the Earl of Harrowby

MORE THOUGHTS,

&c. &c.

Price 4s.

HUGHES and BAYNES, Printers,
29, Maiden-Lane, Covent-Garden.

MORE THOUGHTS,

OCCASIONED BY

TWO PUBLICATIONS

WHICH THE AUTHORS CALL

"*An Exposure of some of the numerous Misstatements and Misrepresentations*

CONTAINED IN A PAMPHLET,

COMMONLY KNOWN BY THE NAME OF

MR. MARRYAT'S PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED

THOUGHTS, &c."

AND

"*A DEFENCE OF THE BILL*

FOR THE

Registration of Slaves."

BY JOSEPH MARRYAT, ESQ. M. P.

AGENT FOR GRENADA.

London:

PRINTED FOR J. M. RICHARDSON, CORNHILL,

OPPOSITE THE ROYAL EXCHANGE;

AND J. RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY.

1816.

CONTENTS.

MORE THOUGHTS,

&c. &c.

FEELING myself called upon to notice two publications that have lately appeared, the one entitled "An Exposure of some of the nu-"merous Misstatements and Misrepresentations "contained in a Pamphlet, commonly known "by the name of Mr. Marryat's Pamphlet;" the other, "A Defence of the Bill for a Regis-"tration of Slaves, by James Stephen, Esq.;" I sat down with the intention of doing so, in a Preface to the fourth edition of the pamphlet which had occasioned these attacks. The personal charges against myself, were however so interwoven with the topics out of which they arose, that my work swelled insensibly under my hands; and I found, before I was aware of it, that I had written a pamphlet instead of a preface. I therefore, after some unsuccessful

attempts at abridgment, determined merely to alter the introductory paragraph, and send it to the press in its present form.

The title-page of the first pamphlet I have alluded to, is a great misnomer: to have made it as it ought to be, an epitome of the work, it should have run thus: Numerous Misstatements and Misrepresentations, interspersed with a few palpable Falsehoods, intended as an Answer to a Pamphlet, &c.: and for a motto, nothing could have been more appropriate than the one the writer has introduced into the body of his work.

Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.*

Before I comment upon the errors of others, I feel it, however, incumbent upon me to acknowledge my own; and the writer of the Exposure has certainly discovered two misstatements in my Pamphlet, for which I thank him; and they are corrected accordingly in the last edition.

The first is, my stating one of the clauses of the Abolition Act of 1807, as being one of the provisions of the Slave Trade Felony Bill of

* Exposure, p. 48.

1811;* which is just as unimportant to the argument founded upon it, as his stating me to be Member of Parliament for Horsham,† instead of Sandwich, is to the merits of his pamphlet.

I also applied an observation to the fifth Article of the Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and Portugal, instead of the tenth Article of the Treaty of Amity between the two countries; and the writer of the Exposure triumphantly asks, whether this was ignorance or design? I answer, not design, certainly;—but sheer ignorance, if he prefers that phrase to mere inadvertence.

Having performed this preliminary duty, of clearing my own conscience, I shall now proceed to make good my charges against my antagonist.

One of his palpable falsehoods has already been exposed, in an advertisement from the West India Committee; whom he charges with employing Dr. Thorpe, but who most unequivocally deny having any knowledge of, or communication with that Gentleman; much less having engaged his services, or paid him

* Thoughts, p. 11. † Exposure, p. 1.

money in return,* as asserted by the author of the Exposure.

---

* Subjoined is the Advertisement alluded to:

"*To JOSEPH MARRYAT, Esq. M. P.*

"My dear Sir, "Gloucester Place, April 2, 1816.

"In a publication, which, by its title announces 'An Exposure of misstatements and misrepresentations contained in a pamphlet,' which is presumed to have been written by you, I have read with much surprise and concern the following passage: —'It was necessary that this fact (a charge made by the author against Dr. Thorpe) should be stated for Mr. Marryat's conviction: the writer would otherwise have deemed it incumbent on him not to add to the load of discredit which already presses on Dr. Thorpe—he had no wish to injure him in the opinion of Mr. Marryat, *and his other new employers, the West India Board,* they are welcome to all the benefit they can derive from his services, and he to *all the money* they may pay him in return.' Leaving in much more able hands the imputations, as far as they implicate you, I have felt it my duty to institute an immediate and accurate inquiry into their truth, as far as they involve the very respectable body over which I have the honour to preside. An unanimous declaration of the West India Committee has pronounced the charge to be (as I myself can testify) absolutely false as applied to them. Dr. Thorpe (of whom I beg to disclaim all right or intention to speak disrespectfully) never was '*employed*' or '*paid*' by the West India Committee; and the individual members of it have declared, that they have never had any communication, or even a personal acquaintance, with him: I cannot well conceive a charge more destitute of foundation.

