield Ladies' Ditto . . . (Payment)	10	6	6				

* * * The list of Donations and Remittances will be completed in our next Number, up to the Donations of June.

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 86.]

AUGUST, 1831.

[Vol. iv. No. 14.

PROTECTORS' OF SLAVES REPORTS.

- III. TRINIDAD.—1. *Complaints of Slaves*; 2. *Prosecutions of Slaves*; 3. *Domestic Punishments*; 4. *Manumissions*; 5. *Marriages, &c.*
- IV. ST. LUCIA.—1. *Domestic Punishments*; 2. *Complaints of Slaves*; 3. *of Masters*; 4. *Manumissions, &c.*
- V. CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—*Punishments of Complainants*; *Observations of the Secretary of State on Protectors' Reports.*

THE Report of the Protector of Slaves in Trinidad, Mr. Gloster, includes a period of two years, from the 25th of June, 1828, to the 24th of June, 1830. We proceed to lay the substance of it before our readers.

1. *Complaints of Slaves against their Owners, &c.*

Of these complaints, neither the number nor the nature is stated by the Protector, with the exception of four cases, occurring during the above period. No reason is given for omitting the usual particulars respecting the other cases. We have therefore very scanty means of forming any judgment as to the legal protection afforded to the slave population of Trinidad. Those four cases however, to which the Protector has confined his details, lead us only the more to regret his complete silence with respect to the others.

The first is a prosecution against *Francisco Benites*, for illegally flogging, in March, 1830, a female slave named DOMINGA PEREZ, whom he was charged to have beaten with a supple jack in different parts of her body, so as to lacerate her person, at the same time throwing her down and kicking her. The accused was found guilty, and condemned to pay a fine of five pounds sterling. Upon this sentence Lord Goderich remarks, that the offence appears to be of an importance disproportioned to the very light fine with which it was punished. (Papers of 1831, No. 262, p. 87.)

The second charge is against Mrs. Eliza O'Brien, for cruel and illegal treatment of two slaves named NOEL and JOE alias LOUIS HUGGINS. The facts proved in evidence appear to be as follows:—

First with respect to *Noel*. *Noel* died in May, 1829. He had had a large ulcer on one of his legs for a long time, for at least six years. He was a runaway and a thief, and as such was usually confined at night with a chain. The chain was upon him when he died. This

chain had been put upon him by Mrs. O'Brien, to prevent his running away during the night. During the day, he worked in the custody of another slave who kept watch over him. He had been brought back as a deserter two or three weeks before he died, and the sore on his leg was then in a very bad state; indeed, it could never get cured. The chain was fastened by means of an iron hoop, which was fixed round his leg, and to which the chain was attached. Noel used to break open his mistress's store, and steal therefrom rum, salt pork, butter, flour, plaintains, &c. He was often put into the stocks, and had handcuffs on him, and was shut up at night in the farine-house, chained to prevent his getting away. The chain was a grappling boat chain, fixed round one of his feet, and then passed through handcuffs round both his wrists, and fastened to a post. He was thus chained and handcuffed on the night previous to his death. He often worked in the day time with the chain round his leg, a part of the chain being carried over his shoulder. Noel had been a pasture boy, but when the sore on his foot became bad, and he could not go after the mules, he was put to work about the yard. He did not get his allowances regularly. Sometimes he got half a pint of farine (cassada flour) and a piece of salt fish, and when he let a mule get away, he had none at all, and he then used to run away and steal. His mistress did not feed him as she ought. He used to steal because he was hungry.

The evidence in the case of JOE alias LOUIS HUGGINS, was to this effect. Mrs. O'Brien was the proprietor of an estate called Bermuda, on which she resided. Joe belonged to that estate as did also Noel. He died in December, 1828. He was much swollen before his death. The house in which he lived was in a low situation, and was a very bad one; a part of it was uncovered, which caused it to be very wet. Joe had been a driver, and had been punished with confinement in the stocks by Mr. O'Brien, before his death which had happened shortly before, for getting drunk, and allowing the negroes to neglect their work. The stocks consisted of a rod of iron with pieces of iron or fetters to contain the feet. Joe was always very sickly, and in the month of December, 1828, he became so ill, that Mrs. O'Brien had him removed from his own bad house, and had a room assigned him under her own house, where he was placed occasionally in the stocks; there was a bed in Joe's room, consisting of a door with a palliasse laid over it, but the room was only boarded on the windward side: it was open on the others. Mrs. O'Brien, for a time, refused to believe that Joe was ill. She said that it was laziness that ailed him. Even when he was brought up to her house, he was so weak that he could not walk, and a mule was sent to bring him up. When he came, he told his mistress he could not walk, and was unable to go after the negroes in the field. She told him again it was laziness, and he should be put in the stocks till he was well. She then had Joe put in the stocks, in a room under her house, which was open on all sides but one, and into which the rain beat and wetted him. On Tuesday he was brought to this room, and he died on the following Monday. On the morning of the day on which he died, two of the witnesses saw him

in the stocks at breakfast-time, and he died soon after in his bed in the stocks. On the Monday night preceding, one of the witnesses heard Joe "bawling out" a great part of the night, and begging water for God's sake: the witness gave it to him: he was then in the stocks.

The evidence for the defence in both these cases, consisted in general praise of the humanity of Mrs. O'Brien towards her slaves. She was kind to them, and fed them abundantly, and caused them to be tended well in sickness. Several witnesses also deposed to their never having seen either Noel in chains, or Joe in stocks, and that neither of them, even when *in extremis*, had complained. But no attempt was made to impeach the credibility of the adverse witnesses, or to disprove their statement of the facts that are detailed above.

On this evidence the judges pronounced the following extraordinary sentence. "The court is unanimously of opinion, that there is no evidence to support the present prosecution. The accused must be discharged." (Ibid. p. 70.)

Upon this case Lord Goderich makes the following remarks. The Protector we hope will not misunderstand their lenity. "In the cases of Noel and Joe, the property of Mrs. O'Brien, who are said to have died while in confinement, I think that the medical attendant of the estate should have been called upon to state, whether he had been required to visit the slaves, and especially whether his opinion had been taken on the illness of Joe, who seems to have been originally confined on the supposition that his sickness was feigned. If there be no medical attendant on the estate, this circumstance itself should have been brought to notice by the prosecution. I regret to observe, that both these slaves appear to have been interred, without any investigation in the nature of a Coroner's inquest." (Ibid. p. 86.)

The third case was one in which *Louis Layet* was prosecuted for having inflicted an excessive and illegal punishment, with the cart whip, on a slave named MICHEL ROBSON, inflicting forty lashes of it on his bare posteriors, after he had been laid prostrate on the ground, and tied and fastened to pickets.

These facts were proved in evidence by the prosecutor, and no counter evidence was given on the part of the accused.

The court, by a majority of three to one on some of the charges, and on the rest unanimously, pronounced him guilty, and condemned him to pay a fine of £150 sterling, with the costs of suit, and to be imprisoned till the fine was paid. (Ibid. p. 71.)

A fourth case is stated as having come to the knowledge of the Protector, the circumstances of which were as follows, viz.; Mr. St. Aigne, the proprietor of Perseverance Estate, in the quarter of Guapo, was charged with having caused four of his female slaves to be flogged by the driver with the cart-whip, on their naked posteriors, as they lay stretched on the ground fastened to pickets, and their persons exposed. One of the punishments was inflicted for bringing grass too late. Mr. de St. Aigne having quitted the Colony, no prosecution could be instituted against him. (Ibid. p. 60.)

All the other cases, how many soever they be, are thus summarily disposed of, viz. :—

Half year ending the 24th of December, 1828. “The complaints preferred by slaves against their owners have not varied in complexion or increased in number, and no case of a serious nature has come under the Protector’s observation.” (*Ibid.* p. 3.)

The report of the half years ending the 24th of December, 1829, and the 24th of June, 1830, is nearly to the same purport. (*Ibid.* p. 40, and 58.)

The report of the remaining half year ending the 24th of June, 1829, varies materially, inasmuch as the Protector states that in that half year the complaints preferred by slaves had “become more numerous.” “The increase,” he adds, “is to be attributed to the circumstance that the busiest time of the crop season happens during these six months, and at that period planters are obliged to exact the full quantum of labour which their slaves are bound by law to perform.” *Ibid.* p. 2 ;—and that is, as we have seen, to work all day and all night too, if their physical powers will endure the exaction. Our readers may refer to what we have already said on this very subject, in our last No. (85) pp. 360 and 361.

2. *Criminal Prosecutions against Slaves.*

Here Lord Goderich remarks on the impropriety of some of the sentences pronounced on the convicted slaves. One man is condemned to two punishments of thirty stripes each, and to be worked on his owner’s estate at his usual work, with an iron chain attached to one of his legs, for two years ; and another is condemned for a theft to one hundred lashes, and to work in iron shackles for two years. Working in chains, under the control of a responsible overseer, as in the case of Government convicts, his Lordship observes, may be a salutary punishment ; but where it is enforced for years, in the performance of a daily task, under no other superintendance than that of the manager of a plantation, it is likely to become an excessive infliction. Courts of justice may be influenced by consideration for the master’s interests in this mode of punishment, but his Lordship cannot admit the policy of exempting owners from the inconvenience to which, as a general condition of society, all persons are subjected by the offences of those under their domestic authority. (*Ibid.* p. 86.)

3. *Domestic Punishments.*

Besides the complaints of slaves against their masters, we have to notice the half-yearly returns of punishments arbitrarily inflicted, by owners or managers, on the plantation slaves of Trinidad, during the period comprised in this Report. They are as follow, viz. Punishments of male slaves 5,064—of female slaves 2,860—in all 7,924. Among these we observe about 100 inflictions for “neglecting to throw grass” after the labour of the field is over. (See our last No., p. 361, and No. 82, p. 298.) A frequent offence is styled “breaking hospital.” Lord Goderich seems surprised at this new species of crime, especially as it seems to be visited with an unusual severity of punishment, as many as 40 lashes being sometimes inflicted on

offenders of this class. But strangely enough, in the economy of West Indian plantations, the hospital, his Lordship and the public ought to be informed, is also made the place of imprisonment; nay the stocks and the bilboes for confining criminals, or those who have been undergoing the scourge, and are smarting and groaning with their bleeding wounds, are actually placed in the very same apartments with the sick and the dying. We are only beginning to acquire some knowledge of the interior of West India plantations. The reader may consult on this particular the second volume of Mr. Stephen's *Delineation*, p. 362—371.

Lord Goderich, however, has overlooked the circumstance of the great frequency with which domestic punishments by whipping exceed the utmost limit allowed by law to be inflicted at the master's discretion. That limit is 25 lashes, and yet these returns abound with punishments of 40 lashes, and not one word of explanation is given by the Protector as to the cause of this excess, or as to the grounds of its impunity.

4. *Manumissions.*

The manumissions in two years, from 25th June, 1828, to 25th June, 1830, have been only 108. One cause of this appears to be the enormous sums at which the slaves who are desirous of redeeming themselves are often appraised, and the very obvious unfairness of the whole proceeding. We find one slave appraised at £250 by one appraiser, and £173 by another, and the umpire fixing his price at about the middle point between the two, namely, £216. But the poor man could only produce £147. Now this slave was a plantation slave belonging to the Hon. Ashton Warner, the chief justice; though how the chief justice came to be possessed of slaves, after the solemn declaration made by Mr. Canning and Lord Bathurst in Parliament, in 1826, that the offices of governors, judges, fiscals, &c. should not be filled by slave-holders, seems to require some explanation. Sir George Murray takes no notice of this circumstance. He nevertheless adverts to the unfairness apparent on the face of the proceeding, and the very loose and random mode pursued in these appraisements. Before Sir George's observations, however, could reach Trinidad, the lowest valuation, £173, the slave having contrived to scrape together that sum, was accepted, and he set at liberty, the indulgence being ascribed to his good conduct during crop.—Again, a female slave, Heloise Joseph, belonging to André Blazinè, is appraised by one appraiser at £260, and by the other at £130, the umpire fixing the price at £216. It is added, "This sum she is unable to produce." It is perfectly obvious that in this whole proceeding there must be gross unfairness and partiality. Even the lowest price is high for female plantation slaves,—nearly double, indeed, the average they usually bring at public sales, which furnish the true criterion of value. The system of appraisement, therefore, seems to have become, in Trinidad, a system of injustice and oppression, and ought to engage the attention of the Government. Manumissions have of course diminished as prices have been unfairly raised; and if they shall continue thus to advance, manumission will become wholly unattainable.

5. *Marriage.*

One marriage has been celebrated in two years.

6. *Savings' Bank.*

The sums paid into the Savings' Bank are very trifling; the whole amount deposited being under 1800 dollars.

7. *Religion.*

Not one syllable is said on the subject of religious instruction, or on the grant to the slaves of a day in lieu of Sunday, for marketing, and labour in their provision grounds.

IV.—ST. LUCIA.

1. *Domestic Punishments.*

The whole number of domestic punishments in the year 1828 was 1012, the respective number of males and females not being specified. In the year 1829 the total number was 1125, being a considerable increase over the former year. (Papers of 1831, No. 262, p. 4, and 10.)

2. *Complaints of Slaves against Masters.*

There is under this head a remarkable defect of specific detail, especially in respect to the evidence on which the decisions were adopted.—Two ladies, Miss *Eddington* and Miss *Jordan*, are made to pay a fine of 100 dollars for flogging a female slave named *SARAH*.—A Mr. *Eusebe* is condemned to three months' imprisonment and the costs of suit, for severely wounding his slave *PONCETTE* with a cutlas; and the sufferer is ordered to be sold to another master.—Mr. *Dugard* having abandoned an infirm slave, his property in the slave is confiscated, and he is condemned to pay a quarter of a dollar a day for the slave's maintenance during life, and also to pay the costs of suit.—Mr. *Maccullom*, for cruelty to his slave *FAIANCE*, is fined 100 dollars.—Mr. *J. Toulouse*, for allowing the whip to be carried into the field, is fined 20 dollars.—Madame *Lafitte*, who illegally punished a female slave, and her son, who inflicted the punishment, are fined 100 dollars.—In several cases of complaint, however, stated to be *unfounded*, that is to say, we presume, *not proved*, punishment, and sometimes very severe punishment, is inflicted on the complainant: in two cases 100 lashes; in another 50 lashes, and labour in the chain for 18 months; and in others slighter punishment. The principle on which these punishments are inflicted is, as we, and as successive Secretaries of State have often stated, most unjust and oppressive. Still the opprobrious practice continues. We need not wonder, therefore, that the cases of complaints by slaves are rare in St. Lucia.

3. *Complaints of Masters against Slaves.*

These are much more numerous; for there is no infliction of stripes or chains on the master when he fails to substantiate his complaints. And in such cases too the punishments are often most revoltingly severe; 40, 60, and even 100 lashes are frequently awarded to runaways, with the addition of a month or two of solitary confine-

ment, or of labour in the chain for three, six, and even twelve months. In one case of desertion, the slave, TIMOTHIE, belonging to Mr. *Bertrand*, is punished with 100 lashes and three years' labour in chains. In another, a female, LUCIENNE, belonging to Mr. *Trotter*, is condemned to endure 40 lashes, and to be worked in a chain for two years on Mr. *Trotter's* estate. The same female slave is a second time tried for the same offence, and to her former dreadful punishment are added 60 lashes more, and three years of the chain. Another female slave of Mr. *Trotter's*, ROSE ANNE, is condemned to 100 lashes. Two other female slaves are punished with severe floggings; one named LUCETTE, belonging to Madame *de St. Croix*, with 100 lashes and two months' solitary confinement. In another, QUACOW, belonging to Mr. *Goodsir*, and ANN, to Mr. *Leuger*, are condemned to 100 lashes each, and the former to two years, and the latter to three years in the chain. Nay, we have another slave, CARAIBE, belonging to the same Mr. *Leuger*, condemned "for running away twice, and remaining absent the last time three months and a half, and until apprehended," "to receive 200 lashes, and to work THREE YEARS with a chain on the estate." This is perfectly horrible. And will it be believed that this Report contains a list of 48 such punishments?

Then, besides these inflictions for the venial offence of running away perhaps from the mere dread of punishment, we have one man, LEANDER, belonging to Mr. *Goodsir*, condemned to 40 lashes and eighteen months of chain-labour on the estate, for stealing some of his master's salt fish and rum; and a woman, ROSALIE, belonging to the Hon. *James Muter*, condemned to 60 lashes, and two years of labour in the chain on Mr. *Muter's* estate, for stealing "ground provisions"—for stealing the food with which she ought to have been abundantly supplied.—A slave, THOMAS CHASE, and his wife, QUEEN, belonging to Mr. *Castill*, of the 35th Regiment, are found guilty of insubordination and disobedience. *He* is condemned to 40 lashes and three months cachot, but the pregnant state of the wife prevents punishment being inflicted on her.—Surely it was not without reason that in No. 83, p. 329, we denounced the recent Supplementary Ordinance of the Governor of St. Lucia, as inflicting punishments cruelly severe, and as being in some of its regulations most outrageous.

Besides these observations on the returns which we have now before us, we find Lord Goderich very justly commenting "on the great apparent disproportion which they exhibit between inflictions bearing the same name. Thus 200 lashes and three years work with a chain; are awarded as a punishment for running away twice, and remaining absent the last time three months and a half; whilst, in another case, the punishment for running away and remaining absent sixteen years, is 40 lashes and a month in the stocks. (*Ibid.* p. 40.)

His Lordship further remarks on "the great prevalence in St. Lucia of the punishment of working in chains, which seems to be inflicted for every variety of period from one month to three years, and as well by the authority of the magistracy as of the courts of justice. I have to desire, that in future the Protector will give some more accurate return of the punishment conveyed by the words 'the chain,'

which do not sufficiently distinguish between slaves sentenced to work in chains on their owner's estates, and those sentenced to work in the public chain-gang. The former mode I consider to be plainly objectionable. The regulations of labour in chains is a trust which cannot with safety be confided, indiscriminately, to the managers of plantations ;" (ought it to be confided to them at all ?) " and although such sentences may exempt owners from the ill-consequences of offences committed by their slaves, I am not sure that, in any state of society, it is desirable that persons should be relieved from the connection of their own interest with the good conduct of those under their influence." (Ibid. p. 41.)

To solitary confinement as a punishment for one and two months, he also objects, as likely to cause a very undue measure of suffering ; and he requires information as to all the various circumstances of each confinement.

No one can complain of the harshness of these observations. On the contrary, it is difficult to feel quite satisfied that the continuance of the outrages which provoked them should have been allowed to depend on any explanation which can be given. They are absolutely intolerable. Why might they not have been peremptorily denounced and prohibited in St. Lucia as well as in Mauritius ? (See No. 83, p. 331.)

4. *Manumissions.*

Between the 1st of Jan. 1828, and the 31st of Dec. 1829, being two years, 135 slaves were manumitted. Of these, 47 were freed by the voluntary act or bequest of the owners ; 32 under the compulsory manumission clause, at prices varying from 72 to 700 dollars ; 13 were manumitted by voluntary agreement with their masters, on paying what was considered an equitable price ; 3 obtained their freedom from not having been registered, and of 39 no account is here given of the causes of their manumission. Besides which, the number of children baptised for freedom is 16.

5. *Marriages.*

The number of slave marriages, in two years, is only *two*.

One thing remarkable in this Report is the discontent of the slave-owners at being deprived of the privilege of using the driving-whip in the field. (Ibid. p. 22.)

But a still more remarkable circumstance is that, in a colony, where, previous to 1827, the decrease of the slave population had been rapidly progressive, there has recently appeared to be an increase, a small indeed, but still a satisfactory increase. We attribute, for our own part, this change to the zeal, activity, and vigour with which the Chief Justice, Mr. Jeremie, enforced the laws of this colony, defective as those laws are. He has now, we are sorry to say, quitted that important station, which he had filled so honourably to himself and so beneficially to the slaves of St. Lucia. We shall soon see whether the impulse which his presence appears to have given to milder treatment is to be perpetuated under his successor.

V.—THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

The returns from this Colony embrace the period from the 25th of June, 1827, to the 25th of December, 1829, being a period of two years and a half.

One of the most painful circumstances in this report is that, although the Secretary of State has, from time to time, condemned the practice of punishing complaining slaves who fail to substantiate their complaints, the practice is still continued to a frightful extent. It was denounced in a despatch to the Governor of so early a date we believe as September, 1828. On the 29th of August, 1829, we find Sir George Murray again remonstrating on this point. "Throughout all these Reports," he says, "cases continually recur in which slaves preferring groundless complaints against their owners are forthwith punished as criminals. I have had occasion to advert to the subject in my former communications to you. It may be sufficient for the present to observe, that these reports leave no room to doubt that great injustice is frequently committed by this practice. I must again, therefore, press upon the Council of Government of the Cape of Good Hope the necessity of rendering the punishment of a slave for groundless complaints dependent upon the master preferring and proving, in each case, a distinct and specific charge that the imputation made by the slave upon himself was both false and malevolent; and the law should distinctly prescribe the measure of punishment to be inflicted on slaves convicted of calumnies of this nature." A strong illustration of the inconvenience of the practice is then given in the case of Lea, who was sentenced to three months' imprisonment and payment of costs, because the magistrates thought the charge false and unfounded. Papers of 1831, No. 262, Part V, p. 15.

On the 15th of June, 1830, Sir G. Murray again recurs to this subject, and expresses his dissatisfaction with the long list of cases of persons punished for preferring groundless complaints. Nay, on the 20th of December, 1830, we find Lord Goderich still lamenting that the practice is continued "of inflicting severe punishments on slaves who fail to substantiate complaints which they may prefer against their masters." "Now although it may be necessary and even just to punish a slave who has been proved to have falsely accused his master of an offence, which, if proved, would subject him to punishment, yet it strikes me as cruel and unjust to condemn a slave to twenty-five or thirty lashes, or to solitary confinement for a certain number of days on low diet, for failing to prove that which the slave was unable to substantiate, but which is not, therefore, proved to have been false. The effect of such a practice must be to deter slaves from preferring any complaints which they cannot substantiate by credible witnesses, and consequently encourage instead of checking oppression and injustice." *Ibid.* p. 27.

It certainly seems extraordinary that the repeated instructions and remonstrances of His Majesty's Government on this point should have been so strangely neglected at the Cape of Good Hope. But we suppose the next report from that quarter will bring us a laboured

defence of the practice of punishing, without even the form of a trial, slave-complainants who fail to prove their complaints; just as we had, on a late occasion, from Sir Lowry Cole, the Governor, (see No. 83, p. 330,) an ingenious vindication of female flogging on the ground of its preventing the debasement of the female character. We think it is much to be regretted, that in cases so deeply involving the rights of justice and humanity, the language employed by the Government in conveying its wishes should not be sufficiently distinct and decisive to convey their full meaning and to admit of no evasion. A feeble or ambiguous phrase may cost the slave population of a Colony a year or a year and a half of protracted injustice and oppression.

It is much to be regretted in this Report that the whole of the details respecting the complaints of slaves and masters, their trial and punishment are omitted. We have little more than the general statements of the Protectors and the general comments of the Secretary of State—but a great part of both is scarcely intelligible to the reader from the absence of all specific details. The same remark applies to the cases of claims for freedom, and also to the manumissions affected. We are referred to Appendixes which are not given.

No marriages or baptisms have been solemnized at the Cape of Good Hope; and one of the Protectors affirms that there is an indisposition in masters to encourage them.

Education and Religious Instruction appear to be at a very low ebb.

The only manner in which we can supply the extreme defectiveness of detail in this report is by transcribing a part of the despatches of the Secretary of State, which will afford at least a glimpse of the evils of slavery in this Colony. In his despatch of 29th of August, 1829, Sir G. Murray thus addresses Sir Lowry Cole:—

“The cases of Frederica and Jauna, Carel and Mey, Clara and Malatie, illustrate the necessity of establishing by law a rule decisive of the question, in what cases persons who are slaves *de facto* must, in the absence of positive evidence of their legal condition, be presumed to be slaves *de jure*? The rule should be, that, to make good his title, the asserted owner should carry back the proof of it to the date of the Abolition of the Slave trade, viz. the first of January, 1808; proof having been brought forward to this effect on the part of the owner, the rule should be reversed, and the title of the master should be regarded as completely established, unless the slave should be able to aduce evidence to prove his title to freedom. You will propose to the Council the enactment of a law to this effect.

“It appears that Gabriel, who was claimed as a slave by Mr. Horak, was set at liberty after a servitude of two years and a half, on the ground that he was really a free man; but no justification of having thus held a free man in slavery is made by Mr. Horak on the face of this Report; nor does it appear whether Gabriel received any compensation for his services. You will cause inquiry to be made into these circumstances, and report to me the result.

“In the Report from the District of George (First Report), a long series of cases occur; in all of which the prosecutor, on behalf of the slave, abandons the case, and the plaintiff (meaning I presume the

slave) is condemned to pay the costs. Some further explanation is necessary of this reiterated and uniform failure of these prosecutions.

“ In the Report from the district of Stellenbosch three cases are stated in which aged slaves, past their labour, were abandoned by their owners on the ground of their inability to maintain them. I should infer from these cases that no provision is made by law for the support of an aged and worn out slave in cases where the owner is unable to discharge that duty. Supposing the inability of the owner to maintain his slave to be completely established to the satisfaction of some competent authority, but not otherwise, the burthen must fall on the public at large; and if the law has not already provided for such cases, the subject should be brought under the consideration of the Council of Government.

“ In the Report of the Deputy Protector of Uitenhage, seventeen distinct cases occur in which slaves, having complained of ill-treatment, were sent back to their masters with a severe punishment. The similarity of the result in all these cases suggests the necessity of some further inquiry being made into the nature of the complaints, and the circumstances which led to so many failures.

“ The case of J. J. Villiers, charged with the murder of his slave, affords a strong illustration of the inconvenience of the rule adopted by the Supreme Court, by which all persons ignorant of the English language are debarred from serving as jurors.

“ In the Second Report occurs the case of the slave Sara, in which, though the owners were proved to have used an illegal instrument in her punishment, they not only escaped with impunity, but the party complaining was decreed to pay the costs. It is necessary that some explanation should be afforded of this singular result of the prosecution.

“ In the case of the slave Jack the owner was fined £6, although, pending the proceeding, he had taken upon himself to punish the slave for preferring the complaint. I fear that the law will fall into contempt if it can be set at defiance, with no greater inconvenience than that of sustaining so trifling a punishment.

“ From several cases before alluded to, it would appear that severe punishments are imposed upon slaves who fail to make out fully that there have been sufficient grounds for their complaints; but by this case it would appear that a master who has inflicted a punishment upon a slave pending a proceeding escapes with a very light punishment. The contrast which here so obviously shows itself in the principles which guide the administration of justice towards masters and towards slaves requires the most serious consideration of the Government.

“ In the last case comprised in the Second Report, a slave appears to have been punished with one year's imprisonment to hard labour for the offence of riding a horse without the permission of the owner, it being distinctly stated that there was no proof of any intention to steal the animal. This would seem to be a punishment of extraordinary severity, and some additional information on the subject is necessary for the vindication of such a sentence.

“ In the Third Report, a case occurs in which the owner of a slave is stated to have lost his services for eighteen months, and to have incurred an expense of £100 in resisting a claim to freedom, in which

the slave was at last unsuccessful. Such a statement would seem to imply some very considerable defect in the administration of justice, into which an inquiry should be made.

“ In the same Report, it appears that the Assistant Guardian was unable to compel the attendance of the person against whom the complaint had been made by his slave. If authority to enforce obedience to a citation of this nature is not possessed by this officer himself, nor placed within his reach in some other functionary, the law must be defective, and will require revision; but the nature of the difficulty is not sufficiently explained to enable me to issue any instructions on the subject for your guidance.

“ Numerous cases occur in this Report in which slaves are condemned to be fed in prison on what is termed ‘ conjee soup,’ and other unusual articles of diet. I presume therefore that this aliment is either less palatable or less nutritious than the ordinary food of slaves; but if such be the case, it would seem to be a most injudicious species of punishment. You will inquire into the subject, and adopt such measures as, in the result of those inquiries, may appear to you necessary for the correction of any abuse which may be found to exist respecting the diet of slaves in prison; and I request that you will also inform me what is the nature of the diet above mentioned.

“ In the same Report, a person named Flynych appears to have been sentenced to a fine of £5, with the costs, for punishing a slave boy five times within twenty-four hours, with a severe instrument, a penalty which would seem quite inadequate to such an outrage.

“ A case of similar lenity seems to have occurred in the instance of Mrs. D. Necker. This woman and her son, after beating a female in such a manner as to produce several lacerated wounds on the back and breast, for an offence described by the terms ‘ insolence and impertinence,’ was subjected only to a fine of £5, a punishment bearing no proportion to the magnitude and aggravated nature of the crime.

“ The case of Brits, in the same Report, is a still more extraordinary instance of lenity towards a great offender. This man was sentenced to pay £5; yet the slave appears to have been repeatedly beaten until his person was wounded, and in the intervals of the punishment Brits is proved to have rubbed salt into the wounds. The inhuman cruelty manifested by this wanton aggravation of the sufferings of the slave was sufficient, not merely to justify, but to require, that the offender should be punished to the utmost extent which the law in such a case would have sanctioned.

“ In the three preceding cases I have observed, with regret, an apparent disposition to shelter from merited punishment persons who have no claim whatever to compassion. It will be your duty to make an early inquiry into this subject, with a view to ascertain to what circumstance this seemingly very misplaced lenity is to be attributed, and how the recurrence of similar decisions may best be prevented for the future.

“ In the case of the slaves Dattat, Rachel and Amilie, a conviction is recorded for bullock stealing; the evidence, as it appears on the face of this Report, does not amount to any proof of the crime.

“ The Report from the Assistant Guardian at Worcester is a mere

catalogue of names, from which no useful information can be collected. This officer must be admonished of the necessity of transmitting a much more complete account of his proceedings." Ibid. p. 15—17.

Again on the 15th of June, 1830, Sir G. Murray thus writes:—

"I now proceed to make such remarks as I think necessary on the Guardian's Report.

"1st. In the case of Marietje, it is not proved or alleged that the punishment was private, nor that it was inflicted on the *shoulders*.

"2d. In the case of Regina, there is no proof or suggestion that the punishment inflicted on the female slave was conducted in the manner required by law. A fine of 5*s.* was the only punishment incurred in this case, by a young man who appears, at his mother's command, to have beaten a girl with undue severity. It will no doubt strike you that such a punishment is out of all proportion to so unmanly an offence.

"3d. A long list of cases is again brought forward of persons who are punished for preferring groundless complaints. Some of them are enumerated in the margin. It is unnecessary to trouble you with any remarks on this subject, because the rule which is to be hereafter observed respecting the punishment of persons preferring improper complaints is now laid down by the new slave code.

"4th. The Reports from the Assistant Protectors in the country districts are in general so slight and superficial, that it is impossible to derive from the perusal of those documents any distinct view of the manner in which the law has been carried into execution. Nor, indeed, are the Reports of the Protectors themselves exempt from a similar fault. The new Order, however, having prescribed the form in which all reports are to be compiled, with the information which they are to convey, and having rendered the delivery of reports in that form essential to the payment of the Protector's salary, there is no reason to apprehend the recurrence of this fault hereafter; nor would it answer any useful purpose to comment any further on the subject at present.

"5th. I am surprised and grieved to find that the habit of punishing slaves by a diet less nutritious or less palatable than that which they usually receive still continues. Thus the slave Manissa was sentenced to live on *rice water* for eight days; the slave Maria, on congee soup for four days; Phillida, on the same diet for eight days, and Ponto, for four days.

"You must take effectual measures for discountenancing such barbarous punishments.

"6th. In a long list of cases, enumerated in the margin, the claims of slaves to their freedom appear to have been, for the present at least, practically defeated, on account of the want of a solicitor to undertake the prosecution, and on account of the expenses with which the judicial proceedings would be attended. The difficulty arising out of the want of a proper advocate and solicitor of these claims has, I apprehend, been already obviated by my instructions that the Attorney-general of the colony should act in this capacity in all slave cases. The difficulty arising from the expense of judicial proceedings will in part be surmounted by the powers given to you in the new Order.

But it will probably be necessary also to suggest to the Judges of the Supreme Court the propriety of exercising their powers, by laying down a few short and simple rules for the more expeditious and economical conduct of processes of this nature; with the ample powers enjoyed by the Judges, it is indeed a matter of surprise that they should not have earlier applied a remedy to a grievance of so serious a character as this.

“7th. Passing from these general statements to the specific cases which require notice, I observe, first, that in the case of January, the owner of the slave was punished with a fine of only 2*l.* for having kicked the slave in the eye, in such a manner as to produce serious injury. The precise amount and duration of the injury are not explained; but it is not more needless than painful to have to observe, that for an act of such brutality the punishment was totally inadequate.

“8th. Apollos, a slave boy, having been sentenced to receive 125 lashes, for a calumnious complaint against his owner, Mr. Huskisson demanded a copy of the proceedings in that case. (Vol. iii, No. 54, p. 140.) It appears that a copy has been procured, but it is not transmitted with these papers. It is a singular oversight, that an explanation furnished in consequence of the Secretary of State's instruction should still be withholden, and I desire to know the cause of this neglect.

“9th. The case of Roset raises the questions, Whether a slave can purchase his own freedom at a public auction? and Whether a duty is payable upon such a transaction? Each of these questions is set at rest by the recent Order in Council.

“10th. The case of Philida cannot be more conveniently stated than in the words of the Report itself. They are as follow:

“‘The complaint of ill-treatment was not proved, but as the *defendant* stated that he gave the complainant about ten or twelve lashes with a double bullock strap on her naked back, after having tied her to a cart, the Assistant Guardian referred to the 13th Article of the Ordinance No. 19, and stated, that he left it to the decision of the Court whether any free children are punished in this manner in the schools: whereupon the magistrate declared the defendant not guilty, and sentenced the complainant to a solitary confinement of eight days on conjee soup.’

“It really cannot be necessary to occupy your time with any comment upon this extraordinary decision; but you will ascertain and report to me the name of the magistrate who possesses such peculiar notions of his judicial duty.

“11th. The case of the boy Frederick is stated; from which it appears that a Mr. Douw punished the boy before he had recovered from an illness, and that the boy having fainted during the punishment, Douw left off for a while, but on the recovery of the complainant again continued the punishment. These facts are said to have been proved by two slaves, and to have been partly acknowledged by the defendant. The magistrate, however, dismissed the case for want of proof. The evidence on which this decision was founded must be produced.

“12th. It appears that a slave boy named Damon received fifteen

lashes for preferring a groundless complaint, although the magistrate admitted that the instrument with which the boy had been punished was improper, and warned the defendant to use it no more.

“ 13th. In the same district (Stellenbosch), several cases occur (see the cases of Rosie, Sara, Absalom, Jephta, Gallant, Adam and Frederick, Arend, Silvester, Goliath, Sevier, Achilles, Africa, Daphne) in which severe punishments were inflicted for non-substantiation of complaints preferred by slaves against their owners; such, indeed, seems to be almost the invariable result of all applications of that nature. I think myself, therefore, called upon to desire that you will transmit to me a statement of the evidence on either side upon which this long series of punishments was grounded; no system would seem better calculated to deter the slaves from availing themselves of the protection and advantage promised to them by the law.

“ I now proceed to the Report of the Protector of Slaves for the Eastern District.

“ This officer has made some preliminary remarks which seem highly deserving of attention. He observes, that many complaints which seem groundless are not so in reality; for that a slave, sustaining an injury from his owner, has extreme difficulty in procuring the evidence of his fellow-slaves: living under the domestic authority of the same owner, they reasonably dread that some pretext will be found for punishing them for having given their testimony against him. Yet, as appears from the same Report, to prefer a complaint which is not substantiated by evidence is regarded as a serious offence, and punished accordingly. In the case of Manuel, the slave was condemned on this account to receive no less than forty-five lashes; and in the case of Gallant, the number of lashes was reduced to twenty-five in consequence, as is said, of the age of the offender.

“ Nothing can more strongly illustrate the necessity of the alteration which has been made in this part of the law; but these two cases are so peculiar, that I think it absolutely necessary to desire that you will transmit to me more minute reports respecting them.

“ 15th. The recent Ordinance of the Cape of Good Hope for regulating the proceedings against persons accused of crimes denies them the right of being assisted by counsel on the preliminary examinations. This rule, which would seem perfectly proper in ordinary cases, is scarcely compatible with justice in the case of slaves. Their ignorance, and the influence of the owner in cases where he is concerned, seem to require that in every stage of the proceedings they should be assisted by an adviser capable of interpreting their meaning and assisting their judgment. It will, therefore, be right that you should bring the remarks of the Protector on this subject under the consideration of your Council, in order that some method may be devised for rescuing slaves from the disadvantages to which they are at present subject on a preliminary examination.

“ 16th. I notice a case which would seem seriously to impugn the wisdom of the Rule by which His Majesty in Council has prohibited any purchase of freedom if effected with money given for that purpose. It appears that the father of a slave contributed his whole property, amounting to 450 rix-dollars, to secure to himself the

society of his child. Under the recent Order this would be illegal. Yet I suppose no person would deliberately maintain that the law ought to prevent an act of so much self-denial or parental tenderness. The father who sacrificed the earnings of his whole life to rescue his child from slavery is surely not likely to train that child in evil courses, nor can society at large have any real interest in preventing the repetition of such enfranchisements.

“17th. There further occurs the case of a Hottentot, called Claas Dampies, who was tried for inflicting upon a slave named Cupido a punishment of singular barbarity. The offence imputed to Cupido was that he had poisoned his master, and the object of the punishment was to induce him to confess that crime. The Hottentot was convicted, and received a severe punishment; but the owner, who, if one of the witnesses speaks truth, authorized the punishment, was not even put on his trial.

“18th. In the case of C. C. Molder, who was indicted for stabbing a slave, all the evidence would seem to sustain the charge, and there is not one word in contradiction to it; yet the verdict acquits the prisoner. Some explanation is necessary of so irregular a result, which the presiding judge will probably be able to furnish.

“19th. The Report contains the details of the very scandalous case of a slave named Jephtha. It is stated that this man's master had a child by a Hottentot woman named Tray; that the master first induced the Hottentot Claas to marry this woman, and then prevailed on the slave Jephtha to repudiate his own wife, and to marry Tray, though her Hottentot husband was still alive. This is said to have been done to conceal the master's connection with this woman. The complaint ended in the punishment of Jephtha, with a severe whipping, because he had, in obedience to the Protector, driven his master's cattle home pending the complaint. For this act he was accused before the district judge, who paid no attention to the excuse urged by the Protector, that the slave had acted under his, the Protector's, orders. The magistrate who pronounced this decision must be called upon for an explanation of his conduct.

“20th. The Report further contains a long series of cases from which no useful information whatever can be derived; they contain nothing more than a statement of the names of the parties, the nature of the accusation, and the result of these proceedings; but it is the less important to notice these defects at present, since they will be corrected hereafter by the recent Order in Council.” Ibid. p. 20—22. And yet the West India Manifesto boasts of the fitness of the holders of slaves to frame laws for the benefit of their bondmen!!!

ERRATUM in No. 84.

In the Anti-Slavery Reporter No. 84, p. 348, there occurs an error which it is requested that the reader will correct, viz.—

Lines 24, 25, and 26, should run thus;

“In May 1830, he fixes the price of picking 70lb. of Coffee at 1s 0d $\frac{3}{4}$ sterling, being only a half more than the rate which he fixed on the former occasion for picking a seventh part of that quantity, namely, 10lb.

Line 28 for 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ d read 1s 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

Line 35 for 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ d read 1s 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., and for 2d read 6d.

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 87.]

AUGUST 20, 1831.

[Vol. iv. No. 15.]

PROTECTORS' OF SLAVES REPORTS.—VI. MAURITIUS.

1. *Manumissions*; 2. *Marriage and Religious Instruction*; 3. *Complaints of Slaves against Masters*; 4. *Complaints of Masters against Slaves*; 5. *Prosecutions of Masters*; 6. *Prosecutions of Slaves*; 7. *General Treatment*; *Conclusion*.

WE now come to the last but not the least horrific of these reports. It occupies 330 pages, and embraces a period of fifteen months, namely, from the 20th of March 1829, to the 24th of June 1830. The manumissions embrace nine months more.

1. *Manumissions*.

The manumissions which have been effected between the 20th of June 1828, and the 24th of June 1830, a period of two years, amount to 1011. We are sorry to perceive in one case (p. 312) that a sum of 400 dollars was paid to the government for the manumission of a female slave; and, in another case, that a man named Martineau purchased, also of the government, his wife Agnis, and two children, and paid her price by a slave given in exchange, (p. 321). It is some compensation for such proceedings, that twenty of the government slaves were gratuitously manumitted, and we trust, that ere this time, all of them have been made free.

“Part of these enfranchisements,” observes the Protector, (p. 169) “have been applied for by individuals who have lived for many years in a state of freedom under the sanction of either a deed of gift, or the last will of their owner, or the purchase of their own freedom; but, such purchases being then illegal, the slave was compelled to content himself with permission to labour, until he possessed sufficient means to defray the expense of the heavy tax then payable on enfranchisement.”

The Protector further states, that, “in many of the cases where he has been called to interfere, instances of the most culpable neglect, on the part of executors and procurators, have come to his knowledge, whereby slaves have been deprived of their liberty for years after the death of their benefactor, and in some cases have remained in slavery for life, leaving a hapless progeny in the same state of bondage, at an age too young to be sensible of, and without friends to assert, their title to the boon bestowed on their parents; and this has gone on until even a third generation has borne the yoke entailed upon it by fraud and injustice.” (p. 6.)

The Protector also remonstrates strongly and justly against the iniquity of requiring bonds from masters for the maintenance of young slaves whom they may be disposed to manumit, and he instances a

case where the master was willing to manumit a mother and her children, but was prevented by the requisition of such a bond.

Some cases of grievous oppression, not only on the part of individuals, but of courts of justice and officers of justice, so called, will appear in a subsequent part of this abstract, if we can find room for them.

2. *Marriage and Religious Instruction.*

Nothing can be more melancholy than the information conveyed by the Protector on this subject. Two marriages only have taken place, and the almost total absence of religious and moral instruction, he observes, forbids the hope of their emerging from their state of barbarous ignorance and moral debasement. He makes no exception from this gloomy description, except with respect to the government slaves, and the estates of Captain Dick and Mr. Telfair. The government slaves, in number about 1300, and Captain Dick's, about 60, are only *orally* instructed by the Rev. Mr. Jones, (of whom more hereafter,) and of this oral instruction the Rev. A. Denny well observes, (p. 211,) that its results are, and he fears must be, unsatisfactory, because "whenever the individual is removed from the continual mechanism of this oral teaching, his impressions cannot be kept alive by recurring to the written word of God, or to the liturgy. This kind of knowledge can only be retained by the drilling of the catechist, and will infallibly be lost when circumstances prevent his constant attendance in the house of God." On Mr. Telfair's estate alone are the slaves taught to read and write. Two hours are given to the elementary instruction of about eighty children, so as to enable them to read the Bible and write. Mr. Telfair is the only person in the Colony who permits elementary instruction to be given to his slaves, (p. 55.) With these exceptions, says Mr. Denny, there are here about 70,000 slaves in a state of entire "heathen ignorance in every thing that relates to God and goodness."

One letter addressed to the Protector by a gentleman, a planter apparently, to whom he applied for information, contains the following frank admission. "Je dois à la vérité de vous dire que non seulement l'instruction religieuse n'y a fait aucun progrès mais que même on ne s'en occupe pas *le maindrement*." (p. 213.)

3. *Complaints of Slaves against Masters, &c.*

This head occupies a very large portion, indeed, about one-half of this bulky volume, there being no fewer than 220 cases, occurring in the course of fifteen months, which are there detailed. It would be obviously altogether impossible to give any thing more than a cursory glance at a part of these cases, some of them exceeding in enormity almost any thing which even the annals of slavery, fruitful as it has been in crime, have presented to us, excepting in the case of Mauritius itself.

1. (March 20, 1829.)—JEANNE belonging to Madame Dupré, complained of severe and cruel treatment. She had charge of the poultry, and yet had to work in the field, but when the poultry were missing, she was required to pay for them, and having no money, she was beat

with a stick and a shoe, and her pig taken from her for payment: that she was also compelled to work on Sunday. On the evidence, it appears, of Madame Dupré alone, the complaint was pronounced to be, beyond doubt, altogether groundless, and *Jeanne* was sentenced by the Protector, to a week's solitary confinement and hard labour. (No. 1, p. 15.)

2. JOAKI, (March 31, 1829, No. 2, p. 15,) belonging to M. *Cheneau*, complained of being beaten with 25 lashes on his breech, because he quitted his work in a heavy shower; that he received two other floggings for causes equally frivolous; and that he had been worked on Sunday till noon. On the denial of M. *Cheneau* of the charge of flogging, and on the testimony of an assistant protector to the general humanity of that gentleman, and on the ground of a medical certificate, the Protector not only dismissed the complaint, but sentenced the complainant to receive 25 stripes in the presence of all the other slaves of the plantation. (Ibid.) Lord Goderich observes on this proceeding, "Not even a denial is given of the alleged employment on Sunday, of which no notice is taken by the Protector." Besides, "there is nothing like admissible evidence for the defence, except the medical certificate; and I am not aware that the absence of marks of punishment on the person of a black is a proof that none had been inflicted." At all events, he thinks that the Protector was not justified in awarding this punishment; and desires Sir C. Colville to convey to him a caution not to rely implicitly on the assurances he may receive from assistant Protectors, who are generally planters and the neighbours of those complained against, and to be equally wary as to the certificates of medical men, whose prosperity depends on their employment by the planters." (p. 90.)

3. HENRY, aged ten years, (No. 4, p. 16,) complained against his mistress *Marie Sarde*, of his being ill-treated, and ill-fed, and made to work on Sundays. *Marie Sarde's* defence consisted in her own declaration and that of her manager, that her slaves were kindly treated and abundantly fed; and that the boy was a bad boy, full of malice, and a thief. On this declaration the boy's complaint was pronounced false in every point, and for this and for bad behaviour, he was punished with twelve stripes, and warned to behave well in future to his kind and considerate mistress. The Protector says the boy looked fat, and this circumstance he viewed as presumptive evidence against him. What can more shew the degraded, nay, brutal condition of the slaves than such a remark, from a man who appears, in other cases, not destitute of humanity? (p. 16.)

On this case Lord Goderich remarks,—“But for the frequency with which the cases occur, where the decisions appear to rest on the mere declarations of the defendants and those under their control, (decisions too, not only for the acquittal of the defendants, but for the punishment of the complainants,) I should have thought it superfluous to remark, that the uncorroborated declarations of the parties concerned, can substantiate nothing. It is absolutely necessary that attention should be paid to the ordinary rules of evidence, and to the principles which are in common use, wherever justice is administered. It is also necessary

that the Protectors and assistant Protectors should confine themselves to their proper functions, and not take the opportunity of a complaint to inflict punishment for misbehaviour alleged to have occurred antecedently." (p. 91.)

4. On the 3rd of April, 1829, (No. 11, p. 19,) a slave girl, aged about five years, named ROSALIE, belonging to Mr. Collier of Port Louis, was brought to the Protector's office, her hands tied behind her, and her mouth gagged with a piece of cotton stuff, and a small cord. Mr. Collier admitted he had so treated the child for having told a falsehood, a punishment always adopted by himself and family towards young slaves detected in similar offences, and said he saw nothing severe in such punishment. The Protector admonished Mr. Collier not to repeat the offence, and dismissed the complaint. (p. 20.)

5. April 10, 1829. MELANIE, aged 35 years, belonging to Mademoiselle Descia, stated that her mistress obliges her to leave home to seek for work, and to bring her four francs every day, whether she have been employed or not; and to satisfy this demand, which she is always beaten for not fulfilling, she is forced to sell her clothes, so that she is almost without any. Miss Descia said it was all false, and the Protector believing, therefore, the complaint to be groundless, directed Melanie to be punished by ten days of solitary confinement, and at the same time recommended it to Miss Descia not to impose the necessity upon her slave of bringing her four francs a day, as it might induce her to obtain it by theft, or other improper means—though doubtless it was by those improper means chiefly that Melanie could hope to meet the exactions of her mistress, (p. 21.) "This," says Lord Goderich, "is one of those cases, in which none but *ex parte* evidence is given, but which results, nevertheless, in the punishment of the complainant"—a severe punishment too!

5. AGLAE, (No. 18, p. 23,) a female aged 22, belonging to the same lady, Mad. Descia, complained, on the 12th of April, 1829, of having been severely flogged by her mistress, though in the fourth month of her pregnancy; of being compelled, on pain of punishment, to earn four francs a day for her mistress; of being obliged to work on Sunday; and of not having sufficient time allowed for repose. To these complaints Mademoiselle replied, not by any evidence in disproof of their truth, but by various counter-charges of theft, swindling, marooning, &c., not one of which was she able to prove; and yet the Protector did not deem it necessary to send the case to the Procureur General for prosecution. "I must observe," says Lord Goderich, "that in this case, the Protector seems to have ill understood the nature of his functions. He had not to inquire whether the slave had committed theft, or any other offence imputed to her. If opportunity was to be given to the mistress to prove this, then justice would have demanded an inquiry whether her mistress did really compel her to go forth in search of employment, and bring back four francs a day, whether she might find employment, or not. If that were so, theft, on the part of the slave, might be considered as compulsory, and the guilt of it to belong to the mistress."—Probably, however, it was prostitution, and not theft, on which the mistress relied for the four francs a day. "But in truth,"

adds his Lordship, "these were not questions properly before the Protector. If the slave were guilty, there was a tribunal before which to bring her. The protector had only to ascertain simply whether the mistress had broken the law. Whenever it is ascertained, or even when there is a presumption that the law has been broken, it is no part of the Protector's intended functions, that he should exercise a discretion to dispense with the prosecution; nor am I able to discover the reasons by which he was guided in the discretion which he exercised in this particular case." (Ibid. p. 92.)

7. EIGHT SLAVES of *Sieur Delois* complained to the assistant Protector, (April 13, 1829, No. 19, p. 24,) of insufficiency of food, and being compelled to work on Sundays. The assistant Protector reported that *Delois* had denied the charge as to food, and had supported the denial by proof. He denied also the charge as to Sunday labour. The Protector, in considering this report as proving the complaint to be false and malignant, ordered his assistant to punish the eight slaves with thirty lashes each, in the presence of the whole gang. Lord Goderich observes, that the charge of Sunday labour is denied but not disproved; and that he can discover no proof of the malice ascribed by the Protector to the complainants. "I am therefore surprised," he says, "to find that they were sentenced each to receive thirty stripes." "Upon the evidence before me, I see no sufficient ground for sanctioning punishments thus severe; and it is impossible for me to approve of the Protector's having pronounced such a sentence, without any inquiry of his own, by which he should have obtained a personal knowledge that every opportunity and assistance had been afforded to the complainants to bring forward evidence on their side and substantiate their complaint." (Ibid. p. 92.)

8. NANETTE, a girl about twelve years, (No. 20, p. 24,) slave of *Sieur Ganien*, complained that her mistress was continually beating her. She had to clean the room, bathe the infant and walk with it, work at the needle, and bring water; her food too being insufficient. Last Saturday she was severely flogged. This charge was denied, and heavy counter-charges preferred against the girl, but the surgeon testified that he found marks of severe punishment on her breech, arms, and shoulders, and the Protector himself saw, in her reduced and emaciated state, a sufficient proof of her being insufficiently fed. The case was therefore denounced to the Procureur General. The master suffered judgment to go by default, and was fined in the lowest penalty of 20*l*.

9. CUPIDON, aged 55, complained (April 15, No. 21, p. 25,) that his master *M. J. J. Amelin*, had severely flogged him with fifty stripes, for not doing his work, though too unwell to work; that he now labours under fever; that he is made to work on Sundays as on other days, from four in the morning till seven in the evening, and has not sufficient food, or sufficient time for his meals. The medical gentleman testified that he bears marks of severe punishment, and labours under extreme and general debility; his weakness being so great, says the Protector, as to prevent his standing up. He was sent to the hospital, and in the mean time his master was applied to, to answer the complaint. His reply, while he admits to have inflicted a flogging, is a declaration, un-

supported by any proof, but accompanied as is usual with heavy counter-charges, that the charge was false, and demanding that *Cupidon* should be punished for his false complaint. In a few days, however, the slave died in the hospital; the surgeon reporting of him that he died from "a depraved habit of body, paralysis and other constitutional causes, and not from any punishment inflicted on his person." The Protector informed the master of this event, and thus, he adds, "terminated the investigation of the matter."—"It is incumbent upon me," observes Lord Goderich on this case, "to express the surprise and displeasure which I have felt, that a case which, as it appears upon this record, inevitably gave rise to the suspicion that inhuman cruelty had been perpetrated, should have been pursued no further, although there was no apparent grounds for leaving the claims of public justice unsatisfied. The slave had named the witnesses of the punishment he alleged himself to have received, and the master had admitted the infliction of a punishment exceeding that allowed by law; moreover, the whole of the circumstances affording as they did, a strong presumption of abuses in the habitation of the slave owner, demanded immediate and searching inquiry." (Ibid. p. 93.)

10. ELIZABETH, aged 30, slave of Mademoiselle *Lachelle*, (April 22, 1829, No. 25, p. 29,) was ordered by her mistress to rise very early on last Sunday morning to iron linen, which was interrupted by her being sent to accompany another young lady to church. On her return, she resumed her ironing, at which she was kept till six in the evening without any nourishment. On her remonstrating against this severity, her mistress flew at her, caught her by the hair, pushed her against the planks of the room, struck her with her fist, and kicked her about the body, and then told her to go and complain if she chose. The mistress was called, and, by her mere denial, (there being no external marks of the blows and kicks,) satisfied the Protector that the whole statement was false. "He therefore, severely reprimanded the negress, and returning her to her mistress, dismissed the complaint." This is Mauritius justice!

11. DENIS, aged 19, complained, (No. 26, p. 29,) that his master M. *Bourgault Ducondray*, caused the driver to flog him with a switch on the breech, in the field, because he was lazy and did not work. This was evidently against the Ordinance forbidding coercion by flogging in the field. And yet, the Protector, convinced, by Mr. *Bourgault's* statement, of the false and frivolous nature of the complaint, directed Denis to be returned to his master, and to receive, in the presence of the gang, twenty-five lashes, the assistant Protector attending and impressing upon the assembled slaves, "the determination of the Protector to put down by severe punishment every thing like insubordination or neglect of duty towards their masters, more particularly when their alleged complaints are proved to be of so groundless a nature." This is Mauritius protection!

12. TEN SLAVES of Madame *Ligerau*, complained, (No. 27, p. 29,) of having neither Sunday, nor their hours of repose during the day, nor time even to take their meals; that they are obliged to rise at three in the morning, and to work from that time till nine at night, the darker

hours of the time being employed in collecting grass for the cattle. A son of Madam Ligerau denied, on her behalf, the charges generally, but admitted that the slaves worked till eight on Sunday morning, in collecting grass, and that they had the same hours for meals as the other plantations, namely, two hours for dinner, and three quarters of an hour for breakfast. The driver and a free man residing on the estate confirmed this testimony, eulogized the lady, and certified the bad character of the complainants. The Protector, convinced of the groundless nature of the complaint, ordered three of the ringleaders to receive twenty-five lashes each, five others to be confined in the stock six nights, (working of course all day); and the other three (women) to be confined separately for four successive Sundays. On this sentence Lord Goderich remarks, that it was far too severe, even had their complaints been as groundless as the Protector adjudged them to be. "But in this case," he adds, "the very terms of the defence prove that the slaves had good reason to complain of not having the full time allowed them by law for meals, since the article (§ 20) assigns an hour for breakfast, and even the owner's son does not pretend that the custom of the estate was to allow more than three quarters of an hour. There has thus been, upon the showing of the defendant a daily contravention of the law, by each contravention of which the owner had incurred a penalty of not less than one nor more than five pounds. No notice is taken of this, while the slaves are punished for a groundless complaint." "The negligence of the Protector on this point is the more reprehensible as the time allowed to these slaves for meals is said to be the same as that allowed to those on the neighbouring estates, which would show that an habitual and extensive violation of the law prevailed in the district. I am to desire that you will direct the Protector to ascertain, by the most strict and comprehensive inquiry throughout the Colony, whether the law on this head be observed or not." (Ibid. p. 94.)

The Secretary of State makes no comment on the admitted infraction of the Sabbath.

13. AUGUSTINE, aged 22, belonging to Mademoiselle *Lalotte Egron*, complained, (29th of April, 1829, No. 28, p. 30,) of being ill-treated; of being flogged on her breech with thirty stripes; of being chained and fastened to one of the rooms where she is obliged to work at her needle night and day, having even passed several nights at work without the least repose; of having received a blow with a stick which broke one of her teeth; and of being badly fed, and having no rest, not even on Sundays. The mistress admitted the chaining, and did not deny the thirty stripes, but denied having struck *Augustine* with a stick. We entirely participate in the surprise expressed by Lord Goderich at finding this case "to have been dismissed by the Protector with a severe reprimand to the slave, and a threat of punishing her severely if she should offend again in like manner." And yet no offence whatever appears to have been *proved* against her.

14. PROSPER, the slave of Madame *Chezal* complained, (No. 29, p. 30,) of having been punished with sixty stripes; and of being compelled to work on Sunday without pay. In this case there is much contra-

dictory evidence; but the result of the whole, even if we take only that for the defence, we perfectly agree with Lord Goderich, is that three articles of the Slave Ordinance, namely, §§ 14, 15 and 17, had been violated. "It is clear," observes his Lordship, "that Prosper had sufficient reason to complain of illegal punishment, and in all probability of illegal compulsion to labour on the Sunday. It is, therefore, with serious displeasure that I find the result of the proceedings stated as follows:—'The Protector is of opinion that the complaint is altogether groundless.' 'Prosper has also been found to have been guilty of much ingratitude to his mistress, and to have suborned two negresses to support his false accusation.' I no where find on the record, the proof to which the Protector here alludes; he proceeds, 'complainant is therefore ordered by the Protector to receive thirty lashes on the estate of his mistress, and in the presence of the other blacks.' I know not," adds his Lordship, "to what to attribute a result so utterly at variance with that to which the law and justice of the case would seem equally to have led."

15. FIFTEEN SLAVES, belonging to Madame *de Bissy*, complained to the assistant Protector of bad treatment, (No. 30, p. 32.) He was displeased that so many should have come to him, and directed three to be selected to state their grievances, and the others to return to work. The three delegates complained in the name of the rest, of not being allowed time even to attend to the calls of nature; of being compelled to labour on Sunday; and of being insufficiently provided with food. The manager of the estate, Rozemont, being sent for by the assistant Protector, denied the truth of the complaint. These facts being laid before the Protector, he came to this extraordinary conclusion. "The Protector views the case as one in which the law authorizes him to make an example of the complainants, they not only having brought a false and frivolous accusation against the manager, but having also aggravated the offence by their tumultuous conduct; and in order, therefore, to suppress the least tendency to insubordination, he directs that the *fifteen slaves* shall be punished on the estate, in the presence of all their comrades, with thirty lashes each; the assistant Protector to be present, who is to take the opportunity of impressing, on the minds of the slaves, that the only terms on which they may hope for the Protector's support, (which he is always ready to afford, when their complaints are well founded) is the quiet and full discharge of the duty they owe their masters and those placed in authority by them."

"This case," says Lord Goderich, "affords a striking example of the severity with which the Protector has thought it necessary to punish frivolous complaints. He calls them, indeed, false as well as frivolous, but of their falsehood I see not the slightest evidence. The only witness is the manager himself, (the accused); and I do not find that even he is at issue with any of the complainants in any point."—"So far from the complaint being false, there seems to have been an adherence to truth, which is the more remarkable when it is considered to how little the truth amounted. Moreover, had the complaints been false, the falsehood could scarcely be imputed to any other than the three selected to make

the statement when the Protector refused to receive it from a greater number. All the fifteen slaves were ordered to be punished, each with thirty lashes of the cat o' nine tails." (Ibid. p. 95.)

16. A lady of the name of *Sturbel* seems by the cruelty of her treatment, and the severity of her exactions, to furnish abundant occupation to the Protector. On the 22nd of April 1829, (No. 32, p. 33,) ADELINE a negress of 23 years of age having two children, and PIERRE LOUIS a boy of 14, complained of their mistress, that though she herself punctually performs the usual task allotted to those negresses who have no children to nurse, yet she is beaten because Pierre Louis whose tender age incapacitates him for it, does not do as much. The work they are employed in, is making bags of certain leaves for holding sugar, coffee, &c., four of these bags being a full day's task. For this failure of Pierre, Adeline says, she received from the driver on Wednesday last, 25 stripes of a large cane on the breech. On Sunday, Madame Sturbel made her eldest child Elizabeth (now three years and a half,) work in collecting the leaves for the bags; and not being satisfied with her work punished her with twelve stripes of the same cane. On Monday therefore she came with this child, and the other who is at the breast, to the Protector to complain. She had not gone first to the assistant Protector of the quarter Savanne for fear of being sent back to her mistress, who obliges her and the other negresses to make each a sack on Sunday morning on pain of being placed in the block. Pierre also stated that the four sacks assigned to him is more than from his age and want of strength he is able to accomplish, and that for not accomplishing it, he is beaten on the breech, and that on Wednesday last, he received 25 stripes in the presence of four negresses, Madame Sturbel herself being also present at the punishment. The surgeon certified that both Adeline and Pierre had been flogged on the breech though not with much severity. The main facts were proved by all the witnesses, and admitted even by Madame Sturbel herself, who stated that she generally carried a cane in her hand, with which, besides the punishments inflicted by her orders, she had given the complainant and her child several stripes. The Protector referred the case involving, as it did, various infractions of the Slave ordinance, to the Procureur General. It remained undecided on the 30th of June, 1830.

In eight other instances in the course of fifteen months, does the name of Madame Sturbel appear charged with excessive exactions of labour, and with severe and illegal punishments. All are of a very atrocious description, but we must confine ourselves to one or two.

17. JEANNIE, (No. 6. p. 121,) had excessive tasks given her, for not completing of which she was severely punished with flogging: She complained to the Protector and on that occasion was sent to the hospital. At the end of a month she was sent back to her mistress, who attached her to a chain fixed to a large stone in a shed, where she had remained chained ever since, (about 12 months,) during which time she had been weekly flogged with 30 lashes of the cart-whip, and 25 strokes of a cane, for not furnishing four sacks a day, which it is impossible to do, especially as she had been a house servant and unaccustomed to this kind of work. Three other negresses were now chained in the same shed.

where she was, and there sewed their sacks, being kept "au secrèt." In addition to the cruelties inflicted on JEANNIE, she is not allowed to see her own son when he comes to visit her. She is allowed half a pound of boiled rice a day. She is made to work all Sunday, and is made to rise to work on other days at three in the morning. She had miscarried while kept in chains through the floggings given her, by her mistress, while pregnant. She further charged Madame Sturbel with having driven some of her slaves to suicide. JULIA had poisoned herself and her two children; LOLO had drowned herself and her two children in a pond on the estate, and Non a youth of 14 had hung himself. Some of these charges were denied by Madame Sturbel—but enough was proved to form a ground of prosecution. She was therefore denounced to the Procureur General. 1. For having kept Jeannie in irons twelve months chained to a block, during which time she miscarried. 2. For flogging her with the cart-whip and other instruments, the marks of which she bore on her body. 3. For not allowing sufficient food. 4. For compelling her to work on Sundays. 5. For exacting the excessive task of making five vacoa sacks a day and punishing its non-performance.— For these offences she was condemned in the penalty of £33 with costs. It is not said what became of Jeannie. She was of course returned to her mistress.

This is the only case in which we can find that Madame Sturbel's crimes were visited with even the slightest punishment.

In the complaint against Madame Sturbel first mentioned, that of ADELINE, it does not appear that any punishment followed the prosecution that was ordered; but some time after, viz. on the 1st of October 1829, (No. 58, p. 55,) we find this same slave again complaining to the Protector that she had been put into chains attached to a heavy log of wood, as soon as she had been sent back after her former complaint; and that the exactions of excessive labour, that had then been complained of, were renewed so that she had not time to eat her meals. The chains, having been removed from the limbs of the complainant at the Protector's office, were found to be four feet and a half in length; they were attached to the right ankle by a ring; and the other end was fixed to a large billet of wood, the weight of the whole being 55 pounds.

18. A youth of 16 years named JULIAN accompanied ADELINE, and had similar complaints to make against Madame Sturbel. The chains found upon him weighed altogether 18 pounds. The two cases were referred to the Procureur General, but the result is not given. Various other offences of this lady (see No. 80, p. 170; No. 83, p. 172; No. 3, p. 252; No. 39, p. 268;) were treated by the Protector with a most unpardonable lenity. This seems also to be the impression of Lord Goderich. He blames the Protector for so lightly dismissing the complaints against her, no notice whatever being taken of her numerous infractions of the law by compelling her slaves to work on Sundays; nor can he understand on what grounds the protector considered Madame Sturbel a fit object of lenity, when there were so many proofs of the excessive quantity of labour she was in the habit of exacting (p. 222.) Lord Goderich adverts (p. 223) to another complaint against this lady for

overworking her slave CELESTINE (No. 32. p. 351) in which it comes out that the girl had been chained to a stone for twelve months, and had been released only on the new year's day preceding. "As Madame Sturbel seems far from an indulgent mistress," adds his Lordship, "I regret that the Protector did not notice this statement." (p. 223.)

In short this person appears to have been proceeding, during the whole period of the present report, in the perpetration of atrocities, any one of which, if repeated, should have led to the liberation of her suffering slaves from her merciless dominion. But she still retains it, and seems to retain, along with it, her standing and estimation in Mauritius society; and the only penalty we can discover she has yet incurred has been the fine of £33, mentioned above.

19. ELEVEN slaves of Mr. *Castera* (No. 33, p. 35,) bring many grievous complaints against their master, some of which seem exaggerated, but many of which are partially admitted by him and his manager, especially the floggings, and the Sunday labour, and the abridgement of the legal hours of repose. Yet the Protector condemns these men to 25 lashes each, and two women to solitary confinement from Saturday evening till Monday morning for four successive weeks, for having preferred complaints which the Protector deemed groundless. A part of their complaints however, was found not groundless; but it only led to a reprimand and a caution against future offences of the same kind. "Equal justice," Lord Goderich well observes, "would seem to require that when both parties are found in fault, either both should be pardoned, or both punished. But when slaves have just reason to complain, they should not be very severely visited for exaggeration. It is scarcely to be expected that persons in their uninstructed condition will avoid the error of mixing truth with falsehood, especially when they have before them the example of a faithful statement being severely punished for amounting to too little." (p. 95.)

These observations, however, just as they are, hardly meet the enormity of this case as it stands proved, or even as it was admitted by the manager. The examining surgeon testified to many marks of punishment on both men and women, but said the marks were old; but how old, whether a week, or a month, or six months, does not appear; and of one of them, a female, who appears to have been recently flogged, ESTASIE, he said, that she was weak and emaciated, and apparently ill-fed; and of another, that she was old, and should be exempt from labour. The working on Sunday was distinctly admitted, and yet the Protector's reprimand was confined to the single point of irregularity with respect to hours of repose.

20. Lord Goderich states the complaint of ROSALIE against her master *Julien* to be (No. 35, p. 37) that she is obliged to work harder than her present ill state of health can support; that when she tells her master so, he beats her with a stick and tells her she *shall* work; that her sight being defective she sometimes fails to see clearly that which her master wishes to have done, and that he then throws snuff into her eyes; in short, that she is afraid to return to his house. The surgeon states, that she exhibits very slight marks of punishment, but that she is affected with paralysis, and is debilitated to such a degree that

he would recommend her being sent to the Hospital. And yet, the Protector expressed himself satisfied that that part of the complaint which alleged ill-treatment was groundless. "It is not stated," adds his Lordship, "how this is reconciled with the marks of punishment, which would seem to be conclusive evidence of an infraction of the law." (p. 96.)

21. ALFRIDA, 15 years of age, complained (No. 37, p. 38,) of excessive punishment, by her master, M. *Gaud*, of Port Louis. She had been stretched on the ground and severely flogged on several occasions; and yet the Protector, overlooking this direct violation of the Ordinance which forbids the flogging of women, found reasons for not punishing the master but for punishing the complainant. She was ordered to be confined in solitude for four Sundays.

22. We mention the case of JEAN, (No. 38, p. 39,) belonging to M. *D'Aubigny*, of the Quarter Flacq, chiefly because, though a great part of his complaint appears to be disproved, yet the statement of M. *D'Aubigny* himself, and of his numerous witnesses, clearly establish the general, open, and avowed infraction of the law relating to Sunday labour. M. *D'Aubigny* states, that his slaves rise at daybreak, during the week, and that *on Sunday morning*, they only bring in the quantity of grass necessary for the cattle, which work, with cleaning the cattle, never employs them later on that day than eight o'clock—that is, for three hours at least after daybreak.—The slaves too, whom he produces to testify in his favour, state as a proof of his humanity that, on Sundays, they always finish their "corvéé" by eight o'clock. The Protector takes no notice of this. But he punishes the complainant, a man 50 years of age, with 50 stripes of the cat.

23. NANETTE, and her two children, MARCELIN and VICTOIRE, complained, in May, 1829, (No. 1, p. 120,) of the Widow *Morell*, that she had obliged them to work on the last two Sundays. On the first of these she had given to each of them 25 strokes, and then made them dig the whole day. On the second of the two Sundays, she had again flogged all three with 25 lashes each, and then placed them in the stocks, without food, till the following morning, obliging them to work all the time in making bags. They complained also of insufficient food. Madame *Morell* denied a great part of the charge; but it appearing clearly that she had flogged two females, that she had flogged both them and the boy without the required witnesses, and without any entry in the Record Book, and had left them without food in the stocks, a prosecution was instituted against her, and she was fined £80 with costs.

24. The case of JEANNE, aged 22, and her three children, (No. 2, p. 121,) we mention not for the purpose of detailing the particulars of her complaint, which are sufficiently horrifying, though in some points, they are contradicted; but of bringing before our readers a new contrivance of Mauritius ingenuity, in the way of torture, called the "bar de justice." We call it *new*, not because it may not have long existed, but merely because, though it appears, from the sequel of the present report, to be of very frequent use, it was not before noticed in any of the accounts we have seen of the various cruelties practised in this colony.

The "bar de justice" would seem to be a kind of moveable stocks or bilboes, so contrived however that the slave cannot run away with it; and as it may be brought even into a parlour or drawing-room, the lady of the house or plantation may have her vagabond or libertine sempstresses placed securely at their tasks before her. This *Jeanne*, for instance, we are told as a proof of the lenity of Madame *Amedèe D'Emerèz*, received no other punishment than confinement in the "bar de justice," being kept at needlework in a room, and fed from her master's table. *Jeanne* nevertheless complained to the Protector of this "bar de justice," but he declined to interfere with it, as it did not, he says, "come within the meaning of the Chain Ordinance"—meaning that vile ordinance of Sir Lowry Cole, since repealed, which prescribed the *maximum* in weight of the chains or fetters with which men, women, and children might be loaded, at the owner's or manager's discretion.

25. THIRTY-ONE slaves belonging to *Bois Rouge*, appeared to complain of their manager, M. Audillard, (No. 16, p. 130.) The Protector reprimanded them for coming in so large a body, and, after choosing two or three to represent their grievances, sent the others back to the plantation. The deputies then stated that they were daily punished for almost nothing; that they worked at "corvéé"* from three in the morning, and when that was finished they worked from six in the morning till eight in the evening. They had no time allowed them to take their food, &c. The Protector states, as the result of his inquiry, that the falsity of the complaint having been completely established, the two ring-leaders were severely punished, one with thirty, and the other with twenty-five stripes; and the negresses were ordered to be confined for four successive Sundays. Lord Goderich cannot discover the proofs of falsity to which the Protector refers, nor the grounds on which the *negresses* were selected for imprisonment; and as for the assertion of a conspiracy existing among the slaves, there appears, he says, no farther proof of it than their having left the estate in a body; while the fact of a former complaint having been preferred from the same estate may, with as much probability, be referred to injustice on the part of the masters, as to insubordination among the slaves.

26. ALEXIS, a slave belonging to the same estate of "Bois Rouge," complained of having been punished with forty lashes of a cart-whip, by M. Audillard, the manager, and then put into chains, which, on being weighed, were found to exceed the limits of the Ordinance. Dr. Hart also certified, that *Alexis* had both sides of his breech ulcerated from the effects of punishment, and that he was affected with disease. The facts alleged by *Alexis*, were nevertheless stoutly denied by the manager, the driver, and another slave; and, notwithstanding the surgeon's less equivocal though still reluctant testimony, the Protector considered the charge of excessive punishment as not borne out. He, however, prosecuted the manager for his breach of the chain ordinance, and he was fined £2 with costs. (No. 20, p. 132.)

* This word seems to be used in Colonial slang, for certain extra works, as collecting grass, &c.

27. *AGLAE*, belonging to Madame *Ligerau*, complained that her mistress flogged her because the cat broke two plates. The charge of flogging being proved, the lady was prosecuted, and made to pay £20 with costs. (No. 24, p. 136.)

28. *EUGENIE* complained (No. 25, p. 136,) of her mistress, Madame *Bueginot*, having beaten her for not going to her work, though she was very ill at the time. The doctor certified to her ill-health; "she labours," he says, "under a high degree of fever and severe pain in her head and bowels." Yet, on Madame *Bueginot's* own denial, the case was dismissed, with a caution to the lady. Lord *Goderich* justly blames this decision. (p. 223.)

29. *ANNE*, aged 27, says Lord *Goderich*, complained of having been severely beaten and kicked by her mistress, at a time when she was far advanced in pregnancy. Dr. *Hart* testified to the marks she bore of ill-treatment, which, in her state, might have endangered her life. The charge was denied by the mistress, by three of the slaves, and even by *Anne's* daughter, *Sidonie*, of eight years old. This last witness, however, on being desired to speak the truth without fear, trembled, and asked if her mistress was within hearing. Being told not, *Sidonie*, with much emotion, stated that on Sunday morning last, her mistress had scolded her mother much, and, taking her by the hair and ears, had given her many blows on the face, kicked her on all parts of the body, and beat her with a cane. In the evening she was sent to call her mother, and the same treatment was repeated. She did not say this at first, because her mistress had told her to say that her mother had *not* been beaten, but that the mark on her face had been caused by falling against the back of the door; and she had said so at first lest she should be punished when she got home. The Protector, Mr. *Thomas*, says, that on fully investigating the case, though *Anne* has much cause of complaint, he does not send it to trial fearing the evidence may fail through its contradictory tendency. Mr. *Thomas*, remarks his Lordship, has here "assumed a discretion which did not pertain to him, and which in this instance was not beneficially exercised. No doubt could exist that the defendant had not only been guilty of the offence laid to her charge, but of the still more serious and deliberate crime of suborning a child to bear false testimony against her own mother. I cannot, in justice to the court, assume that it would have been deceived by the evidence to be tendered to it. I must suppose that with the advantage of the facts already elicited by the Protector, the court would have found means, by cross-examination, to extract the truth from the witnesses. I am compelled, therefore, to signify to you my disapprobation of the conduct of the Protector in this instance." (pp. 140 and 223.) This case furnishes a very instructive solution of the otherwise unaccountable contradictions, which pervade the whole mass of the evidence given, in the course of the investigation of the 220 cases brought before us in this Report.

30. The next case, that of *EMILE*, a boy of 12 years of age, belonging to Madame *Gondreville*, closely resembles the last. Dr. *Hart* certified that he had extensive marks of laceration on both sides of his breast, two or three on his arm, and two or three on his back, and that

the punishment had been inflicted with great severity. On the morning on which he was brought to the Protector, (August 13, 1830,) he had been sent by his mistress to the jail to be punished; but the keeper observing his lacerated state, refused to inflict any farther punishment, and conducted him to the Protector's office. But notwithstanding all this, on the denial of a son of Madame Gondreville, and of some slaves, that the complainant had been punished *except by being put to work in chains fastened to the girdle of another negro*, the Protector comes to the conclusion that, the complaint being proved false, the boy shall receive ten stripes, and would have received more but for his tender age! Is it possible to read such things without shuddering at their enormity? Lord Goderich expresses a similar feeling. (No. 33, p. 141, and p. 223.)—Similar cases, in which the decisions of the Protector are marked with the most manifest injustice, abound, and we forbear to multiply them.—And not only are the slaves, for the most part, denied all redress, but often very severely and unjustly punished for their complaints, merely because the parties accused deny their truth, or bring vague and irrelevant counter-charges against the complainants.

31. The following case (dated 20th Oct. 1829, No. 68, p. 161,) is selected from a great number of a similar kind, to illustrate some farther enormities of the Mauritius system. BAZILLE, aged 55, belonging to *Sieur Nozaic*, stated, that having been brought to the Bagne or jail for running away, he had been sent thence to his master's estate; but that, in consequence of his advanced age and general infirmity, he had been exempted from the corporal punishment usually inflicted on maroons or runaways when sent from the Bagne. Here then we learn, and the fact is manifest from the frequent incidental allusions made to it throughout these proceedings, that a slave taken up and committed to the Bagne, by the police or otherwise, is there *usually*, and as a matter of course, punished with flogging. The extraordinary frequency of marooning in this colony, arising evidently from the general severity of treatment and the excess of labour to which the slaves are subject, must tend greatly to multiply such punishments; and yet they are seldom mentioned except incidentally, and do not, as far as we can discover, form the subjects of any regular record or report. The list of floggings, we apprehend, would thus be every extensively enlarged. But ought not such a list to be given? Ought the Bagne, the place of daily and almost hourly inflictions, to be exempted from this salutary exposure? Not only should the name of the slave, in all such cases, be given, but the name of the master and estate, and the particulars of the offence of marronage and its alleged cause; the circumstances of his age, appearance, and marks of former punishment; and the chains, collars, or fetters fastened upon him when brought thither, together with the punishments inflicted at the Bagne, and the authority by which it was so inflicted. We should thus have opened to us a new and pregnant chapter of the horrors of Mauritius slavery.

But to return to *Bazille*. He had no sooner reached the estate of his master, with the whole skin which the commiseration of the keeper of the Bagne had permitted him, contrary to the *usual* practice, to carry home with him, than he was put into the stocks by his master's orders,

and on the following morning was flogged, with a martinet *dipped in tar*, in the presence of his master and the other slaves, to the extent, it is said, of about 100 lashes, and then sent to work during the day, and confined in the stocks at night, till he made his escape and came to the Protector. Dr. Hart having examined him, certified that he found upon him *extensive ulceration on both sides of his breech from unusually severe punishment; that he appeared in bad health; and that being unfit for any work at present, he ought to be sent to the hospital till the ulcers on his breech are healed.* The only defence of the master was, that he had flogged *Bazille*, but not with sufficient severity to produce these appearances, and that he must either have received a flogging during his marronage, or that the slight flogging recently given by him had opened old wounds. The case was referred to the Procureur-General. The result had not been given on the 30th of June, 1830.

32. SOLON, belonging to M. *Bestel*, (No. 74, p. 166,) on lately returning to his master from the Protector's office where he had preferred a complaint, with a charge that he should not be punished for complaining, had nevertheless been, on his return, put in the stocks and beaten, and made to work all day, and confined all night, being made on Sundays to work with the slaves who were in chains. M. *Bestel* admitted that "*Solon* did work on Sundays with others of his slaves" (he does not say how many) "who were in chains, not however as a punishment, but to indemnify him in some slight degree for their time lost in marronage." For not complying with the Protector's former injunction, and for working his slaves on Sunday, M. *Bestel* was denounced to the Procureur-General, but the result is not yet known. "It is not stated by the Protector," says Lord Goderich, "whether he was denounced for *Solon's* individual case, or for the general practice of making his maroon slaves work on Sundays." (p. 225.)

33. SIXTY-ONE slaves belonging to M. *Brue*, of the estate *Wolmar*, in the Quarter *Riviere Noire*, (No. 81, p. 170,) came on the 24th Nov. to complain to the Protector. All were sent back to the estate but two, *EGISSE* and *PORPHYRE*, both drivers. They stated that they were obliged to begin work at three in the morning, and did not leave off till seven in the evening; that the *corveé* on Sunday lasted till nine in the morning, and they could not enjoy Sunday or employ it in procuring any little comforts they might require, as they were again made to muster at four P. M.; and that the females were flogged the same as the men. It was admitted that the slaves worked from four in the morning and finished at sunset. The flogging was denied on the part of the master, but proved in the case of the two women. The muster on Sunday at four P. M. was admitted; and the *corveé* till nine on Sunday morning not denied. No record book was kept on the estate.—The result was, that *Egisse* and *Porphyre* were condemned to be put in a chain for three months, and a prosecution was instituted against the master only for flogging the two women and for keeping no record book; no mention being made of the admitted Sunday work. The result is not stated.

"In concluding my remarks," says Lord Goderich, on this section of the complaint book, "I have to observe, that in some instances in which the Protector had sentenced slaves to receive what appeared to me a

severe punishment, for preferring false or malicious complaints, I have omitted observing upon it, both because his attention was repeatedly called to the subject in my Despatch of the 15th January, 1831, and because the Order in Council of 1830, will have deprived him of the authority to inflict such punishments."

34. On the 18th Dec. 1829, FRANCOIS, belonging to M. *Marchal*, (No. 91, p. 175,) presented himself at the office at three in the morning, with his hands fastened together behind him by means of thumb-screws, fixed so tight as to have penetrated the flesh quite to the bone, and caused considerable swelling and inflammation of the hands and arms. He also stated that another slave named LOFF, had been punished precisely in the same manner by his master, and was now confined on M. *Marchal's* premises. A surgeon being sent for, the thumb-screws on *Francois* were filed off. Lord Goderich gives the following abstract of the facts of this case, which appear proved in evidence. We have abridged this abstract.

About twenty-four days ago, *Francois* neglected his work, and absented himself for a whole day. The following day he was arrested and carried to the police, whence his master caused him to be conveyed home, and immediately fixed thumb-screws on his thumbs, and placed both his feet in the stocks. At night he was taken out of the stocks, and with the thumb-screws still on, placed in a machine called a carcan, which consists of two pillars with a cross plank affixed at a man's height from the ground, to which he was attached by means of an iron collar, three inches broad, fastened to the plank by staples and padlocks, where he remained standing all night, and in the morning was released and placed again in the stocks for the day. He was thus treated alternately night and day for a fortnight, when M. *Marchal* sent him to his plantation at *Petite Riviere*, with the thumb-screws always on, to be flogged; but being unable from ill health to visit the plantation, sent for him back last Saturday and treated him as before. Being unable to use his hands, he was sometimes fed by one of his comrades. *Loff* was treated in the same manner. The thumb-screws were screwed so tight as to cut the flesh almost to the bone, and cause great pain. About four days ago he announced himself to be ill, and he was taken out of the stocks and placed in the hospital, whence last evening he had escaped, leaving *Loff* there with his thumb-screws on. M. *Marchal* himself put the thumb-screws on them, and conducted them night and morning from the carcan to the stocks. They had only two meals a day, consisting of a pound of boiled maize. Several of his comrades had been subjected to the same punishment, but not for so long. It was M. *Marchal's* ordinary mode of punishment. No surgeon is attached to the establishment. A warrant being issued for *Loff*, he was nowhere to be found, and the carcan was found to be destroyed.

"The defence of M. *Marchal*," Lord Goderich observes, "bears strong marks of prevarication, though he does not contradict *Francois* in a single point of any importance;" whose statement indeed is confirmed by other witnesses, and the surgeon certifies "that *Francois* is in great danger of losing his right thumb which is in a state of gan-

grene, and of losing also a portion of the left;" and expresses an apprehension that tetanus may ensue.