"But I confess it was not without considerable pain I found that the pamphlet which contained the imputations to which I have alluded was followed by a letter addressed to Mr. Wilberforce, and subscribed with the respectable name of Mr. Stephen, containing these passages—'The instructions of the Assemblies, in short, have been well executed, and their money advantageously laid out. I do not mean to include the instructions

Another of his palpable falsehoods, is the assertion that Dr. Thorpe is my "friend and "witness."* So far from this being the fact,

---

said to have been given by one of them, to *corrupt some active Member of Parliament by the salary of an extra agent.* I trust this has been found impracticable.' I have endeavoured with the utmost industry to discover a ground for the serious insinuations thus made, and truth requires that I should say, they appear equally unfounded and unjust. The Agents for the several West India islands have positively denied the truth of the charge, and I have sought in vain for an individual to afford me the means of assigning a pretext for it. One of the islands having had for some time as agent a Gentleman in Parliament, in the contemplation of a change, directed application to be made to another, also in Parliament; but it seems improbable that Mr. Stephen could have built his insinuation upon this circumstance, because it could hardly have come to his knowledge, without the knowledge of the fact, that the gentleman alluded to had acted *gratuitously* from the year 1796; that the sum paid by the island was 100*l.* per annum to his secretary, and that no further sum was proposed to be paid on the new appointment.

"I am desired by the West India Committee to request you to make this letter public; it is deemed necessary, from the pains which have been taken to distribute the publications to which I have adverted. I am very sensible that these appeals are not always attended with the desired advantage; yet I cannot but hope that a correction of misstatements at present may lead to future accuracy. If, however, it should unfortunately happen that the accusations which I have made it my business in this letter to repel should be repeated, or succeeded by others, you will readily believe that I do not mean to assume the duty of writing, or to impose on others the task of reading, other explanations or denials. I am, my dear Sir,

"Your faithful humble servant,

"C. N. PALLMER."

* Exposure, p. 56.

I can safely aver, that I never had the slightest intercourse with Dr. Thorpe, either in person or by writing, either directly or indirectly, on any occasion whatever.

A third of his palpable falsehoods, is contained in the last of the following paragraphs.

" Mr. Marryat himself is also the consignee
" of various crown estates in the West Indies.
" If we may judge from the following passage,
" he was probably labouring under some appre-
" hension lest the emolument arising from
" these consignments, should be transferred
" from him to Mr. Macaulay.

" ' Additional proofs,' he says, ' might be
" ' given, by the history of other applications
" ' made to his Majesty's Ministers, that no-
" ' thing escapes the vigilant penetration of
" ' certain Directors of the African Institution;
" ' and that some plausible reason is never
" ' wanting on their part, to recommend the
" ' transfer of any thing lucrative into their
" ' own pious hands.'

" Did Mr. Marryat here intend, or did he
" not, to allude to the crown estates of which
" he is consignee, and the emoluments arising

"from which he was afraid of losing? If so, "the reader will be able to judge of the "purity of his motives, in labouring with such "vindictive acrimony, to asperse the character "of Mr. Macaulay.

"As to Mr. Marryat's insinuation that efforts "had been made by Mr. Macaulay, or his "friends, to obtain a transfer from Mr. Mar-"ryat to himself of this emolument, it is "untrue. His fears have in this instance "deceived him."*

The produce of the forfeited estates in Grenada, has been addressed to my house, for many years, by the Receiver, who is responsible to the Crown for the proceeds; and with whom (as with the Berbice Commissioners) the choice of the Consignee rests. These estates consist of three sugar plantations, each of them too small to give an adequate return for capital to any absent proprietor; but capable of affording a comfortable maintenance to a resident owner. For this reason, I had recommended that they should be disposed of, as soon as peace took place, which usually brings West India estates into demand and value. It being understood that this plan would be adopted, in the year

* Exposure, p. 60.