Marchal being prosecuted, the result was that he was condemned to pay a fine of £50, to be imprisoned three months, and to forfeit the two slaves. On this sentence Lord Goderich remarks, "It is not without great regret and disappointment that I find so trifling a punishment awarded for these atrocious cruelties. I have in vain searched for any circumstance which might afford a palliation of his conduct or throw a suspicion on the evidence against him." "I am entirely at a loss to understand upon what ground this inadequate punishment was inflicted." "If the utmost powers of the law had been evoked, there would have been ample means of visiting him with a very severe punishment. The maximum penalty indeed that can be awarded for a misdemeanour is £200, and six months' imprisonment. Had this been inflicted for each offence, it might have constituted an adequate punishment, especially if followed up by a declaration of incompetency to hold or manage slave property for the future, as provided by the Slave Ordinance, clause 30. This provision does not seem to have been ever alluded to in any of the proceedings, though, if this case did not call for an application, it is difficult to conceive any cruelty, not amounting to a deprivation of life, which would justify its application. I fear it will now be too late to take measures for obtaining such a sentence." "You will desire the Protector to explain on what grounds he originally refrained from taking this step." The slave Loff appears to have been found, but no explanation is given of his disappearance. (*Ibid.* p. 227.)

25. The case of a boy EDWARD, ten years, (No. 93, p. 178,) complained that his master, *Ganier*, and his mistress, maltreated him in a variety of ways. The surgeon certified that he had on his shoulders and back innumerable marks of recent punishment, and that his breech was in a state of ulceration from recent flogging. The case was referred to the Procureur General, but the result is not given.

36. HELOISE, aged 18, is proved (No. 93, p. 179,) to have been flogged and otherwise maltreated by her master, *M. Hubert*, and her mistress, though pregnant. This case was also disposed of in the same way as the last.

We now come to the complaints of the year 1830, which are eighty-six in number, and not less revolting than those of preceding years. Among these the following case stands most disgustingly forward. It is the case of the Rev. R. E. JONES, second civil chaplain, and chaplain to the forces at Mauritius, but better known in this country as one of the compurgators of Mr. Telfair, and as one of the witnesses of the happiness of the slaves in general in the Mauritius, and particularly on the estate of Bel Ombre. In this very report, at p. 213, we find him, on the 23rd of December, 1829, writing to the Protector with apparent interest, of the advances of the slaves under his care in moral and religious improvement, and of his own efforts among them. The following statements will shew the difference which may exist between vague professions of philanthropy and real humanity.

37. JACK, a Malgache slave, aged about 32 years, belonging to the Rev. R. E. Jones, residing at Terre Rouge, in the quarter of Pamplemousses, appeared at the office on the 10th of March, 1830, and stated, that he quitted the estate of his master this morning, to complain of having been flogged, although he had committed no offence. He had been falsely accused to his master of having stolen a dollar from a negress, Marthe, and he, without making further inquiry into the fact, ordered the driver, Isidore, who himself is very severe, to give *Jack* twenty-five stripes of a cane on his breech, his hands and feet being held by four slaves. He, as well as the other slaves, rise at half-past three in the morning, to work in the garden, cut grass, or clean the cattle-yard, ceasing at six in the evening. He has not a sufficiency of food, the ration being less than a pound of rice and one manioc a day. He is allowed but half an hour for breakfast and one hour for dinner; neither has he Sunday to himself, for if not employed with the cattle he is out with his master's carriage. His wife, Cecile, was flogged with a cane by order of his master, on the 29th of December last, (six days after his report to the Protector,) marks of which punishment Cecile still bears. The certificate of Dr. Hart is, that having examined *Jack*, he finds both sides of his breech considerably swollen and painful, particularly the right side, from whence a great portion of the skin has been removed. Both exhibit marks of recent punishment, having been flogged with a rattan this morning by his master; and he cannot sit down, nor bear the contact of his clothes.

The further evidence taken with respect to this complaint elicited some further information with respect to Mauritius slavery, as practically exemplified on the plantation of the Rev. R. E. Jones,—for he has, it seems, himself a plantation.

“Marthe, a Creole, aged 15 years, states, that on Sunday night last she slept in Jack's hut, and that in the morning when she awoke she found a dollar missing; that Cecile told her, Jack had taken it; but beyond this she has no proof of his guilt. Declarant works *on the estate* from four o'clock in the morning until six in the evening; children like herself have one pound of rice *per diem* as their rations; while the grown-up slaves have the same quantity of rice, and one manioc; that their ‘breloque’ (the interval of labour so called) is half an hour for breakfast, sometimes two and sometimes one hour for dinner. In the *Sunday corvée* they are employed from four until ten o'clock in the morning, in cleaning the premises, and cutting grass for the cattle. On being interrogated as to the manner in which the female slaves of her master are punished, declarant states, that about two months past she was flogged with several stripes of a cane on her breech by the driver Isidore, by order of her master, laid on the ground with her hands and feet held by Combo and Romeo; this punishment was inflicted at the instigation of her mistress, who charged her with having stolen a rupee found in her possession, although the same had been given to declarant by her father on new-year's-day. Declarant saw another negress, named Cecile, flogged in the same manner about the middle of January last, by order of her master, who was present at the punishment, because she had struck a child called Mathurine.

“ ‘I certify,’ says Dr. Hart, ‘having examined Martha, a slave belonging to the Rev. Robert Jones, and find she has, on both sides of her breech, slight marks of punishment, which she states were inflicted about a month ago; having been flogged by order of her master.’

“ Cecile was then examined; she denies having ever told Martha that Jack had stolen her dollar; but corroborates all else deposed by the preceding declarant, with reference to working hours, food, and Sunday corvée; differing only in stating, that the slaves have regularly two hours allowed for dinner, instead of sometimes having but one, as stated by Martha. With respect to the corporal punishment said to have been inflicted upon her, she states, that about three weeks after new-year's-day, she received from the slave Troupereau, five stripes of a cane on her breech, by order of her master, her hands and feet being held by four blacks, because she gave the child Mathurine, who had insulted her, a ‘soufflet.’ Declarant recollects the punishment inflicted on Martha, which was similar to that suffered by herself.

“The slaves Bon Miguel, Troupereau, Romeo, Coutoubin, and Isidore the driver, corroborate the statement of Cecile, with reference to food, hours of work, and Sunday corvée, and the manner in which female slaves are punished. Troupereau adds, that it was himself who inflicted five or six stripes of a cane on Cecile, in the manner described, and by the order of his master. Romeo states, that he was present at the punishment of both negresses. Coutoubin was present at the punishment of Cecile; and Isidore flogged Jack by his master's order, and also Martha.

“Joseph Romeo, a free man, overseer of the blacks belonging to the Rev. Mr. Jones, was then examined. He states, that he was present at the punishment of Jack, three days ago; that he also witnessed that of Martha, about a month past, inflicted under the circumstances stated by the other declarants; but, with respect to the punishment of Cecile, he knows nothing.

“**RESULT:**—With respect to the punishment inflicted upon the slave Jack, although inflicted with some severity, there has been no other infringement of the law than that the registration of it in the Punishment Record Book does not contain all the particulars required by the Ordinance, No. 43; a more correct observance of which, Mr. Jones was recommended to adopt for the future. Upon application from that gentleman for the return of his slave, an order was given by the Protector for his discharge from the Civil Hospital, whither he had been sent, in consequence of the certificate of the examining surgeon.

“A similar recommendation was made to Mr. Jones, with reference to the other charges contained in Jack's complaint; viz. first, of being over-worked; secondly, of insufficiency of food; thirdly, of want of time for repose and meals; fourthly, of being employed on Sunday corvée a greater length of time than is allowed by law;” for it would seem, that this cruel and impious exaction is allowed by law. “With respect to the fifth charge, that corporal punishment had been inflicted upon the negresses Cecile and Martha, and which is fully established by evidence, the Protector denounced the infraction in the first case, to the acting Collector of Customs, to be dealt with as he

might think proper, Cecile being a government apprentice, and therefore under that officer's special superintendance; whilst the infraction of the Ordinance, No. 43, in the case of Martha, was denounced to the Procureur General for prosecution accordingly; wherein Mr. Jones, allowing judgment to go by default, was fined in the penalty of £20 sterling."

"I shall have occasion," says Lord Goderich to the Governor, "to address you in a subsequent despatch, on the subject of the complaints of the slaves of the Rev. Mr. Jones. I shall only, at present, express my sincere regret that any clergyman should have laid himself open to such charges, more especially in a community like that of the Mauritius, where so much influence must naturally attach to the conduct of a minister of religion, placed in the situation occupied by Mr. Jones."

It is now explained how Mr. Jones, Captain Dick, and others, themselves slave-holders, were led to come forward in favour of the treatment of the slaves on Bel Ombre, and in the Mauritius generally.

38. It will be recollected, that in the year 1821, when certain cruelties were asserted to have been committed on Bel Ombre, the managing co-partner in that estate was a Mr. Blancard, (see Vol. II. No. 44.) This name recurs in the present Report. On the 23rd of February 1830, ADONIS, (No. 35, p. 266,) complains that his present masters, Messrs. *Blancard* and *Thèvenin*, of Rivière du Rempart, do not allow him sufficient food; that he has no intervals for meals; that with the other slaves he is called to work, at four o'clock in the morning, and does not leave off until from seven to eight o'clock in the evening; that the Sunday *corvée* lasts till ten or eleven o'clock, and is used for the purpose of putting sugar to dry, after which, there is a Sunday evening *corvée*; that although unwell, complainant is compelled to work like the healthy blacks, and is often beaten by Auguste, Bazile, and by a free man named Bonhomme; that lately a slave named Baptiste, of Mr. Basset's, hired by Thèvenin, was beaten by the régisseur named Hypolite, with a stick until his arm swelled, when, instead of obtaining for that slave medical advice, Thèvenin put him into the stocks; and that a slave named Thomas is often maltreated, and his hut vexatiously searched without just cause.

"The Sieur Thèvenin, in his reply to this charge, swears, that the blacks on the estate receive two meals of boiled rice, with either salt meat or brède, (one for breakfast, one for dinner,) and at night each receive half a pound of rice uncooked.

"On being asked the quantity of each meal, he said, the quantity is not measured nor weighed, but each slave has as much as he can eat.

"Declarant states, that his slaves rise at four and go to work at five o'clock, and continue till sun-set, after which they cut each a bundle of grass and bring it to the court; that the Sunday *corvée* lasts till eight o'clock, and is availed of for putting sugar out to dry; and on being told, that such was not lawful, answered, he did it in order to avail himself of the fine weather; that complainant's statement with respect to his treatment when unwell, is very idle; that at present there is not any hospital on the plantation, but declarant intends to build

one; and that the commandeur sometimes gives complainant a few strokes of the cane when he is lazy."

Several slaves are examined whose evidence slightly varies in some parts. They all agree however that the Sunday *corvée* lasts, at least, from four to eight in the morning, and is renewed in the evening for cutting grass: a part of the Sunday morning being employed in putting out sugar to dry in the sun. As to food, the statements vary a little, but is stated generally to be about a pound and a half of boiled rice a day. They vary also as to the precise extent of the abridgment of the hours of rest, but the utmost that is pretended is an hour and a half for dinner, and forty-five minutes for breakfast, instead of the legal time of two hours for the former, and one hour for the latter. As to the daily period of labour in the field, it seems to be agreed that it extends from four in the morning till sunset, and then, that they must cut and bring home grass for the horses and cattle. They complain much of the ill-treatment of Thèvenin especially, who flogs them for the most trifling fault; and, if they complain of being ill, they are immediately put in the stocks.

The Protector having duly considered this complaint, and the investigation of the assistant Protector of the quarter, is of opinion that much disorder reigns on this estate, and that the provisions of the Ordinance, No. 43, not having been strictly complied with, it would be his duty to denounce the same for prosecution, but this being the first complaint from this estate, which has but recently come into the hands of its present proprietors, he wishes to give them an opportunity of remedying the evils. With this view they are reprimanded, and strictly enjoined to be more circumspect in future.

The lenity of the Protector in this instance was far from producing its intended effect, for on the 17th of March following, the same slave ADONIS presented himself to the assistant Protector of the district, to complain "of being confined in the stocks immediately on his return from this office, where he had lodged a complaint against his master; (on the 23d of February last,) that, before being put into the stocks, he was beaten with a cord by the *Sieur* Blancard, jun., who asked him who had advised him to go and complain. Since that time he has been confined, without having a sufficiency of food allowed him. Jean Louis put complainant into the block, by order of his young master, and the *Sieur* Thèvenin knew him to be there, because he came into the hut, and gave him several stripes of a cord on his back. These blows left no marks, the cord being large, and therefore only causing a swelling. All the blacks on the estate know him to have been so confined, particularly Thomas, Jean Louis, Léveillé and Hypolite. Complainant was confined when the assistant Protector inspected the slaves of the estate, and was only released at that time by the commandeur Auguste, for the purpose of being inspected. He escaped by the assistance of his comrade Léveillé, and would have destroyed himself, had he not succeeded in getting away, not being able to support the ill-treatment to which he is exposed."

The slaves named by Adonis, confirm his testimony; and the *Sieur* Thèvenin produced twenty-one other slaves in his defence, but they all

declared the complaint of Adonis to be true. He was punished for complaining to the assistant Protector. They are all ill fed on the estate. They have not sufficient time for repose, and are ill treated by M. Thèvenin. None of these facts are rebutted. The decision of the Protector is thus given, but the case has not yet been brought to trial.

“It being clearly proved that the punishment inflicted on *Adonis*, was in opposition to an injunction from the assistant Protector of the quarter, who, in the examination of a previous complaint from the said slave, found sufficient grounds to induce him to issue the injunction in question, and as Messrs. Blancard and Thèvenin have, in inflicting this second punishment, as well as in not registering it, contravened the law, the Protector denounced the parties for prosecution accordingly.”

We beg our readers to compare the proofs above exhibited of the actual treatment of Mauritius slaves in 1830, with the general view given by us of that treatment in our second volume, p. 377. We cannot but remark their precise identity, much as we have been assailed with calumny for having published it.

39. MARIA LOUISA, (No. 13, p. 256,) complained, (13th of January 1830,) that her master, M. *Nid*, of Port Louis, refused to give her the medical care she required. She is obliged to work, though suffering much pain from a wound in her foot, caused by running a nail into it eight months ago. She has received several kicks and slaps from her master and mistress during her illness; and she prefers complaining to remain longer in such misery. The surgeon certifies that she “has elephantiasis of both legs with extensive ulceration of right little toe, and a loss of its phalanges.” M. *Nid* as usual denied the charge of ill-treatment, and declined to receive the negress again; “but on being remonstrated with by the Protector, he agreed to receive her and to treat her with all necessary attention.”—Not a very hopeful promise!

40. ROMEO, (No. 17, p. 258, 22d January, 1830,) “a Mozambique slave, aged 25, complains against his master, M. *Gustave Mayère*, of Port Louis, for having inflicted upon him twenty-five stripes of a cane immediately after his return from the Police prison, where he had already undergone confinement and corporal punishment for the offence of marronage.

“The fact in this case being clearly proved, M. *Mayère* was denounced for an infraction of the Ordinance 51.”

41. “LOUISE, a Creole negress, aged 25, says, that her master, M. *Lapière*, caused her to be punished with twenty-five stripes of a martinet, by the économé, named François, on her return from marronage; that she is often beaten by her master and mistress, and for this reason it was that complainant marooned.

“M. *Lapière* admits that he did punish *Louise* with nine stripes of the martinet on her return from marronage on the 19th instant; that he was ignorant of the law prohibiting such punishment, and did not register it, thinking himself not called upon to do so, inasmuch as the number of lashes inflicted did not exceed nine. The économé and several slaves proved the punishment to have been inflicted, and that it was limited to nine lashes. M. *Lapière* was denounced to the Pro-

cureur Général for prosecution for an infraction of the Ordinance, No. 43, and also for not having kept a Register of Punishments.”

42. HENRY, (No. 20, p. 259, 25th January, 1830,) a slave boy, aged about 10 years, has been sent to the office by the Chief Commissary of Police, with chains on his legs. He says, that his master, the *Sieur Franchin Neptune*, of Tamarius, in the quarter of Rivière Noir, directed the slave *Prosper* to put these chains upon him, about three weeks past, for having lost a small barrel, with which he had been sent for water.

“The *Sieur Neptune* positively denies the charge, and says, *Henry* is an exceedingly bad boy, a constant thief and maroon. Declarant has not kept a Register Book of Punishment. *Prosper* (the commandeur) also denies having put the said chains on complainant; and *Jean Pierre*, another slave of *Sieur Neptune*, declares the same thing.

“RESULT :—Notwithstanding the contradiction given by the master and his slaves to the declaration of *Henry*, the Protector conceives it his duty to denounce the parties to the Procureur Général for a contravention of the 2d Article of the Ordinance, No. 51, in having put fetters upon a slave under 15 years of age.”

43. “On the 12th of February, a band of nineteen slaves, male and female, appeared before the Protector from *M. Lambert's* of Rivière du Rempart estate, to complain of ill-treatment received from *M. Collet*, the économe of the establishment. All excepting *Paul* (a domestic servant) declare that they have not a sufficiency of food, having only two manioc and half a pound of rice per day each; that they have not time to take this food, being allowed half an hour for breakfast and one hour for dinner; that on Sunday they rise at day-light, clean the stables, and then go to work in the fields until nine o'clock, after which they each bring a bundle of grass and then a bundle of cane heads for the cattle, thus prolonging their hour of Sunday labour until eleven o'clock, and sometimes even later; that in addition to this, at five in the evening they again make two journeys for grass for the cattle, and after that, are not allowed to leave the court-yard on a Sunday; that the muster bell is rung three times every night between ten and one o'clock; that they work in heavy rains, are continually struck and annoyed by the régisseur with a ‘martinet en peau;’ that the negress *Casy* was punished some time past with a number of stripes on the shoulders, for having begged pardon for her son while he was under the same description of punishment; and the negress *Rosine* was confined in the stocks during the time she was with child. Complainants did not know they erred in leaving the estate of their master in a band, or they would not have done so; they fancied the complaint, if brought before the Protector by one or two slaves only, would not have been so readily believed, as if they all appeared to attest it.

“Complainants were immediately returned to the estate of their master, and the assistant Protector of the district was instructed to repair to the plantation, and there make a full and minute investigation of the circumstances complained of. The Result was as follows: The master was reprimanded for the nightly musters, and cautioned against a re-

currence of a custom so vexatious to the slaves. He was denounced for prosecution for flogging his negress *Casy*, and severely reprimanded for having confined *Rosine* in the stocks whilst pregnant. He was also admonished for exacting two corvées on Sunday, one only being permitted by law." (Is it permitted by law?) "With respect to the other points of the complaint, they were proved to be false." (p. 261.)

"It is not stated," observes Lord Goderich, "in this case why the master was not denounced for prosecution for exacting a double corvée on Sunday, as well as for flogging his female slave *Casy*." (p. 328.) Is a single corvée on Sunday then legal, and what is a single corvée?

44. "ADELINE, a child, aged about 9 years, and belonging to M. *Gautier*, of Port Louis, states, that she marooned on the day before yesterday, and complains that her master, the said M. *Gautier*, beat her on Sunday last with a 'martinet de peau,' for not having well cleaned the house; complainant does not recollect how many lashes she received, but states, that she was beaten in the presence of her mistress, and the negresses *Adelaide* and *Adèle*; complainant further states, that she has no other clothes than what she now appears in.

"The surgeon certifies having examined *Adeline*, a child about 8 years old, and finds she has on her shoulders and back several marks of recent punishment, which she states were caused by her master having flogged her with a 'martinet en peau,' about six days ago. I am of opinion that her punishment was severe, and more than a child of her age should receive; she appears also badly clothed.

"RESULT:—The Protector having examined this complaint, finds there is no evidence upon which to bring it into Court, although there is no doubt of the child having been beaten severely by its mother, who admitted the fact, stating that the girl is an incorrigible thief, and disobedient to the last degree; and also, that she always punishes her when in fault, either of her own accord or by her master's orders. She was recommended to use more moderation in future in her corrections, and by no means to use the cat for that purpose. The master was afterwards cited to come to the office to take cognizance of the Protector's decision, but refused to do so; and after allowing a reasonable time for that purpose, the child was sent back to him, with an injunction that she was not to be punished or in any way molested for having brought this complaint, the want of evidence alone being the cause of its not being denounced." (p. 267.)

Lord Goderich cannot approve of this decision. "I am not aware," he says, "on what ground he considered himself authorized to decide on the sufficiency or insufficiency of the evidence, which was a question for the Court." (p. 328.)

45. On the 22nd March 1830, "JEAN FRANCOIS, a Creole slave belonging to the Sieur *Bruneau Marquet alias Cottry*,* of Grand Port, presented himself before the Assistant Protector of that quarter, to seek protection from the ill treatment to which he is exposed. Complainant states, that on Sunday last he was sent to the Sieur *Bignoux*, of Plain Bois, for a sack of maize; that not finding M. *Bignoux* at home, he

* See vol. ii. p. 390.

waited until about nine o'clock in the morning, when complainant returned without having fulfilled the object of his commission; that his master seeing him come back without the maize, took a stick, and beat him with fury, whilst complainant in vain protested his innocence, and begged mercy; the wife of the Sieur Bruneau interfering at this time, intreated her husband not to give way to passion in such a manner, but to direct a commandeur to punish Jean François, if he had committed a fault requiring it. To this remonstrance, however, he was equally deaf, continuing to beat complainant until he was perfectly exhausted, and afterwards repeating the punishment, sometimes with a stick, and sometimes with a piece of rope; swearing at the same time that he would murder complainant with his own hands. Complainant was then put into the stocks by his master, who tied his hands behind him, and then fastened them to a neighbouring tree, thus placing him in a position so painful, that by the evening he could no longer support it. M. Bruneau then liberated his hands, and left him in the stocks, under the charge of Narcisse, another of his slaves; but this latter going to work early on the following morning, afforded to complainant an opportunity to escape. He further states, that whenever any poultry happens to be missing from the yard, himself and comrades are obliged to work all Sunday. That the ordinary corvée on that day lasts until nine o'clock, and that in the afternoon they make another corvée, in order to supply the cattle with grass. The medical certificate is as follows.

“ Je, soussigné, chirurgien du Port Sud Est, y demeurant à Mahébourg, certifie avoir, sur la requisition de M. le Commissaire Civil du quartier, visité le noir nommé Jean François, qui est blessé sur différentes parties du corps, tant antérieures que postérieures, par des coups de bâtons et de cordes, qui ont déchiré la peau, avec contusion dans plusieurs points, et notamment sur la partie antérieure de l'épaule droite et postérieure des deux épaules, et supérieure de l'épaule gauche, et un coup violent, avec contusion, sur la branche et l'articulation de la mâchoire du côté gauche: l'ensemble de ces blessures n'offre pas de danger.

“ Mahébourg, le 22 Mars 1830. (signé) P^e Bⁱ Jalabert.”

Cottry backed by some of his slaves denied the charge, recriminated on François, charging him with theft and drunkenness. The slaves all said they had not seen the punishment, but had heard of it, and all but two agreed that a Sunday corvée is exacted of them in the afternoon also.

“ RESULT :—This case has been denounced to the Procureur General for prosecution, as an infraction of the 29th Article of the Ordinance, No. 43; for although the master denies the charge of having exercised any unusual severity in the punishment of the slave, it fully appears, by the Surgeon's certificate, that great violence must have been used to cause the wounds exhibited on the person of complainant, and which, in contradiction to the assertion of the master, are represented as having been caused by blows of a stick as well as of a cord. The slave for several days after his appearance before the assistant Protector, was in a state of such suffering as to render him incapable of being removed to Port Louis; and when he did present himself at the Protector's Office,

the marks described by the examining Surgeon, were still apparent on his person.

“With respect to the afternoon *corvée*, as it was admitted by some and denied by others of the witnesses examined, the master was instructed as to the work permitted by law” (is it so?) “on Sunday morning, and strongly recommended to regulate his establishment accordingly.”

Such a recommendation is feebleness itself. (p. 276.)

46. April 6th, 1830. “Eight slaves belonging to M. Mullet, of Port Louis, and let by him to the *Sieur Menazé* of the quarter of Flacq, complain of being deprived of their hours of repose; and state, that no sooner have they commenced their meals, than they are again called to work; that they are only allowed three manioc cakes *per diem* each; that they are obliged to work in the rain, and when ill, are sent to labour, under a threat of being confined in chains, if they refuse.”

The charge is denied by the accused, who brings before the assistant Protector a number of slaves to confute it, by whose testimony, he is satisfied the complaint of the eight complainants is false, and proceeds from laziness, and a desire to avoid their work. The Protector directed the two chiefs of the band to be punished with twenty stripes each, the other males to receive ten each, and the women to be confined fifteen nights and on Sundays. (p. 280.)

47. April 8th, 1830. “*Laurent*, a Creole slave, about 30, complains that his master, M. Bestel, of the quarter of Plaines Wilhems, put upon him the collar and chain which he (complainant) now wears, without his being able to imagine the cause of such punishment; that his master returning from the *sauvanne* about five weeks past, and finding that the slave *Bazille* had marooned, immediately ordered complainant and his comrade *Jacques* to be chained together, giving as a reason, that *Bazille* had marooned, and he had no doubt but they would soon do the same; in this state they were confined at night in the stocks, and obliged to work on Sunday; they in vain remonstrated against this treatment. *Bazille*, however, having returned from *marronage*, they again requested to be liberated, and were a second time sent away without being heard, upon which they marooned, and having broken their chain on the road, complainant came direct to this office to make the present statement. That part of the chain left on the person of complainant was found to weigh seven pounds and a half.

“The *Sieur Ferré*, *régisseur* of the estate of M. Bestel, appeared at the assistant Protector’s Office, and declared his entire ignorance of the reason for which complainants were confined in the chain described; it was by M. Bestel’s orders, and about a month past, that this punishment took place; it is false, however, that complainant was ever confined in the stocks, as declared by him, or that he was made to work on Sunday during the period he was in chains.

“RESULT:—The real weight of the chain put upon this black could not be ascertained, because, by his own statement, it appears that he and another slave were chained together, and they broke the chain, but what portion of it remained on the other black who did not accompany *Laurent* to this office cannot be known, and therefore it is impossible to say whether the master has committed a breach of the law or not; the

master was, however, sent for, and, in addition to the statement given by his régisseur in the answer to the complaint, he admitted that he did put the chain upon Laurent and his comrade, to prevent their marooning, which they are in constant habit of, and not for any crime they had committed. The Protector could only reason with him upon the injustice of putting men in irons under a suspicion that they would maroon: but he failed of making any impression upon M. Bestel, who declared that he should continue to treat all his maroon slaves in the same way, and that there was no law to prevent it. This last is certainly the case, there being no limits to the time an owner may keep his slave in chains; the man was therefore returned to his master." (p. 281.)

"I trust," says Lord Goderich, "that the Order in Council of Feb. 1830, will be found sufficient to prevent such a practice: but if not, you will not hesitate to put down by an express proclamation so unjust a line of conduct as that of punishment in anticipation of an offence." (p. 328.)

48. FRONTIN on the 16th April, 1831, (No. 66, p. 284,) stated that he had been suspended by his arms to the mast of a boat, and put in chains. This is denied by the master and crew, who affirm he was only secured from marooning or doing mischief to the vessel, being a bad and desperate character. The surgeon however, certifies that he 'has at the bend of both arms, above the elbows, a circular mark or ulcer, and one also at the wrist of the same description.' The Protector pronounced the complaint false and malicious, and ordered him to be punished with 25 stripes on his master's habitation. And yet, says Lord Goderich, "if these ulcers resulted from the tying of his arms, it is clear the cords must have been so tightened as to cause considerable pain, and that the punishment must have been of a cruel nature." (p. 328.)

49. On the 26th of April, 1830, "DESIRE, a Creole, aged 24 years, appeared at this office, carrying in his hand irons, which he states he this morning removed from his ancles, and having on his neck an iron collar, attached to a heavy weight by means of a chain. He complains of these being put upon him by his master M. *Vasseur*, of Port Louis, because he does not make three pair of ladies' shoes *per diem*, which is impossible for him to do, being also employed as cook, and often in selling milk. These chains were fixed upon complainant about twelve days past.

"The weight of the chains and 'sabots' were found to exceed that permitted by law, the former being 9, and the latter 4½lbs. The weight to which the chain was attached is 52lbs., it was used for the purpose of preventing complainant's escape from the room in which he was employed, and was fixed in that room."

His master, as usual, denies or extenuates all. The result is that "from further inquiry made by the Protector, it would appear that the slave is a worthless marooning character. The master having, however, infringed the law regulating the weight of chains in such cases, has been denounced to the Procureur Général for prosecution accordingly." (p. 287.)

50. On the 4th of May, 1830, (No. 72, p. 288,) "CLEMENTINE, a Malgache negress, complains, that her master, the Sieur Sènèque, of the

quarter of Grand Port, immediately after the death of his late concubine, compelled complainant, against her inclination, to live with him in adultery; partly from fear of bad treatment, and partly by being forbidden to see her husband in the camp. In December last, she discovered that the *Sieur Sénèque* had connection with another of his slaves named *Zéline*; that therefore she availed herself of this opportunity to get rid of her master's familiarities, to which she had great repugnance, and to rejoin her former husband; that the *Sieur Sénèque* seeing this, became furious, so as to strike complainant with his fist, and cut off her hair, and then put her in the stocks; and a little time after he shut her up in prison, obliging her to go thither by blows of a branch; complainant has been ever since December thus confined, except when sent out under escort, to make vacois sacks, of which her master obliges her to complete four *per diem*; that she has for some time expected to be released from this durance, but in vain; she therefore yesterday escaped the vigilance of her guards, and went to the assistant Protector to complain. She named *Martin*, *Zirondelle*, *Babet*, *Grenade*, *Samedi*, *Lafleur*, *Léandre*, *Ladouceur* and *Hortense*, as witnesses to the truth of all she stated."

The different persons here named confirm the main points of the complaint. *Clémentine* had been in confinement ever since December, and the black who prepares the food for the pigs prepares food also for *Clémentine*. *Clémentine* had long been her master's concubine, but since December she had been shut up in prison and *Zéline* had become his concubine.

"The *Sieur Sénèque*, in his reply to this complaint, says, that *Clémentine* does not speak truth when she states that he compelled her to live with him after the death of her mistress (who was also his concubine), because he called her one evening to a place behind the kitchen, and said, 'I have many children, and it is not my intention to take into keeping a free woman; if you will live with me, I will take care of you, and give you all that you may want or desire; and if you should have a child and your conduct correct, I will render you happy.'—To which she replied, 'If, for some time, my conduct has been incorrect, it was for the sake of getting something to support myself; but if you will give me such things as I may stand in need of, I promise you to be very prudent and correct, and I say so to you from the sincerity of my heart.' Declarant then accuses *Clémentine* of having stolen certain linen and some gold rings, belonging to one of his family; and says, that it was in consequence of this robbery committed by an inmate, who ate and drank at his table (as complainant did) that he thought it right to punish her with six months' confinement in an airy granary. Her work was to make four sacks *per diem*, Sundays excepted. But this task however she never completed; nor was she employed in any manner whatever during a whole month, when she complained of being unwell. She had double rations of food, and that always ready cooked. Her declaration, therefore, with respect to food is false, as it must also be evidently made to appear by her personal condition. And her only object in making this complaint is revenge, well knowing that her bad conduct will prevent her ever returning to live in declarant's house.

“When the master’s letter was read, charging Clémentine with having stolen linen belonging to her young mistress, she replied, that, in fact, sick of the brutality of her master, caused by his new taste for Zéline, she frequently secreted herself, but never for more than two days; that with regard to stealing her young mistress’s linen, she stated, that it is true a shift of her young mistress was found in her box; but that the shift was a long time in the possession of Florine, a negress of her master’s, from whom she received it in pledge for payment of fifty sols, which she had lent to Florine; that when she wished to prove this fact to her master, by appealing to Florine, he refused to allow it.

“RESULT:—From the minute investigation made into this case, it appeared that the Sieur Sénèque had confined the negress Clémentine rather from a motive of resentment, for infidelity towards him, than as a punishment of the theft committed: and as the explanation he has given of the transaction, only shows the great immorality of his conduct, even in the midst of his numerous family, the Protector felt it his duty to direct the assistant Protector of the quarter to impress upon the mind of the Sieur Sénèque, the highly reprehensible manner in which he has neglected the duties of a master, by thus demoralizing his slaves, and setting them so pernicious an example, against all laws, human and divine.

“The negress was returned to her master, who was, at the same time, strictly enjoined not to molest her in any the slightest manner for the complaint she had preferred against him.”

In commenting on this characteristic transaction, Lord Goderich requires the Governor “to transmit, for his information, a copy of the law which gave the master a right to imprison his slave for an indefinite length of time, without assigning a reason, and apparently without the sanction of a magistrate.” (p. 329.)

51. On the 21st of May, 1830, (No. 75, p. 290,) “*Antoine*, a Mosambique, aged 37 years, and belonging to the Sieur Castera, of Flacq, complains of being obliged to work on Sundays until three or four o’clock, P. M. without being remunerated; that he has not sufficient time for meals, and works from before day-light, till six o’clock P. M., and is then obliged to cut grass until gun-fire; that for the last month complainant and his comrades have been obliged to stay all day and take their meals on the spot where they work, though not far from the court; that neither he nor his comrades who came lately here to complain, got any new clothes at Christmas, and their master said, they should have none, because they carried a complaint against him; it is now cold weather, and for want of such clothes they are obliged to cover themselves with gunny bags.

“The Sieur Castera declares, that his slaves never work later than nine o’clock A. M. on Sunday; that they have sufficient time for meals, as the time is regulated by the commandeur without his interference, that they never go to work before day-light, and quit it at sun-set; that sometimes (but not always, as Antoine says), and when they work near the road where there is grass, they cut and bring a bundle of grass each, and leave it in the cattle-yard on their way to their huts; that they are kept from the court-yard all day, only at such time as they

work at 'Three Islots,' which is very distant from the plantation; they therefore then eat upon the spot where they work, and they also sleep there in sheds made on purpose for them, and that this has been the case for the last sixteen days; the complaint of not receiving clothes, is admitted by the master, but he qualifies it, by stating that it was not with the intention of depriving them of the clothes altogether, but merely to make them feel his displeasure, and the difference he made between his slaves of good conduct and themselves.

"The above was confirmed by the testimony of the rest of M. Castera's slaves, and the clothing verified by the assistant Protector, as also the good condition and clothing of all the slaves.

"RESULT:—Antoine was sentenced to sleep seven nights in the stocks for mingling falsehood with his complaint, this being the second time he has done so; the master was at the same time strongly remonstrated with, and recommended to a strict observance of the law regulating the hours of 'breloque,' which, in the evidence before the Protector, do not appear to be regulated upon so just a principle towards the slave as they ought to be, inasmuch as it is the duty of the master, and not of the commandeur, to see that the time accorded by law is granted."

On this occasion Lord Goderich remarks, "I have read this decision with serious disapprobation. That the slave actually had cause for complaint is admitted in the 'Result' of the Protector, which I have quoted above; yet in spite of his own decision, the Protector sentenced him to a severe punishment for aggravation. If the slave was to be punished for his offence, equal justice required that the irregularities of the master should not escape with impunity; but exaggeration in preferring a complaint when unaccompanied by malice, is an offence of a venial nature, when the uneducated state of the complainant is taken into consideration."

52. On the 26th of May, 1830, (No. 76. p. 291,) "ADOLPHE, a Malgache, aged about 34, who presented himself at this office on the 31st of March, complaining of ill treatment received from his master the Sieur *Ithier*, of the quarter of Flacq, now states, that on his return from hospital, his said master, after threatening him with punishment, tied him to a ladder, and there kept him from morning until noon, without, however, striking him; that the work he is obliged to do is too severe for his present weak state of body, it being that of clearing away underwood on the estate; that having represented this to his master, he was desired to return to his work without receiving the slightest commiseration; declarant left the estate three days past, and could not present himself earlier, on account of the difficulty he experienced in walking.

"The following is an extract from the Certificate of the examining Surgeon:—'Nous avons examiné et avons reconnu et constaté le nommé Adolphe, Malgache, âgé d'environ, 34 ans, être atteint d'une fièvre hectique, avec ocdème des extremités inférieures, ce qui nous le fait juger en danger; cet état exige des soins prompts et assidus. Nous n'avons reconnu aucunes traces de corrections récentes sur cet individu, que nous avons trouvé mal vêtu.'

“Complainant was immediately sent to hospital for medical treatment.

“On the same day appeared the *Sieur Ithier*, declaring that *Adolphe* had made a false statement.

“*Vendredi*, another slave belonging to *Sieur Ithier*, declares, that complainant was tied to the ladder, as he has said, but it was only for an instant, in order to frighten him, after which he was sent to collect grass; declarant says, that his master is certainly not a kind one; but in the present instance *Adolphe* has no cause whatever of complaint, for he is an idle slave, always unwilling to do his duty, and much given to pilfering.” Yet he was very ill, as is proved by the surgeon.

“**RESULT:**—In this complaint there does not appear,” says the Protector, “sufficient proof of ill treatment; and as there is an action already against the master for ill treating the same slave, these papers were submitted to the *Substitut du Procureur Général*, to be produced in aggravation of damages, but he did not think them necessary.”

53. On the 11th of June, 1830, (No. 86, p. 295.) “*EDMOND*, a Mozambique slave, belonging to the *Sieur Dalais*, of the quarter of Grand Port, complains, that he is the least liked of all the slaves by his master; that the slaves all work on Sundays, without being remunerated; that he is compelled to rise at midnight, or at the first crowing of the cock, to work; that his mistress owes him $16\frac{1}{2}$ dollars, for two pigs he sold her (having sold them to her for $20\frac{1}{2}$ dollars, of which he has received only 4 dollars), which she refuses to pay, under pretext that he had stolen a bottle of arrack.

The testimony of the slaves examined on this charge is very contradictory; but *Mr. Dalais* declared, “that certainly *Edmond* was less esteemed by him, as he truly said, and for the very reason, that his conduct was very bad and idle, yet he had the same privileges as his other slaves, to rear pigs, &c. That with regard to Sunday-work, he obliged those to do such work who had been idle, and had not finished their task-work; and he did this as a punishment rather than flog them; and even this Sunday work is never exacted but after repeated acts of idleness.”

The Protector dismissed the complaint as false, punishing *Edmond* with twelve stripes for bringing it.

On this case *Lord Goderich* observes, that “it appears that the slaves on the estate to which he (*Edmond*) belongs, are worked on Sunday, when they have been idle during the week; this is stated to have been adopted as a punishment instead of flogging. Desirable, however, as it may be to avoid, as much as possible, the necessity of corporal chastisement, it is quite impossible to permit the adoption of a mode of punishment, which is not only illegal, but which gives the master a direct interest in the punishment of his slave.”

His Lordship thus concludes his observations on these details.

“On a review of the three Reports from the Protector of Slaves for Mauritius, on which I have had occasion to animadvert in succession since I assumed the seals of this Department, I cannot but come to the conclusion, that His Majesty’s intentions in favour of the slaves, have

been most imperfectly carried into effect. I say this with every disposition to charge upon Mr. Thomas no larger share of the responsibility for their defective operation than what, upon a full consideration of the difficult circumstances in which he has been placed, and with all allowances for the novelty and unpopularity of his office, may be found properly to belong to him. The law which he has had to administer was in itself imperfect. The enactment of the Governor in Council, which varied in so many essential respects from the model which had been prescribed, was the only law in force down to the latest period to which the last of these Reports reaches. And although I hold it to be the duty of the Protector in general to point out all defects of the law which are shown in the course of its operation, and respectfully to submit to the Governor the measures which appear to him to be necessary to render it complete and effectual, yet this was a duty which did not devolve upon him in respect of omissions and qualifications advisedly made by the Governor, when, in the exercise of his discretion, dispensing with a strict obedience to His Majesty's commands.

“The Protector is, therefore, wholly irresponsible for defects so arising: and in regard to some others, he has not failed to offer proper suggestions of the means which might be employed to cure them. I am aware, also, that the Protector, in addition to the necessary difficulties of his situation, has met with obstructions from Law officers of the Crown, whose duty it was to have assisted him to the best of their ability; nor (you must allow me to add) am I satisfied that your own authority was by any means so actively and decisively used as it might have been, to correct the negligence or remove the opposition of others. The Protector thus standing alone, and with no other assistance than that of the usual magistracy, for the investigation of cases lying beyond his immediate cognizance, could not fairly be expected to succeed in giving complete effect to the law; and I am willing to believe that the deficiencies which, thus circumstanced, he has evinced, are only such as, with experience and due assistance and support, he may be enabled in future to supply. But I cannot too earnestly request you to be aware yourself, and to impress upon him, that an operation of the Slave Law, so partial and feeble as that which these Reports exhibit, if in some measure excusable hitherto, could not longer continue without exciting the serious displeasure of the King's Government. The operation of the law must be carefully watched with reference to its spirit and purposes; and whatever obstacle is found to defeat its efficacy, must be promptly and completely removed. I must request you to let it be understood by all Law Officers of the Crown and other public servants, that they are expected to give their cordial support to the Protector; and I, on my part, will make the best selection in my power of persons to act as his assistants, for the administration of the law in the rural districts.

“When the hands of the Protector shall have been thus strengthened, and when he shall have had from you the active support, as well as the sedulous superintendence, which I trust that you will see the necessity of affording, I shall hope to receive Reports much more satisfactory than those which it has lately been my duty to examine. But I cannot regard the Report which has formed the subject of my present

despatch, otherwise than as a renewed illustration of the necessity which I have heretofore pointed out, of a strict revision, by yourself, of the whole of the Protector's proceedings, and especially of that portion of them which is recorded in the Complaint book."

Here then we close these frightful details; but can we close them without inviting our readers to look back to our second Volume, No. 44, for the picture there given, of the Negro Slavery existing in the Mauritius? The vocabulary of vituperation was nearly exhausted by Sir Robert Farquhar, Mr. Irving, and Mr. Hudson Gurney in the House of Commons, and by Mr. Telfair and his scores of zealous compurgators in the Mauritius, in denouncing that picture as false and calumnious. But is not the truth of every syllable we then uttered, in the way of general description, substantiated to the very letter in the details now officially given to Parliament and the public? And is there a single fact we have adduced, to prove either the cruelty of the planters, or the iniquity of the administration of the slave laws in 1819, 1820, and 1821, which does not find its parallel and therefore its complete warrant and justification in the daily scenes exhibited at the Protector's Office, in Port Louis, during the years 1829 and 1830? We were threatened with prosecution by the assembled body of Mauritius planters, and funds were raised for the purpose. We smiled at the threat; nay, we invoked its execution. What could we require more ardently than the opportunity of establishing, by legal testimony, the horrors we had been constrained to denounce as exceeding in enormity even those of the Corders and Thurtells of England, or the Burkes of Scotland? And will it be believed in after ages; nay, will it be believed in twenty years from this time, that such things could have been perpetrated in any corner, however remote, of the British dominions, and under the eye of British Governors; and that those who attempted to expose them to the indignation of Parliament and the public, and to invoke the interposition of British power and justice, for the protection and rescue of these otherwise hopeless and helpless victims of oppression, should have been branded in the British House of Commons, and by the British press, as libellers and calumniators, as false and malignant, as the enemies of truth, justice, and humanity? Let the light which has been thus shed on their conduct and motives, only serve to animate them to further exertions until this scourge, which afflicts and desolates so many of the fairest portions of the earth, shall have received its final and eternal condemnation.

5. Prosecutions for breaches of the Slave Law.

Of the 222 cases of complaints preferred by slaves against their masters, seventy-two only had been sent to the Procureur General for trial. Of these, fifty-one had not yet been brought to trial; or remained undecided, notwithstanding the length of time which had elapsed. In one case, the individual accused was acquitted; and, in the other twenty cases, the parties were found guilty, but in almost every instance were sentenced to the very mildest penalties which the law admitted. Lord Goderich comments, with manifest dissatisfaction, on this misplaced lenity, which in so many cases led the Court to inflict only the minimum penalty, and the Procureur General to acquiesce without appeal in such

a course. But this has been by no means the only reprehensible circumstance in the conduct of this public functionary, Mr. Foisy, and his deputy M. Marcy, who have seemed much less anxious to aid the Protector by their counsel and authority, than to throw impediments in his way. His Lordship has therefore ordered the dismissal from office of both these gentlemen, their places to be supplied by men more worthy of confidence.

6. *Criminal actions against Slaves.*

The number of these is 175, but the account of them is very imperfect from the gross neglect of the Procureur General, in not giving due notice of committal and trial to the Protector. Many of the accused also appear to have been kept for long periods in gaol without being brought to trial.—It is difficult to judge of the result of these trials, few particulars being given and no part of the evidence being detailed. We meet, however, with some punishments of great severity, as one, two, four, and even twelve years of chains. And in one case, a negro sentenced to death for the murder of a negress, has his punishment commuted into twenty years of chains “on the ground of insufficiency of proof of premeditation.” If so, the crime was not murder at all, and ought not to have been visited as such. One slave was arrested in Oct. 1829, tried in March, 1830, and acquitted; and yet not discharged for thirty-five days after.

7. *General Treatment.*

The regulations as to food, clothing, time for meals, &c., as appears by the statement of the Protector, and indeed as might be inferred from the details already given, it is to be feared, are deplorably neglected. “There is scarcely a complaint made by the slave against his master, which does not contain a charge of being badly fed.” The Protector thinks (but we believe on insufficient data) that the charge is false in most instances of this kind; but he admits that in all suspicious cases he has been compelled, from the difficulty of proof, to content himself with admonishing the parties. “The same observation applies to the time allowed for meals.” “With respect to clothing, it is generally bad, and if the planters were requested to give their slaves a shirt and trowsers once a year,” (for even this seems too much for a Mauritius planter to give) “the indecency which meets the eye so often, might probably be obviated.” “They also complain often of being compelled to work on Sundays beyond the time required by the ordinance”—Why is any such time required? “The Protector is of opinion that this will continue to be a source of complaint and discontent, unless the Sunday corvees” (gathering food for horses, oxen, &c. and cleaning them) “be directed to be performed on Saturday.”

It seems particularly unfortunate in the case of the Mauritius, that the governors who have been successively appointed to the command of that island since the period of its capture, with the exception of generals Hall and Darling, who held the office but a short time, have appeared disposed to take part with the planters against the slave. We have seen the conduct pursued by Sir Robert Farquhar, during his long administration, (see Nos. 42, 44, 49, 50, &c.) We have heard Sir Lowry Cole, pleading for the continuance of female flogging, and sanctioning

the use of chains by private authority; and we now have Sir Charles Colville pursuing, in some respects, a similar course; enlarging to nine the lashes a master may summarily inflict without delay or witness, and permitting the use of the whip in the field. Farther proofs of a similar spirit occur in the present report. The Protector had pointed out to Sir Charles Colville the cruel oppression consequent on the use of the instrument of punishment called the "bar de justice," described above. In communicating the observations of the Protector to the Secretary of State, he subjoins this remark, (p. 58.)

"I doubt if the bar de justice is as objectionable an engine of punishment as the Protector imagines, and some punishment must be retained for those who will not earn their master's food without it." Their master's food!!

To this extraordinary remark, Lord Goderich replies as follows:

"With respect to the instrument of punishment called the 'bar de justice,' if the terms of the Order in Council be not construed to extend to it, a local Ordinance must be passed, expressly for its abolition. I have not overlooked the doubts which you express of the impropriety of this mode of punishment, but I am unable to adopt them. The Protector's objection to it, that it may be continued indefinitely, without occasioning the master any loss of the slave's labour, is, in my opinion, conclusive. It is a mode of punishment, in the application of which, it is not the interest of the master to be merciful." (p. 87.)

Lord Goderich deems it necessary further to admonish Sir Charles Colville, on the duties of his high and responsible office.

"I cannot," he says, "but suppose that the contents of the Complaint Book had nearly escaped your notice, as otherwise many of the cases which it contains, must have extorted from yourself the serious attention which it has devolved on me to bestow upon them. But the revision of these proceedings is an important function of your government, and it is obvious that that which is finally to be executed by me, must be too late to retrieve many of the errors which might not be beyond remedy if discovered at the moment and on the spot." (p. 89.) Lord Goderich further disallows his objections to the immediate institution of a court for the summary recovery of debts due to slaves, on the ground that the inconvenience arising from the want of such a tribunal was common to them and the rest of the population: "I cannot imagine," says his Lordship, "that the *rest* can feel it in an equal degree with the slaves." "Their defenceless condition lays them peculiarly open to injustice on this point," and "I regret you did not act on the Protector's suggestion. You will take forthwith the necessary measure for the erection of this tribunal."

We now close these disgusting details, furnished to His Majesty's Government by the officers whom they have placed as Protectors of the slaves in the various Crown colonies. And what a picture do they exhibit of the state of society in all of them; in Demerara, Berbice, Trinidad, St. Lucia, the Cape of Good Hope, and above all in the Mauritius!!

ERRATUM.

In No. 83, p. 324, line 15 from bottom, for 1728, read 1828.

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

 No. 88.] SEPTEMBER 10, 1831. [VOL. iv. No. 16.

 I.—RECENT COMMUNICATIONS FROM HAYTI.—(*Being the Journal of a Traveller in that Island.*)

 II.—DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

 I.—RECENT COMMUNICATIONS FROM HAYTI,—*Continued from No. 79, p. 246.*

NOVEMBER 27th.* “I departed this day from Port-au-Prince, on my journey to the North, at about four o’clock, with a gentle stirring breeze and starry sky, and the moon just setting. The Portail of St. Joseph not being opened at this hour, I was compelled to ascend the marly heights near by, availing myself of a circuitous track, before I could get beyond the barrier. The morning being Saturday, the weekly market-day, a large concourse of the country people had assembled ready for the opening of the gates. The horses and asses were resting beneath the loaded Macontes, and men, women, and children, were seated dozing in groups to the amount of some hundred persons, by the side of their wearied animals. We were obliged to pick our way, through these knots of persons, and did not find the obstructions less when we got fairly on the road, the continued companies of marketers, pressing on in cavalcades of twenties, thirties, and fifties, covering the whole space of the highway five deep, with horses and asses burthened to treble their natural bulk, crossing and recrossing our path, as they sought their road through the more beaten tracks after the recent autumnal rains. I attempted to form some calculation of the number of loaded animals I had passed, between the city gate and the cross road of Drouillard, when I quitted to the West, the principal thoroughfare of the plains—and found they must have amounted to no less than three hundred.

“There was some cultivation to the right-hand and the left of the road leading to the ford of the Grande Rivière. It ceases here to flow a wide shallow current through unembowered borders. The stream was narrow and deep above and below the ford, entirely sheltered with full foliaged forest-trees, making altogether a pretty road scene. Some spacious well-built newly erected cottages were on its northern bank, and some very respectable looking provision plantations, with a few cane fields.”

* The portion of the journal from this date to that of the 29th of November inclusive, viz. the journal of the 27th, 28th, and 29th, of November 1830, was accidentally omitted in its proper place. It ought to have come in, in No. 79, at p. 238, between the journal of the 15th of November and the 9th of December 1830.

“ We now began to approach the dark purple mountains that run east and west, northward of the plain, but turned westward, parallel to them at Cibert.

“ Cibert is a place celebrated by the contest which after the death of Dessalines, proved disastrous to Petion, in his struggle with Christophe for the presidency of the republic. The Old French Colony was after this event divided into two states under the government of the Rival Chieftains. It was through the neighbouring morass, extending to the foot of the mountains as they stretch out in headlands to seaward, that Petion made his perilous escape in a fisherman's boat, without a single adventurer to accompany him. Gaining the opposite shores of the bay, he there gathered a little army of followers, who soon after triumphed, in the south, over his more powerful antagonist.”

“ On rising from the marsh lands of the Cul-de-Sac, to gain the road at the foot of the first marly promontory, we arrive at the ‘ stinking springs,’ or ‘ sources puantes.’ Their appearance immediately impresses the mind with their extraordinary qualities. Beneath the rocks of the mountains issues, with a bubbling motion, water clear as a spotless crystal, flowing over a bed of earth so brightly green, that the most brilliant emeralds cannot exceed it in lustre. As the waters flow on with a silent rapid current, amid small jagged rocks, concretion from its own deposit, breaking and diversifying its course, it throws up, from the green slime of its channel, masses of yellow earth. These accumulate on its surface, sink again into the depths from which they rose, or stopping, then moving suddenly onward adhere to the banks. A sepulchral odour scents the whole atmosphere. There springs no vegetation on its banks, but in the midst of the little islands which the meandering waters make, the sombre red mangrove, a tree of elegant foliage, with crimson bark and olive tinted leaves, grows here and there solitarily, like a tree of life planted by the waters of death. Neither bird, nor beast, nor insect is seen there; and no creature, but the solitary traveller speeding away from the spot as if it bore a curse. The sound of the freshening sea is heard, but not seen, murmuring with a constant roll. Behind, the bright blue mountains stretch far away, seeming a perilous journey into unknown plains; and before, the rocky road winds into a wilderness.

“ A rocky promontory, a small bay with pellucid waters, a few mangroves standing into the sea; palms and agaves; torch thistles, opuntias, lobed cartuses and acacias, with the distant mountains, and the ocean; a picture just beyond the ‘ sources puantes,’ form the last pleasingly extensive prospect, between the Cul-de-Sac and Arcahaye. A hill by the road-side near it, just within the barren district, bears vestiges of the encampment of Christophe's rear guard when he retreated before Port-au-Prince, in March, 1812. After a hot and dreary ride, large many-coloured troops of goats, lying out in the road and browsing in the wilds, where they thrive on the aromatic plants, brought us to some poor looking dwellings, where a good stream of water was sufficient to nourish patches of provisions and

grass for a few cattle. Here beneath a rock of marl, barren and parched, a fine spring called Source Malta, pours out another transparent flood. The grove of tall trees, which shadow this rivulet, was the resort of the animals of the neighbourhood.

“Other travellers who had been making their repast by these shades descended like myself to refresh themselves and horses at this fountain in the desert. Here we found the birds chanting their wild songs, and insects and reptile life rejoicing, amid flower and foliage, that they had found a green island in the wilderness. The freshness and fragrance of this spot was a striking contrast to the scene we had so lately left by the waters of the ‘stinking springs.’

“To Boucassin is a sultry journey, not long but tedious, occasionally with more depth of soil, but for the want of streams to irrigate it, producing the same desert vegetation.”

“Boucassin was formerly a small nucleus of houses and lime kilns. The canals of irrigation crossing the road here gave it a little cultivation, but the soil is stony and sterile. There are yet some large bananeries, and some few cottages, but finding that I could not obtain grass for my horses, I was obliged to proceed on and rest, through the sultry noon, within the confines of what is properly called the plain of Arcahaye.

“The principal portion of this once fertile plain lies desolate. The amphitheatre of dark verdureless hills that bound it, bearing on their brows the evidence of irreclaimable sterility, would scarcely lead to the supposition that it had been once the most abundantly productive district of the Colony. The sombre yellow and purple crags, the wild and dismal precipices that rise with a commanding elevation, served then however to heighten, by contrast, the green beauty of fields which patient labour and artificial canals had rendered fertile and fresh. The earth is a deep alluvial soil, very light, a mixture of marl and vegetable mould. It is traversed by large ravines which we twice crossed in the journey. The frequent small bridges that covered the water courses were broken, and no longer receive the collected streams of the uplands. During the divisions of the monarchy of the North and the Republic of the South, all the lands that lay by the borders of the sea, between Montroni and Boucassin, were a sort of neutral ground, abandoned to waste and destruction. The President has however established, since the union, three sugar properties between Boucassin and Arcahaye, called Manegre, Guariche, and Torcelle. Menagre and Guariche, are passed on either hand, the former having a good set of works, and both are well fenced in with campeche hedges, in the best verdure and condition. The streams here pour abundant floods through the fields, and keep the roads moist in the driest season. These cultivated spots, amid the hungry wilds around them, were like Milton's light, serving to make darkness visible. Were it not for them, such is the abandoned condition of fields said to have produced heretofore 20,000lbs. weight of sugar to the carreau, that scarcely a demarcation would exist at this day between fertility and barrenness.

“L'Arcahaye is a little town on the sea, pleasantly commanding a

view of the gulf between Leogane and its own shores, and rendered agreeable by the passing and repassing of the ships to the port of the city. In the time of the Colony it contained seventy houses covered with shingles; some spacious, and galleried all round. The high road to St. Mark's lay through it. Its great resource was its embarcadere for the produce of the plains; the marchandes or shopkeepers, finding here also an advantageous market for their commodities among its large population of cultivators, and the numerous fishermen, who resorted to it as a convenient locality for Port-au-Prince. At present it contains none of its ancient buildings except its church, a large edifice, situated in the centre of the town. The broad slanting buttresses which support its walls, give it the appearance of an immense tent, the temporary encampment of some shiek of the desert, with his hord of bedouin retainers arranged about him; for the enclosure of ill looking huts which forms the square, is the most miserable specimen of a town I have yet witnessed. A few of the trees which bordered the place d'armes yet remain, and the ruins of the old foundations break through the earth, and enable the eye to trace the lines of its former streets. There are now some half a dozen well built houses erected in it. There is no Commune, the principal body of its population being the provision gardeners, who take advantage of the sea, on whose confines their lands are situated, to convey in small sailing boats their produce to the weekly market of Port-au-Prince. It is estimated a distance of about twenty-six miles of water. It was here that some of the earliest meetings of the planters were held when they determined to invite the occupation of St. Domingo by the British troops;—an occurrence that brought nothing but misfortune, disgrace and disappointment, undertaken as it was, to bring back the Colony to the domination of the slave master, after years of successful revolt had shaken his authority to the dust.*

“On my arrival in Arcahayé, I had waited at the Commandant's for the purpose of having my passport examined, but learning from a female reclining at length on her mat beneath the shadow of a tree before his cottage, that he was not then in town, and not expected before sunset, and determining, if possible, to proceed on my journey at a seasonable hour the following day, I was willing to profit by the day light, and rambled about examining every where, and enquiring into every thing. I had set myself down to sketch a view of the church, with the broad crimson glare of the setting sun flickering on the surface of the sea, and had nearly finished the drawing, when a dragoon soldier came to me, and with a great air of deference and respect requested I would accompany him to the commandant, who seeing me a stranger in the town, with a book, taking notes, was anxious to learn whence I came and what I was doing. The production of my passport, and the assurance I had observed that was required from me in waiting *on him* at the “*place*” immediately on my arrival, scarcely sufficed to relax his brow of austere authority,

* See Malenfant's remarks on this event, and on one of its principal promoters, Lapointe, a native of L'Arcahayé.

inasmuch as I did not wait *for him*; but the production of the president's letter, and the secretary general's introduction to every officer of distinction in my route, drew from him a shower of apologies for his suspicion. Our mutual explanations, in all which I had no reason to complain of any departure from the most deferential behaviour on his side, ended in offers of service, and the sentimental declaration (when he understood the object of my mission) that though Hayti did not dread her enemies, she indeed, needed the helping hand of her friends. I certainly thought Arcahaye a pretty fair evidence of the extent to which she would have to tax their indulgence.

“November 28th. It was the Sunday market, and the village marchandes had their stalls of cloths set out with cottons of the prevailing patterns. A large body of well dressed country people were one while devotees at the church, and at another, sellers and purchasers in the market place.

“The president has a fine estate, called Poids le General, near the town, on which are located some of the Americans, brought to the Republic and left in his care by the philanthropist Miss Frances Wright, the rest being upon the neighbouring properties I have already mentioned. Here also are about eight families of other American settlers,* who have just taken up a lease of lands for about seven years. These I visited this morning; they have now about twenty-five acres in tillage, and as many more cleared for pasturing their cows and asses. They are a fine race of sturdy, plain, intelligent men. Their lands are in excellent order; for the want of campeache only temporarily fenced in, but well stocked with provisions, canes and corn. They related to me the history of their disasters since their arrival in Hayti. Destitute of experience as agriculturists, they had expended their little capital in fruitless endeavours to establish themselves on the locations given them by the government. Being irritated by disappointment, they imprudently abandoned their settlements and proceeded to the capital; but finding few opportunities there, this rashness aggravated their distresses to absolute destitution. In this state, these eight families becoming accidental acquaintances, they determined on trying a scheme of united industry, within reach of the market of the city, willing to be contented with moderate expectations from patient industry. With a fund among them all of not more than ten dollars Haytian currency, about twenty shillings sterling, they purchased tools, cleared a stretch of the forest on the borders of the cane fields of Poids le General, and diligently pursuing the system of industry which experience warranted them in considering the best, they have found themselves in the enjoyment of comparative comfort and comparative wealth. They have cows, pigs, and poultry, adequate for their sustenance, and their surplus produce conveyed to Port-au-Prince, by water, and sold there, yields them the easy means of supplying their extraordinary household wants. They had not yet reaped their canes; but the president's mill grinds them on a payment of one

* The names of three are Stokeley, Watkins, and Alexander.

quarter of the fabricated syrup, the other three-quarters being added to their general stock. They spoke contentedly of their fortunes, but regretted the absence of religious instruction, and of schools for their children, as serious privations to men, whose prudent and reflecting habits had taught them to look at these things as the most important considerations of life. They however said they felt no occasion, under all the sufferings they had endured since they quitted America, to regret that they had left a country whose policy towards them had rendered their days a source of continued bitterness—an existence in which the past brought no pleasing recollections, and in which the future was cheered by no redeeming or consolatory hope.

“Poids le general was but a moderate walk from the town of L’Arcahaye. I was returning on foot from thence when I was overtaken on the road by Colonel Fremont, who learning I was in the town had come in search of me to offer me the hospitality of his “habitation.” Thither I proceeded with the intention of remaining all night, and occupying the afternoon in seeing as much of the plains as I could survey on a short excursion.

“Colonel Fremont is the unmixed descendant of an ancient free black family of Grand Goire, or Miragonne, whose merit had procured for them, even in the prejudices of the ancien regime, the distinction of the fleur de lys. The Colonel is a person of considerable talent, and a close and subtle reasoner. He was nominated to the important and confidential service of a mission to France, to settle the definitive treaty guaranteeing the independence of the republic. His estate in the Arcahaye arrondissement is a portion only of the old sugar plantation of Cotard. An infructuous attempt has been made to re-establish it. It is however worthy of a visit for its extensive gardens, richly planted in fruit trees, particularly in well selected grape vines. Colonel Fremont has devoted great attention to the construction of hedges, the whole grounds are very minutely subdivided with campeche, planted in double rows with a small rill of water running between, so as to ensure their healthy and rapid growth under a most exhausting sky. I observed here trees grafted by a very peculiar process. It consisted in planting side by side, two judiciously selected young trees, of the requisite affinities, such as the shaddock and the sweet orange for instance, and by interwreathing the stems, in a simple ropeplait of two layers, and pressing the bark one upon another effecting their union, and thus communicating the requisite interchange of meliorating sap. The process is simple, speedy, and secure in its effects.

“November 29th. I passed by moonlight the walls of Poids la ravine, and the grassy plains of Les Vases, with its tranquil cottages, and extensive white ruins like a feudal castle of old, embayed in the dark rough mountains of the Mardi gras. The vestiges in Les Vases which seemed so large and magnificent, unless the moon’s radiance deceived me, must have been the sugar works of a highly valuable estate. The situation was beautiful, though on the verge of one of the most dreary tracts in the whole department of the west.

“I had now traversed the whole of the plain of L’Arcahaye. Under the Indian Caciques, this district was a part of the province of Cahaya,

a dependency of the principality of Xaragua. Its agricultural capabilities drew the attention of the French colonists to irrigating it, at a time when the four rivers, des Matheux, de l'Arcahayé, des Bretelles, and du Boucassin, had poured their streams during many years of European domination from the ravines of its arid mountains, through fields scarcely less parched and unproductive. By a judicious distribution of these four rivers, the coerced labour of a numerous population converted the dry waste into a magnificent garden. The plain situated in an amphitheatre, by the sea side, has five leagues from east to west. The cantons of Les Vases, and le Boucassin, being its two extremities, and L'Arcahayé and les Bretelles its centre. Its soil was light, a marly friable earth, the alluvial deposit of the neighbouring mountains. It formerly contained 48 sugar estates of from forty to twenty carreaux in extent. Indigo and cotton were also cultivated where the earth was less reclaimable. By one species of laborious tillage or the other, the whole plain was covered with productive vegetation. If what Moreau de St. Meréy says be true, that they replanted after the second rejettons, the toil must have been excessive to those whose destiny it was to till the fields. When I passed through this district which, I have remarked already, comprised the frontier of the two divisions of the north and south, when Christophe and Pétion were opposing chieftains, the agriculture was in that abandoned condition inseparable from a long series of hostile conflicts, during which the population had fled. The insecurity in which they must necessarily have lived, the uncertainty of ever reaping the produce of their tillage, rendered it a useless hardihood to remain, or folly to indulge a resolution to out-brave danger and disquiet, when only success must have tempted the predatory incursions of an enemy.* In contemplating the desolateness which now so generally reigns, though it is melancholy to perceive how much a civil war has with a destroying arm, wrought all this devastation, there are other causes which must be taken into account. Before these plains gave their extraordinary harvest of productive industry, they yielded very little of indigenous vegetation. They were covered with plants rather ligneous, than arborescent. The riant foliage of those gardens which succeeded them, was fed by never-failing springs. As soon as they were deserted, the canals became choked up with the herbage the waters attracted. The fruit tree, as well as the herb, perished for the want of that care and salutary moisture, by which they might be said, to have been created in such a soil. The earth, once more laid bare to the action of a burning sun, on a coast where the breezes of the sea are faint, tardy, and inconstant, beneath mountains whose dry rocks are only at long intervals of days and months, sheltered by a cloud, has become in some circumstances hard, in others pulverulent, but in all desert and dry. The periodical rains, that now alone moisten it, rapidly evaporate. Cultivation is now limited by the

* The last calamity that L'Arcahayé sustained, when it was left a complete heap of ruins, was by the retreating army of Christophe in 1812.

scantiness of the inhabitants, and though the tranquillity of the country has in some instances induced the former proprietors to return, and even has led adventurers among them, the poverty of the people enabled them to do little more than raise provisions for their own subsistence, and for the city market. We have seen that agriculture here depends wholly on irrigation, that the long droughts which in this district more than any other succeed the abundance of the periodical rains, renders artificial means absolutely essential to make the fields productive. To restore the ancient works is a labour of vast expense, and whatever prudence might suggest, or a wise economy inculcate, the sight of the ruins of what the unrequited toil of slavery raised, freedom which looks to an adequate return for its labour, and without which it cannot be stimulated into action, must, as long as it is associated with poverty, continue to gaze at the vestiges of former laboriousness, and lament at the destruction which each day of neglect increases without attempting to remedy it.

“The sun almost immediately rose after the lingering lustre of the setting moon had faded away. The hills that I had ascended from Les Vases, formed the high road leading to the torrent stream of Montroni, a construction of the year 1751. It rises and sinks incessantly, traversing thickets of the bromelia, the aloe, the acacia, the opuntia, the cactus, and the cercus, interspersed with the yellow leaves of the gomier, and the dark verdure of the guaiacum. The mountains, which are a frightful scarp of precipices, covered with dry grass and ragged arborescent vegetation, were just lighted on their tips by the yellow radiance of the morning sun. They range from east to west, a little northward, so that their mighty masses were long enveloped in shadow. The air being remarkably dry and clear, they stood forth a huge dark embattlement, so near and distinctly shadowy to the eye, that it seemed as if a stone cast at them might have half reached their summit, and rebounded again to the spot where I was passing. It was a sort of awful consciousness of really being at the foot of the mountains. They appeared an impenetrable barrier. From the side from which I beheld them there seemed to exist no ravine to render them practicable to the human foot. These are the heights of Matheux, which Le Croix traversed from the more accessible side of the mountain, with the division of Boudet after the fight of the Crète a pierrot, to dislodge the bands of Charles Belair. His narrative is a comparative detail of the difficulties of these rocks, with those he surmounted when he gained with the French army the passes of the Alps, by the passage of Splugen. ‘Craggs and glens,’ he observes, ‘are similar every where in the Alps, the trees are of uniform height and the thickets accessible. In these tropical regions, the underwoods are thorns, and the trees of an altitude so immense, that where the eye can scarcely measure them, the arm can remove them only by the assistance of time as well as labour.’ With the increasing day light they still retained their desolate sublimity. For a succession of miles there was the same awful dreariness. The eye rested unrecruited by a single soothing object. The beaten track which formed the road, was a pathway amid angular fragments of rock, so

extremely fatiguing, that I found it a relief to get down and walk. The geology presented a tabular and a compact limestone as the structure of the mountains. It was here I first had an opportunity of inspecting the pita, or cabuya aloe in blossom. A silver green bell shaped flower, terminating in a petal of five points, that drooped its arrowy head over the road, 25 and 30 feet above its stiff radiated leaves, among the feathered tribes which relieve the solitariness of this journey, though few yielded any melody. The elegant bird, the Taco, with azure grey plumage and tufous wings—crept like a cat along the stems of the large trees in search of insects. The wild doves chanted their melancholy descants amid the steep, and a small species of hawk delicately formed, and prettily marked with dappled plumage, rose and descended with rapidity, from some conspicuous branch of a tree, to its prey, the numerous lizards and insects which make these deserts their abode. They are very numerous in all this district. I have never seen them hovering for their quarry.

“A jutting angle of this range of mountains descends in a rugged steep to the sea, just before entering Montroni. This was the first post within the territory of Christophe, and none could pass or re-pass the guard, constantly stationed here, without incurring a dangerous suspicion from the King's officers.

“Notwithstanding the barren aspect of the mountains of L'Arcahaye on the southern side, those which looked towards the interior are said to be highly fertile, and though wild, are picturesque and beautiful. The coffee plantations of Mattheux and Fond Baptist are still excellent, and in the district called les Oranges, beyond the Morne Terrible, a number of American families have established habitations which universal report represents as admirably cultivated.

“L'Arcahaye is remarkable for fish and wild fowl. The aquatic birds, such as the Becasse and Becassin (Woodcock and Snipe), and the Duck and Teal, are numerous in the autumnal season, and afford days of agreeable shooting to parties from the city. There are abundance of wild doves at all times.

“Montroni, a dry and barren declivity of the mountain, bears the vestiges of aqueducts and the ruins of sugar works; an evidence of how much its ancient appearance was different from its present condition. Here I rested through the noon at a way side cottage. Of the stone bridge that strided the high banks of the torrent, only a small fragment remains. Its destruction was effected by some extraordinary floods, not many years ago. I observed in its stream, (a cataract wildly rushing to the sea), a curious evidence of the patient labour with which the small fry ascend the rivers. Thousands were clustered on the rocks of the fretful torrent, to which they adhered by their slime, and worked their way from stone to stone, using the extremity of their bodies like the scull of a boat, steering through the intermediate tranquil basins with amazing rapidity, and ascending the stream by shoals. It was an amusing as well as interesting exhibition of the simple processes of instinct; the school of observation in which the Indian of old learnt all his philosophy.

“The hill of Montroni is a congeries of calcareous pebbles of great

density, but the level point of land below, which its river irrigates, is brilliantly verdant. The prospect of this plain in crossing the river opens pleasantly with a few cottages, on the banks of one of the artificial rivulets, under the shelter of some large and well leafed trees. The road now descends to the sea shadowy and cool, with frequent brooks washing across it in little cascades, on which the bamboos and the campeache spread their branches, having the blue and the yellow convolvulus wreathed among them in tufted blossom. There is some cultivation here amid trimmed hedge rows, and the fine buildings of Delogé, another of the President's plantations, (an object I had remarked when tacking day after day in the channel of St. Mark's,) enabled me to recognize familiarly every scene I had dwelt upon when I first beheld, at a near view, the shores of Hayti. The road diverges from the sea shore over the Cape of St. Mark's within a line of sandy hills. A small sombre lake of miry waters, which we passed within the bosom of these hills, is at this time visited by the numerous wild ducks in their periodical irrigations. Beyond this lagoon Bois-neuf, a property of General Bonnet's, is pleasantly situated by the fresh sylvan scenes of the brook of Rosseaux. The cultivators' cottages enliven the road on one hand, and the water works of the estate on the other. One of the many crosses which the pious toils of Father Ambrosio, the worthy cure of St. Mark's, had caused to be erected to awaken a devout spirit among the people, stands beneath a grove by the side of the streamlet. The hills here have a gentle undulation of campeache woodlands. A fine laminated free stone skirts the highway, and forms frequently the very surface of the road. The scene is altogether agreeable—a lime kiln and a cottage or two are the only evidences of inhabitants, the lands not being generally fertile.

I reached the sea on the other side of the Cape, just as the sun was setting, and the full moon rising over the Vigie of St. Mark's. Its white walls, the remains of all that was once magnificent, shone lonely and splendid in the meek lustre of the evening. The winds were dying away, and the lulling ocean rolling its sullen waves glittering to the beach. Not a boat burthened its waters; so much was the city changed.

“Near the southern Portail stands the cemetery, an uninclosed spot, cleared away from the thickets. At the gate of the fosse a lazy captain of the guard, stretched on his evening mat, from which he would not deign to rise, demanded my passport. With the most provoking minuteness he spelt over every word, still lying on his back. Ordering the horses to be turned about, he examined, in this position, their marks and descriptions—a laxity of discipline which the republic tolerates, but which no man dared to indulge in, when St. Mark's was a frontier city, and Christophe was king.”

The Reporter No. 79, p. 238 to p. 246, contains the sequel of this Journal from the 29th of November to the 31st of December, 1830. We proceed to insert that part of it which follows the latter date.

“JANUARY 1, 1831.—I attended the entertainment of the previous night at the General's, given at the joint expence of some of the best

Haytian families in the town : it was a ball, at which were present visitors of all complexions—the fair features of European hills, and the black of African deserts. There were the usual succession of French quadrilles, and the national dance, the caraïbiné. The ladies were attired with the simple elegance which peculiarly characterizes the country; all was hilarity, tempered by that polite cordiality which makes the best sort of intercourse in social life. Towards morning, the company took leave of the good and respected General, with the usual French benediction for the opening year, and then retired to their devotions at the church; the Catholics always celebrating at this period in the vicissitudes of revolving time.

“In the morning, at daybreak, the military assembled in the Place d’Armes of Gonaives, to celebrate the fête of Independence. The General, accompanied by his staff, and the civil authorities in their respective costumes of ceremony, escorted by a detachment of the national guard, and preceded by one of the regimental bands, ascended the altar of the country, as it is called; a sort of rostrum in the centre of the church parade, erected in every city, town, and village of the Republic. Here a speech was delivered by the son of General Beauvoir, a well-educated black person, in which the usual themes of liberty and independence were expatiated upon, and the duty inculcated of making every sacrifice to maintain both inviolable.”

“January 4.—I rode along the Carenage this evening, and climbed the Morne Blanche, in a visit to Fort Castries. The building is in ruins, but the situation defensible; the mound on which it is erected, at the mouth of the inner harbour, being scarcely assailable from the sea. The hill is entirely detached from the main land. Had any points of the uncastellated rock been gained, loop-holes, thick set in the walls of the fortress, were intended to facilitate the resistance of the garrison. Within the mangrove shoals, which embay the Carenage, are deep narrow inlets, where the largest vessels may lie close beneath the cliffs of the battery. Little peninsulas stretch along the beach to seaward, forming secure harbours for small craft, should strong winds from the shore render the Carenage difficult to be gained. No person can view the capabilities of the Gonaives bay without interest.

“January 5.—A funeral of the wife of the Lieut. Colonel this evening, the most ostentatiously splendid of any I had witnessed in Hayti, would lead me to describe their ceremonies of respect to the dead in this place.

“All the principal inhabitants of the town attended. The females were in white, with the never omitted coiffure of mourning, the white kerchief; the gentlemen in half-mourning, white and black; the public functionaries, both civil and military, following the family in full costume. The company spread themselves in the rear, in an irregular assemblage, among whom were interspersed a number of females bearing lighted tapers of wax. The whole was preceded by one of the servitors of the priest, bearing the crucifix; then came the servant of the altar, with the chalice of burning incense. The priest,

with the chanters of the funeral service on either hand, followed. After these came four female bearers, holding the pall by each corner, the body being already in the church, where it had lain in state. The military band headed the whole cortège.

“The church, with the corpse lying in state, had been already illuminated, with a great profusion of candles. While the service, both in the church and out of it by the grave at the cemetery, was being read, the whole female congregation knelt. It was conducted with great order and decorum, and no sound heard but the shrill and sudden scream of an aged and disconsolate mother, weeping for her child, ‘because she was not, and refusing to be comforted.’

“January 6.—I journeyed along the borders of the *Quinte* this afternoon. The stream had entirely disappeared, nothing but the bare round pebbles being to be seen. I passed through little *De Cahos*, a village of cottages, pleasantly situated amid a few palmettos, and by the side of fine fields of millet and cotton, with well planted enclosures of *campeache*, and proceeded on to *Cocherel*, one of the estates under the management of *Toussaint* when Governor, but now desolate. The adjoining property of the officer of the Rural Police was admirably cultivated, and the little cottage and farm-yard, with its thatched out-buildings, and hut-formed pigeon-house, afforded an agreeable picture of simple and humble life. The soil of this district is a deep dark mould, and, notwithstanding the deficiency of water, highly fertile. The old aqueducts, which a few years ago commanded a stream of refreshing waters, stood dry; their canals bordered the woodland roads. I re-crossed the river-bed, and returned into the town by another route, after a ride of three leagues.

“January 8.—I was surprised just now, in coming from the market, by a voice behind me, telling me that the whole town had sent ‘*bon jour*’ to me. I looked round, but not immediately recognizing the person who addressed me, I was disposed to walk on, thinking I was in error as to my being the object of regard, when the person, stepping two paces forward, accosted me with the remark, that perhaps *Monsieur* did not readily recognize, in his present dress, the guide from the mountains the other day. I now saw that it was indeed the same modest, good natured countenance, for he scarcely ever spoké without such a shew of his white well-set teeth, as bespoke a soul full of benignity and careless joy; he was, however, no longer *en militaire*, but dressed in his turbanet, with his broad straw hat, and jacket of peasant green, and white trowsers, with his ornamented stick. His week of guard service had been up, and he was now a simple cultivator, attending the market for the sale of his *recolte* and the stocking of his cottage. Repeating the former salutation, he begged to know how I had been since he came down to town with me, assuring me that all my village friends at *Ennery*, feeling an interest in my prosperity, would be rejoiced to hear of my continued health; then with the usual ‘*grace a Dieu*,’ for every acknowledgement of daily blessings, he parted from me, with the easy genteel bow of a well-bred man, though one of the merest peasants of the

mountain, and with that free, brisk, erect walk, impressed by the habitual consciousness of liberty, a trait of character never wanting in the demeanour of the Haytian.

“ I would remark here, that every village in Hayti may be said to be garrisoned, at least every small township or bourgade is a military post, under the command of a Colonel or Captain Commandant, with a suitable guard, who, besides regulating all matters connected with the order, appointment, and duty of the soldiery, assists the civil authority in the execution of justice. Nothing but the dress, the small sword (briquet), and the body accoutrements of the soldier, are in his own custody. His arms are deposited in the guard-room of his Captain, from whence they are taken at the times of the periodical musters, the rendezvous of each company being the Captain's house. It is only a portion of the regiment that is on constant duty. As the residence of every Captain is a sort of arsenal, a guard appointed from his company performs duty there, as at a cazerne or barrack, for a week. The whole company being subdivided into guards, and each taking his turn of periodical duty, it occurs that there are long intervals when the men are relieved from the exactions of military life. In these intervals, they are employed in handicraft labour, or in the cultivation of the land, and assume generally the habits of the people—the ‘jaquet’ of the artizan, or the ‘varais’ of the cultivator. By this arrangement, their utility as citizens is increased, but their spirit and discipline, as an effective military body, materially neutralized. Their pay and allowance not being as much as the earnings of a day labourer, many of those who think time of value, and the happiness of life something better than the luxury of repose, when their time of weekly guard recurs, are indulged with the permission to pursue undisturbedly their avocations, by paying for a substitute, under special arrangement with the Captain. This circumstance affords an opportunity for extortion, both from the soldier under command, and from the revenue; in the first place, by exacting more than is allowed the substitute, by some shew of unwillingness to grant the relief required; secondly, by pocketing the money without employing such substitute; and thirdly, by reporting to the Colonel a fulfilment of duty on the part of the individual, either in person or by a *locum tenens*—drawing the pay of a soldier on guard whose omissions have subjected him to a forfeiture of it, and pocketing that too.

“ January 11.—Taking leave of my generous and kind hearted friends at Gonaives, I departed on my journey to the Cape. My road was by the carrefour of the Poteau, mentioned before as the highway to the great northern city. We left the Ennery road to the right hand, and pursued the windings of La Coupe to the Escalier, of which I had heard so much, both for the wonders of art and of nature, that I felt a sort of joy that I was now on my way to traverse it. The sterile thickets, on either side of the road, shewed many of those trees I had either taken or mistaken for ebony, with beautiful thick spreading heads, small leaflets, dense and darkly green, but armed with numerous intermediate thorns. We crossed the Ennery river,

winding between the mountains above the plains, to gain, by a circuitous route, its passage to the sea.

“ From la Coupe à Pintade to the summit of the Escalier, if the distance from Gonaives to the church of Plaisance be truly stated at fourteen leagues or forty-two miles, are four leagues of wearisome mountain journey; but the toils of the traveller are infinitely repaid by the grandeur of the scenery. Rocks, foliage, and water are intermingled with the striking effects of human labour and skill, by which a wild ravine of crags and precipices has been made a perfectly practicable road.

“ The pass of the Escalier is a rocky glen, washed by a stream that breaks into a multiplicity of small falls over the bare masses of the mountain, so that the whole river is a continuous cataract. In the bottoms and along the more practicable steepes of the ravine are occasional coffee plantations and bananeries, some formed from the reoccupation of the old estates, but others newly formed, a fact sufficiently indicated by the young and regularly set trees. A few cottages are on the steepes, and at one little dwelling place, in the shelter of the vale, we saw a female busily engaged in bleaching wax, the product of the wild honeycomb. When within about five miles of the summit of the chasm glen, the scene begins to assume all those features of the grand and terrific which the crags surmounted by overhanging trees, the roar and rush of the torrent river, the wild creepers winding their flowery cordage from branch to branch, the shadowed cliffs, the bright leaves below, and the brighter skies above, could give to it. The first impressive picture that arrests the sight, is the long line of stupendous wall, formed by the cliffs of tabular limestone, crowned by a border of forest trees, that twine their fantastic roots amid the blossoming shrubs into the crevices, waving their foliage above you, like shrubbery on a ruined battlement. Here the noonday breeze rushes past with a cooling and solitary murmur, and the river, whose concealed waters sweep audibly at the foot of the cliff, is seen glittering in daylight a little further on by the side of some magnificent wild fig trees, standing out in the middle of the dell, with their heads flickering in the sun. The whole scene here is varied and romantic, and with a group of mountaineers descending in their many coloured dresses and coiffed heads, winding on their way from shadow into light as when I saw it, has a character somewhat more embellished, but equally savage with some of the wildest scenery that *Salvator Rosa* ever painted. Beside the occasional travellers that we met, to convince us that these rocks had their inhabitants, we saw, from distance to distance, women washing clothes at the stream, and children and grown people with their gourds and calabas cruches of water, threading the steepes up to the wild coffee shrubberies above the dell. After crossing the stream, at the last intersection of the road, we soon reached the district peculiarly termed the Escalier. The pathway had been already sufficiently steep and rugged, the horses having to pick their way painfully among the broken rocks of the torrent, but from the first moment of reaching the narrow chasm with its bare white precipices of compact lime stone, some hundred feet in height, the road

is a paved wall, filling half the space between cliff and rock, the other half being a conduit for the mountain torrents, that rush down the precipitous descent in the seasons of rain with great violence and rapidity. The ascent is frightfully steep, but its difficulties have been most judiciously and elaborately overcome by a zig-zag pathway, in a space almost as narrow as a stair-case. Away now go the rider and his horse, mounting incessantly upwards as if he were climbing by a ladder to the skies above, till suddenly he opens into slanting steeps covered with trimmed coffee shrubs darkly green, and gaining the sunny summit of the gorge, sees a cluster of quiet cottages, and finds himself gazing from a high mountain upon one of the most beautiful valleys in creation. The romantic magnificence of the scene is wonderfully increased by the unexpected manner in which the wild and difficult journey leads to it; and something like the silent surprise of enchantment engrosses the mind when first surveying it. Those who, in reading the history of Rasselas, have endeavoured to picture the scene of the Happy Valley, may have succeeded in forming an ideal similitude of this assemblage of magnificence and beauty. The ancient colonists, to express its charms, gave it the name of the vale of Plaisance.