1814 various proposals were made, either to rent or purchase them; and instructions were given to several individuals here to bid for them, whenever they should be put up (as was expected) to public auction. Among other persons connected with Grenada, I had instructions to that effect; and on inquiring at the Treasury into the cause of the delay that had taken place in advertising these estates for sale, I was given to understand, that some offers to purchase or rent them by private contract, having been sent to the Governor of Grenada, and transmitted by him to the Lords of the Treasury for their consideration, had, with other papers respecting them, been referred to Mr. Macaulay; who was desired to state whether the Berbice Commissioners could take them under their management. Mr. Macaulay reported accordingly, by a letter addressed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, dated the 19th of December, 1814; in which he strongly argues against either renting or selling them; but states, that if the Lords of the Treasury should be pleased to place them under the care of the Berbice Commissioners, he was authorised to say, they were ready to undertake the trust.

When it is recollected that the Berbice Commissioners had named Mr. Macaulay their

Secretary, and the Consignee of the produce of the estates under their care,* this letter is a flat contradiction of the assertion made by the author of the " Exposure," that no efforts had been made by Mr. Macaulay, or his friends, to obtain a transfer from Mr. Marryat to himself of this emolument.

Notwithstanding the high-sounding titles and pompous designations, in which the Berbice Commissioners are enumerated by the author of the Exposure, " the Right Hon. Nicholas " Vansittart, the Chancellor of the Exchequer; " the Right Hon. Charles Long, Paymaster of " the Forces; James Gordon, Esq.; William " Smith, Esq.; James Stephen, Esq.; and " William Wilberforce, Esq.;" who, we are told, " named Mr. Macaulay their Secretary, " and the Consignee of the produce of the " estates;"† great names must not shelter from investigation, nor preclude just comments on the manner in which they have acquitted themselves of the task confided to them, the management of the crown estates at Berbice.

Several of the Gentlemen, whose names were inserted in this Commission, have probably been mere nominal parties in the concern; but still a

* Exposure, p. 60. † Ibid.

certain degree of responsibility attaches upon them, for not having properly superintended the conduct of others; for where men accept an appointment, they are bound to discharge the duties it imposes.

A considerable sacrifice was made, in order to place these estates under their care. The late Mr. Perceval had actually entered into an agreement, to let them on lease to Major Staples, for twenty-one years, at a rent of £3500 for the first year; £4000 for the second; £4500 for the third; and £5000 for the fourth, and every subsequent year of the term. The lease was to contain the usual clauses and covenants; but Mr. Stephen suggested the insertion of some clauses, to which Major Staples objected, as neither usual nor contemplated when the original contract was reduced into the form of a Treasury Minute; and after considerable discussion, he relinquished his bargain, in consideration of a sum of £2500 paid down, and (as he alledges,) a promise of further compensation, by some official appointment.

A principal inducement with the Lords of the Treasury, to establish this Commission, was their laudable anxiety to ameliorate the condition of the negroes, in consequence of a statement made to them by Mr. Forbes, solicitor to Major Staples,

" of the great mortality and enormous waste of " life, on the crown estates at Berbice." This appears from Governor Gordon's letter of October 4th, 1811,—laid, among other papers, on the table of the House of Commons. In this letter, the Governor says, " I feel myself called upon " to contradict a misstatement, so injurious to " those who have had the controul of these " estates in particular, and to the West India " Planters in general;" and he declares, it appears from the administrator's books, that in the year 1803, when the Colony surrendered, the whole number of negroes on the crown estates was 884, and that the actual number was 791; that the negroes attached to the artificers' department were then 359, and were now 348; making together, a deficiency of 104 in eight years. He further adds, that this deficiency included some negroes, who had been made free.

How far the humane intentions of the Lords of the Treasury have been accomplished, by placing these negroes under the care of the Berbice Commissioners, will appear by referring to the papers which those gentlemen have laid upon the table of the House of Commons. They give the returns of the increase and decrease, only for the years 1812, 1813, and 1814; those for the year 1815 not being, they say,

received. The deficiency on the estates in those three years was 62; and among the negroes in the artificers' department, or as they call them, the Winkel Negroes, 22; making a total of 84, and being at the rate of 224 in eight years; or considerable more than double the deficiency, that took place under the management of their predecessors.

Another object the Lords of the Treasury had in view, in establishing this Commission, as also appears from Governor Gordon's letters, was economy. They reasonably expected to render the crown estates more productive, by placing them in the hands of persons whose good management could be relied upon. On this subject, the following details are given in Governor Gordon's letter of February 27th, 1813:—

"I have said that the Agents were unfit for this situation, and that what has excited the complaints of the Commissioners, has been occasioned by their want of judgment; for surely no other persons would have continued in the perseverance of the system pursued by them, without representing the consequences likely to result from it; and that this has not been done, I am to suppose from the well-known talents and judgment of the gentlemen composing the Commission; who would not be likely to persevere in a measure so pregnant with loss, particularly when economy was the standard for their having assumed this trust. And that this is the

fact, is proved by the Agents continuing to this hour, to ship all the produce made on the estates, and drawing bills for the expences; a system no other man, or set of men, follow in the West Indies, who have properties of the description of the crown estates; the whole voice of the Western World being against it. The proportion of the price of produce in this country, bears an unequal high ratio to its relative value in Europe; as the nominal worth continues, and has done so for years, to be far above its value in Great Britain, after payment of the expences there. As an individual, I should consider nothing but a blind infatuation to a system could induce any agent to ship all the produce of the estates committed to his charge, when he can pay the current expences of those estates to advantage in the Colony, by the sale of what would not render one half of its colonial value at home; and free his constituents from the inconvenience and vexation, heavy drafts must necessarily occasion them. As an instance, all the sugar properties of Guiana pay their expences by the sale of their rum; which, independent of from 15 to 20 per cent. difference in strength to what is sold in London, uniformly, on account of the demand for it for America, or estates within the Colony, produces more than 50 per cent. beyond its European value. In Berbice there are only three sugar estates, besides the crown properties. I know to a certainty, the greater part of the expences of the whole of the crown estates might be made good; as rum, even of proof 27, has sold for the last three or four years, from 2s. 11d. to 3s. 4d. sterling. The advice and opinion I have given on solicitation, differs widely from preferring absolute charges against an individual; though it might perhaps, under certain circumstances, justify his removal. Actuated by no other motive than

the good of the Colony, I shall proceed to state, that after the decease of Mr. Macallister, as I reported to my Lord Liverpool, in my letter of the 7th February, 1812, I had an opportunity of perusing the Commissioners' instructions to their Agents; and it then appeared to me they had restricted them, as to the shipping concerns, beyond what I considered beneficial to the crown estates; and that they were about to introduce a plan of importing all their supplies from England, which would occasion great increase of expence, as the supplies might be furnished on the spot at a less rate by barter; and I cannot alter my opinion at this day, that so long as the measures laid down by the Commissioners are pursued, there never will be any benefit to be derived from the crown estates, but in all probability fresh calls upon His Majesty's Treasury. Having been from early life a planter, I trust I may be as competent to form an opinion, as men who, however great their talents may be in other respects, are not in possession of this branch of professional knowledge, in the ordinary walks of a planter's life."

From the above letter it appears, that the very first year the Commissioners took possession of the crown estates, Governor Gordon pointed out the disadvantages of the system on which they were acting; and that notwithstanding the wisdom of his predictions was confirmed, by the experience of every succeeding year, they still persisted in that system. No measure of reform was adopted, that would have interfered with the profits of Mr. Macaulay.

He had his commission on the sale of the produce sent home, and on the purchase of the supplies sent out. Can it then be wondered at, that nothing was either sold or purchased in the Colony? or, that from the first to the last moment the Commissioners had possession of these estates, the same ruinous system was continued, in despite both of admonition and experience; or, that the interests of the Crown were sacrificed to those of the Secretary and Consignee.

Considering the management of these estates in a pecuniary point of view, the account stands thus. Had the contract with Major Staples been completed, the public would have saved the £2500, paid him for giving it up, and would have received the rent stipulated in the lease. By placing them in the hands of the Berbice Commissioners, they have received nothing; for the answer to the order of the House of Commons, requiring an account of all sums paid into the Treasury, from the revenue of these estates while under the management of the Commissioners, is Nil. No return was required of any sums they might have drawn out of the Treasury, a defalcation in the revenue of the estates during the most advantageous years for West India properties that have been known for a long period past, being

considered absolutely impossible. Such, however, is the fact; for Governor Gordon expressly states, that calls have been made upon his Majesty's Treasury. Of these the Commissioners have said nothing; but the amount of them, whatever it may be, must be added to the consideration paid Major Staples for giving up his lease, and the rent that would have been received under it; and the sum total will give the amount of the pecuniary loss sustained by the management, or rather mismanagement, of the Berbice Commissioners.