“The Escalier is the recent construction of Colonel Thomas, a Negro of the English Island of St. Christopher’s, a meek; intelligent, but simple and uneducated man. It exhibits consummate skill, and a wonderful degree of patient labour. The immense masses of rock which filled the bottom of the chasm, were reduced to fragments by a fortunate process, discovered by mere accident, but advantageously applied to the erection of the road. The trees which filled the pathway, and which it was necessary in the first instance to clear away, could only be removed from the hollow glen by burning them where they were felled. In the progress of this labour it was found that the huge rocks of limestone, heated by the fire, had broken into shivers after a shower of rain, and now lay in a heap of small fragments where formerly they stood an immoveable mass. This accidental discovery enabled the director of the works not merely to overcome every obstacle, but to apply the materials, so conveniently gathered on the spot, to the walling and paving of the chasm, and thus to build a road, where they had thought they should have been compelled to create one by mining. Perhaps the Commentators on the March of Hannibal over the Alps, described in Livy as effected by dissolving the rocks, will find the apparent incredibility of the story sufficiently explained away, by the process of pouring water on the heated limestone, as practised by another African in constructing another Alpine road, the Escalier of Plaisance.

“The scenery of Plaisance valley and mountains owes nothing of its surprising charms to contrast with the barren dreariness of Gonaives, though certainly the green freshness of the hills and vales, and the bright azure of the cloud capt mountain peaks are in perfect opposition to the sterile steeps and embrowned savannas I had been so recently acquainted with. The scenery is in itself surpassingly beautiful and enchanting. The majesty of the surrounding hills, the fertility of

the outstretched valleys, the distant mountains light yet 'darkly delicate,' the vegetation riant and fresh, the cottages neat and standing out prominently on the little jutting eminences that push into the principal valley, have that sort of singular richness and diversity seen in pictures that are rather more Chinese than Indian.

"The road wound with frequent short angles down the face of the mountain into the valley, between cottages and garden hedges. The soil was a bright red earth, the product of an aluminous deposit spread over a bed of sandstone of fine compact lamina. The valley was traversed by a clear stream, one of the branches of the 'Trois Rivierès.' It was bordered by bamboo thickets, clumps of eugenia, shrubberies of wild chesnuts in blossom, and orange trees heavy with fruit, having the palm and a multiplicity of other foliage intermingled; but those first particularised were especially prevalent. At first the stream came murmuring on a mere brook, eventually it increased to a river, sometimes tranquil and sometimes flowing rapidly. There was a good deal of wood in progress of being cleared in the valley and about the hills as we passed; the smoke of the burning ascending upwards in frequent dense volumes in many places. We overtook a group of persons carrying up towards the bourgade a log of timber, fifty feet in length. The labourers were all men, but superintended by a negress, astride on horseback, with the broad peasant hat on her head, and a manchet or small cultivator's sword in her hand. She had with her on foot a girl about fifteen years of age, evidently her daughter, who was engaged in repeating her orders to the men. I was pleased with the ingenious scheme devised for carrying this log of wood. The timber rested on a sort of cradle supported on the shoulders of the men, who came trotting onward up the hill as fast as I could ascend it at an amble on my horse. I imagine the balk of wood was drawn out of the forest in this shape for some newly erected farm close by, for they turned out of the road to the bourg, singing as they went, and shortly after I ceased to hear their voices.

"Plaisance town, which we had seen opposite us when we first beheld the valley, is what in England would be called a pretty and respectable looking village, having some very well built houses in it. It is actually within the valley, but stands high, overlooking other valleys to the east and west. From the Escalier gorge it seemed seated on the mountain side, so much is distance abridged by the attenuated air and brilliant sun of these climates. There is not much cultivation perceived in its immediate vicinity. Upon remarking this circumstance it was explained to me that the plantations were mostly on the banks of the Trois Rivierès, lower down to the westward, where the general average of the *recolte* was considered high for the population. I entered the town at about four in the afternoon. A body of cultivators, or small farmers, were assembled opposite the house of the juge de paix, in their customary country dress, the low little-rimmed hat, sheeting trowsers, and camisette. I presume they were convened there on some judicial investigation.

"January 12th.—I rested at Plaisance for the night. In the morning so dense a fog had covered the whole valley, hiding the neigh-

bouring mountains, that I found it impossible to proceed on my journey till the sun was well up in the heavens. At about nine o'clock, the white mists began to roll themselves in cloudy masses away to the summit of the mountains, and the hills within the vale to appear like green islands in an ocean of vapour—white as the snow drift. All was restless and in incessant change. At one time near objects alone appeared: perhaps it was the pinnacled cliff that 'swelled from the vale and midway cleared the storm,' with a single cottage on its side built like an hermitage, looking down on some tranquil lake, dotted with the islets, and encircled with green meadows and woodlands, all lighted by the golden sun; then suddenly, like the changing of a dream, the misty magic came sweeping by, and transformed the near landscape into distant scenes of crags and mountains, for the huge masses, looming dull and indistinct through their vapour, seemed thrown back into the horizon many miles. The peaked summits were reared far above the rolling clouds that rose in fleeces and detached themselves from the ocean of vapour which overspread the valley. In the rainy season these misty visitations are never witnessed in the hollows, but, curtaining the upland steeps only, reek from the earth like smoke from out of the forest. In the sunnier season of the year if they pass off gradually they betoken uninterrupted sunshine from dawn to night-fall; but if they dissipate rapidly at daybreak the rain may be expected in a few hours after. In my case they gave the promise of a bright and cloudless day, so I mounted my horse by half-an-hour after nine, and threaded the road by the side of the hill, watching with delight, every wonderful transformation which the drawing of the cloudy curtain opened to me.

“ My journey among these mountains presented a varied succession of stupendous prospects. Deep wooded glens commanded a long vista, among far off and misty peaks, forming a magnificent distance. Little pleasant farms were on the platforms of the declivities, amid provision and coffee plantations, with winding paths through them, climbing the blue summits of the hills. Men and women were diligently weeding their grounds, which were generally extremely clean, and neatly and regularly planted. Malangas or taiois were here more cultivated than I had generally seen them. The road meandered unceasingly along the mountain side, neither ascending nor descending; but traversing at each angle little rivulets that gushed across the way, and then tumbled in cataracts down the river, foaming over the rocks in the glen below. The scenery of these cataracts presented rocks of black ophite, fringed with bamboos and creepers interspersed with the palma nobilis. One of these little road side cascades was to my eyes extremely beautiful. The rocks had formed a sort of natural cavity like a grotto in a bower of splendid overarching bamboos, where the broad leaf of the trumpet tree was seen in contrast with its delicate foliage. A few large leaved wild gourds hung from the cliffs and the wild Indian-shot shed its crimson blossoms by the streamlet. The bamboo was prevalent all about these mountains, forming clumps on the crests of many of them, and intersecting

them frequently in straight lines—the boundary marks, I presume, of some of the old proprietorships, for they now waved their plumes amidst the forest.

“The road descends to Camp-Coq, a little auberge within a grassy hollow on the river bank, kept by a very garrulous old woman, who was vastly loquacious respecting the natural resources of hill and valley, crag and glen hereabout. On my bringing from among the boulders and rocks of the river massive specimens of iron ore, and proving it to be so by shewing the wonders of the magnet, she told me, that a belief had long prevailed, that there was gold in the hills, and then it was said to be copper only; she now verily believed it was nothing but iron, and though that was not quite as good as discovering gold, she thought ‘il etait meilleur que le cuivre,’ being to her experience an infinitely more useful metal. The people of this country seldom see any copper utensils. Their vessels and implements being all of iron, old Madame Babilliard (by a curious coincidence such was really her name), was very right in consoling herself with the wealth of iron mines so near her own door. The specimen is a foliated blue ore, crystallized with prismatic quartz, extremely pure and massive. I saw none of the yellow oxide nor the pyrites; but this last must have been occasionally found to induce the supposition that there was gold or copper. A fine grove of bombax, a species of tree cotton, covers the ravine in which the masses of ore lie as common as other fragments. The trees were thick in blossom, with large flowers of orange and scarlet spotting their broad silver green foliage from top to bottom.

“The road to Limbé is all level, winding by the river of its own name, which we occasionally forded. It is broad, but shallow, and forms agreeable landscapes with the neighbouring mountains. There are some very fine coffee plantations by the way side, very attentively pruned, and encircled by well kept campeache hedges. The grassy woodland road is extremely agreeable, and the sea breeze wafts through the valley a healthy freshness, very remarkable to one journeying from the plains of the South. Cottages and plantations increase in frequency as we approach Limbé. They are seated within trimmed hedges, and among fruit trees as thick as groves, and indicate the possession of very enviable comfort. We met in our way groups of men and women, all respectably clad in white, returning from a funeral. They accosted us as we passed with the usual serious sort of politeness common every where.

“Limbé is a large, clean, quiet town; the two public buildings, the general’s residence, and the ‘*place*,’ are very conspicuous, with their broad shady galleries and tiled roofs. The church exhibits a neat frontage among the cottages westward. Around the whole bourg the broad leaves of the plaintain trees expand themselves in the sun. The magnificent peak of Mount Calumet is a very picturesque object, over the buildings from the grassy square.

“Finding that the commandant, Colonel Cincinnatus Le Comte, to whom I brought letters, was not at Limbé, but at his habitation on the road, some four miles onward, I preferred going thither, rather

than staying at the town for the night, as I at first intended. It being not more than the turn of the afternoon, I felt I should be able to stroll about the fields, and see something of the cultivation of this commune. A woody road over the river, in which the caïmitier with its velvet brown foliage was common, brought us to some well planted coffee fields. The shrubs formed an even-pruned plain of leaves, beneath groves of fruit trees. Cocoa nuts, avogados, palms, bread fruits, bananas, pômes de cannelles, mangoes, caïmitiers, corossols, sapodillas, oranges, &c. &c. were all intermingled, and shaded the coffee, whilst they freely admitted the circulation of the air. This is the usual mode of husbanding the plants in the warmer districts. The cottages were in the midst of this profusion of plenty and coolness, and the plantations succeeded each other, side by side, by the road on to the carrefour of the Coup of Limbé, where are situated the newly cleared lands and enclosed fields of Colonel Cincinnatus.

“Colonel Cincinnatus Le Comte was formerly a chevalier of Henry king of Hayti, and a chamberlain of the palace. After exhausting the last years of his life in this service, the fate of Christophe threw him on the favour of the republic, with all the disadvantages of one who had been associated in the dignity and fortunes of its enemy. Being recently placed in the command at Limbé, in the district in which his properties are situated, he has found an opportunity of using the pruning hook, while he wears the sword, to repair the lost fortunes of his family, and the wasted years of his manhood. His leisure is now spent in restoring the patrimonial estate of Le Comte. The ruins of the ancient sugar works, with their tower and arches, standing by the road, appear like the remains of some of the old monastic edifices of England. The grounds are in progress of being made enclosed pastures, a scheme by which they will be prepared for any species of industry, which more enlarged and more favourable relations of commerce may open to the country hereafter, whether it be in corn and pulse, or in cattle and sheep, for all which the market at present affords so limited a demand as not to make either an object of great or exclusive attention. Sugar is not worth the outlay, and coffee already absorbs the industry of every body. The general neglect of inclosures in Hayti is a great obstacle to its agricultural prosperity. They are now, however, much more attended to than heretofore. The rural law has made due provision for an observance of this requisite economy, and in many districts, such as the Artibonite and the heights of St. Mark, it is rigidly enforced by the general in command. The ‘entourages’ are of campeache. The penguin, a species of bromilia, so generally used in Jamaica, is so seldom seen here as almost to justify the assertion, that it is never resorted to.

“The neighbouring estate of Paris, once a splendid sugar plantation, is at present subdivided in donatory grants, and devoted to the growth of coffee and provisions; but Chateau Neuf, close by, is still a large well established cafeteria.

“On ascending the gorge of Limbé, after looking down with delight on the rich vale traversed by its fertilizing river, with the lordly peak of the Calumet, girt with its coronet of morning clouds, rearing

itself over all, another and a wondrous scene suddenly opens to the view. A mountain, whose base is about five miles in extent, and its height four thousand feet, a forest-mantled succession of precipices, stands detached by the sea side. Beneath, an extensive basin, like a lake with a narrow channel to the ocean, so sweeping into the main land as to give the mountain the appearance of a peninsula, spreads its glittering surface at its feet, bordered with a labyrinth of green thickets. Between the ranges of mountains, from whose descending pathway I looked down upon this scene, the narrowest portion of a plain, indenting the sea some fifty miles eastward, at one time the richest and most luxuriant spot beneath the sun, was spread out in all the rude diversity of forests and wild meadows, still a vast and splendid prospect.

“ There are some neat, clean farms, not discreditably cultivated in provisions for the city market; but they are not very frequent. In the present forests, the campeache or logwood is the prevailing timber, and in clearing the land, has the advantage over the wilderness of the Cul-de-Sac, in repaying the labour of felling it. The agriculture did not seem by any means so systematic and efficient here generally as that about Port-au-Prince; and the people, though cheerful, evidently appeared, by the kind and quality of their clothing, a less opulent class than those who frequent the city of the south.

“ On this road, the citadel of King Christophe is descried, crowning the summits of the Ferrier Mountain, with its head far above the rolling clouds. This wonder of that extraordinary man might be called literally a castle in the air, if it had not stood a monument of something more melancholy than his folly.

“ The Haut du Cap village is a sorry anticipation of the proud city, once graced with the title of ‘ Queen of the Antilles.’ It is a congeries of way-side cottages, grafted on the ruined walls of the old garden houses. A good wheelwright’s shop and smithy, similar to that of an English country village, is the best specimen of its industry. Three or four handsome little country houses are seen at the foot of the mountain, before arriving at it. It was at the bridge here that the royal army met the rebels of Richard, and refusing to fight, decided the fortunes of the house of Christophe.

“ The barrier of the Haut du Cap is the only road into the city. It is a wall neither thick nor lofty, perforated with a number of loop holes, and extending from the Estuary of the Haut du Cap river, which flows at the foot of the mountain, to the mountain itself, which here descends to seaward in a few green mornettes. The city is seen at some distance, having the grassy park of the Fossette, basking its green turf in the sun, dotted with some fine trees of the senna des Indes, or the pois chaca. There are a couple of pretty clumps of these trees, having the palmira raising its head in picturesque contrast among them, just as you get within the park. The road is a high bank, straight and broad, entering the city by the Rue Espagnol.

“ The destructive elements with which the Revolution worked its progress from bondage to liberty, is seen in the line of ruins that face this park, having a fountain in front. The city of the Cape is

indeed nothing but the shell of its ancient grandeur; but even here, where restoration promises the least, the eye is cheered by the sight of workmen engaged in rebuilding, in an equally shewy and substantial style, some of the ancient private edifices. A ride along the Rue Espagnol, presents a view of most of its former splendid public buildings, though it is by no means one of the better order of streets. The general effect on entering it, the intermixture of single and double storey houses, white with stucco, and its rough pavement, have much the appearance of the High Street of Northampton, with something less than even its little commerce and bustle. It is certainly much more European than Indian, in its general aspect. The extensive convent, with double arches, filling nearly the three sides of a quadrangle; the noble line of barracks or cazernes, as the French by a more appropriate name call them, with an entrance gate, exquisitely chaste in design, and the palace of the old proud aristocratical Governors, with the melancholy remnants of its terraced lawns and gardens, form a succession of ruins to the left hand—the monuments of revolutionary violence. Descending to the bord de mer, just by the walls of the new palace, commenced in the same style of grandeur as the old buildings, by the late Negro King, the portal of the ancient church, a really superb and stately edifice, is seen rearing its sculptured front in magnificent decay.

“The streets are all laid out regularly, paved but not well paved, and with the customary inconvenience of French cities—wanting a foot-path or trottoir. The houses are mostly of two stories, but seldom of three. As the little plain between the sea and the mountain, was too confined to admit of much width for streets, they are consequently without piazzas or galleries; but the houses have, in some degree, been compensated for the inconvenience, by being furnished with iron balconies and verandahs, forming a kind of corner gallery to two faces of the front, in the manner of Venetian and Italian houses; besides these there are balconies for enjoying the air at the middle windows. The roofs are furnished with heavy cornices, and the fronts of the houses are very generally ornamented with pilasters. The shop-keepers, merchants, and dealers, contrived to remedy the want of shade at mid-day, by stretching canvass awnings from side to side of the streets; for which purpose, rings and hooks had been built in the walls, and a similar practice is still observed by the present inhabitants. The general effect of the city is uniformity and elegance; the materials of the buildings are stone and brick, but covered with cement, washed with a white border on the mouldings, the cornices, and pilasters, and with a light stone-yellow elsewhere, except the basement-wall, which is universally rubble. The whole appearance, is that of neatness and cleanliness. In this respect it is in perfect contrast with Port-au-Prince.

“January 20.—Individual enterprise is doing its best to restore the ruined dwellings to a habitable condition, and the roofless walls, that pretty plentifully intersperse the city, standing out like ragged beggars amid well-dressed company, as if their decayed gentility had entitled them to be tolerated, are daily diminishing in number.

“ January 28.—The Cape was certainly once a magnificent city, and is now as much superior to Port-au-Prince as St. James’s to Wapping. Mr. Thompson, the British Consul here, and myself, explore it every evening. At this time, the Haut du Cap mountain is frequently a surly jade, and like a true Haytian as she is, wears a kerchiefed head, but we do not care for a little rain. At present the far off pyramidal ranges of the Ferrier, St. Raphaël, and Hispaniola, are obscured from sight, or only dimly seen; but when their magnificent outlines are lighted by the clear evening sky, and the few villages, towns, and habitations of the plain, glitter in the setting sun, there is an extent and diversity of scenery quite enough to supply unwearying objects of contemplation to the dullest eye.

“ In our rambles we have not discovered any spot more favourable for a general and commanding view of the city, than a portion of the projecting base of the mountain, whose cliffy promontory shuts in the northern end of many of the streets as a Cul de Sac. Its elevation is about double the height of the neighbouring roofs.

“ The only considerable buildings in a state of occupancy are the Custom-house, the Arsenal, and the Magazine. The Custom house is a private dwelling, recently repaired and roofed. It was erected by Moyses, the nephew of Toussaint L’Ouverture as a palace, in all the magnificence of a colonial lord, a pride which as much filled the minds of the emancipated Negroes at that period of the revolution as the dominant Europeans before it. This costly edifice was never more than half built, but with that half it is a large and massive building. Standing by the sea side near the principal wharf, it has been judiciously applied to the purpose of a Custom-house. The Arsenal and Magazine of arms, whose roofs by the side of the chimneys of the public bake-house are immediately under the eye from the cliff, commanding a fine general view, are the well constructed ancient buildings still kept in perfect condition.

“ A cluster of ruins whose roofless walls of simple architecture are seen in the upper parts of the town, immediately beneath the mountain, are the palace of Government; the tower looking building behind it, the chapel of the Cazerne; and the long pile of blue and red roofs beyond, the Convent. The eastern Façade of the palace must have had an appearance of stately elegance when its white plain extension of windows and pilasters* were broken by the foliage of tropical trees in the entrance gardens. Here the Council of the Colony held their sittings, and the Senechaussée, the Admiralty, and the administration their bureaux, and the different Greffiers kept their registers. It was formerly the lodge of the Jesuits: a subterranean passage from it to the Convent has been recently discovered. In 1768 the Jesuits’ lodge being purchased by the Government, the present building now embellishing the city with its ruins was completed five years after. It was constructed in the usual style of French edifices, with a cross light, so that though it looks extensive it is narrow, and not in reality a very spacious building. The back gar-

* This Façade has forty-four perforations of windows and doors.

dens are still in cultivation, and are large, with an agreeable intermixture of fruit trees.

The splendid suit of baths by the ravine à Dorcet still show the completeness of the whole economy and arrangement observed in a building which contained usually not less than 1500 soldiers. To the north immediately adjoining are the remains of the military hospital, a stately edifice, still perfect in all things but the Government house, a ruined villa closing in one side of a grassy square, called the Champ de Mars, in the midst of which stands the palm, the tree of Haytian liberty and independence, and by it the childish absurdity of the Autel de Patrie, a platform that sets every thing in the shape of taste, elegance, or propriety at defiance.

“ Still gazing down from the clifty promontory on the city with its deserted streets and ruined walls, green with flowery groups of mangoes and other fruit trees growing within them, the roofless church rears its majestic portal in the place d’armes before you. The whole details of its architecture are distinctly seen from this spot.

“ After I had stood some time this afternoon with the British consul, looking down at the city from this steep, which appeared once to have had its garden and belvidere, the coolness of the air, and the settled aspect of the evening, was quite a temptation for us, to explore some of the hills and ravines of the larger mountain.

“ Our pathway conducted us up a ravine, where some immense rocks had fallen and formed a sort of agreeable grotto. Here we discovered some of the covered springs that conveyed water to the city, and admired the judicious artificial falls composed of the blue serpentine rock, an imperishable grit, which conducted the upland torrents through determinate channels to the sea. It was interesting to see how, for a succession of years, these cataracts of the rainy season had swept over them, without fretting a single particle of the stone. It resists both the action of fire and water. We climbed on to a little valley, completely shut out by the hills from all sight and sound of the city. We found the remnant of fruit and flower gardens, that had been elaborately levelled into grassy plateaus, but tenanted only by some aged negro, who had acquired by undisturbed occupancy some sort of title to the spot. We saw in our walk some of those immense masses of rock which, detaching themselves from the summit, had rolled down the declivity and bedded some portion of their angles in the debris of the lower steps, and only waited the action of fresh floods to loosen them from their resting places, and send them thundering with perilous impetuosity to the plain below.* If the variety of wild plants on these crags and in these ravines supplied little to interest one, the mineralogy would afford amusement enough to alleviate all fatigue.

“ By a track different from that we climbed, we entered in our descent another rent of the mountain, where there were other covered water courses leading to the fountains of the city, and arrived at the great ravine, in which there are some breaks of cultivation. On a

* Moreau de S. Mery relates some of these occurrences in vol. i. p. 600.

little spot of ground within the gorge of this ravine, made flat by a terrace of loose stones, stands an open temple, a pyramidal roof on plaistered columns, containing a cross and image of the holy Virgin. Here devotees assemble, morning and evening, at their penitential worship. A large congregation were at prayers at the time we passed, with the parochial curè officiating. It is usual for passengers to make some trifling donation here, as alms for the maintenance of the poor infirm and aged persons whom the vicar-general has distinguished as objects of charity. At the foot of this temple, right within the ravine, are some old ruined arches, like grottoes; and somewhere thereabout stood a wall, into which the bodies of the princes were thrown, after their murder in the prison. When they had remained festering in the pestilential atmosphere some days, (for during the lawless interregnum of the revoler Richard, all feared to identify themselves by sympathy with the fate of Christophe and the fallen fortunes of his throne and family,) the terror-stricken inhabitants mustered up sufficient courage to cast stones upon their bodies as they walked past, and thus hid from the sun the shame and horror of their assassination, whilst it still distressingly survived in their hearts and memories. The republican government have never taken any step to reclaim their corse from their dishonoured grave, though they pretend their unmerited fate has claimed and received their pity. The fact is, they were secretly glad at the calamity, as cutting off root and branch, sire and son, the house of Christophe, and thus extinguishing the hopes of a monarchical government. These princes were greatly beloved, and really deserved the affection of the people, from a kind and generous disposition which characterised them. They were talented, and in their youth and innocence became victims for their father's crimes.

"In our way homeward, a visit to M. Ballardelle, the French consul, who occupies one of those pretty little houses with a garden about it which we had observed from the hill, gave me an opportunity of seeing some fragments of the marble statues, with which the gates and gardens of the colonists had been embellished, when the city of the Cape bore the reputation of 'Queen of the Antilles.' These decorations were certainly costly. They were of a very pure white marble; but cut rather in a bold than a correct style.

"January 29.—I am annoyed by the incessant smack of whips which precedes the Carnival of the Mardi-gras. I have been long resident in a country where this sound is the accompaniment of humiliating human suffering, and I cannot hear this prelude of a feast without shuddering at it as the wonted accompaniment of pain and lamentation. Whilst I make this remark, it will not, I think, be considered an incident of forced association to mention, that Haytian parents seldom flog their children. One may sit for months together in the house and never be disturbed by the street annoyance of crying urchins, and unforgiving and unfeeling mothers. The children too, it is a remarkable fact, are not generally of a very playful temperament; they are of a sedate habit, having about them nothing melancholy, but simply quiet and silent, not reserved; re-

quiring to be drawn out into the usual artless communicativeness of youth and infancy; yet not awkward and shy, being rather full of confidence, and quite au fait at what constitutes the propriety of behaviour. They are seen in the shops at a very early age, and perform their little duties of attention and service with a great air of politeness, good nature, and usefulness. In the church you will see them engaged at their infantile orisons, with as much devout demeanour as the most heart-stricken penitent there. They are really drilled into very good habits, both at home and at school, without the aid of coercion and harsh speaking. The whip is an abhorrence, and to inflict it, as a disgraceful chastisement, is a high crime and misdemeanour in Hayti. But I know it can be said, and there are many that can prove it, that all the youths above the condition of cultivators and little farmers, exhibit an early propensity to indolence and depravity. This is undoubtedly true, but inasmuch as it is not equally true that those who are engaged in agriculture present similar indications of ripeness and rottenness, it is evident that this great social evil springs out of the want of occupation. In the towns where this mass of corruption is depraving the people, there are no means of useful employment but those which flow from the activity of commerce. Merchants, shopkeepers, and artizans, form the community. Few Haytians have either capital or influence to take their station in the first class. Their educated youths may, however, find a means of creditable and respectable livelihood as clerks in the counting-houses; and at the table of European merchants see the value of preserving those habits which had early recommended them to confidence and occupation; but unhappily, in the midst of all this, comes the military system, drafting them into the regiments of the line, to herd with ignorance, indolence, and vice; to be marched from Cape Delmarie to Sumana, from south to north, from east to west, to be encamped in plains and mountains, savannas and forests, and lose all sense of the usefulness of activity in the listless luxury of repose. In the terms of the law, they may escape this military liability, by marrying early, and conducting business on their own account; but that has its evils, its perils, and difficulties. The shopkeeping interest is all absorbed by the marchandes—women who have large families to maintain by their industry, and who, by the honourable and punctual manner in which they fulfil the terms of the credit given them, have secured, exclusively, the confidence of the European merchants. The knowledge that this loose morality prevails among the men, puts them out of all competition with the women in mercantile favour and indulgence. They may turn brokers, intermediate buyers, merchants, and farmers. There, as the lightest conscience makes the lightest labour, their depravation finds its most congenial company, and dissipation its delight; so that the moment they commence being in some measure industrious, is the moment when they confirm their habits, and sink deepest in respectability and credit. The artizans having moved, from beginning to last, more humbly; having walked on more equably, and possessing a trade; having escaped the very military liabilities which others have incurred, have exemplified the imperishable truth which has made the contentment of mediocrity a

proverb. They have survived the storm and the calm, and sailed with a prosperous breeze between the two.

“Knowing all these facts, and impressed with the conviction that these people are only the creatures of uncontrollable circumstances, inert because they have no occupation, and lax in their discipline because they are thrust into improper association, I should plead strenuously for the opening of the Jamaica trade, assured, that in rendering them more useful to themselves and their country, they will be made more important to our commercial interests. Any person acquainted with the agricultural condition of our Jamaica colony, knows, that during the period when the staples of sugar and coffee yielded great returns on capital invested in their culture, the whole labouring population were devoted to that and nothing else; but that since these articles have had to struggle with the ordinary competition of the market, they have so sunk in value, that they yield not sufficient interest for the original outlay. The onerous responsibilities which the planter had incurred, however, with the merchant, in the progress of his difficulties, has left him no option in the employment of his slaves. Sugar may to him be a dead loss, but he stands pledged to his mortgagee for the proceeds its fields yield under the existing system, which has enabled him to stake his labourers as a security for his debt. The price of colonial produce, in the time of accidental prosperity, had led him into the fatal economy of being dependent on foreign importations for the food of his slaves. Had he been led to cultivate corn, rice, peas, and beans for them, he had not merely supplied the wants of his own estates, but the wants of the neighbouring towns. He would indeed have had less land in sugar, but now that commodity is at a loss, he would have been the gainer by it. Hayti has immense plains, fit for the kind of tillage required by the food in demand in the Jamaica market. She has a population, who without diminishing her present recoltes of coffee, or her existing exports of cotton, could devote a considerable portion of unoccupied time to the production of pulse and grain. She has, in her military establishments, an unemployed population, which must, when disbanded, make labour cheap. She has advantages in her agricultural system—her process of irrigation, her facilities of transport, by the cheapness of horses and cattle, which would enable her to produce the commodities with little expenditure of capital; and lastly, her lands are of so light a soil, so even and so fertile, that a system of plough-husbandry, and of general aid by machinery, would enable her existing population so to extend their resources, that she would command the market, simply by the cheapness of her productions. Her competition would be with the United States of America; but if her corn, which is better, is found at the same time cheaper, and her rice, which is firmer and more nutritious than that raised on the swampy plains of Carolina, be already more approved of, she has nothing to dread from undertaking the struggle for rivalry with countries oppressed by the burthen of slave-labour.* Thus much for the effects

* Haytian rice is usually half the price of the American, in a Haytian market.”

of an open trade with Jamaica on her tillage; its influence on her pasture farms, and its creation of a mercantile community of small capitalists, I shall discuss another time.

“ January 31.—I scarcely ever climb any of the points of elevated land above the little plain of the city, without seeing objects to interest me. To-day the Consul and I took a little wild walk, through tracts which the human foot had first beat into an indented path, and the rains excavated into a narrow ravine. We find ruins of habitations, and gardens that had been formed, wherever the view had been particularly commanding. The Fossette, with its roads and green lawns, speckled with trees, had a pleasing happy sort of character, enlivened with stirring people, strolling sheep and cattle, and loaded horses and asses coming and going; and the point of low sand, and marshy level, within which the Estuary of the Haut de Cap river flowed tranquilly and bright, with its dark mangrove borders, and one or two palm and date trees, and its hill-fortress, not far distant, was very pretty. The setting sun lighting the pinnacled mountains, and shining on the most unfrequented spots of verdure around the ruinous buildings of the plain, seemed to give it an air of tillage, without its really boasting of much that was either of the useful or profitable sort. I thought some of the massy buildings of the city, ruinous as they were, were unusually grand. We saw them at their angles, so that two sides of their front were exposed to view, which, perhaps, increased their apparent magnitude. The plain is for the most part entirely neglected and unregarded, except as pasture, and its appropriation to this purpose was rather to be inferred from the cattle partially seen grazing on a few naked spots beneath the eye, than from any systematic attention to meadow making. The wood was spread in continued dark lines and patches, and the cultivation, such as it was, was much more as provision-grounds than as corn-fields; though the splendid estate of Duplau was a prominent object, beyond the magazines and cottages of Petite Anse, on the shores of the bay.”

(To be Continued.)

II.—DONATIONS AND REMITTANCES IN AID OF THE FUNDS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, FROM MAY 14, TO AUGUST 3, 1831.

	£.	s.	d.
Mr. T. G. Parker, Uppingham	(annual)	2	2 0
Mr. John Parker, ditto	(ditto)	1	1 0
Mr. E. Kemp, ditto	(ditto)	0	10 6
Rev. J. Green, ditto	(ditto)	0	10 6
Sundries from Uppingham	(donation)	0	12 6
Liskeard and East Cornwall Association	(ditto)	10	0 0
Ditto ditto	(payment)	7	0 0
Berkhamstead Association	(ditto)	2	16 0
Brighton ditto	(ditto)	7	7 0
Rochester Ladies' Association	(ditto)	2	16 0
Ditto ditto	(donation)	5	0 0
Edward Vale, Esq., 6, College Street, Chelsea	(ditto)	5	0 0
Colebrookdale Association	(ditto)	15	11 10
Thomas Piper, Esq., by Rev. J. Burnett	(ditto)	10	10 0
Mrs. Pugh, by Mrs. Pownall	(ditto)	0	10 0

		£.	s.	d.
Residue of a Collection made by Mrs. Pownall at Epsom	(donation)	3	0	9
Stroud (Gloucester) Association	(payment)	1	2	6
Coventry Association	(ditto)	4	18	0
Liverpool ditto	(ditto)	30	0	0
Ditto Ladies' ditto	(donation)	25	0	0
Mrs. Hannah More	(annual)	1	0	0
Horsham Association	(donation)	4	14	6
Westerham ditto	(ditto)	1	0	0
Ditto ditto	(payment)	2	9	0
Milford Association	(ditto)	0	11	2
Leominster ditto	(ditto)	3	19	2
Ditto ditto	(donation)	25	0	0
Mr. G. Withey, Melksham	(payment)	0	7	0
Dover Association	(ditto)	10	0	0
Calne ditto	(ditto)	6	6	0
Mr. G. Hall, Staindrop, Darlington	(donation)	1	0	0
Captain Stuart,	(annual)	1	0	0
Mr. Philip Sewell	(ditto)	1	1	0
Truro Association	(payment)	14	1	0
Southwark Ladies ditto	(ditto)	7	7	6
Croydon Association	(ditto)	2	10	6
Ditto ditto	(donation)	5	0	0
G. T. Clarke, Esq.	(annual)	1	1	0
Camberwell Ladies' Association	(payment)	0	4	6
A. R. Barclay, Esq.	(annual)	1	1	0
Mr. G. Jelley	(ditto)	0	10	6
Lincoln Association	(payment)	5	13	11
Hull ditto	(ditto)	14	8	0
Fordingbridge ditto	(ditto)	1	17	11
R. Reynolds, Esq. Farrington	(annual)	1	0	0
Lewes Association	(payment)	14	4	4
Rochester ditto	(ditto)	3	12	0
Margate ditto	(ditto)	2	0	9
Beverley Ladies' ditto	(ditto)	3	12	0
North London and Islington Ladies' Association	(ditto)	3	1	10
T. W. Austin, Esq.	(annual)	1	0	0
Bury Association	(payment)	3	18	4
Alton Ladies' ditto	(ditto)	2	13	0
Gracechurch Street Ladies' ditto	(ditto)	1	8	5
Banbury Association	(ditto)	1	16	0
Ladies Anti-Slavery Society for the Emancipation and Relief of Negro Slaves for Battersea, Clapham, and their respective neighbourhoods	(donation)	25	0	0
Anonymous	(ditto)	2	5	8
Staines Association	(payment)	6	0	6
Southampton ditto	(ditto)	10	0	0
St. Ives ditto	(ditto)	2	0	6
Edinburgh ditto	(ditto)	15	0	0
Colebrookdale ditto	(ditto)	5	8	0
Bath ditto	(ditto)	20	0	0
Rastrick ditto	(ditto)	3	7	0
Stoke Newington Ladies' Association	(ditto)	2	2	10
Tottenham ditto ditto	(ditto)	4	10	9
Westminster ditto ditto	(ditto)	5	8	0
Miss Harriet Sutherland	(donation)	5	0	0

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 89.]

OCTOBER 25, 1831. [VOL. iv. No. 17.

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 - V.—LAWS AND MANNERS OF JAMAICA ILLUSTRATED.—1. *Parochial Resolutions of Revolt.*—2. *Jamaica justice and lenity.*
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I.—THE COLONY OF ANTIGUA; ITS LAWS AND MANNERS.

OF all the slave colonies belonging to the British Crown, that of Antigua has evinced the most contumacious resistance to the reiterated calls of the government to pass laws for the improvement of the condition, both of the free black and coloured classes and of the slave population; and in this resistance they have had the active co-operation of most of the public functionaries in the service of His Majesty, and the negative encouragement, at least, to be derived from the supineness and neutrality of the Governor, His Majesty's representative in that island. This contumacy has been accompanied at the same time by the most unfounded representations of the lenity of their slave laws, and the humanity of their administration; and these untruths have not been denied and exposed as they ought to have been by the Governor, whose duty it was to undeceive the government; on the contrary they have been upheld and accredited by the general tenor of his official correspondence.

We shall be ready, when called upon to do so, to establish the truth of these grave imputations, by the clearest evidence. In the mean time we shall confine ourselves to one or two circumstances of recent occurrence in Antigua, which will serve to illustrate the existing state of law and manners in that much vaunted Colony.

In the month of June last, a letter was addressed, by a highly respectable individual, to Sir Patrick Ross the Governor, informing His Excellency that the cruelties of some of the planters, in Antigua, had arrived at so alarming a height as to make it necessary for the public authorities of the Island to adopt measures to put down such flagrant and wanton enormities, and particularly calling upon him to institute an inquiry into the treatment of the slaves on Friar's Hill estate, the property of Captain Haynes of the Royal Navy, whose manager had been guilty of repeated acts of cruelty, for the confirmation of which the writer referred to persons residing in the immediate neighbourhood of Friar's Hill. He further informed His Excellency that a young pregnant slave had been brutally treated by the manager of that estate, and afterwards confined in a horrid dungeon,

from which she was only released when the manager was courteously informed by a magistrate, that he should be under the necessity of visiting the estate to ascertain the truth or falsehood of the rumour. The Governor's correspondent further informed him, that on this same estate were erected two dungeons, ingeniously contrived for the torture of slaves, one of very small dimensions and so imperfectly ventilated as to produce the most suffocating effects; and another where the slaves lie on their backs with their limbs stretched out, and loaded with iron fetters, in one or other of which, slaves had been confined for months in succession, and one for two years or more. The general mode of punishing slaves on that estate, he further stated, to be attended with circumstances of peculiar aggravation, both in the manner of tying them up, and in the entire nakedness of the sufferers.

This statement was referred by the Governor to the investigation of a magistrate of the name of Nibbs. Mr. Nibbs, who is himself a considerable planter, took the humane and neighbourly precaution of notifying to the manager of Friar's Hill the nature of the commission, with the execution of which the Governor had intrusted him, and the precise time when he should visit the estate. The result of this visit was such as might have been expected. The report of the magistrate was exculpatory of the manager.

The Governor, however, having been given to understand that the report of this magistrate was considered as having, but very imperfectly, fulfilled the ends of justice, the investigation was renewed by two other magistrates, whose report was strangely at variance with that of Mr. Nibbs. They not only inspected the alleged dungeons, but examined with great care a number of witnesses. The result is thus given in the Antigua Free Press of the 18th of August, 1831. "It appeared that in the loft of a store building, about sixty feet long, Mr. Haynes, (that is the manager's name) had divided off a small room about six or eight feet square, for the purpose of confining delinquents. This was constructed in the south-west corner, which is the hottest. On the south side of this room the roof declines to within two feet of the floor, so that no person can stand erect but at the north side. It is entirely without ventilation, the wooden partitions being carried up quite to the roof; the only aperture being the door, which of course is shut when a culprit is immured there. All light is excluded except through two small holes in the floor, apparently bored by an auger, for the purpose of admitting the arms of a shackle below. There was another dungeon under the overseer's house, provided with stocks for the feet, and a manacle for one hand. When the latter is used, the prisoner must necessarily lie extended on his back upon a wooden cabin. One witness deposed that he had seen several persons confined in both places; among others, an elderly man, named Johnny, who had been punished in the latter dungeon for the period of fifteen months, under suspicion of having set fire to a trash stack. Hannibal, also an incorrigible runaway had been locked up in the same place for a greater space of time. They were taken out during the working hours, and put up in the intervals and at night. The magistrates, Mr. Horsford and Mr. Scotland, animad-

verted severely on the former place of confinement. The difference of opinion between these gentlemen and Mr. Nibbs, respecting the room in the loft, is astonishing. The two former condemned it in the strongest terms as a place of confinement for human beings, while Mr. Nibbs, according to the evidence of Mr. W. Farmer, approved of it, and did not think any openings necessary. But is it not extraordinary that a magistrate, nay, a man in his senses, should consider openings unnecessary in a room, which had not a breath of air, or a particle of light, and where our fellow creatures might be immured for an indefinite time?

The only other circumstance to which we shall allude, as proving the bad spirit which prevails among the dominant party in Antigua, is their pertinacious refusal, notwithstanding the earnest admonitions of His Majesty's government,* to allow to their slaves any time for marketing during the week, in lieu of the Sunday market, which has been taken away. It seems as if they were determined to drive their wretched slaves into rebellion, in order to gratify, at one and the same time, their pride, passion and cupidity, and their hatred both of the slaves and of the friends of the slaves in this country. A few extracts from the Antigua newspapers will set this infatuated and reckless spirit in a clearer light.

“The true and only cause of the late conflagrations, was the disappointment of the slaves, in not having a market day given them in lieu of Sunday. Had insurrection been their purpose, would they have remained quietly, each gang on their master's property? No doubt they would have collected together in numbers for mutual defence and aggression, and destroyed, not a few canes, but lives. Not a single instance however occurred, of violence being offered to any white person, male or female, and many of the latter were unavoidably left by their husbands and parents altogether unprotected, at the distance of many miles from the nearest military post. The persons arrested on suspicion of being incendiaries were extremely few, only about 16 out of 28,000 slaves, and of these not more than two or three were convicted, only one capitally, and he on circumstantial evidence. It did not appear by the examinations, that there was any thing like combination, and no proof was afforded of an insurrectionary spirit. On the contrary with the exception of the actual incendiaries, the most quiet and orderly disposition was manifested by the whole; and the fact of their remaining at home, and proceeding in their usual labours without the superintendance of white men (for these were under arms) entitles them to every credit, confidence and indulgence.”—*Antigua Free Press*, July 28, 1831.