In another, and more important point of view, a very heavy responsibility attaches upon the management of these gentlemen. So extensive and fertile were the provision-grounds upon these estates, that a great proportion of their island expences was formerly defrayed, by the sale of their surplus plantains to the cotton establishments on the coast; but in the hands of the Commissioners, the provision-grounds have been brought into such a state, as not only to furnish no surplus for sale, but to prove altogether inadequate to the maintenance of their own negroes. To supply the deficiency, provisions have been purchased for them at a great expence. Perhaps an adequate supply could not always be procured; and this circumstance may possibly account for the

extraordinary mortality that took place among them, while they were under the care of the Commissioners.

The African Institution inveigh, in the strongest language, against the practice of "stripping slaves from the domain to which "they belong;"* they pronounce it to be "a "cruel branch of the law of slavery, a needless, "unjust, and unmerciful aggravation of their "lot; reprobated by all parties in Parliament, "and renounced by the British Legislature:" they affirm, that "not a voice has ever been "raised in its defence, nor an apology has ever "been offered for adhering to it; but still, in "contempt of the recommendation of Parlia-"ment, this odious oppression is maintained."† So it is, gentle reader, and by whom? Would you think it possible? by the authors of this very Report; by the Directors of the African Institution, acting as the Berbice Commissioners, and Mr. Zachary Macaulay, their Secretary and Consignee of the produce of these estates.

In their return to the Order of the House of Commons, they give in, "Saint Jan, a coffee "estate, abandoned; the negroes having been "removed to Dankbarheyd." Admitting, as the

* Reasons for Registry, p. 37. † Ibid.

return seems to imply, that this "odious op-"pression," as the Report of the African Institution terms it, had actually taken place before the estates came into their hands, still it might have been expected that they would have hastened to repair it, by restoring the Saint Jan negroes to the domain from which they had been severed. On the contrary, following up the principle which had led to their removal, of placing them where their labour could be employed to the greatest advantage, they kept them at Dankbarheyd; and thus, as Commissioners, practically maintained that odious oppression, which, as Directors of the African Institution, they so loudly reprobated.

Some of these very Commissioners, in their other character of Directors, are now actually endeavouring to manage and legislate for all the British West India Colonies: and therefore it becomes important in ascertaining their qualifications for the task, to inquire whether they have been faithful over few things, before they are made rulers over many things; and if not, they must expect to meet with the reprobation, that justly belongs to the character of the unprofitable servant.

To go into a full detail of all the misstate-

ments and misrepresentations of the Author of the Exposure, would be to write a pamphlet as dull as his own. In order, therefore, to avoid being tedious, I must content myself with giving brief specimens of his happy talent in these arts.

He says (speaking of me) I "made it a crime "to the Sierra Leone Company, that they should "have afforded an asylum to any miserable "captives, who might escape on their way to the "West Indies;" and talks about his "swim-"ming ashore from a floating prison, or bursting "the fetters which bound him in some African "village."* This is a very fine flight of imagination; but unfortunately is quite irrelevant to the plain matter of fact alluded to in my pamphlet, the impolicy of the Company, in receiving and protecting the slaves belonging to the inhabitants of Africa, in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone; who, Mr. Macaulay tells us in one place, "are in a state of African "villeinage, which is a very light species of "bondage;"† and tells us in another, are the very persons he proposed to protect and apprentice at Sierra Leone, because "a variety of "cases may be expected to arise, in which it "would be *mercy* to the Grumetta, to extricate

* Exposure, p. 3.

† Letter to the Duke of Gloucester, Appendix, p. 6.

"him from his present situation, and place "him as an indented servant in a British Set- "tlement."*

In order to disprove my assertion, that these apprenticeships were for the term of fourteen years, this writer brings forward a particular case of his own choosing, and says that, "*with the exception of several,*" "it does not appear that more than one, was apprenticed for that term."† The poor man does not know the difference between confutation and confirmation.

His contrast between the state of the apprentices in Sierra Leone, and the slaves in the West Indies,‡ can only be admitted to be correct, by those who take every thing for granted in favour of the former, without proof, and against the latter, contrary to proof; and even contrary to such incontrovertible proof, of the false and calumnious representations made in this country, respecting the state of slaves in the West Indies, as has lately been transmitted by the Legislatures of Jamaica and the Bahamas.

My former pamphlet charged the Directors

* Letter to the Duke of Gloucester, Appendix, p. 7.

† Exposure, p. 3. ‡ Ibid. p. 5.

of the African Institution with misrepresentation on the subject of education. The writer of the "Exposure" has (he says) carefully perused the Reports to which I referred, and can discover in them no foundation for my assertion.* None are so blind, as those who will not see. Having again carefully examined all their Reports upon that subject; the result is a conviction upon my mind, that a series of delusion and imposition has been practised upon the subscribers and the public; and the same conviction will, I trust, be impressed upon the minds of my readers, when they have perused the following statement.

The primary object of the Institution is declared in the original resolutions, passed at the first meeting of the Subscribers, held on the 14th of April, 1807, to be the education and instruction of the natives of Africa, as the ground-work of their civilization.† The Report, founded on those Resolutions, proceeds on a conviction of this truth; for it states to the subscribers and the public, that "in that central part of the great "African Continent, (Sierra Leone,) schools "may be maintained, useful arts may be taught, "native agents may be found, and the African "languages acquired."‡

* Exposure, p. 8.

‡ Report I. page 1—5. ‡ Ibid. p. 42.

In the advertisement prefixed to their second Report, printed in 1808, the Directors mention, "the seminary *which has been formed* at Sierra "Leone, at the Society's expence, for the in-"struction of native youth;" and in the body of the Report, they explain more particularly, their having empowered Mr. Ludlam, the Governor, to erect a school at Sierra Leone, under the patronage, and at the expence of the Institution.*

In 1809, they announce their "having sent "out some African youths, who had been edu-"cated by the Sierra Leone Company, to be "employed in the business of instruction; and "having instructed the Governor, to induce the "African Chiefs to send their children, to be "educated at the *schools established* at Sierra "Leone."†

In 1810, they acknowledge "a donation of "five hundred guineas, to be exclusively appro-"priated to the purpose of civilization, and "informing the minds, and improving the moral "habits of the natives of Africa."‡ A donation, which this liberal and anonymous benefactor was probably induced to make, from the account published in their preceding Report, of

* Report II. p. 10.

† Report III. p. 2.

‡ Report IV. p. 47.

the increased number of seminaries they had established at Sierra Leone.

In 1811, for the satisfaction of this gentleman, and the encouragement of others, they state "the number of children who are enjoying the "benefits of education at Sierra Leone, to be "between two and three hundred;" and announce that two more African youths were to be selected by the Directors, and qualified for schoolmasters by Mr. Lancaster.*

In 1812, they express "their disappointment "at not having more specific details to produce, "with respect to the progress of improvement "in Africa, by means of schools, or other insti-"tutions, under the patronage of the Society;"† which they impute to "the rapid succession of "Governors at Sierra Leone, but doubt whether "much more could have been done, in the way "of civilization, than has been effected."‡

In 1813, they "again express their disap-"pointment at not being able to state any thing "satisfactory, relative to the improvement of "the African youth, by means of schools;" and add, "that considerable difficulties had "arisen, from the lowness of the salaries pro-"posed for the schoolmasters, and their con-

* Report V. p. 36.

† Report VI. p. 29. ‡ Ibid. p. 30.

" sequent wish to leave their situations, for any
" employment likely to prove more profitable."*

Thus, for five years together, the Subscribers were constantly imposed upon, by representations of the vast progress the Directors had made, in extending the blessings of instruction and civilization to the natives of Africa; and even when the Directors acknowledge the receipt of advices from Sierra Leone on this particular subject, instead of confessing the plain truth, that all these assurances were fallacious, they still affect to doubt, whether much more could have been done, than had been done.