“Again, for some time past the complaints of plantation slaves, chiefly from the deprivation of any regular time for their marketing, in lieu of Sunday, which the late law has put an end to, have been increasing.—On Saturday last, Government House was beset with gangs of Negroes from Bendall's estate, and Sir Christopher Cod-

* It is to be regretted that Government has not also given an example, in their legislation for the Crown Colonies, in accordance with this admonition.

rington's (Skerrett's); on Sunday morning those from Friar's Hill made their appearance; and last night His Excellency was again troubled with those of Gray's Belfast.—Former complaints we suffered to pass by, in the hope, that something would be done to compensate the slaves for the loss of their only time of traffic, and although humane proprietors, and directors of estates have made liberal and proper allowances to this end, the great majority are still left without a like indulgence; that this is absolutely necessary, is beyond a doubt, it being unnatural to suppose, that the negroes upon one estate will rest satisfied without even half a-day out of seven, which they can call their own, when they see their neighbours who happen to be blessed with a more conscientious director, enjoying advantages and indulgences, from which they are debarred. Two gentlemen, Mr. Warner and Mr. Jarvis, as soon as the law abolished Sunday markets, voluntarily gave their whole gangs Saturday, for the purpose of traffic, &c. With these, and many other similar examples, some general plan ought to have been adopted,—but after a lapse of five months, which has brought forth nothing to satisfy the slaves, their complaints have now multiplied to an alarming degree, and we are convinced that nothing but an act of the legislature will put the matter at rest.”—*Antigua Weekly Register, August 9, 1831.*

“We are just informed, that notwithstanding the Royal Proclamation, and that by His Excellency, which have been distributed through the country, enjoining orderly conduct upon the slaves, and prohibiting their coming in gangs with complaints, the slaves of Harvey's estate, under Mr. Briggs, are now proceeding to the Government House, in a body of between 2 and 300. We understood before, that they had refused to work on Saturday last, and had, as it is termed, taken the day.—We again warn our rulers of the necessity of granting a day, and fixing it by law. Without this concession urged by His Majesty's government, and demanded by prudence, and the circumstances of the country, we fear, that the spirit of discontent and irritation will not be allayed, though proclamations be daily issued.”—*Antigua Free Press, August 18, 1831.*

“We stated in our last, that four gangs of slaves had come to town, with complaints to the Governor. His Excellency referred these to as many different magistrates for a hearing. With the result of three of these examinations we are unacquainted; but have understood, that they were dismissed as unfounded or trifling. At the fourth we were present; by which it appeared, that the Negroes (Skerrett's, Sir C. Codrington's) were never allowed the full noon-time cessation from labour, as appointed by law, having only one hour and a half instead of two. It was proved also that the manager, Mr. Gale, punished a number of them improperly. He was accordingly bound over to answer at the Sessions. With regard to the intermission of work at noon, we have reason to believe, that the lawful period of it is abridged on almost every estate in the country; the bell for *turning in* being rung at twelve o'clock, and that for *turning out* at half, or a quarter, past one. This certainly demands redress, particularly when it is considered, that on *some* occasions half an hour of the time

allowed is consumed in going to, and returning from, the negro houses; and more particularly as the proprietors and attorneys are so tenacious of every moment which the law authorises them to exact from the slaves."—*Antigua Weekly Register*, Aug. 23, 1831.

II.—EMANCIPATION OF CROWN SLAVES.

ON the 17th of August last a conversation took place in the House of Commons the subject of which we record with unfeigned and unmingled satisfaction.

Mr. *Burge*.—I wish to ask the noble Lord, the Under Secretary for the Colonies, opposite, a question relative to the Order that has been sent out relative to the emancipation of the Crown slaves. I wish to know whether Government took pains to obtain full information on the subject, before they sent out the order to emancipate those slaves, and particularly by consulting those connected with these islands? I wish also to know whether any, and what steps have been taken for the future regulation and maintenance of those slaves who are to be emancipated? The House is aware that at present the Crown has to pay all the expenses of those slaves; but it is possible, now they have been emancipated, that they may become chargeable to the different parishes in which they reside in those islands, unless some provision has been made for them. I think that the islands should have been protected from having any burdens imposed on them on this account.

Lord Viscount *Howick*.—In answer to the questions of the honourable and learned gentleman, I beg to state, that Government did not send out or issue orders for the emancipation of the Crown slaves, until they had obtained the best information on the subject, and until that information had been fully considered. Besides this, I can inform the honourable gentleman, that all necessary precautions have been taken by the Government to guard against unfortunate consequences, by making a provision for those slaves in case of necessity. We certainly did not apply for information in the quarter to which the honourable and learned gentleman has alluded, because it was felt that those persons did not possess any peculiar sources of information on the subject. With respect to the results which the honourable Member seems to anticipate will arise from the step that has been taken, I am happy in being enabled to state, that the experience of the past, fully warrants our pursuing the course that we have adopted. I trust that the precautions we have now taken, will prove, as they did on the former occasion, quite unnecessary. The House is aware, that in 1828, orders were sent out to the island of Antigua, to emancipate the captured negroes belonging to the Crown in that island. This was accordingly done, and was immediately followed by a great reduction in the Government expenditure in that Colony, and at the same time no evil has resulted from that measure.

Some years ago, the charge for the maintenance of the captured negroes in Antigua was £8,000 per annum; but immediately after their emancipation, this expense was materially reduced, and I am

happy to say, that it is now not more than £1000 a year. This charge also will yearly decrease, as it is principally for the support of those who are old and infirm. The House will recollect too, that it is much wiser to emancipate those who have long been in the Colony, and who have been accustomed to habits of industry, than it was to liberate the captured negroes. If therefore, the measure carried into effect respecting the latter, was successful, the presumption is, that the present course will be attended with an equally happy result. I understand that the Crown slaves in several of the Colonies, and more especially Antigua, Berbice, and Demerara, are well able to maintain themselves in a state of comparative comfort, as most of them have been brought up to some trade. I cannot let this opportunity pass without reading an extract from a letter written from the Governor of Antigua, on the subject of these Crown negroes. That gentleman says :—

“ It affords me much satisfaction in being able to state, that during the five months that have elapsed since the Crown slaves were set at liberty, there has not been a single complaint of their conduct,—not a single charge has been brought against any one of them before a magistrate,—not one of them has made application for relief on account of poverty, or other ground; but they have all been occupied industriously in providing for their own maintenance.”

The report of the Governor of Antigua of the 371 captured negroes who were suddenly emancipated, is equally favourable. No confusion resulted from this comparatively large body being liberated, for I believe all of them were enabled to obtain employment. Now, the number of the Crown negroes, in the isle of Antigua is thirty-six, and they are all creoles. If, therefore, no evil resulted from the emancipation of the large number I have mentioned, is it likely any confusion will arise from the smaller number? I ask, is there any danger that these thirty-six creoles will occasion embarrassment, when the 371 negroes did not occasion any? again the expence of supporting the 36 Crown slaves in Antigua was £430; now this charge will be saved; as there is every reason to believe that they will be able to maintain themselves without any assistance.

With respect to the expence of the crown slaves, in some of the other islands, I will, with the permission of the House, state a few circumstances. The number of the crown slaves, in Jamaica, is 372, and the annual charge is about £1,700 a year. In the colony of Berbice, there are nearly 300 crown slaves, the annual expence of which is somewhat more than £500 a year. Again, in the Mauritius, there are 1200 crown slaves, the expence of which is rather more than £4,000 per annum. Now, it is obvious, that it is desirable that this expenditure should be saved to the country if possible; and I think I have stated sufficient facts to shew that this can be done with perfect security.—I have not the least doubt in my own mind, that all these slaves will be able to maintain themselves without assistance, and that they will become useful members of the communities to which they belong. I will here observe, that in consequence of what occurred in the House a few nights ago, a gentleman of the name of Wray, has written a

letter to Lord Goderich on the subject of the crown slaves in Berbice. This gentleman states, that he was for many years a Missionary in that colony, and was much engaged in the instruction of the crown slaves. He says, most of them are good tradesmen, and could, if liberated, maintain their families in comparative comfort; that the greater portion of them can read, and that they take the greatest care in bringing up their children. He adds, that six crown slaves were liberated three years ago, that he has watched the conduct of them since, and that more industrious and sober workmen could not be found. He concludes with stating, that he anticipates the most beneficial results from the course that he understands has been adopted, of liberating the crown slaves in the colonies; and that he has no doubt they will be able to maintain themselves without any expence to the Government. I can, for my own part, only add, that it has always been understood that the crown slaves in these colonies should be emancipated as soon as it could be safely done. I think that that time has now arrived, and that Government was called upon to take the step they have now done. That the crown slaves could be safely emancipated, we have the concurrent authority of many persons well acquainted with the subject. I hold it, therefore, to have been the duty of Ministers to adopt that course as speedily as they could.

III.—JAMAICA JAILS.

ON the 16th of July, 1830, was laid on the table of the House of Commons a Return, No. 673, which we ought to have noticed long ago. It is a Return of "all persons confined in the different jails and workhouses of the island of Jamaica, on the 1st of January, 1829," specifying also various particulars respecting them. The Return does not appear to be complete, the workhouse of St. Thomas in the Vale being omitted. In the other workhouses there were incarcerated, as a punishment for crimes of which they had been convicted, no fewer than 491 persons. Of these three were white seamen imprisoned during twenty days for refusing to do their duty on shipboard, but not one *free* black or coloured person. The slave convicts consequently amounted to 488. Of this number 174, namely, 146 men, and 28 women, were condemned to hard labour in chains for life; the sole crime for which they incurred this frightful punishment was that of absconding from their master's work, in other words, that of running away from the cart-whip, for six months or more.

There is a further list of persons condemned for the same crime, to imprisonment and hard labour for periods varying from one to twelve months, many of whom were further subjected to receive thirty-nine lashes at the beginning of their prescribed term of imprisonment, and thirty-nine lashes more at the conclusion of it. Of this class there were 82, namely, 63 men, and 19 women. Sixteen more had been committed to jail as runaways, who asserted themselves to be free, but not being able to produce documentary evidence of their freedom, they were condemned, although no one claimed them as slaves, to be sold as slaves for the benefit of the island, in discharge of their jail

fees, and in repayment of the cost of feeding them in prison. Besides these, there are many confined for such crimes as abusing or offering violence to white or free people; and riotous behaviour; and also for thefts, and robberies of various grades; and not a few whose names and owners are given, but whose offences are not specified; but who were placed there, we presume, by their owners by way of undergoing the wholesome discipline of a Jamaica workhouse; the word *solitary* being affixed to some names, meaning, probably, solitary confinement, while certain floggings to be inflicted are attached to the names of others.

Our attention was especially arrested by the great number condemned to hard labour for life, not only for the crime of running away, of which class there are 174, but for other crimes which we should deem too light to be visited any more than that of absconding, with such a terrible infliction as this, an infliction scarcely inferior in severity to that of death itself. Among them we remark (pp. 3 and 8) the offence of petit larceny, visited in two cases with imprisonment and hard labour for life, and the same offence in another case (p. 5) sentenced to six months' hard labour, with thirty-nine lashes at going in, and thirty-nine lashes at coming out. This last is a common measure of punishment for stealing. For assaulting or offering violence towards a white person (pp. 7 and 15) the sentence is *imprisonment and hard labour for life*. A female slave (p. 8) is condemned to the same terrible punishment for "assaulting her master." Another woman for "offering violence to her owner" (p. 13) is condemned to six months' hard labour, and to thirty-nine lashes at going in and the same number at coming out.

We observe, in a great many instances, that the sentence of imprisonment and hard labour for life, is inflicted not by a regular slave Court, but by three magistrates, and that in certain parishes the names of the same three persons almost continually recur in visiting those they call "incorrigible runaways" with this dreadful punishment. But surely it is scarcely consistent with the principles of English law, that it should be in the power of three men, unassisted by a jury, to inflict such a tremendous severity of punishment on any of the King's subjects, whether black or white. In all those cases the owners too are indemnified for the slaves thus condemned to imprisonment and hard labour for life, by being paid their appraised value.

In one of the parishes, St. Catherine's, the superintendant of the workhouse has favoured us with a sketch of the moral qualities of his prisoners (p. 9). The whole number under his care is 59, of whom 49 are condemned to imprisonment and hard labour for life, almost all of them for running away; the majority are said to be "ill-behaved," and "disorderly." But nearly one-half of the number are described by the superintendant as "well-behaved," "well-behaved and steady," "well-behaved and attentive," "well-behaved and obedient," "well-disposed and quiet," "well-disposed, obedient, and quiet." It seems strange, that men of whom such a character can be given with truth, should be kept in chains and subjected to imprisonment and hard

labour for life. But such is the necessary result of the system of Colonial Slavery. It is not merely the idle, and the contumacious, and the vicious who are tempted to run away from their masters; but the timid and the industrious; those who shrink not from moderate labour, but from the pain and laceration of the cart-whip. They have committed some unintentional offence for which they are threatened with, or have cause to dread, punishment. They escape to the woods to avoid the infliction of the lash, and are prevented by terror from returning. At length they are apprehended, tried for running away, and condemned to imprisonment and hard labour in chains for life, their only crime being, that they shrunk from the lacerations of the cart-whip, inflicted not by due course of law, but at the caprice of any unfeeling ruffian who happened to be the owner or the overseer.

The 488 cases given in this Return, be it remembered, are quite independent of all the apprehended deserters that crowd the advertisements in the daily newspapers of the Island; and all the slaves levied upon by the Marshal for the master's debts, or by the collector for taxes due by the master, and who are committed to the jail or to the workhouse till claimed or sold. They consist chiefly of the slaves who, on one specified day—the 1st of January, 1829, were undergoing the punishment inflicted upon them for some public crime, by some public Court, or by the order of three magistrates. But besides these, and over and above all the other classes we have mentioned as crowding the public jails or workhouses of this one island, on every estate there is a jail or place of confinement, of whose inmates no Record is kept, but who are incarcerated and flogged at the mere caprice of the owner or overseer, without the intervention of any magistrate, and without responsibility to any magistrate, provided it cannot be proved by legal evidence, and in Jamaica slave-evidence is not admitted, that the legal limit of 39 lashes has been exceeded. And as for confinement in the stocks or bilboes of the plantation, the law affixes no limit to its duration, nor provides any means of visitation or inspection. These places of confinement are wholly withdrawn from the public eye. No Record is even required to be kept of flagellations, however severe; and to such flagellations and to such confinement every man, woman and child, of the 330,000 slaves of Jamaica, is liable, every day in the year, without the possibility of redress, if only the person who inflicts the punishment is prudent enough to limit his stripes to thirty-nine; or to take care, if he exceeds that number, that no free witness is present. The Slave Code now in force in Jamaica is at this day substantially the same as that of 1816.

The apparent improvements since that time amount to nothing; to a mere pretence and mockery of amelioration, calculated to hoodwink the eyes of the British public, but conveying to the slaves no additional immunity from injury and outrage, nor any additional protection either of person or property, nor any additional security from the intensity and continuity of such coerced labour as the master may choose to exact, or from the scantiness and insufficiency of the food and clothing he may choose to allow.

These positions, we challenge all the advocates of Slavery, in or out of Parliament, to disprove.

IV.—JAMAICA SLAVE POPULATION; BURGE VERSUS BUXTON.

OUR readers cannot have forgotten either the luminous statement on the subject of the slave population of the West Indies by Mr. Buxton, on the 15th of April last, or the contradiction attempted to be given to it by Mr. Burge, the Colonial Agent of Jamaica. The controversy has attracted the notice of that able periodical work, the *Christian Record*, published in Jamaica; and in its Eighth number, which has just reached us, there has appeared the following article, which appears decisive of the controversy as to the deadly nature of slavery in Jamaica, at least as far as sugar culture is concerned.

The following are extracts from this powerful, and, as it appears to us, irrefutable article:—

“When the report of Mr. Buxton’s last speech in the House of Commons, on the Slave question, was received in this country, we, and many others, were not a little startled at the assertions made in it respecting the rapid rate at which the slave population of the Colonies is now being ‘emancipated’ *by death*. We were ourselves inclined to doubt the accuracy of his information, and we heard many stigmatize his assertions as being ‘false,’ and declare that they ‘*could not be correct*.’ Others, however, seemed to admit the fact of a decrease; but then, without hesitation, they accounted for it by the great number of manumissions, or by the regularly recurring ‘accidents’ of ‘measles, typhus fevers, pleurisies, and small pox.’ But the question appears to us to be one of the deepest interest; and one that ought not to be, and cannot be, disposed of thus easily. If the facts of the case are known really to be as Mr. Buxton represents, there can no longer be a question as to the evil arising from the present system of slave management, and, indeed, from slavery itself; and surely it will only need to set them clearly before the colonists themselves, to remove centuries of the prejudices they entertain against the adoption of those measures which are calculated, and intended, *gradually* to change their present race of annually decreasing bond slaves, into an increasing free peasantry. Those prejudices are all rooted in the avarice of the human heart. The apprehension of a ‘loss of property’ is that which gives them all their strength, and renders them invulnerable to the soundest arguments of reason, and to the most forcible appeals of humanity and religion. If, then, it can be clearly shown to the colonists that, upon the very system they so tenaciously adhere to, that which they much dread in changing it, viz. ‘a loss of property,’ must follow, since *it has for years been perishing under it*; the very ground of their prejudices will be removed, and we may reasonably expect that their feelings of self-interest will all be then enlisted *in favour* of the ameliorating measures, which we have advocated, and which the British government seems determined to enforce. Viewing the matter in this light, we have taken considerable pains to procure correct and authentic

information as to the *facts* of the case, in reference to the slave population of our own island. Thanks to the 'Triennial Returns,' we have obtained such as cannot be questioned, and may be implicitly relied on. It is also easily to be verified by any one who may choose to take the trouble. But before we communicate this information to our readers, it is necessary that we should make a few observations on the subject of population generally, to enable those who have not been in the habit of considering such subjects, fully to comprehend the importance of that information, and to arrive at just conclusions from it."

After some allusions to Mr. Malthus's Theory of population, and the facts that population in the United States doubles in about twenty-five years, and in New Spain in twenty-seven or twenty-eight years, and in the old countries of Europe in forty or fifty years; the writer thus proceeds:—

"But what must be the extent of the influence of 'peculiar causes of mortality,' in a country where 'the labour of a few days is sufficient to obtain a supply for the wants of a whole year;*' and, with reference to a population, to whom, in consequence, mere prudential restraint, on account of the want of subsistence, is unknown; when we find that the great mass of this very population is not *increasing*, so as to double in fifty, or even a hundred years, but *decreasing* at a rate by which it will be utterly extinct in about a hundred? The fact is one of the most appalling nature—but fact it is. The slave population of Jamaica, upon the sugar estates, forming the great bulk of the people, is, we are satisfied, actually dying off at nearly that rate!

"Now, it is so manifest, that this is not occasioned in Jamaica in the slightest degree by the operation of the check of '*moral restraint*,' that it would be a waste of time were we to point out its absence. We must go at once to those of '*vice and misery*,' to discover the causes of this result. Under the former head, then, are classed 'the sort of intercourse which renders some of the women of large towns unprolific; a general corruption of morals with regard to the sex, which has a similar effect; unnatural passions, and improper acts to prevent the consequences of irregular connections.' Under the latter are included 'all the causes which tend in any way prematurely to shorten the duration of life; such as unwholesome occupations, severe labour and exposure to the seasons, bad and insufficient food and clothing, bad nursing of children, excesses of all kinds, great towns and manufactories, the whole train of common diseases and epidemics, wars, infanticide, plague, and famine.' With regard to the first (with the exception of unnatural passions), it is admitted that these vices are greatly prevalent among the slaves, and doubtless they exercise a very great influence in checking among them the *increase* of population; but that they are sufficient to account for its extraordinary *decrease*, we cannot, by any means, allow. What is the case with the Maroons? Are not those vices as prevalent among them? And yet we find that the Maroons are *increasing*; and that, in a geometrical progression, which,

* See Barclay, M^cQueen, &c. &c.

we believe, on accurate investigation, would be found nearly equal to that of the United States, or, at all events, to that of New Spain. It remains, then, that we must look for the great causes of this fearful depopulation of our estates under the last head,—that of ‘*misery*.’ We beg our colonial reader not to cast our pages from him here, with the disgust of prejudice; but, like a reasonable being, dispassionately to investigate the subject, interesting as it is to him in every point of view, and see whether he can possibly discover any other causes for the facts which the tables we annex exhibit, than those to which we attribute them,—*arising out of the state of slavery, and the system of slave management, which now prevails among us.*

“To those who would endeavour to evade the force of the arguments, drawn from the fact of a decrease, in favour of ‘amelioration and final emancipation,’ by ascribing it to ‘the great number of manumissions,’ and to periodical visitations of ‘diseases and epidemics,’ we answer, as to the former cause, that it does not in any degree affect the question; for it is to the decrease, occasioned *by the excess of deaths over births*, that we confine it. Besides, we find, that the number of manumissions is by no means so great as has lately and very generally been supposed. Our tables show, that among a population averaging 4731, there were only thirty-one manumissions in twelve years, being at the rate of one per annum in 1833 people. As to the latter cause, the periodical visitations and epidemics, these have, in all countries, more or less, affected the increase of population, and have been considered in the calculations made upon it. It becomes imperative on these persons, then, if they would have us attach any weight to their assertions, clearly to shew, *by documents as authentic as our tables*, that these visitations have indeed been more frequent, and more destructive to human life, in Jamaica, than in any other portion of the globe;—and further, that the *annual* decrease, on each particular estate, has actually occurred under such *annual* visitation. Until this is done, the assertion can only be regarded as one of those shallow pretexts, and gratuitous assumptions, to which prejudice resorts when pressed by arguments, and overwhelmed by facts.

“In Mr. Burge’s speech, in reply to Mr. Buxton, we find the decrease attributed to the number of old Africans in the country; but we are utterly at a loss to discover how this accounts for it. Who were the progenitors of the creole slaves among us? Besides, Africans, *in Africa*, notwithstanding all the drainings of constant wars, and the slave trade, increase rapidly. If, when transported to Jamaica, they cease to do so, to what shall we ascribe it? Ought not Mr. Burge to have seen the irresistible conclusion? In Africa they were free, in Jamaica they are slaves! But there is another fact which most conclusively proves that neither to the dying off of the unprolific Africans, nor to the periodical visitations of ‘diseases and epidemics,’ can this decrease of the slave population be ascribed. It will be found by our tables, as we proceed from the sugar districts into those of the coffee properties and pens, that the slave population on these last is *increasing* in some cases; and we suspect precisely in propor-

tion as the chain of their bondage has been lightened ; whilst, in all, it is not decreasing at any thing like the rate at which the slaves are dying off under the systems pursued on sugar estates ! And must we not conclude, that *these systems*, in which the general slave system is carried to its *perfection*, are the true causes of this waste of human life—of this ‘ loss of property ?’ If not, we request the advocates of things as they are to point out to us what are ; not in the old way of gratuitous assertion, conveyed in abusive language towards their opponents, but by well authenticated facts, and such calm, dispassionate reasonings on them, as may convince men who are engaged in the investigation of a most important subject, and are really desirous to arrive at the truth, uninfluenced by prejudice or passion.

“ The limits of our publication, and the labour of preparing the tables, preclude our giving more, at one time, than the extracts from the returns of one district. We have commenced with the sugar estates in the Plantain-Garden-River district of St. Thomas in the East ; and have done so because, confessedly, this among the sugar districts, is ‘ the most favoured one in the island.’ As we travel to other districts this character will be found to have been justly given to it, if we are to take as a criterion the greater decrease of population in the others.

Table I. gives the actual results of the Triennial Returns, made on oath by the managers, &c. of the whole of the sugar estates, except one, in the district. Table II. shows, at one view, the number of births and deaths during the whole period of twelve years ; exhibits the rate of increase and decrease per annum, calculated on an average of the population at three returns of 1817, 1823, and 1829 ; and also the *actual decrease*, by death, of the population, at the end of that period. In bringing this out, we have deducted the total number of births from the total number of deaths, excluding both the increase and decrease by other causes. Attention to this will be necessary, in verifying our calculations. Table III. gives the population of the maroons during the same period, (according to the returns made by the superintendants to the House of Assembly), together with its actual increase, and the rate per annum, as calculated on it. The Returns do not shew the number of maroons (and it is not a small one) who have renounced their privileges, and are now merged in the general mass of the *free* population. Could this have been ascertained, the result would, of course, have exhibited a greater increase, and a more rapid rate, nearly in proportion to that of the United States.

“ In considering Table II. we beg our readers to keep the following facts in mind, and to compare them with those exhibited in the table. Of course, *increase* of population must depend on the excess of the *births* over the *deaths*. Accordingly, in New Spain, the annual average of births is one in seventeen ; of deaths, owing probably to peculiar causes, one in thirty : in the United States, of *births* one in nineteen ; of *deaths* one in forty. The proportion varies in the different countries of Europe, but it may be stated as commonly of *births*, one in twenty, to *deaths*, one in thirty-five or forty

“ We fully expect, in publishing these tables that, among a certain class, the insane cry already raised against us will be swelled into a still louder burst of passion. We know that we shall be charged with having prepared them for the purpose of affording Mr. Buxton, and other ‘ anti-slavery fanatics,’ the means of carrying on their ‘ warfare against the lives and properties of the colonists.’ But the time is coming, and perhaps is not far distant, when our countrymen will think more justly of us, and will acknowledge those to have been their best friends who are now endeavouring to open their eyes to the evils of their present systems, and to what is, after all, their true interests, even in a pecuniary point of view. The actual loss of property, by decrease of population, on the seventeen sugar estates mentioned in Tables I. and II. has been, in twelve years. (averaging negroes during the whole of that period at £60) £33,600.* And what ‘ compensation,’ have these proprietors received for it, from the system of management under which, as there is too much reason to conclude, it has perished? Let them calculate its advantages.

* * * * *

“ Since the preceding remarks were written, the report of a committee of the vestry of St. Thomas in the East, of which Mr. Barclay was chairman, in answer to Mr. Thorpe’s statements, has been published. We find there an attempt made to account for the decrease in the slave population. It is asserted, that for the ten years previous to the abolition of the slave trade, a great number of African negroes, chiefly adults, were imported into this island. Assuming the year 1802 as the mean period of their arrival, and thirty years to be their average age at that period, it is supposed that they would be now approaching the age of sixty, and the inference is drawn that this satisfactorily accounts, in the course of nature, for the decrease. The theory is an ingenious one, and, as the cause it is meant to support requires ingenuity, the most is made of it; for, besides forming the basis of Mr. Burge’s reply, to which we have adverted, we find that it had been previously put forth to the world in Mr. Barclay’s book. We question, however, the accuracy of the data assumed; for although we believe that a great number of negroes were imported at the period mentioned, we understand that they were chiefly young people, and that the average age of eighteen or twenty would be much nearer the truth. Besides, we are satisfied that the mortality among the African negroes has not been at all out of proportion to the *general* mortality on the sugar estates, especially when it is considered that deaths, in the ordinary course of nature, by old age, are to be expected among them, rather than among the creoles, twenty-four years having elapsed since they were imported. For instance, we would request Mr. Barclay to examine the Registry Returns for the Rhine estate, of which we believe he is now the manager, and he will find, that of one hun-

* “ If we add to this loss the value of 1,218 negroes, which ought to have been the increase of a population averaging 4,731, at the rate at which the maroons have increased; and estimate that value at only one half the above average of £60, the total loss which has been sustained will amount to £70,146 !”

dred and twelve negroes who have died on that property in twelve years, the population averaging one hundred and eighty-eight; seventy-one were *creoles*, and only forty-one Africans!!* But, admitting the facts which have been assumed, and that a greater *mortality*, in proportion, is thus caused, we deny the inference that the *decrease* of the population is therefore satisfactorily accounted for. Our readers will at once perceive, that the decrease must depend, as we have already stated, not on the deaths alone, but on the relative proportion of the deaths to the births; and we are satisfied, that the accession of a considerable number of people in the prime of life, would, in the course of a lapse of thirty years, tend more powerfully to the increase of any population, than a much larger number added by birth. A little reflection will convince any reasoning man, that the progressive annual increase of population by birth, thence arising, in the lapse of years, ought, at the end of the period, to do much more than counterbalance the annual decrease by death; especially if he adverts to the fact discovered by observation and experience, that not above three-fourths on an average, of the children born survive the early years of infancy. Now, can it be said, that at any given time, during the last thirty years, our slave population, generally, has exhibited any thing approaching to the progressive increase, which ought to have been the natural result of the influx of adults at the commencement of that period? On the contrary, is it not a well known fact, that during that period, on many sugar estates in the island, the population has been almost renewed by *purchase*?

“But if we are to ascribe the decrease to the natural dying off of a large body of Africans, imported at a particular period, how comes it, that although there are as many (if not more) Africans on the coffee plantations and pens, in proportion to their population, as on the sugar estates, the decrease on the former bears no proportion to that on the latter? In proof of this we have added two other tables, Nos. IV. and V. shewing an abstract of the Registry Returns, and the increase and decrease on the principal coffee plantations in St. Thomas in the East. The coffee properties in that parish are chiefly in the Blue Mountain district, and all of those mentioned in our table, except three, are situate there. We have added three properties in the Plantain-Garden-River district, namely, Bachelor’s Hall pen, belonging to the same owner, and under the same manager as Golden-Grove estate, and the only two considerable properties (not sugar) in that district, Green-Castle and Horse-Hill. Bachelor’s Hall pen exhibits a decrease; but let our readers compare the rate with that of Golden-Grove. †

“Notwithstanding, then, the arguments of the committee of the

* “It is a striking fact, that if all the deaths of Africans on this estate are excluded from consideration, and those of creoles only reckoned, *there will still be an excess of deaths over births during the twelve years.*”

† “On the pen, the actual decrease, during twelve years, has been at the average rate of one per annum in every 415.15. On the estate one per annum in every 86.58.”

vestry of St. Thomas in the East, we contend that the tables, Nos. II. III. and V. and comparative statements of results which we have deducted from them, completely bear us out in our assertions; and exhibit the most decisive proofs of the evil influence of the general system of slave management, and of the peculiar aggravation of that system on the sugar estates.

“While, however, we cannot withhold from our readers these unavoidable conclusions from the whole of the documents laid before them, it is gratifying to us to direct their attention to the fact, that since 1823, during the latter half of the period embraced by them, the number of deaths has been smaller, and the number of births has been greater, than during the preceding six years; from whence we infer some partial relaxation of the system on the sugar estates. We do hope and trust that it is but an earnest of further amelioration.

“In an unfeigned spirit of love, we once more implore all concerned, to put away from them all bitterness and clamour; and to examine, *dispassionately*, into the system and its effects.—If they will but do so, we are quite convinced they will cease to regard, with feelings of irritated, and irritating, opposition, the measures that are *recommended to their* adoption for the present amelioration and ultimate total abolition of that system, at the earliest moment compatible with the safety and real happiness of both bond and free.

“For ourselves we most solemnly declare, that we have no other object in view than the promotion of those interests and that happiness. We feel strongly upon the subject, because we are deeply convinced of the accuracy of the facts, and the correctness of the view we have taken of them. But we have been anxious throughout this article to repress our feelings on it, and to avoid every thing like a strong expression of them, by which unnecessary pain would be given to the advocates and supporters of the present system, and we hope that we have succeeded. The system itself we cordially detest, because we consider it detestable; but for those whose unhappy lot it is to administer it, we have none other feeling than that of Christian love and charity; and we gladly confess our belief that by far the greater number of them do so, and are strenuous for its continuance from mere prejudice and habit—and because they know not its real character and effects. We earnestly pray that our endeavours to enlighten them may be received in the spirit in which they are made, and be blessed to them.”

It would occupy too much space were we to transcribe at full length all the tables annexed to the preceding remarks in the Christian Record. We must confine ourselves to an Abstract of them; but that Abstract will exhibit the general results as clearly and accurately as if we had gone through all the intermediate censuses of the slave population from 1817 to 1829.

TABLES I. AND II.
Parish of St. Thomas in the East—Plaintain-Garden-River
District Sugar Estates.

ESTATES.	OWNERS.	Registry Return in 1817.	Registry Return in 1829.	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.
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	26	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
Plaintain 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	236	199
	Total	4972	4558	213	31	27	1472	2032

TABLES IV. AND V.
Coffee Estates in the same District.

ESTATES.	OWNERS.	Registry Return in 1817.	Registry Return in 1829.	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.
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

TABLE III.
Returns 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
Charlestown . . .	316	325	367	361	385			
Moore Town . . .	402	410	426	540	550			
Scot's Hall . . .	77	67	68	67	86			
Accompong . . .	236	298	303	306	313			
	1031	1100	1164	1274	1334			

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 $1\frac{1}{10}$ per cent., and among the Maroons of $30\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.

V.—LAWS AND MANNERS OF JAMAICA ILLUSTRATED.

WE take up one of the latest numbers of the Royal Gazette of Jamaica, bearing the date of September, 1831, and we there find some pregnant proofs that all we have said of the general state of Society and of the miserably unprotected state of the negro population, is amply borne out by the ordinary every-day occurrences in that great Colony, containing a half of the West Indian slaves living under his Majesty's dominion.

1. Parochial Resolutions of Revolt.

We will commence our extracts with the resolutions unanimously agreed to "at a very numerous and respectable meeting of the inhabitants of the Parish of St. Ann's, convened by his Honour the Custos, on the 6th day of August, 1831." Of how many this numerous and respectable meeting consisted we are not told, but as the entire white population of the parish, including men, women, and children amounts only to about 700, and the women and children must be considered as *hors de combat*, the numbers could not have been very formidable not more certainly than 250, while the slaves in that one parish amount to 24,000. And yet the oligarchs seem to have been determined to make up in noise and bluster what they want in strength and real efficiency. The following are their resolutions, and they form a tolerably fair sample of the spirit in which the other parishes of the Island, each possessing the same average of force with which to make good their threats of resistance, have acted:—

"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 this expression of our sentiments, as well as those from other parishes, have been utterly disregarded, and, coupled with the marked neglect which the remonstrances of the House of Assembly have suffered, convince us that nothing is to be gained by further supplication or submission.

"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 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.

"Resolved, That we duly appreciate the good intentions of his Excellency the Governor, in the communication made by him from the Colonial Office to his honour the Custos, and this day laid before this Meeting; but past experience compels us to view it as another instance of a pledge from Ministers, which will never be redeemed, nor do we consider that they are disposed to stem the torrent of public clamour, which has been raised against the Colonies.

"That this Colony has already gone great lengths in ameliorating the condition of our slaves, in the spirit of the Resolutions of the British House of Commons of 1823, and that before going further we have a right to expect that his Majesty's Ministers should perform *their part*, by shewing in what manner the right of private property is to be considered.

"Resolved, That this Meeting considers it highly necessary and expedient, at the present alarming crisis, to act in unison with every Parish in the Island, and begs leave to recommend the immediate formation of Committees by the respective Parishes, from which one General Committee may be appointed, to meet in some convenient place, and draw up a Petition to his Majesty, humbly beseeching him to redress our grievances, and interpose his authority to prevent the violence and injustice with which we are threatened, and also to adopt such measures, in conjunction with the other Colonies, as the welfare of the whole may appear to require; and we do hereby invite the other Parishes to communicate with the Parochial Committee now to be chosen by this Meeting, for the furtherance of our common interests, and the protection of our lives and properties.

"Resolved, That the Magistrates, Vestrymen, and other inhabitants, now present, do pledge themselves to provide the funds necessary for carrying the foregoing Resolutions into effect.

"Resolved, That the Chairman be requested to sign the foregoing Resolutions, and that they be published one month in the County Papers of this island, in the John Bull, and in the Glasgow Courier.

"HENRY COX, Chairman and Custos of St. Ann's."

2. *Jamaica Justice and Lenity.*

We extract the following piece of intelligence from the Royal Gazette, which professes to have transcribed it from the Montego Bay Gazette, of the 20th August, 1831 :—

"A negro woman slave, belonging to Millennium estate, in this parish, (St. James's, the property of F. B. Gibbs, Esq.) came to the Police Office on Monday, to complain that her master had infringed the law, by insisting that she, the mother of eight children, and, therefore, 'given up by the country,' should still perform estate's labour. Her complaint and appearance, however, appeared distinctly at variance, she presenting, in the latter, any thing rather than the symptoms of having been overworked, or ill-treated. Their worships, nevertheless, after justly admonishing her, ordered a letter to be written to her

owner, advising him to excuse her from any other than light work. Having been repeatedly accused of reporting the decisions of the magistrates, in the determination of negro complaints, with an invidious intent, in justice to ourself, and in proof of our desire to be governed by the conscientious impulses of what we consider an imperative duty, we must say, that a more frivolous complaint than the one now adverted to, we never heard, and that our surprise was excited that it should have been passed over so leniently as it was. For the infliction of the lash in the correction of females, we are no advocates, but a little solitary confinement, or hard labour in the workhouse, we really consider would have proved a very necessary and wholesome corrective in this instance."

And yet this opinion is gravely given in a popular journal, and echoed in another popular journal, in the face of an Act of the Legislature of Jamaica, to the following effect:—

"And in order that further encouragement may be given to the increase and protection of negro infants, be it enacted, That every female slave who shall have six children living;" (this poor woman it seems had eight) "shall be exempted from all hard labour in the field or otherwise; and the owner of every such female slave shall be exempted from all manner of taxes for such female slave;" "and a deduction shall be made for all such female slaves from the taxes of such owner, by certificate of the justices and vestry; Provided, nevertheless, that proof be given on oath, to the satisfaction of the said justices and vestry, not only that the requisite number of children together with the mother are living, but also that *the mother is exempted from all manner of field or other labour*, and is provided with the means of an easy and comfortable subsistence."

In the face, however, of this clear and unambiguous enactment, Messieurs the magistrates repudiate the legal claim of this poor mother of eight children, and confine themselves to a mere recommendation to her owner that he would excuse her from any other than light work. The editorial organ of public opinion, however, reprehends the magistrates for their misplaced indulgence. He pronounces the application to be frivolous—the application of the mother of eight living children, to be relieved from labour, in strict accordance with the law of the land—and complains that she should not have been visited with the lash; (thirty-nine incisions of the cart-whip on the shamelessly bared body of the mother of eight children!!!) or with solitary confinement; or at least with a period of hard labour in the workhouse chain; as "a very necessary and wholesome corrective" for such unheard-of insolence, as having dared to make such an application, for, he says, "her appearance" exhibited "any thing rather than the symptoms of having been overworked or ill-treated."—The brute, that is to say, looked sleek and well-fed, and was in tolerable flesh.—As for her legal rights, they are of no estimation whatever in the eyes either of this Jamaica Editor, or of the magistracy of St. James's.—Is not this a case for the Secretary of State to investigate?

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 90.] NOVEMBER 30, 1831. [VOL. iv. No. 18.

- I.—REPORT OF THE INCORPORATED SOCIETY FOR THE CONVERSION, RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION, AND EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO SLAVES IN THE WEST INDIES, FOR THE YEAR 1829.
- II.—FOUR ESSAYS ON COLONIAL SLAVERY, BY JOHN JEREMIE, ESQ., LATE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL COURT OF ST. LUCIA.

I.—REPORT OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE CONVERSION, &c., OF NEGRO SLAVES FOR 1829.

IN our former Volumes we reviewed the Reports of this Society for 1827 and 1828. Our review excited the keen displeasure and called forth the loud vituperations of certain rash and injudicious friends of the Society, who ventured to deny the correctness of our statements, and to impugn our motives, and to load us with obloquy for having exposed, in their true colours, the vague, unsatisfactory, blinding and delusive representations, which its Governors were led, by an incautious and misplaced confidence in their Colonial correspondents, to publish, and to sanction by their high authority. The facts disclosed in the course of this controversy, and the triumphant defence of our statements against the assaults of the British Critic and Christian Remembrancer of that day are, doubtless, in the recollection of many of our readers, and we trust have issued in good. We must refer those, who take any interest in the subject, to the preceding pages of our work, and particularly to our first Volume, No. 13, p. 189; to our second Volume, No. 30, p. 33; No. 41, p. 309; Supplement to No. 44, p. 397; No. 47, p. 445; and No. 48, p. 469;—to our third Volume, No. 56, p. 167;—and to our present Volume, No. 76, p. 113 and 127; No. 85, p. 362, for information upon it.

We have now before us the Society's Report for 1829; and we shall proceed to give a brief analysis of its contents, and first of the account of the Society's proceedings in the Diocese of JAMAICA, containing a slave population of about 330,000; only premising that it is our intention to confine our view principally to what appears to have been done for the conversion and instruction of the *slave*, and not of the *free* population, following the Report, step by step, through the different parishes of the Island.

1. *Kingston*, (7,000 slaves.) A chapel of ease is building to contain 1,200 persons. As to schools, so utterly vague, notwithstanding our former admonitions and warnings, is the Report respecting them which is here given, that it is impossible to find out whether a single slave is taught to read in the whole parish. Woolmer's free school, with

its 240 scholars, is only for the *free*. There are five Sunday schools in which 450 are taught to read, but whether there are in them any, or if any, how many slaves, we are not informed. A *Branch* school of industry gives instruction to 100 children, but whether free or slaves does not appear. The principal school of industry contains 267 children, of whom 182 are free and 85 are slaves. They are divided into six classes, of which three appear to be taught to read; and the other three to be taught nothing but the Church catechism. For any thing that is stated to the contrary, every one of the 85 slaves who attend this school may belong to these latter classes. If this be unjust to the institution the fault lies with the reporters. The presumption, however, is strengthened by the tenor of its rules. The first rule is, that the school shall be "for the education of *poor* white, brown, and black children." The second prescribes, that "the education of the children shall be confined to reading and oral instruction; and that a portion of each day shall be devoted to learning some useful handicraft trade, under tradesmen appointed for the purpose;" which second rule was thus amended in February 1829. "All *free* children shall be instructed in writing and arithmetic, but *no slaves* without the permission of their owners." Another rule permits "all subscribers" of four dollars annually "to nominate children for education." Thus, then, the 85 slaves who attend may be taught for this trifling expense some handicraft trade, not for their own profit, but for that of their owner, and may, at the same time, be positively debarred by him from any other instruction or education but what is oral. The language of the report too confirms this presumption. The institution, it is said, "has been instrumental in the instruction of many *poor* children," *poor* being a term which, in the slave Colonies, is applied only to the *free*. Again, "a large proportion of those educated in this school are reflecting credit on the institution by the exemplary discharge of their duty in the stations which they fill." None of *these* can be slaves. In short, the whole account is *apparently* a studied sophistication of the plain facts of the case; we do not mean by the Governors of the Society, but certainly by their correspondents. —(pp. 4 and 45.)