Doubts of an opposite nature, however, appear to have occasioned a schism among the Directors of the African Institution; and to have led to the establishment of a Committee, in the beginning of the year 1814, " to attend to
" those objects which are particularly specified
" at page 4 of the first Report of the Institution;
" and also to consider of the best methods of
" promoting the instruction of the native youth
" in the Colony of Sierra Leone."† It is obvious, that if the Directors had before paid due attention to those objects, and adopted the best methods of accomplishing them, the appointment of such a Committee would have been alto-

* Report VII. p. 23. † Report VIII. p. 17.

gether unnecessary. This Committee " lost no " time in entering on the business entrusted to " them, and made a full Report to the Board."* The contents of this Report were carefully concealed from the Subscribers and the public; but the tenor of it may be conjectured, from the circumstance of Mr. and Mrs. Sutherland being soon afterwards engaged, to go out to Sierra Leone in the capacity of schoolmaster and schoolmistress.†

A fair estimate of the difference in the popularity of the Directors, while they appeared to adhere to, and when they were found to have deviated from the original objects of the Institution, may be formed from the amount of the subscriptions during the respective periods.

So long as they reported that due attention had been paid to the education and instruction of the natives of Africa, and that a considerable proportion of the funds of the Institution was appropriated to these purposes, the subscriptions continued to flow in without abatement. The third Report, which gives the first items of expenditure, beyond the charges incidental to the establishment, enumerates "the travelling expences, board, " education, clothing, and passage money to " Africa, of three African youths, £286. 18*s.* 5*d.* " Cotton seeds, cotton gins, hemp hackles, and

* Report VIII. p. 17. † Report IX. p. 64.

" plants, sent to Sierra Leone, £461. 19*s.* 8*d.*" The fourth Report, contains an account of " cash paid for board and instruction of African " youth, for seeds, &c. sent to Africa;" but does not specify the particular sum, all the disbursements of the year being blended together. The account of their funds, printed in the third Report, states the subscriptions from March 1807, to December 31st, 1808, to be £4374. 2*s.* 2*d.* The fourth Report states the subscriptions from December 31st, 1809, to be £1662. 16*s.* The fifth Report states those to December 31st, 1810, to be £1651. 18*s.* 2*d.*

From this time, both the attention of the Directors, and the funds of the Institution, appear to have been directed to very different objects. The accounts annexed to the 5th, 6th, and 7th Reports, contain not one solitary item of expenditure, to promote the education and instruction of the natives of Africa, or their progress in industry and the useful arts. Amongst charges in the eighth Report to the amount of nearly £900, incurred in printing a large number of Mr. Wilberforce's pamphlet, and translating it into Spanish,—in a piece of plate voted to Mr. Macaulay,—in law proceedings against persons engaged in the Slave Trade,—and various current disbursements,—may be discovered, with a microscopic eye, the vast sum of £14. 5*s.* 4*d.* " paid for necessary clothing

"for African boys, under education at the "Royal Lancasterian school." The subscribers appear to have felt dissatisfied at the penury with which their funds had been appropriated to the intended purposes, and the prodigality with which they had been lavished on others of a different nature; for the subscriptions fell off as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Sixth Report,—Subscriptions from Dec. 31, 1810, to Dec. 31, 1811,	367	9	0
Seventh Report,—Subscriptions from Dec. 31, 1811, to Dec. 31, 1812,	532	9	7
Eighth Report,—Subscriptions from Dec. 31, 1812, to Dec. 31, 1813,	659	4	1

the aggregate of these three years, being less than the amount of any one of the years preceding.

In the ninth Report of the African Institution, the Directors state, that "by their unremitted and active exertions, more than eight "hundred petitions against the revival of the "Foreign Slave Trade, were presented to Parliament, signed by nearly a million of individuals."* Among the disbursements of the Society, in the account annexed to that Report, is the following item. "Expences incurred by "the Committee appointed to carry into effect "the resolutions of a meeting held at Freemason's Hall, to petition Parliament on the

* Report IX. p. 4.

"subject of the Slave Trade, £1865." The sentiments of Parliament on this subject had already been so fully and repeatedly expressed, and the attention of his Majesty's Ministers been so strongly directed to it, in the negociations then pending, that the expence of these petitions was a work of mere supererogation; except, indeed, as it might add to the popularity of the gentlemen who took a leading part in the proceedings of the meeting at which it was recommended. Even the parchment on which all these petitions were written, was paid for out of the funds of the Institution; and is charged in the account of disbursements, £448. 5*s*. So that they appear to have been sent down, ready cut and dry, to the Methodist Clergymen in different parts of the kingdom, to be signed by their respective congregations; and thus when Parliament thought they were listening to the spontaneous voice of the people, they were, in point of fact, only listening to petitions that originated with a few members of the African Institution.