The Governors complain, that they have not received that support from the friends and advocates of West India improvement, which they were led to expect. But what true friend or enlightened advocate of the reform of the slave system can conscientiously contribute to support such vague, uncertain, and ambiguous proceedings? It is vain to hope for it.

2. *St. Andrew*, (15,000 slaves.) We have given some account of the state of religious instruction in this parish in a late number of our work, (No. 76, p. 125.) The present report exhibits but slender marks of improvement. Almost all the good effected seems due to the zeal, not of the Conversion, but of the Church Missionary Society, aided by the laudable efforts of Mr. Wildman, the Proprietor of Papine estate. On another estate, Clifton Mount, belonging to Mr. Hamilton, the slaves are instructed by the overseer, under the superintendance of the Curate; but "a prejudice continuing to exist against ad-

mitting persons of colour on estates as teachers," in other words, a prejudice continuing to exist against religious instruction altogether; little seems to be doing, in this parish, even in the way of catechetical instruction. A chapel has been opened in the mountains which will contain 300 persons.

3. *St. George*, (12,000 slaves.) Here again the Church Missionary Society seem the efficient agents, both with the slaves and the Maroons. At the parish church the attendance (without specifying numbers) is said to have doubled, and a Sunday school for free and slave to be established. Two more chapels are projected, and three estates are visited by the Rector.

4. *Portland*, (8,000 slaves.) The Church Missionary Society seem also to be active in this parish, and "some of the children have made such progress as to enable them to become teachers of others, and thus to afford considerable assistance in disseminating religious knowledge." Thirteen estates, small and great, are visited by the Curates. The school for the Maroons, at Moore Town, seems promising. The attendance at church is said to be crowded to excess.

5. *St. David*, (7,500 slaves.) A chapel has been erected for 250, and about 100 children attend the Sunday school. The rector's report is said to be altogether favourable. And yet we find only three estates about to be placed under instruction, although the clergy are said to have free permission to visit and examine the children as often as they may think proper. The plan of appointing book-keepers instead of catechists to teach the children is here recommended; a plan which we shall hereafter consider.

6. *Port Royal*, (6,000 slaves.) Six estates are visited; and an advance in religious knowledge is said to have taken place: but there is an absence of all specification.

7. *St. Thomas in the East*, (24,000 slaves.) The Methodists had done much in this parish, before Mr. Trew and Mr. Stainsby commenced their labours among the slaves. And it must be admitted that their united exertions, for a time, gave a considerable impulse to the progress of religious instruction. The present report however exhibits symptoms of a very material decline in this respect. Mr. Panton the curate, and the Church Missionary Society, seem alone to stem the downward course of instruction as connected with the establishment. Mr. Archdeckne has erected and endowed a chapel on his estate of Golden Grove for 600 persons, entirely at his own expense. The number of slaves catechised on estates has fallen off from 3,600 to 1,320, and the Sunday school has declined from 140 to 80 of all ages. This "lamentable falling off," the Auxiliary Conversion Society of St. Thomas in the East very feelingly deplore. (p. 8, and p. 57.) They nevertheless carefully abstain from tracing out its real causes, except by referring to the want of funds. The real causes however lie much deeper. They are to be found in their studied avoidance of any open and manly exposure of the true obstacles to success; in their undue concessions to the prejudices of the planter; and in their fundamentally defective plans of instruction. While such a system is pursued they can obtain it is clear no effective sup-

port from the religious public in this country, and from them alone is any effective support to such a cause to be expected. To this hour the Auxiliary Conversion Society for St. Thomas in the East maintain that absolute and unbroken silence, respecting the almost total want of the sabbath for the slaves, which first excited our animadversions on their proceedings, and which has blighted; and will continue to blight every attempt they may make to extend the influence of Christianity, so long as they continue to say not one word for the honour and sacredness of the Christian sabbath. The Parent Society has indeed at length assumed a bolder tone on this question, and we rejoice in it. They permit the Rural Dean of the county of Surrey, in Jamaica, the Rev. Mr. Campbell to say, under their sanction, that "it is to be regretted, and must be confessed, that the profanation of the sabbath, generally, still continues to be the opprobrium of our community, and is the great obstacle to the increase of religion," p. 3.

8. *St. Catherine*, (7,500 slaves.) The Report from this parish has a reference chiefly to the free. Mr. Dallas the curate offered his services, by a circular, to the proprietors, but with one exception they rejected the offer. He has commenced, however, a Sunday school for reading, at which 97 attend, 56 of whom are slaves. A catechist institution, by which we presume is meant an institution for training catechists, has been formed, which bears on its list 308 names, but of whom only 30 attend on week days, and 50 on Sundays. In this institution the singular rule is adopted of confining the master of it to "oral instruction:"—a most ingenious device for training teachers to teach nothing. This restraint, the report hopes, will soon be removed, and then it predicts that the institution will be more numerous attended. On four estates a few children are taught by fellow slaves who have been at the school of industry for ten months. These teachers of others, however, cannot possibly have themselves learnt to read in that time. Two of these estates belong to Lord Seaford, (p. 10,) a Governor of the Conversion Society; and the instruction is said to be daily at each, it being significantly added "but the plantation hours are not encroached upon." His lordship's agent takes care, that is to say, that none of the labour of his slave children shall be lost by his lordship's freak, for so he probably regards it, that they should be taught the Lord's prayer and the catechism.—And this is the report from the parish of *St. Catherine*, comprising Spanish Town the seat of the Government, and in the centre of which stands the House of Assembly, and the palace of Lord Belmore, the representative of his Majesty!

9. *Vere*, (7,500 slaves.) From this parish nothing is reported worthy of notice, excepting the laudable zeal of Mr. Wildman, on whose estate resides a catechist from the Church Missionary Society. The children who are all under his care, the report observes, "are remarkable for their proficiency in reading, and for their knowledge of the catechism compiled by Mr. Trew;" and all Mr. Wildman's arrangements bear "ample testimony to his earnest desire to promote religious knowledge among his slaves." And yet it is remarkable that the Bishop who, here and elsewhere, swells the report of his progress

with the details of the labours of the Church Missionary Society, has of late been pursuing towards its agents not the most friendly course.

Besides this, two proprietors and two attorneys of estates in Vere, (viz. Pusey Hall, Ashley Hall, Milk Spring, and Morelands,) express a *desire* to have their negroes instructed; and 35 persons attend a Sunday school and are taught to read.

10. *St. Dorothy*, (5,000 slaves.) The report from this parish is sufficiently meagre. Though the proprietors are held up as more generally alive to the necessity of affording their slaves religious instruction, yet all their efforts seem to end in utter abortion.

11. *Clarendon*, (17,000 slaves.) In this large parish we find only the same Mr. Wildman whom we have already more than once had occasion to eulogize, and a Mr. Pacifico, labouring effectively in the religious instruction of their slaves. The curates indeed speak of the growing disposition of the planting attorneys to introduce instruction generally, and even of the perceptible improvement that has taken place (according to the testimony of overseers) in the moral conduct of the slaves, in consequence of their (the curates) exertions with them. This testimony we do not count much upon, especially as we cannot find that the curates visit more than four of the estates. The chapel they say is well attended, and the Sunday school children make fair progress, but no particulars are given.

12. *St. Thomas in the Vale*, (12,000 slaves.) The report from this parish states that on 29 plantations about 885 children, and 484 adults receive instruction chiefly by means of book-keepers belonging to the estates; a plan which appears to have originated with the Rev. Mr. Barton, the rector of this parish, and to have met with favour not only from his superiors in the church but from the planters also. Doubtless, if instruction is to be conveyed to the slaves at all, this is precisely the plan which, on account of its incongruousness and inefficiency, the reluctant planters would prefer to any other. Care is taken, however, that it shall be the slave's own time and not that of the master which is appropriated to this mockery of religious instruction. The evening is devoted to it. The Bishop and some of his clergy highly eulogize this new invention—but for ourselves we must regard it as a death blow to the hope of diffusing either the knowledge or the practice of Christianity among the slaves.

In a former number of our present volume (No. 76, p. 124,) we have already briefly touched on this subject. After adducing the testimony of the Christian Record, a very able periodical work published in Jamaica itself, to the inefficiency of the general plan of catechetical instruction, as pursued in that island, we quoted the following passage:—"If then this species of oral instruction be useless in the hands of catechists appointed for the purpose, is it likely to be more effectual when employed by book-keepers? Are their habits of life calculated to give additional weight to the formularies of the church? If it were proposed, as a *general measure*, to employ them in teaching morality to the slaves, would not the proposition excite ridicule, at least, if not disgust? Are they the men competent to give instruction

in the principles of the Christian religion, which is the source of all pure morality?"

Now, however, this scheme, ridiculous and disgusting as it may have appeared when first projected, seems to be now actually adopted as a *general* measure, and is recommended and sanctioned by the bishop and many of his clergy. The editors of the *Christian Record* have deemed it incumbent upon them, therefore, to recur to the subject, and in the fifth number of that able and useful work, (published in January, 1831,) we have a very powerful exposure of its injurious tendency, from which we shall now make a few extracts. The writer exhibits it as a system "which under a show of 'facilitating the instruction of slaves,' is likely to undermine and destroy the slight and very defective structure which the friends of religion have hitherto been able to erect for this purpose. So great are the difficulties, and so strong the prejudices, which we have to encounter, in forming and executing our plans; and so eagerly will those, with whom we have to contend, catch at any substituted schemes, which appear less effective, and therefore less obnoxious, that it is the duty of every man, whose heart is right in the cause, to raise his voice against this pernicious system, calculated only to blind and to deceive. I mean the system of teaching the Church Catechism by Book-keepers."

The difficulty with which even a well-instructed English child can be made to comprehend the Catechism of the Church, is well known to all who have been engaged in the task. What then is to be expected in the case of the negro child? "Suppose him," says the writer, "to be so well instructed as 'to be able to repeat the Catechism from beginning to end,' so little is he able to comprehend its language, that, instead of having gained spiritual knowledge, he will merely have learnt to repeat by rote a certain set of words without meaning. And this is by no means the only, nor the worst, mischief that will have been done. He will have learnt to attach inadequate or improper meanings, or perhaps no meaning at all, to words, in which the doctrines of religion, and the way of salvation, are afterwards to be explained to him. Thus, the teaching of the catechism, instead of being, as it is intended to be, an assistance, will rather be found a hindrance, to the clergyman in his addresses from the pulpit. His instructions and exhortations will, in consequence of the frequent recurrence of a certain jingle of words, to which the catechumen has been accustomed, carry little more meaning with them than the tinkling of a cymbal.

"It may be said, that this is equally true of every catechism, in which the doctrines of religion are taught. It certainly is true, to a certain extent, of every compilation of that nature; but a simple catechism, expressed in plain language, and requiring little explanation, would obviously be more suitable. It would be impossible, perhaps, to compile one requiring no explanation; and, if it were possible, I do not think explanation should be dispensed with, since it excites attention, and tends to impress more deeply the religious truths to be conveyed."

“Is it right, then,” he asks, “to select book-keepers as a proper channel for conveying the spirit of religion, who manifestly do not feel, in most cases do not even understand it themselves? Consider for a moment the general character of this class.—Are they persons from among whom any father of a family, who had a regard for the spiritual welfare of his children, would select their religious instructor? The bare supposition is sufficiently absurd: it requires no answer. For, be it remembered, that I am not speaking of individuals, but of a class. There may be individual exceptions—there may be some among them fit for this responsible office—and I hope there are; but that is by no means their general character. To suppose a father, such as I have mentioned, having no particular knowledge of any individual to guide him, turning to that class as the most likely to afford him such an instructor, would be to suppose a man bereft of common sense. Then why should we *select those* as instructors of our negroes, whom it would be madness to choose as instructors of our children? Men are in the habit of supposing that *any one* can become a teacher of religion. But let us judge by analogy. Should we give credit for any thing, but arrogance and presumption, to the man who should propose to teach a science or a trade, with which we saw him to be unacquainted?

“By parity of reason, a teacher of morality must himself be moral. What is precept, when opposed by example? How apt are we to confound the teacher with his doctrine! When it is our own lot to be placed under the spiritual guidance of one, whose character we do not respect, how loth are we to attend his ministry?—How frequently do we mingle with our disapprobation of his conduct, a distaste for his doctrines, though we may know them to be correct? If we then, with all our pride of judgment and discrimination, are guilty of this inconsistency, we surely ought not to expect from the negro, who, we know, possesses extraordinary quickness of perception in discovering the faults and the failings of those who are placed over him, a greater power of discriminating between them and the correctness of the lesson than we ourselves evince.

“A teacher of doctrines, so unpalatable to worldly men, as are those of the Gospel, should be independent of all but spiritual superiors. Even clergymen are too often afraid to bear a plain testimony, lest they should give offence. What then is to be expected from the book-keeper, who is so much under the command of the overseer? His bread—his character—in his *to him* MORE IMPORTANT profession, depend greatly on his retaining the good will of his overseer. The overseer then, if he is unfriendly, has it in his power to render nugatory the few efforts he may be inclined to make. This is no imaginary case, but one which I know is of frequent occurrence.

“It is highly desirable that a teacher should never appear *in any other light* before his pupils, as they must lose much of their respect for him, when they see him in a less dignified situation. Now, the book-keeper does constantly appear in another character, and in lights by no means calculated to increase the respect or affection of the negroes. He is the watch upon their actions—the informer

against their faults and misdeeds; and, consequently, the frequent cause of their detection and punishment."

Such is the book-keeper system, which has obtained the patronage of the Bishop of Jamaica, and through him of this Society! And can it be wondered at that the friends and advocates of negro improvement should not support and countenance such a system by their contributions? Few, if any, of these pretended instructors of our enslaved brethren in the word and ways of God are to be found who are not living in the open and notorious violation of the laws of chastity, and of the sanctity of the Lord's day; and yet these are the men to whom the Bishop of Jamaica and his brethren of the Conversion Society intrust the exposition and inculcation of the scriptural faith, and the Christian practice, taught and enjoined by the formularies of the Church of England. These things ought not so to be; and we conjure the Governors of the Society not to be led, by ill-advised representations from abroad, any longer to yield to such a system the sanction of their high authority.

13. *St. Mary* (25,000 slaves.) The congregation at chapel increases, and the curate visits six estates. The maroons at Scott's Hall are instructed by a catechist.

14. *St. Ann* (24,000 slaves.) This is the parish of the Rev. Mr. Bridges. The congregation increases at a chapel; nothing is said of the parish church: another chapel is building, and a third is projected.

15. *St. John* (6,000 slaves.) A chapel is building; and the book-keeper system is partially adopted by the rector.

16. *Trelawney* (26,000 slaves.) "The island curate *has visited*" 11 plantations. A school (it is not said by whom attended) which teaches reading, makes slow progress. A chapel is projected.

17. *St. Elizabeth* (18,000 slaves.) Until chapels are erected, temporary places are licensed for worship. The curate bears testimony to the improved moral state of the negroes, but it is not obvious whence it can arise. No particulars are given.

17. *St. James* (24,000 slaves.) There are two reports from this parish, why we know not. One states in vague terms that one or more chapels are projected; that "*every facility* is given to the curate for visiting estates; and that children are brought on Sunday to church to be catechised." And yet the number instructed on estates during the year is only 126, and at church 99, (p. 17.) The other report speaks of the parish church being improved, a chapel projected, and three estates, besides Lord Seaford's, being visited by the island curate. A catechist attends two estates; he "has hitherto met with little encouragement, though the rector has offered him to all the proprietors," (p. 19.)

19. *Hanover* (22,000 slaves.) Attendance in church "has much increased." Two new chapels are projected. *Twenty* children, of whom some (it is not said how many) are slaves, are instructed by a Mr. Clarke in reading, writing, and arithmetic. In a Sunday-school "the number of slaves learning to read, of whom *two* are taught arithmetic and writing, has been doubled in the year:" (this may be 20

or 200.) An evening school for slaves (the master's time is too precious) meets twice a week, and are "taught the church catechism and the use of letters," (p. 20.)

20. *Manchester* (17,000 slaves.) The report from this parish is taken up by the Bishop in liberally recommending the zeal of the United Brethren to the imitation of his own clergy. "Their number," he says, "is small: I heartily wish their establishment were more numerous and more efficient."—The curate attends two estates, and the Rev. Mr. Stainsby instructs the negroes at his house till schools are formed. He says that, generally speaking, slave marriages are not opposed, "unless the parties belong to different properties. The state of the whole population, however," he adds, "whether slave or free is, in this respect, degraded and degrading to an awful extent."

We have omitted the occasional notices of the increase of marriages which this report contains, as they are not very specific. They are usually accompanied however with a qualification that marriage is not favoured by the master, without whose permission it cannot take place, unless the parties belong to the same estate. Now this is a great evil. It is notorious that great numbers of slaves living, on separate estates, are connected together, and have families. And yet, the owners of these slaves oblige them to continue in lawless concubinage even when they are willing and perhaps conscientiously desirous to be united, in Christian wedlock, with the mothers of their children or the objects of their attachment, merely because the estates on which they respectively labour may be a mile or two distant from each other.

21. *Westmoreland* (21,000 slaves.) The report from this parish is of the usual general but vague tenor as to improvement and attendance at church and chapel, and in Sunday-schools. Mr. Fidler, the curate, teaches the free school, which engrosses his time so much (there being 187 scholars,) that he can no longer visit any estates.

Having thus gone over the whole of the Jamaica report, and pointed out some of the circumstances which sufficiently account both for the Society's want of success, and for its want of support, we proceed to the diocese of BARBADOES AND THE LEEWARD ISLANDS.—The Bishop transmits to the Society the copy of a circular letter addressed to his clergy, in which he conveys to them his views of their pastoral duties, but we presume it is only a supplement to former charges. He recommends to them, among other things, a more frequent and unrestricted intercourse with the slaves; and he adds, "With respect to the master, I am unwilling to anticipate any objection on his part to the freest intercourse between his people and their lawful spiritual advisers." And can the Bishop say this with perfect sincerity, after his experience of five years in the West Indies, or even consistently with some parts of this report?

The Bishop has also transmitted sixteen reports of subsidiary societies, but with the exception of two that are auxiliary to the Conversion Society, they seem all intended for the *free* and not for slaves.

1. *Barbadoes* (82,000 slaves.) The report from this island is as melancholy as can well be conceived. The promises of former reports

are so far from being realised, that the state of things seems to have rapidly deteriorated in 1829, notwithstanding the Bishop's solemn warning, in his consecration sermon, against "continuing to turn the Lord's day into a day of marketing and trafficking." The rector of St. Lucy, the persecuted Mr. Hart, complains still more heavily on this point. "Subordinate white servants," he observes, "as well as slaves, are employed, especially during the time of crop, in the business of the plantation to so late an hour of the Sunday morning as to prevent their attendance on public worship. The Sunday market, which *appeared* to be discountenanced in 1828, has been revived, during the year 1829, to such a degree that slaves are seen, during the greater part of the day, passing by the church with articles of traffic. *Sunday dancing* is promoted as a matter of gainful speculation by the individual who makes the necessary preparation for it, and is carried to an injurious extent. The dancing commences at an early hour in the afternoon, with flags flying, drums beating, and such a savage uproar, that a stranger would think himself anywhere rather than in a Christian land; and, every thing considered, nothing can be a more glaring violation of the Divine commandment—nothing can be more injurious to the morals of the younger slaves, especially the females—nothing can present more temptations to fraud, stealing, and every other vice than Sunday dancing, as it has been going on during the year 1829 among the slave population. This state of things is much to be regretted, as dances on the Sabbath are prohibited by law, and all marketable articles offered for sale on that day are liable to be seized," (p. 26.)

Here we have a fair sample of Colonial legislation! The laws are made to blind England, not to reform the West Indies. It is not for us to connect this awful state of combined iniquity and hypocrisy, this mockery of law divine and human, with the awful calamity which has recently befallen this Island; but surely neither the clergy nor the planters of Barbadoes ought to disconnect them.

With the exception of an affecting detail, given by Mr. Hart, of a Christian negress, belonging to his congregation, cut off by consumption at an early age, we find little in the report to relieve the gloom of the foregoing exhibition of the moral state of this Colony. We hear indeed of two or three new chapels; of *several* estates where instruction is daily given to the children; of increased attendance at church; and of the improved observance of the Sabbath. But is not such vague general description greatly at war with the admitted facts of this opprobrious case, and at best but a slender compensation for it?

2. *Antigua and Barbuda*, (30,000 slaves). A long report from an auxiliary of the Conversion Society in this Island enters into much detail; and, while it exhibits a considerable decline in the schools previously established, seems to reproach the Church Missionary Society as the cause of that decline, for having *unexpectedly* withdrawn its funds from their support. We cannot admit the fairness of this insinuation. The Moravians and Methodists had long laboured successfully, in the conversion and instruction of slaves in this Island,

before the Church of England had thought of caring for their souls. A single missionary was after a time sent thither by Bishop Porteus, then President of the Conversion Society. He was a quiet, inoffensive, and somewhat timid man, anxious mainly to gain the good-will of the planters, and to avoid all collision with them. He married a lady of the Island, and thus became an owner of slaves, a circumstance which could not fail to influence his feelings, and his tone, on the subject of slavery and its adjuncts, Sunday profanation, concubinage, &c. &c. At a later period the Church Missionary Society entered on this field of service, and supported schools at considerable expense, which flourished under the teachers they selected. All of these who were really efficient, were more or less attached to the Methodist body, among whom most of them had acquired their religious impressions, and the zeal and piety which qualified them for usefulness as teachers. When the Bishop arrived out in 1825, he issued a set of rules for the teachers of all the schools in which his episcopal authority was recognized, but the most efficient instructors of the Church Missionary Society's schools generally refused to subscribe to them. The Bishop adhered to his rules, and some of the teachers therefore withdrew. Persons were substituted who were not very fit for the office they undertook, and some of whom were said to be even openly immoral in their lives.* The Church Missionary Society pressed, on the one side, by their episcopal allegiance, and on the other, by a conscientious reluctance to employ their funds in maintaining teachers whom they could not approve, quietly withdrew from this scene of action, and left their schools with the Bishop and his Archdeacon, by whom they were undertaken; but they soon fell off.—Now we cannot greatly blame the Church Missionary Society for the line they thought it proper to pursue. We confess we should have acted differently; we should have acted as they themselves have done with success on another somewhat similar occasion; they should have appealed to the Government on this undue and unseasonable interference of episcopal authority, and their flourishing schools might have continued to flourish. We trust, however, that wiser and more discreet counsels are beginning to operate in Antigua; and we observe with great satisfaction that Mrs. Cable and others, formerly employed by the Church Missionary Society, have been restored to efficiency under the Bishop, notwithstanding their leanings to Methodism. On the whole therefore, we trust, that things may revive under the Rev. Mr. Holberton, (the new Archdeacon) who appears to act with much zeal and judgment, while he complains of the grievous obstacles which impede his progress. He has commenced a plan of employing, on the estates, under his own superintendence, slaves who have themselves learnt to read, and are in other respects worthy of the trust, to instruct their fellows; a plan which will also give permanence to instruction at a small cost, as it will no longer depend on the supply of *white* catechists; and not be necessarily so much interrupted, as it has hitherto painfully

* See Vol. ii. No. 41, p. 325, and the supplement to No. 44, p. 404.

been by the season of crop. It is obvious that if this plan of employing instructed slaves, capable of reading well, and who are themselves under the influence of religion, to instruct their fellow slaves, should be generally adopted, improvement may advance at a much more rapid rate than heretofore.

Mr. Holberton, however, speaks of the unhappy continuance of the Sunday market. This was in 1829, before the iniquitous act had passed, which forbade markets on Sunday, but gave no other day for them. The Sunday market was held just beneath his church, and it operated as a strong temptation to draw off many who would otherwise attend the school and the worship at church on that day. And this strange approximation of church and market seems not to have been confined to this parish. In others the market is stated almost to adjoin the church, and, both having been held on the same day and at the same hours, the fact sufficiently explains one grand cause of clerical failure. But how came the clergy to be so long silent on the subject?—Another great hindrance to the progress of instruction is, that the slave children are only allowed either their noontide interval of labour, or the evenings after the toil of the day is over, in which to receive it. No time on which the proprietor has a claim is in general appropriated to this object. “We have in fact no choice of time. We must either take the evening, or let the work alone.” p. 32. Such is the language of the report;—and that under such circumstances the slaves should still attend instruction is no feeble proof of their intense desire for it. The report speaks of the great increase of marriages, but when we look to particulars we find only fourteen in the year.

A hopeful commencement of instruction appears to have been made among the slaves at Barbuda, a dependency of Antigua.

We have omitted such parts of this report as have no reference to the slaves but only to the *free*; not that we do not take an interest in the free as well as in the slave population, but *our* peculiar object, as an Anti-Slavery Society, is the extinction of slavery.

3. *St. Christopher*, (19,000 slaves). The part of the Report which relates to the slave population of this island consists chiefly of catechetical visits to the estates. The Committee, indeed, of the *St. Christopher's* auxiliary admit, very candidly, that “they cannot in so many words define the benefits which arise from this mode of instruction; yet they are persuaded it is tacitly effecting much good in *those estates on which it is most regularly maintained, especially when conducted by the Rector, or a person in holy orders.*” We are not told of how many estates these conditions may be predicated. Three only are mentioned in which the proprietors have established schools where the younger children are allowed to attend during any of the customary hours of labour. About fourteen marriages of slaves have taken place in this Island also.

4. *Montserrat*, (6,000 slaves). This Island seems in a state of great destitution as to church room, though the slaves are said to evince a great disposition to attend divine service. There are several Sunday schools.

5. *Nevis*, (9,000 slaves). Here also we hear of the want of church

room. In the Sunday schools all, whether adults or children, are taught to read. This seems creditable to Nevis; but not a word is said of the number of slaves attending. It is probably very small, as the report contains the following remark, "The state of the slaves is such as to demand a close attention upon the estates, before reformation, to any considerable extent, can be expected; and catechetical assistance is greatly needed."

6. *Tortola*, (5,000 slaves). The only remark we have to make respecting this Island is, that there having been here no place of worship, nor minister of the Established church until a late period, we are told that "the number of slaves separated from the church is greater in the Virgin Islands, than in any other of this diocese." In other words, the Methodists have been zealously supplying in Tortola the church's lack of service, and have succeeded in converting a large proportion of its slave population, while the church of England was asleep. But is this case peculiar to Tortola? Might not nearly similar language have been employed, with equal truth, as to Nevis, Montserrat, Antigua, St. Kitts, Grenada, St. Vincents, &c. &c.? Without the efforts of Methodists and Moravians Christianity would have been almost as much unknown to the Negroes, in those British Islands, at the period of the Bishop's appointment, as it now is in Japan.

7. *St. Lucia*, (13,000 slaves). No Protestant church has yet begun to be erected.

8. *St. Vincent*, (24,000 slaves). The Report amounts to *Nil*.

9. *Grenada*, (27,000 slaves). The Report from this Island gives no information that is definite as to the progress of instruction among its 27,000 slaves; but, in the dearth of religious intelligence, it steps aside to tell the public of the improvements in the temporal condition of the slaves. "By the Consolidated Slave Bill in this Colony, the use of the whip in the field is abolished; nor is it suffered to be carried or used by the driver *under any circumstances*." Now this statement has not even truth to recommend it. The exact words of the enactment to which this clergyman so confidently alludes will be found in our first Volume, No. 11, p. 159, and will be seen to be a mere evasion of the object professed to be secured. The Governors of the Society ought to have known better than to have given currency to this misrepresentation, the adoption of which is an additional indication of the prevalence among them of the Colonial feeling we formerly ventured to impute.

10. *Tobago*, (12,000 slaves). Some progress is said to be making in the work of instruction, but it would seem to be very slow; and except in one case, we hear nothing of the *measures*, but only of the *dispositions*, of proprietors, to do something in future years towards that object. In the one excepted case thirty-four children are taught, (quere daily?) and on Sunday, the old and young are instructed both morning and evening, (quere, how many?)

11. *Demerara*, (70,000 slaves.) The church of St. John has been opened. A Sunday School has been established in St. Swithin, and "a desire is manifested to hear the word of God;" but the negroes attend irregularly. In St. Matthew a dwelling-house has been tem-

porarily fitted for Divine service, capable of holding 600, and the Rector, the Rev. L. Strong, has been permitted to use another dwelling-house, 15 miles higher up the river, for lecturing to the numerous free people on its banks.

12. *Bermudas*, (5,000 slaves.) The Archdeacon, Mr. Spencer, makes, on the whole, a favourable report of progress in these islands. A Branch Association has been formed "to encourage and promote, by all advisable means, the moral and religious instruction of the slaves and coloured population in the Colony." This would all have been well, had not the Governors of the parent Society chosen to obtrude, rather ostentatiously, upon the public notice, the speech delivered on this occasion by the venerable Archdeacon, who, "with that graceful deportment and persuasive eloquence which are so peculiarly and emphatically his own, addressed the highly respectable assembly that was present." An extract from his speech will explain the ground of this flattering compliment.

"It has been contended," said the venerable Archdeacon, "that to give to a slave the knowledge and the aspirations of a Christian, is to incapacitate him for a state of slavery, and to render him dissatisfied with his lot. Gentlemen, if this were really fact—if Christianity were so utterly and absolutely opposed to slavery as to be, by no means and under no circumstances, reconcilable to it, I should not hesitate to declare, that, as Christian men anxious to promote the kingdom of our blessed Lord, we should no longer be at liberty to deliberate on the matter, but we should be constrained, by every obligation of our common faith, to give the Gospel to the poor, though the gift should be necessarily accompanied with a full, free, immediate, and unqualified emancipation. Fortunately, however, for both parties concerned, this is not a correct statement of the case. Christianity and slavery have long co-existed; they grew together in the times of our Saviour and his Apostles, and the writings of the latter contain numerous and excellent instructions for the conduct both of master and slave, under that relationship. The most sanguine of the abolitionists are so well convinced of this fact, that, far from wishing to christianize the slave as a probable step to his manumission, they are generally opposed to his education, because they well know that, in exact proportion to his improvement, will be the diminution of that powerful interest now excited among a large class of people of England for compulsory, and, I had almost said, unjust emancipation.

"Gentlemen, let us only detach the question of education from the question of emancipation, and we shall see our way more clearly through the clouds which prejudice has spread around us. My own prepossessions, feelings, principles, are all strong against the state of bondage which prevails throughout a great portion of the world; but, finding the evil too large and deeply rooted to be eradicated, I am content that it should be mitigated. Situated as the colonies are, if I could with a breath pronounce freedom to every slave in the West Indies, I would withhold the utterance of that breath, from a conviction that, in his present state of mental degradation, liberty would

be to him, instead of a boon and a blessing, a burden and a curse. All that we propose is, to alleviate the hardship of his lot by that kind consideration for his welfare which characterises the people of this colony; and by giving to him that spiritual knowledge and spiritual liberty to which he has an undoubted claim, and wherewith his and our Saviour *hath made him free.*

“In adverting to the special objects of this Association, I would briefly suggest that the instruction which we communicate to the slaves should be purely of a moral and religious character, and should be bestowed preferably on the young. *If writing be objected to, I would be willing to give it up, as not essential to our grand object; if adults may not be spared from their daily labours, I would be content that our schools should be occupied by their children.* By proceeding in the reasonable and conciliatory course which the Scriptures themselves indicate, I have no doubt that we shall soon efface the prejudices of those among our adversaries who are so wise and candid as to be open to conviction; and from the opposition of the unreasonable and uncharitable we shall have little to dread.”

Now we must think that the doctrine of the venerable Archdeacon, respecting slavery, however suitable it may have been when delivered to an audience in the latitude of Bermuda, will hardly pass for orthodox in England. The Governors of the Society might therefore have spared the publication of this effusion of colonial zeal, were it only from regard to the interests of the charity. And not only is the Archdeacon's doctrine as unscriptural and heterodox, as its direct contrariety to the plain precept of Jesus Christ, “all things, whatsoever ye would that men should to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets,” can make it; but the venerable Archdeacon's concessions to colonial prejudices are, to the full, as liberal as the most zealous slave-holder could desire. But we have a still heavier complaint to bring against the venerable Archdeacon. It is that of having most unwarrantably calumniated his brethren. He has charged, and that untruly, “the most sanguine of the abolitionists,” with a wish that the slaves may not be christianized, founded on the basest of motives. Such a charge, in the case of any other person, less entitled to respect, we should pronounce to be a gross libel, a libel contradicted alike by the known character of the persons so libelled, and by their large and liberal contributions to every honest, and judicious, and scriptural effort for the moral and religious improvement of the enslaved negro. Can he have read the writings of Mr. Wilberforce, or of Mr. Stephen, for example? Or does he exclude them from the list of sanguine abolitionists; or if he does not, will he dare to include them in his charge? Let him consider what they and their associates have done for the Crown slaves in Berbice! Let him consider their early, zealous, and unceasing efforts, still perseveringly exerted, to secure a Christian Sabbath to the slave! Let him look at their support of the West Indian missions of the Methodists, and of the United Brethren! Let him further examine the names attached to the lists of the Church Missionary Society, a late but still an effective labourer in this corner of the Christian vineyard! And then let him

blush for his unworthy and unjust imputations.—And, not content with thus injuring and degrading them, as far as “his graceful and persuasive eloquence” could effect that object, he does not spare even His Majesty’s Government, but brands with the epithet of UNJUST that very measure of *compulsory* emancipation which they have deliberately devised and adopted, and which they have pledged themselves to parliament and the public to carry into effect in all the colonies belonging to the Crown. No body of Governors, not tainted with colonial feelings and interests, could have given their *imprimatur* to such a speech as this. It is a death blow to every hope of that “support” which they so much desiderate, and of the want of which they so feelingly complain, “from the friends and advocates of West Indian improvement.”

But why, it may be asked, do we thus visit, with the severity of our animadversions, this particular Society? Why do we overlook the reports of other and similar bodies? Are there no defects in the proceedings of the Church Missionary Society; of the Missionary Society of the United Brethren, of the Methodists, of the Baptists, and of the London Missionary Society? These, however, at least, are not sustained, as this is, by any grants of public money. Neither the Moravian bishops, nor the ministers and catechists of the Methodists, and Baptists, and Independents, nor yet those of the Church Missionary Society, are paid from the public purse, nor are *their* churches or chapels reared, in any measure, at the public expense. We therefore have a right to scrutinize somewhat more closely the proceedings and the pretensions of this particular Society than those of the others. At the same time we have not been backward in time past, nor shall we be backward in time to come, in animadverting freely on any deviation from the right path, of which they may also be guilty, in the conduct of their great and sacred undertaking. We have already more than once warned some of them of their unfaithfulness, in not boldly denouncing the obstacles which mar their usefulness and impede their Christian progress; in yielding too much to their fears; and conceding too much to colonial feeling and colonial prejudice in their high and holy warfare; and we hope not without effect. We again call upon them to bear in mind the awful responsibilities of their undertaking; to rise superior to the abject fear of man; and to consider singly what their duty to God, and to the Saviour whose kingdom they have solemnly bound themselves to promote, requires at their hands. We shall, ere long, resume the subject, and particularly notice the Report of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which has only reached us as this sheet was going to press.

II.—“FOUR ESSAYS ON COLONIAL SLAVERY, BY JOHN JEREMIE, ESQ. LATE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL COURT OF ST. LUCIA.”

WE have barely space to announce the appearance of this truly seasonable and excellent production, which throws a flood of fresh light on the actually existing state of Slavery in the West Indies. It is published by Hatchard and Son.

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 91.] FOR DECEMBER, 1831. [VOL. iv. No. 19.

- I.—REPORT OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, FOR 1830.
- II.—REPORT OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS, FOR 1830.
- III.—PRESIDENT JEREMIE'S FOUR ESSAYS ON COLONIAL SLAVERY.
- IV.—CONVENTION WITH FRANCE FOR ABOLISHING THE SLAVE TRADE.

I.—REPORT OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

IN our last number we reviewed the Report of “the Society for the Conversion, Religious Instruction, and Education of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies.” The Report now before us is that of a Sister Society so closely connected with the former, that the portion of it which relates to the slaves in the West Indies, (that alone to which we mean to direct the reader’s attention,) may be considered as a short abstract of the Conversion Society’s report, being derived from nearly the same sources. The general tenor of the two being thus substantially identical; our notice of this one need be but brief.—After stating that they had received “*ample proof of the rapid progress of Christian knowledge (in Jamaica,) especially among the coloured and negro population,*” and that the demand, consequent on this progress, for bibles, prayer-books, &c. was great, the Society tell us that, “this demand seems to have arisen, *in a great measure,* from the success which has attended the measures which have been taken for educating the slave population, especially that for instructing them by means of the book-keepers and catechists on the estates.”—This would imply that the book-keepers and catechists were employed in teaching the plantation slaves to *read*; for otherwise it is not obvious how *their* teaching could have increased, *in any great measure,* the demand for books. But are book-keepers and catechists generally employed, or even permitted, to teach the slaves to read? The very contrary stands *proved* in our last number. If this fact be denied, let the plantations be named on which *reading* is taught to the slaves by either book-keepers or catechists, and let the number of slaves on such plantations, so taught, be given. But, indeed, the Appendix to this very Report is decisive on the point. The only return we find in it is from the Deanery of Middlesex, containing eight of the twenty-one parishes into which the island is divided, and there, it is expressly stated, that the instruction given by the book-keepers is *oral*.

On the pernicious effects of the system of employing book-keepers as organs of religious instruction, and especially of such instruction

orally conveyed, we have said so much in our last number that it seems unnecessary to add one word upon it. We cannot, however, quit it without expressing our regret that the Society for promoting Christian knowledge should have been induced, by the representations of their colonial correspondents, to give it their sanction. We have already assigned our reasons, and we need not now repeat them, for regarding the plan which has been thus sanctioned as much more calculated, generally speaking, to impede than to promote the diffusion of sound moral and religious knowledge, and, still more, of correct moral and religious practice, among the slaves.

Since the Report of the Conversion Society was reviewed in our last number, our attention has been called to an article in the Christian Record of Jamaica, (for April 1831, No. 8,) which remarkably confirms all the observations we have ventured to make upon it, and even goes beyond us, in depreciating the good effected, among the slaves, by means of that Society. The Editor exhibits, among other things, a document which, if it be true, is decisive on the subject; and he boldly challenges an investigation of its correctness. It is a detailed and specific enumeration of the slaves in Jamaica, who, in 1829, were receiving a "lettered and effective education," "in connection with the established church;" and it amounts on the whole, out of a population of 330,000, to 601, "of whom 391 are educated by the Church Missionary Society, and 210 by the bishop and the rest of the establishment." That is to say, for an annual sum of about 9,600*l.* expended from the public purse on the ecclesiastical establishment of Jamaica, aided by the funds of the Societies for the Conversion of Slaves and for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 210 negro slave-children are being taught letters, so as to be put in the way of being able to read their bibles!

There is also in the same able work a paper on the proceedings of the last mentioned Society which peculiarly claims the attention of that venerable body, as well as that of its ally. In particular, the editor recurs again to that "book-keeper system," which we have ventured to reprobate. "Whilst on the one hand," he says, "the bishop and his dignified clergy have been strenuous in urging the necessity of all school-masters and catechists for the negroes being placed under episcopal authority, a considerable number of book-keepers are now employed in giving instruction, *entirely independent of it*, whose moral conduct, for the most part, is utterly detestable; that is to say, *if cursing and swearing, whoredom, drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, &c., are detestable.*" "These are the characteristics, we fearlessly repeat, of the greater number of those who, under this system, are employed in the instruction of the slaves; and we as unwaveringly assert, that to expect any thing from such instructors, save contempt of religion, would be like expecting to 'reap grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles.'"

The venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, cannot too early, or too anxiously, attend to this and other suggestions directly addressed to them in this valuable publication.

The Editor of the Christian Record also traces the increase of

marriage among the slaves, to the progress, and to the influence of the instructions either of the Church Missionary Society, or of the Moravians, the Methodists, or other Dissenters; the performance of the *mere ceremony* of marriage being the work of the regular clergy, they alone being authorized by law to perform it.

Not a word is said in this report of the open disregard or gross profanation of the Sabbath, which still prevails almost universally throughout the West India islands.

II.—REPORT OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS, FOR 1830.

WE refer our readers to our second volume, No. 45, p. 416—427; No. 47, p. 457—461; and No. 48, p. 475—483; and to our third volume, No. 56, p. 170—174; for what has already passed respecting the plantations cultivated by slaves which are held in trust by this Society in the island of Barbadoes. It is with unfeigned satisfaction that we trace in their latest report, which now lies before us, decided symptoms of improvement in their system of management. The following are the resolutions which were unanimously adopted at a Meeting of the Society, on the 31st of January, 1831:—

“The Society, being desirous of affording all possible encouragement to the Slaves on the Codrington Estates to enter into lawful wedlock, and of connecting it with the great object of their gradual manumission, in order that their religious and moral conduct may lead the way to freedom, have adopted the following regulations: and their agricultural attorney will be instructed to do all in his power to give effect to their benevolent intentions:—

“1st. Slaves married according to the rites of the Established Church, and continuing to live together, to be entitled to exemption from compulsory labour one day in the week—such privilege to be forfeited by either party who may desert the other, or be guilty of immoral conduct.

“2d. All Slaves to be allowed to purchase one or more days' exemption from compulsory labour, until they are completely enfranchised: every encouragement to be given them to employ such day or days with profit and advantage to themselves. The time of exemption from labour thus granted to, or purchased by, married women, to be so distributed as best to promote domestic habits and the comforts of their families.

“3d. A man and his wife to be permitted to purchase their joint freedom, for one or more days, at two thirds of the price which would be paid for the freedom of the two if separately purchased.

“4th. Freedom, so purchased, to be transmitted as an inheritance, to all the children born in lawful wedlock.

“5th. Manumissions to be granted from time to time to such Slaves as shall have recommended themselves to favourable notice by continued good conduct; preference, in case of equally good conduct, being given to those who have purchased for themselves the greatest number of days.

“6th. Task labour by the Slaves on the estate to be adopted as

far as is practicable, and returns to be made quarterly to the Society of the extent to which this measure has been carried, and of its results.

“7th. Although it appears that the use of the whip in the field, and as an instrument of female punishment, has already been discontinued on the Society’s estates, and that offences are punished by moderate confinement, it is thought right to direct in express terms, first, that the whip shall not be carried into the field as a stimulus to labour, or as an emblem of authority; and secondly, that females shall in no case be punished by whipping.

“8th. The manager to insert in a book, kept for the purpose, an account of every punishment, the age and sex of the Slave, the time and place of commission, the extent of punishment, by whom authorised and inflicted, and the witnesses present; an attested copy of the book to be transmitted half yearly to the Society through the Bishop of Barbadoes.

“9th. The Slaves never to be removed from the estate by sale.

“10th. Writing and arithmetic, as well as reading, to form part of the customary instruction in the schools on the estate.

“11th. With a view to provide a safe place of deposit for the savings of the Negroes, the agricultural attorney to be directed to take measures for the establishment of a Savings’ Bank under the guaranty of the Society.” (p. 167.)

To these resolutions are annexed in the Report the following observations:—

“Such are the chief provisions which have been made for the moral and religious improvement, and for the gradual emancipation of the Slaves on the Codrington Estates. Many of them, it should be remembered, are now in operation, and the Society are fully pledged to carry the whole of them into effect, and to adopt, from time to time, such further measures as may be likely to accelerate the complete emancipation of the Slaves. They are willing to hope, that they may thus be made an instrument of extensive and permanent benefit to all classes of their West Indian fellow subjects, both by the measures which they themselves adopt, and by the example afforded to others, of an honest endeavour to satisfy the claims of humanity and religion, and to qualify the Slave for the great blessing of freedom, by lessons which may also prepare him for everlasting happiness in heaven. The Society are resolved to proceed in the discharge of their duty upon these principles and with these intentions, and look with humble confidence for the Divine blessing upon their honest endeavours.” (p. 169.)

Had these resolutions, and the observations which accompany them, been all that this report contained, on the subject of the Society’s slaves, we should have contented ourselves (while we overlooked any dubious or questionable provisions) with expressing our satisfaction generally in witnessing such an advance towards the adoption of sounder principles, and a more consistent conduct, on the part of this venerable body; and we should have abstained from the remarks which certain other passages in this Report compel us reluctantly to subjoin.

1. The first point to which we shall advert is *Marriage*. With

no disposition whatever to question the zeal of the venerable Society to promote marriage among their slaves, we still feel the want of some more distinct and specific details on this essential point. In a letter, indeed, from the Rev. J. Packer, the chaplain, dated July 8, 1830, we are told that on the 28th of May he had solemnized three marriages, and another on the very day he wrote, making a total of four; being all that we can discover to have *ever* taken place on these estates containing nearly 400 slaves. In another part of the same letter, Mr. Packer thus expresses himself: "The general attendance at chapel, I am concerned to say, on ordinary Sundays is not so full as could be hoped or expected; it is, however, not smaller than usual, and I look and pray for its increase. The congregations on festivals are always overflowing. There is one cheering circumstance—the congregation at evening service is larger than ever, and is principally composed of those who attend most constantly in the morning, so that what I may truly call my congregation is steady and constant; and among these are *many* of the *married* people, *some* of whom I am sure to see every Sunday morning and evening in their seats." (p. 161.)

Again, on the 30th of June, 1830, the Bishop of Barbadoes writes thus: "The Society will be happy to know that marriages are becoming more *frequent*. *Some* of the older and more influential people who had been long living together faithfully, set the example, and the younger are beginning to follow it." (p. 165.)

Now this language both of the bishop and of the chaplain would seem to imply that more marriages than three or four must have taken place before they wrote; and yet we cannot discover that a single marriage had ever occurred prior to the 28th of May, 1830, when three were solemnized, a fourth occurring only on the 8th of July after the bishop's letter was written. A list of all marriages with their dates would have obviated this ambiguity, and have been satisfactory to the subscribers.

2. There is the same vagueness and uncertainty as to the number of the slaves who attend divine service, or who are receiving, or have received, a sufficient degree of education, to enable them to read the Bible with intelligence. Such specifications could not fail to be gratifying to the public, especially as the Society, we rejoice to observe, state, that "they can show that the negro is capable of instruction, for they have instructed him; and that he is susceptible of the same devotional feelings, and may be brought under the controlling influence of the same divine laws, as ourselves." (p. 164.)

3. The venerable Society have thought it their duty, probably with a view to their own vindication, but, as we conceive, very gratuitously and unseasonably, to advance certain speculations of their own on the subject of colonial slavery, which we cannot altogether pass by without remark. "At once to enfranchise their slaves," they pronounce to be "a step which, they believe, would be followed by *more suffering and crime than have ever yet been witnessed under the most galling bondage*;" while, by making provision, as is now doing, "for their gradual emancipation; and by the introduction of free

labour into the Colonies," the Society will "afford an example which may lead to the abolition of slavery, without *danger to life and property.*" This example, it is further added, will "shew the planters how they may gradually enfranchise their slaves without *destruction to their property,*" while "to emancipate them suddenly and indiscriminately would only be to *injure the objects of our just and charitable solicitude.*" (p. 163, 164.)

Disposed as we are to give the venerable Society the very fullest credit for the sincerity of these sentiments, we must still take leave, with all deference and respect, to consider them to be not only uncalled for, but to be the result of prejudices which arise, in part, perhaps, from the peculiar circumstances in which they themselves have been, and are still placed; but which, we are quite sure, are at war both with the christian principles of their own institution, and with all the results of experience which are applicable to the case. It will not be necessary for us to repeat, in this place, the facts and the arguments which, in our third volume, No. 70, we have already adduced in support of a directly opposite conclusion,—but, referring the venerable Society to that article, we think we have a right to challenge them to produce a single proof, in support of their confident and unhesitating assumption, that the extinction of personal slavery, by law, and with the willing and concurrent consent of the master, will be productive of the disastrous effects they have chosen to ascribe to it. We know of no such evidence. We never have heard of such evidence; all the evidence indeed being the other way. We think therefore, that we may fairly call on them, and on all who would retard for a single day the deliverance of their fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects from bondage, to produce proof, if they can, which shall satisfy the public, and their own consciences, that an emancipation of slaves, (however "sudden and indiscriminate") proceeding from the legal authorities of the state, and not only unresisted, but cheerfully acquiesced in by the master, has ever, in any one instance, led either to public disorder, or to the unhappiness and discomfort of the slaves, or to the deterioration of their moral, intellectual, and political condition.

But not only are the venerable Society's views of this subject in direct and unwarranted contrariety to this last proposition, but they cast a severe censure on the conduct recently pursued by the Government of the very Monarch whom, in almost the same breath, they have been loyally addressing on his accession to the throne of his ancestors. Six months have scarcely elapsed since that Government, on a mature consideration of all the circumstances of the case, and of all the objections that had been urged against the measure, issued orders for the full and unqualified emancipation, *at once*, of about TWO THOUSAND slaves of whom it found itself unhappily possessed, and who were placed in circumstances infinitely less favourable than those of the slaves of the Propagation Society. On the point at issue, nothing can be more clear and explicit than the opinions expressed by Viscount Howick, speaking on the behalf of His Majesty's Government; and they form a singular contrast to those which are promulgated in the report before us. Instead of anticipating, with the Society, from such a measure

“*more suffering and crime than have ever yet been witnessed under the most galling bondage,*” *—instead of anticipating, with them, *danger and destruction to life and property*; his Lordship says, “I have stated sufficient facts to shew that it can be done with perfect security. I have not the least doubt that all these slaves will be able to maintain themselves without assistance, and that they will become useful members of the community to which they belong.” *Mirror of Parliament* of 17th August, 1831.

Now even had these speculative opinions, of the distinguished personages who govern this Society, been better founded than we have shown them to be, it would only have been respectful towards their royal patron, to have somewhat qualified their denunciations against a measure which his Majesty's ministers had adopted, and were at that very moment carrying into effect; and which, we may take for granted, those ministers would neither have proposed nor executed, but in the entire conviction that it would *not* issue in the destruction of life or property, or “*in more suffering and crime than had ever yet been witnessed under the most galling bondage.*”

Had not our remarks already extended to such a length, there still remain some minor points in this report, to which, and particularly to the occasional tone of the Bishop's communications, we should have thought it right to advert; but we forbear, as by this time our readers have sufficiently learnt to appreciate the value of eulogistic representations of the felicity which characterises Colonial Slavery, even when proceeding from the pen of a bishop, or of a bishop's secretary, on the other side of the Atlantic.

III.—MR. JEREMIE'S FOUR ESSAYS ON COLONIAL SLAVERY.

WE could do no more in our last number than announce the appearance of this highly important work. We propose, in this number, to make our readers better acquainted with both it and its author. He was appointed Chief Judge of the Royal Court of St. Lucia, in October, 1824. Up to that time he had never been led to give his thoughts to the question of slavery. As, however, he was going to fill an important station in a slave colony, he was induced to attend an Anti-Slavery Meeting which took place about that time; but here, he tells us, he was so struck with the absence of facts and evidence to establish the alleged iniquity of slavery, that the impression produced by his attendance was unfavourable to the cause of abolition. This was in 1824.—On reading over the recorded proceedings, however, of this very meeting, on his return to Europe in 1831, he states it as a singular circumstance that his views had been so greatly altered, by the intermediate experience he had had of slavery, that there was not a sentiment then uttered which he could not now fully adopt.—The error of Mr. Jeremie, in the first instance, was his misplaced expectation that, at a popular meeting of abolitionists, the whole chain of the

* Strong words these! The Society must indeed have formed very inadequate conceptions of what Colonial bondage has been, and still is.

evidence was to be exhibited which was necessary to convince one wholly uninformed on the subject of the real nature and effects of slavery. He ought to have been aware that the members of the Anti-Slavery Society had previously satisfied their minds on that point; and that they had now met, not to discuss or settle the evidence which had led them to join that Society, but to learn what progress had been made, or what hindrances had arisen, in the pursuit of their object; and to animate each other to perseverance in it. All those facts, with which Mr. Jeremie admits that he was still unacquainted, were familiar to them, and having been previously ascertained, were naturally assumed as the basis of their proceedings. When afterwards he himself had had an opportunity of witnessing the truth of their premises, which he then doubted or disbelieved, he no longer hesitated as to their reasonings or conclusions.—It would be thought very unreasonable in any one who should attend a meeting of a Bible Society in this country for the first time, were he to question the propriety of its object, merely because the members present did not enter on a full exposition of the evidence of the truth of the book they had united to circulate; this being a point on which their own minds had previously been made up. The case of this Anti-Slavery meeting was strictly parallel. The persons composing it required no proof as to the real nature and effects of Slavery: they had made up their minds on that point; and they had met, not to discuss its merits, but to co-operate in putting a period to its evils.

Thus prepossessed against the cause of the abolitionists, Mr. Jeremie repaired to St. Lucia, and there, for a time, what he saw and heard served to confirm his unfavourable prepossessions. He consulted, he tells us, the best colonial information; he even made a tour of the Island that he might see things with his own eyes, so as to ascertain for himself the actual condition of the slaves; and yet at the end of the first year of his residence, he was confirmed in his impression that the allegations of the abolitionists, respecting the general cruelties of the slave system, were downright misrepresentations; and this impression, which he scrupled not to avow officially, was laid on the table of Parliament.*

For the remarkable revolution which has since taken place in the views of Mr. Jeremie, on this subject, he then proceeds to account, and the whole of his statement is, as we shall see, highly instructive. But before we proceed to dwell upon it, it may be proper briefly to glance at some of the difficulties which such honourable and disinterested men as Mr. Jeremie are likely to encounter, in acquiring, even after a considerable residence in the Colonies, an adequate idea of the evils of slavery. We shall then be better able to appreciate those favourable views of the Colonial system which have frequently been given to the public by men filling the most eminent stations in society.

In the first place, as Mr. Jeremie well observes, (p. 5.) it was not until lately that “the slave enjoyed the liberty of freely communica-

* See our Second Volume, No. 29, p. 113.

ting with his protectors, or was invested with *any* of those rights which have rendered him, in *any* degree, independent of his manager." Again,—“With whom,” he asks, “do men of high rank and station associate; with the master or the slave; the merchant or the domestic? Whose hospitality do they share; in whose amusements do they partake; whose assurances alone can they receive? Are West Indians alone expected to expose their sores; to reveal, for their visitor's entertainment, the secrets of their plantations; to exhibit the dungeons, the collars, and the cart-whips?” But (you will perhaps be told by them) “they have inquired of the slaves themselves. But the slave could not bear witness if he would; nor did he dare if he could.” “I once,” adds Mr. Jeremie, “thought with them. But now that their condition is so far amended as that their evidence can be heard, and that Protectors are given them in whom they can confide, then comes out the sad truth.” (p. 35.) “The more exalted, therefore, the station of the individual,” our author goes on to argue, “the fewer are his opportunities of ascertaining the truth; and the longer his residence, without such opportunities, the more obstinate will he be rendered in error. Nor can this point be too strongly put. Very lately appeared in the public prints a glowing certificate, in favour of things as they stood thirty years ago, from one of Britain's most distinguished heroes. And yet, who, at this moment, defends things as they then stood? Not one of their own advocates!” “What, then, does such a certificate prove but that the system is still indefensible, or that NELSON,” and with him others of the same class, “knew nothing of it.” “Nelson was not a Protector of slaves. His duties did not bring him into contact with the slave labourer; he knew nothing of the interior of a plantation;” except only as information was to be acquired at the dinner table of the planters.

“This again,” he proceeds, “is an answer to not a few of those lively productions with which the press has recently teemed. What opportunity had the writers, attached to a garrison,* or forming part of a clerical dignitary's suite, to become familiar with the condition of the slave? Take that which has had the largest circulation.—The author of ‘Six Months in the West Indies,’ (Mr. Coleridge) mentions St. Lucia, describes its scenery, the sentiments of its inhabitants, the progress of its government. He was there about an hour, *saw* ships in the out bays, although these, with perhaps one exception, can have been but cocoa-nut trees. To reach the pavilion, (the Governor's house) he ascended rather better than half way up a moderate sized hill; he fancied himself in the clouds; and, to complete the illusion, *saw* stars in the fire-flies. Much of this arose, no doubt, from a wish to give point and brilliancy to his narrative; was meant good-naturedly; and expected to be received with every proper allowance. *But he who reflects how seriously the interests of humanity may*

* This alludes to a work bearing the name of “Bailey,” entitled “Four Years Residence in the West Indies”—certainly, from beginning to end, a tissue of gross (we do not say wilful) misrepresentations.

*thus be compromised, cannot but regret that talents and wit and good intentions have been so perverted.**

More than four years ago (see our Second Volume, No. 30, p. 135) we ventured to pronounce a judgment, not very dissimilar to Mr. Jeremie's, on this gay but mischievous publication. "Its effect," we then declared, "whatever might have been the writer's purpose and motive; and these we did not mean to arraign; had undoubtedly been, *greatly to deceive and mislead the public.*"

But to return to Mr. Jeremie:—

Scarcely had his favourable judgment of slavery, above referred to, been transmitted to England and laid before Parliament, than a succession of circumstances occurred of a nature which led him gradually, but at length completely, to change the whole current of his opinions on this subject, and to force from him the reluctant admission of his having misconceived, and officially misrepresented, the real state of the case. It will be impossible for us to follow him through the whole of these most interesting but revolting details; we must confine ourselves to a mere sample of them.

The New Slave Code, drawn up by Mr. Jeremie, and by which something like protection was extended to the slave, had scarcely been promulgated, when a negro came before him with a collar riveted round his neck, from which projected three prongs of ten inches in length; and at the end of each of these, three smaller prongs of an inch long. This collar, with its double set of prongs, was attached to a chain reaching to fetters surrounding his ancles. His back and limbs also were wealed from neck to foot, and the sufferer declared that he had been kept thus collared, and enchained, and fettered, by night and by day, for some months; during which he constantly worked in the field, and on his return from it, was immured in a solitary cell.—How the man could have lived in this state for months it is difficult for us to conceive: the collar with its prongs, must have made it impossible for him to lie down.—His crime was running away.

Three gentlemen of *reputed* humanity, the Procureur du roi, and two commandants of quarters, were sent by Mr. Jeremie to investigate the affair. Their written report not only left the complainant's statement unshaken, but brought to light the fact that, on the same estate, were three other men similarly collared and fettered, and a woman covered with sores and in chains, which chains she had worn for nearly two years. They further reported, (by way of extenuation as it would seem) that the collars, &c. were of the same description as those *in use* in the Island; and *that the estate*, (the estate on which these abominations existed) "*was well managed; and that the arrangements upon it were good!*" All this took place in 1826.

These torturing collars were put down by proclamation, as was also the following mode of punishment, which was found in use on the same estate as a substitute for female flogging, then recently forbidden. "The

* And yet it is from the flimsy work of this flying voyager that the West Indian Reporter has had to borrow its motto.

women were hung by the arms to a peg, raised so high above their heads that the toes alone touched the ground; the whole weight of the body resting on the wrists, or on the tips of the toes." (p. 6.)*

The offending parties in these cases underwent the penalties of the new law.

About the same time a cause came on, in appeal, before Mr. Jeremie, in which a manager sued a proprietor for his wages, and the proprietor pleaded, as a set off, the value of two of his slaves killed by the manager. In the proprietor's counter-statement, after several items of trifling amount, as soap, cash, candles, &c. came the following, being by far the largest, viz.—

"For the value of John the Cooper, flogged to death by you, and then buried in the cane piece, 400 dollars."

"For the price of the negress Mary Clare, who died by bruises received from you, 300 dollars."

In the recorded judicial proceedings on which this appeal was grounded, the proprietor's extraordinary claim of a deduction, on account of two of his slaves having been murdered, is met, on the part of the manager, with a levity still more extraordinary. "He had expected," he said, "objections that might cause delay in the payment of his wages, but he did not anticipate a *payment in this coin*." It is not the manager, he argues, who is to bear the loss of proprietor's Negroes. If the defendant had had any legal rights of this kind he might long since have made use of them. "The speculation is new," he adds, "but it will not take." The two articles, therefore, of "John the Cooper" and "Mary Clare," amounting jointly to 700 dollars, are decidedly objected to by the manager.—The pleadings on the other side were in the same strain of disgusting levity, the proprietor telling the manager that the "coin" was not so bad as he would make it, as he must have forgotten his own note of hand for 300 dollars, the price he had agreed to pay for killing Mary Clare. His note to this effect was actually produced; and a witness was also brought forward to prove the flogging to death of John the Cooper.—With all these facts and pleadings before him, the judge of first instance, who had tried the cause, and from whose decision the appeal had been brought, discussed them as mere matters of account. He allowed the note of 300 dollars, for the murder of Mary Clare by *his* bruises, to be deducted from the amount of the manager's wages; but he considered the

* The substitute for female flogging ordained by the Trinidad Order (the Model Order) and thence unsuspectingly introduced by Mr. Jeremie into St. Lucia, and there legalized by the code which he himself (unaware of the nature of the instrument) had framed, was scarcely, if at all, less severe than that which he had put down. We mean what are called "Field stocks," and which Mr. Jeremie asserts that he found might become "the most cruel picketing." "They are," he says, "in the shape of a pillory; the hands are inserted in grooves which may be raised to any height above the head, and the feet in other grooves at the bottom; the toes alone being made to touch the ground. The body is thus suspended in mid-air, its whole weight resting on the wrists and toes. In Trinidad they fix leaden weights to the wrists which add considerably to the torture. These field stocks are a legalized substitute for the whip, and even pregnant women are not exempted from it." "What," asks Mr. Jeremie, "has humanity gained?" p. 7.

proof in the case of John the Cooper to be insufficient. While the cause was before Mr. Jeremie, and after the appeal had been re-argued in the same tone and spirit which had prevailed in the inferior courts, the manager died, and further proceedings as to his crime were necessarily stayed.

But who was the proprietor who had been defendant in this action? He was Mr. Jeremie's own immediate predecessor in office as chief justice, for thirteen years, during a part of which this very cause had been undergoing public discussion, and he was then one of his assessors;—nor was he removed from a seat in the Royal Court, but on the application of Mr. Jeremie, to that effect, for some other offences against the Slave law.

Such was the kind of protection and justice, observes our author, which, at the time of his accession to office, he found meted out “by both courts, and by nearly all the higher authorities.”—“That two men should venture thus to traffic in murder is in itself awful; but even this is outdone by the calm indifference with which the pleadings, the account itself, and the very judgments, prove the case to have been contemplated” by the whole community.

The fact of overworking the slaves, which has always been alleged, by the abolitionists as a main cause of their decrease, was so stoutly denied by the white community of St. Lucia, and even by the most respectable among them, that Mr. Jeremie could not hold out against what appeared to be the overwhelming weight of evidence on the point, and for a long time he was disposed, in his official communications, to defend the planters from this charge. But at length his attention was called to an estate, the attorney of which was a member of the Privy Council, and the manager of which was looked up to as a leading man of his class, and was a frequent guest in the highest society in the Island. The complaint was, as usual, of ill-treatment on the side of the slaves, and, on the part of the manager, of insubordination. The result of the inquiry was that it was proved, and indeed admitted, that the gang had, in the course of the preceding crop

“been divided and worked as follows: they worked twenty-four hours each spell, rested six, worked twelve; rested twelve, worked twelve; rested six, then again worked twenty-four and rested six, and so on;—there being three spells or watches, two in the field, and one in the boiling-house; and the latter working twenty-four hours in succession, and resuming their labour in the field next morning. Now, deduct, from these six hours, the time necessary to cook their victuals (for no time was allowed them for meals), to clean themselves, to take their meals, to undress and dress themselves, and families, if they had any; and what remained for rest? When the fact was thus placed beyond question, other estates were at once mentioned where the same practice was adopted; and so little was it thought of, that, in an inquiry to which the attorney of the estate was a party, this very manager was examined, and expressed his surprise at being charged with cruelty, since, as he says on oath, this happened but seldom, and when it did occur, he had always allowed his slaves to take six hours rest in the course of two days. In other words, his management was lenient, as he never had worked his gang more than forty-two hours together!

“Such is practical slavery, and such the difficulties which prevent detection, even by those most thoroughly conversant with the subject.”

We cannot afford space to follow Mr. Jeremie through various

other details of the most revolting kind which compelled him to abandon his former, and adopt his present, views of the general spirit and character of communities, demoralized and debased by the practice of slavery.

“In short,” observes Mr. Jeremie, “the principle, which seems to have been universal, was best expressed by a gentleman, on his son’s being arrested on a charge of killing one of his Negroes. His remark was, ‘What a noise about a brute!’ (*Quel bruit pour un animal!*)—and, with this, every thing is explained. Once assume that a gang of Negroes is nothing more than a drove of cattle, and all these cases will be so many offences under Mr. Martin’s act.”

The effect of the enormous power possessed by the proprietor, he adds, is such as to render him callous, not only to the life of his inferiors, but of his equals, and this truth Mr. Jeremie illustrates by the following occurrence:—

“Six months after I was in the country, a case of infanticide was reported to me: A new-born child had been found in a ditch, choked with earth, and its mouth split from ear to ear,—it was still alive. The case was forthwith inquired into with all the spirit and zeal that a subject of the nature merited; but so far from carrying public opinion with me, this interference was deemed very unreasonable and uncalled for. The expressions I actually heard were ‘Why meddle with such nonsense?’ (*quelles niaiseries!*) and as nonsense the thing seemed to be treated. I, however, persisted, and issued a warrant against the mother, a young lady of property and rank, and this was deemed pure brutality. She remained some weeks in the island, residing openly at her relative’s, a public officer; but seeing I was determined to brave the consequences, she withdrew unmolested to Martinique.”

We will now turn to another feature of Colonial policy connected with Mr. Jeremie’s change of sentiment, and which it is especially necessary, at the present moment, to place in its true light. We allude to the convenient use, so often made by the Colonists with a view to obstruct the progress of reform or to prevent the interference of the Mother Country, of rumours of plots among the slaves; which rumours are supported by every species of fraud and falsehood, and even in some cases by the most wanton destruction of Negro life. Indeed, no sooner had the public interest been excited in favour of the slave than plots were fabricated, and even streams of blood shed, apparently for no other purpose but to alarm the timid in this country, and to bring odium on the abolitionists.—We might here refer, among other Colonies, to Barbadoes, Demerara, Jamaica, and Antigua, and still more recently to Tortola. In some cases, indeed, the slaves had been goaded into something like turbulence, and then the Negro blood unsparingly and unresistingly shed has become the proof of their rebellion. In other cases the proofs are only to be found in judicial proceedings, involving a perversion of all the forms of law, and a disregard of all the principles of justice. In other cases mere groundless rumours and alarms have proved sufficient for the slave-holders’ purposes.

The authentic details given by Mr. Jeremie, on this subject, are extremely curious and instructive, and as they may serve to give the British public some faint idea of the extent and audacity of the impostures of this kind practised, by the holders of slaves, for the preser-

vation of their unhallowed power, we shall dwell upon them at some length.

When Mr. Jeremie, in 1826, first began to execute the law which he had framed, and which the planters had vainly hoped would have remained a dead letter, such reports were spread of discontents, insubordination, and even actual mutiny, that the principal officers of the Government were employed to investigate them; and they found them to be pure inventions. (p. 6.)

At a later period, when from the collusive and unfaithful conduct of the local government, as has been most clearly established in evidence, a hope was diffused throughout St. Lucia that both Mr. Jeremie and his measures of reform might happily be got rid of, an extensive conspiracy was formed for that purpose, the course of which is thus described by our author:—

“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 had diminished from sixteen to three hogsheads per 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 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 enquiry, 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.”

This was done by means of a public inquiry, instituted by Mr. Jeremie, (the details are too long for insertion,) which not only served to disprove, on the testimony of the planters themselves, all the allegations of injury arising from the new slave code, but to extort from them a reluctant admission of the past prevalence of many of the evils which that code was specially intended to obviate. The whole of these details are well worthy of careful consideration.

But it is impossible for us to follow Mr. Jeremie through all the topics of his Four admirable Essays, which embrace 1. “ The General Features of Slave Communities;” 2. “ The General Theories involved in the consideration of the question of Slavery, as Colour, Climate, Monopoly, Free labour;” 3. “ The Ameliorations introduced into St. Lucia, and practicable elsewhere;” and 4. “ The Results of the Measures hitherto adopted, and a view of the further steps to be taken to promote the final annihilation of slavery.” Under each of these heads we find a copious fund of valuable observations, the result of reflection and experience, on which we shall probably have hereafter to draw very largely. We were particularly gratified by Mr. Jeremie’s able and conclusive confutation, or rather, we may say, demolition, in his second Essay, of Major Moody’s absurd and mischievous theory of “ the philosophy of labour,” which, for a time, so strangely beguiled and bewildered even the acute though paradoxical mind of Mr. Wilmot Horton.

We must content ourselves with two brief extracts from this part of his work. The first respects the free people of colour, the second the negro race.

“ A young gentleman, the son of a judge of that island, by a dark coloured woman, had received from his father a good plain education at Liverpool; he spoke English and French, and wrote both languages with ease and fluency; but being, from his descent, inadmissible to any office of respectability, his father had had the good sense to bring him up to a respectable trade, that of a watch-maker. Soon after I arrived at St. Lucia, this young man was recommended to me as a clerk. Having kept him in that capacity for six years, an opportunity offered of bringing him to the bar. He accordingly obtained a commission; and I have the satisfaction of knowing that this young gentleman is now one of the leading advocates of the court and enjoying, in a high degree, the public confidence.”

“ To proceed to a still more striking instance of the capacity of the Negro :— It happened that several slaves took refuge from Martinique, where the slave-trade is avowedly carried on, to St. Lucia, in 1829. This caused a discussion, the effect of which was to make it generally known, that on a foreign slave’s reaching a British colony, he, by Dr. Lushington’s bill, becomes free; and in consequence of this discussion, several, exceeding 100 in number, came over in the

year 1830. Here were persons leaving a country of unmitigated slavery; persons precisely in the condition in which our whole slave population may be supposed to have been some thirty years ago, by those who maintain that the condition of the slave has improved;—here were persons described by their government as incendiaries, idlers, and poisoners. When I left the colony in April last, some were employed for wages in the business they were best acquainted with; some as masons, and carpenters; some as domestics; others in cleaning land, or as labourers on estates; whilst about twenty-six had clubbed together and placed themselves under the direction of a free coloured man, an African—one of the persons deported from Martinique in 1824. These last had erected a pottery at a short distance from Castries: they took a piece of land, three or four cleared it, others fished up coral and burnt lime, five or six quarried and got the stones and performed the mason-work, the remainder felled the timber and worked it in; and the little money that was requisite was supplied, in advance, by the contractor for the church, on the tiles to be furnished for the building. This pottery was completed, a plain structure, but of great solidity, and surprising neatness. Thus had they actually introduced a new manufacture into the country, for which it was previously indebted to our foreign neighbours, or to the home market. All this had been effected simply by not interfering with them, by leaving them entirely to themselves: they were mustered once a month, to shew that government had an eye on them, and then allowed full liberty. One man only was sick in the hospital, and he was supported by the contributions of his companions.”

It appears that, in the small Colony of St. Lucia, containing only 13,000 slaves, 2,360, more than a sixth of the whole, belong to the coloured class; and that in the town and port of Castries, the same class own more than half the rental of the town, and a full half of the registered shipping both in number and value.

Approving so highly as we do of the general scope and tenor of Mr. Jeremie's work, it is but right that we should apprise our readers that there is a point or two on which his views and ours are not strictly coincident. We allude more particularly to the subject of compensation. Our differences, it is true, are not very wide, but even if they were, we should hardly deem it necessary now to enter upon them. They will be obvious at first sight to any one who will take the trouble of reading Mr. Jeremie's pamphlet, pp. 116—122, and comparing with them No. 75 of our present volume, pp. 89—104.—We conclude with most warmly recommending the work to our readers, our brief sketch being wholly inadequate to convey a due impression of the value of its important information, which will abundantly reward the time required for its perusal.

IV.—CONVENTION WITH FRANCE ABOLISHING THE SLAVE TRADE.

WE hail, with satisfaction and delight, the announcement, in the King's Speech at the opening of the present Session of Parliament, of a convention with France for the effectual suppression of the African Slave Trade, the basis of which is the “concession of reciprocal rights, to be mutually exercised, and which will enable the naval forces of the two countries, by their combined efforts, to accomplish an object which is felt by both to be so important to the interests of humanity.”

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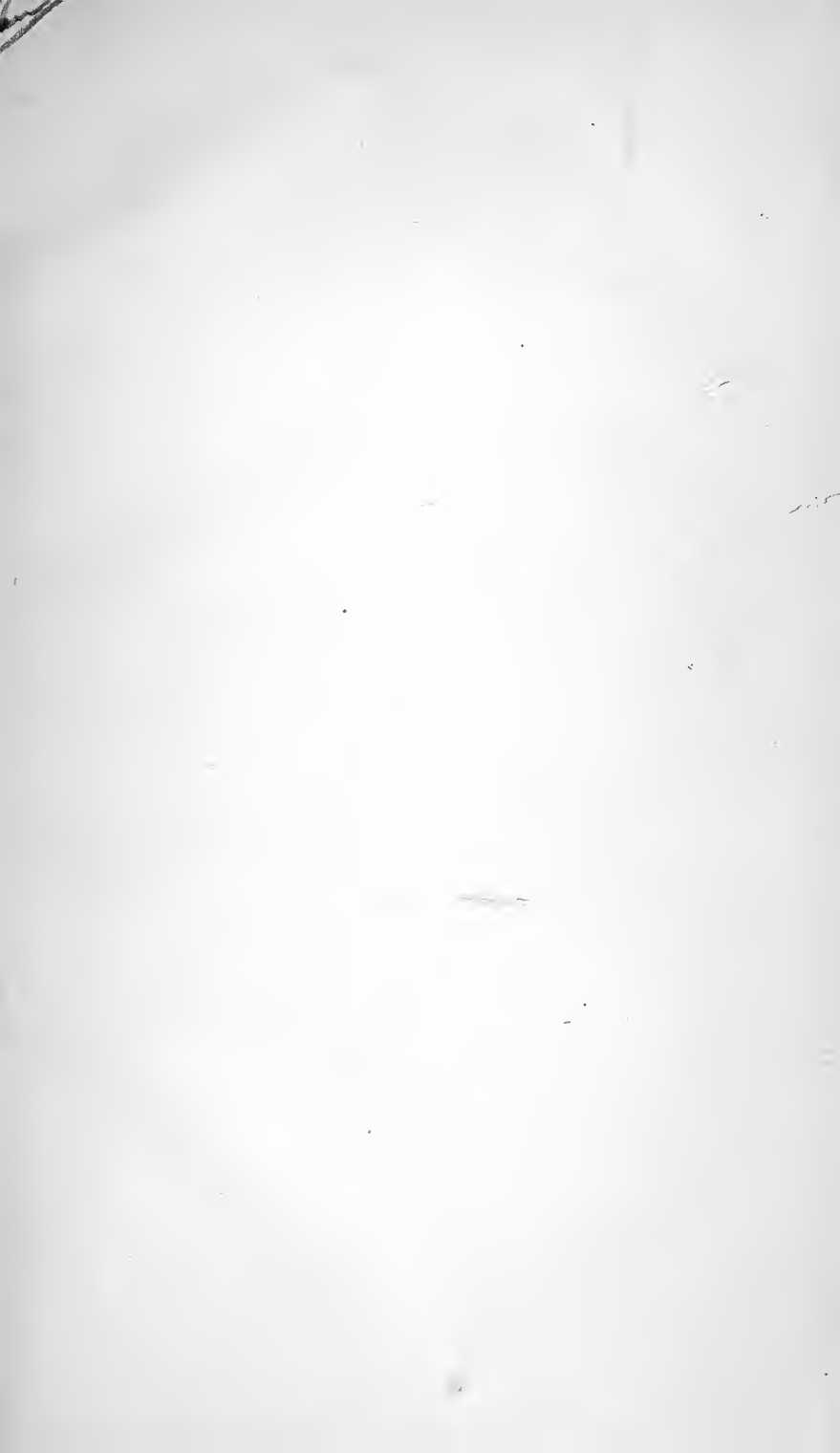
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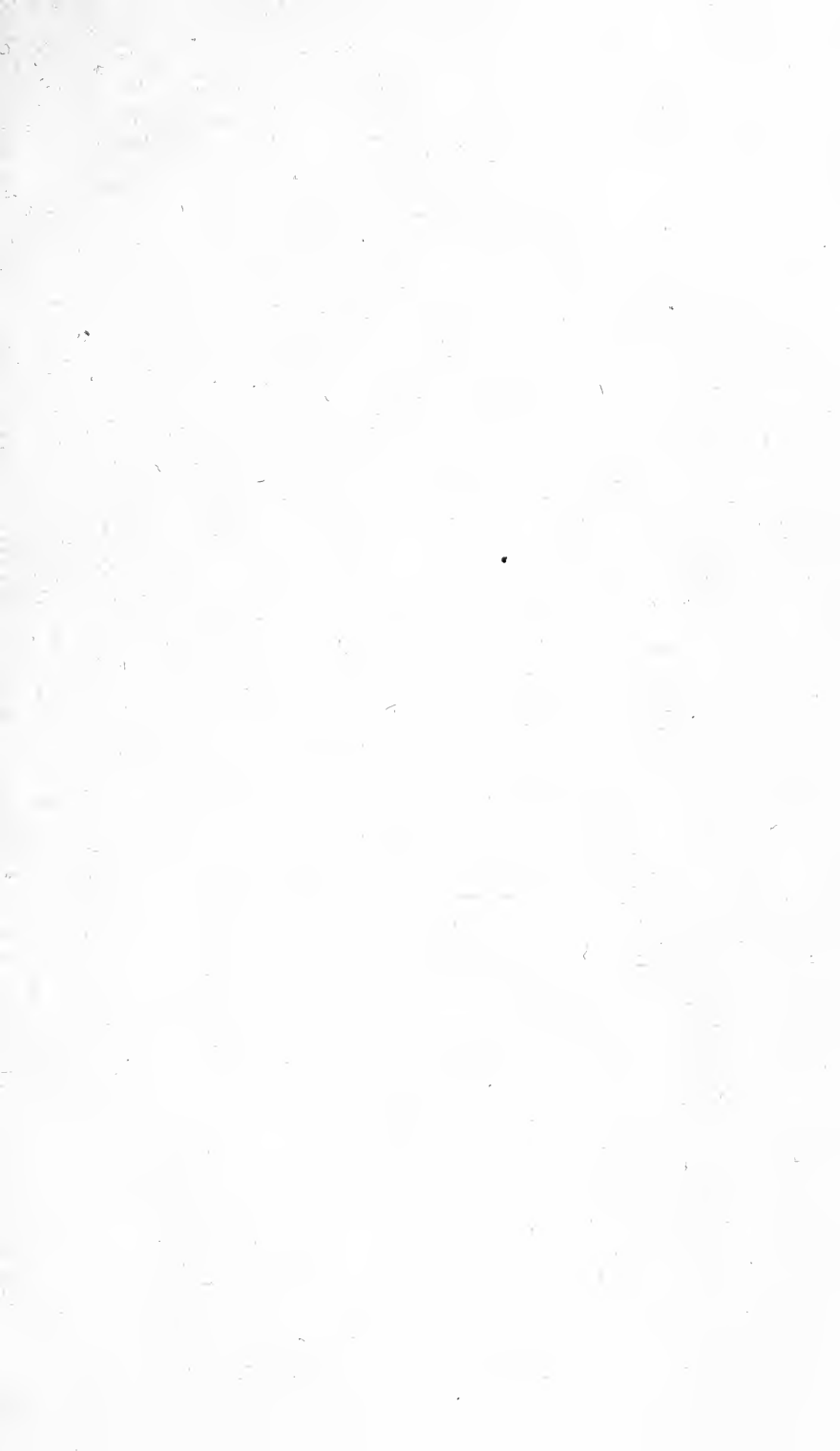
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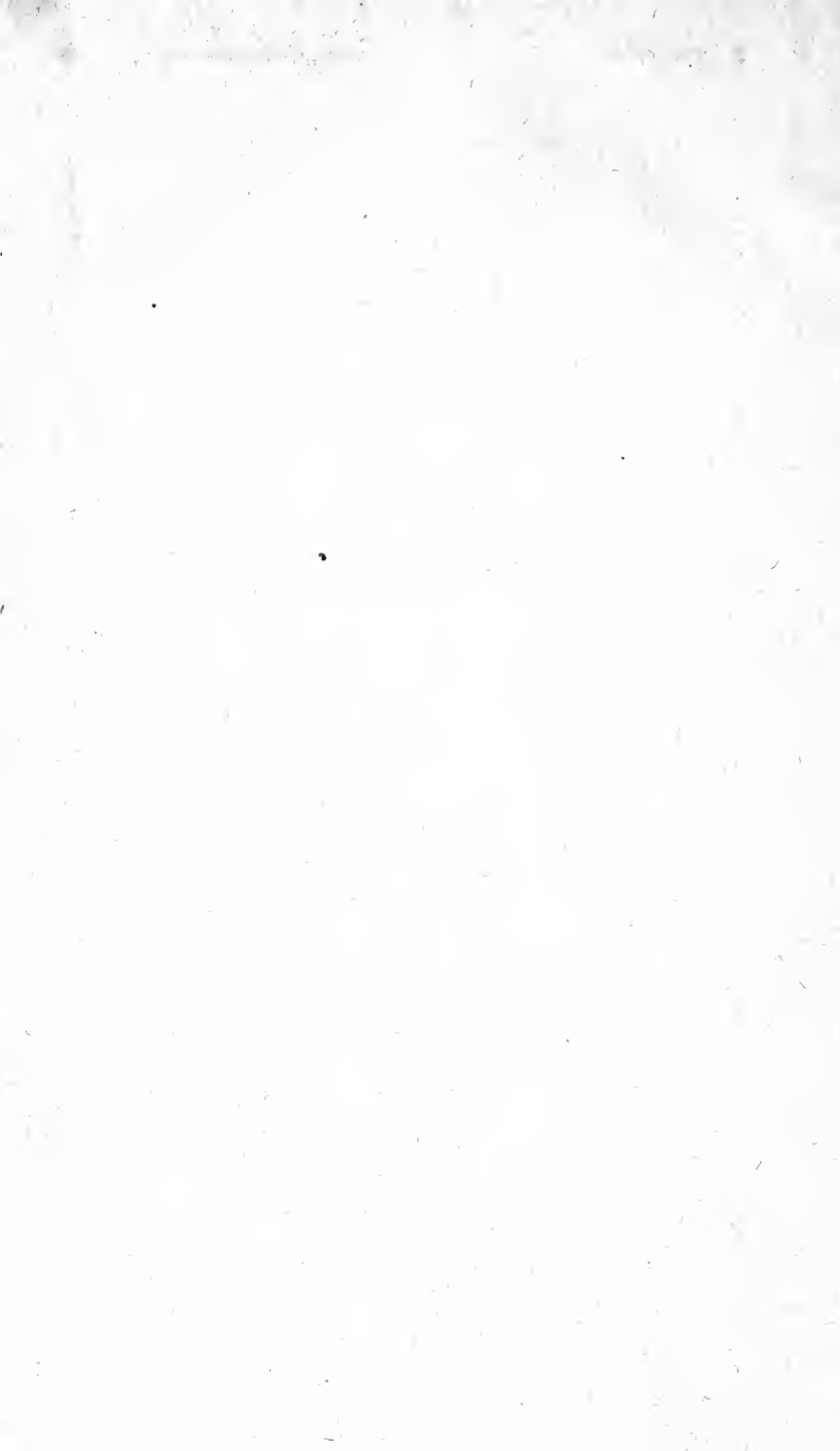
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JAN 2 1912