At the very period when this extraordinary system of expenditure was carried to a greater extent than ever, the Directors, with singular inconsistency, speak of their economy, and appeal for further assistance in promoting the great cause of civilization in Africa.*

* Report IX. p. 33.

The Directors had now erected themselves into a sort of Grand Council of State; assumed the exercise of diplomatic functions;* issued instructions to the commanding officers of his Majesty's cruizers, and to the Judges of the Courts of Vice-Admiralty;† expounded treaties between Great Britain and Foreign Powers;‡ opened a correspondence with the American Secretary of State;‖ made the most urgent representations to his Majesty's Ministers;§ pointed out the necessity of a reform in the administration of our West India Colonies, and undertook to legislate for their internal government.¶ Many of the subscribers, disapproving of these proceedings, seceded, and discontinued their subscriptions.**

In their special Report, written in answer to Dr. Thorpe's charges against them, the truth

---

* Report VI. p. 9. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 2—6.
‖ Report VI. p. 9. § Ibid. p. 3, 5. ¶ Ibid. p. 14.

** Among the seceders, was the writer of these pages; who readily concurred in the views originally professed by the African Institution, but when he found that a Society established to promote the instruction and civilization of Africa, was likely to be perverted into an engine for the destruction of the West Indies, he thought it high time to withdraw his subscription: and

"——————— as the heresies that men do quit,
"Are hated most by them they did deceive,"

now comes forward to arraign the conduct of the Junta, who employed the funds and influence of the Institution, in purposes foreign to the intentions and hostile to the interests, of many of its supporters.

comes out; and they are forced to acknowledge, "it is certainly true that these various efforts "of the Directors to promote the education "and instruction of Africans, have not led to "the institution of schools at the Society's expence."* So that after deluding the Subscribers, for so many years together, with accounts of the seminary formed at the Society's expence, of having invited the African Chiefs to send their children to be educated at the schools *established* at Sierra Leone; after declaring that between two and three hundred children were enjoying the benefits of education at Sierra Leone; after doubting whether more could have been done, than had been done,—the bubble bursts, and it appears that they had done just nothing; for they admit that no school whatever had ever been instituted at their expence. Oh! shame, where is thy blush!

If it be contended on behalf of the Directors, that their intelligence from Sierra Leone was imperfect, owing to the rapid succession of Governors noticed in their sixth Report, let it be recollected, that when a Governor died or quitted the settlement, some other person immediately succeeded to the command, and would naturally carry on his correspondence. There were also abundant other channels, through which the Directors might, at all times,

* Special Report, p. 67.

have procured correct information of the state of things at Sierra Leone. Mr. Zachary Macaulay, in the Appendix to his Letter to the Duke of Gloucester, has given a list of no less than seventy-eight vessels that landed goods at Sierra Leone, and forty-one that loaded there with produce, between May 1812, and June 1814,—the very period when this chasm in their correspondence with the Governors happened. Surely there could be no difficulty in procuring information, from the masters, officers, and passengers, of some of these vessels, upon a matter of such notoriety, as the existence or non-existence of public schools at Sierra Leone, founded by the African Institution; and if none was procured, it must be because the other Directors were too idle, and Mr. Zachary Macaulay too busy, to make any inquiries upon the subject. If they did know the truth, they were bound to publish it; and if they did not, their negligence was unpardonable. The fair presumption is, that in this case, as in that of Governor Ludlam's letter, they adopted the system, of suppressing every thing that might tend to expose the errors, or diminish the popularity, of their Institution.

The Directors urge in their extenuation, "that Government were willing to bear "the expence of all the schools Governor "Maxwell had it in his power to institute;

"that the Missionary Societies had engaged "zealously in the work of education in Africa, "and thereby rendered the application of the "funds of the Institution to this object, less "necessary." They add, "perhaps, indeed, it "must be admitted, that societies of this "description, are on the whole better adapted "to pursue the objects of education, than a "Society constituted as is the African In-"stitution."*

No very great effort was requisite, on the part of Government, to bear the expence of all the schools established by Governor Maxwell; for, Dr. Thorpe says, it amounted to no more than paying two black boys, for teaching the children to read and write. But did the little progress thus made in the elementary branches of education, or the exertions of the Missionary Society, which probably were chiefly confined to the spiritual instruction of the natives, exonerate the Directors of the African Institution, from pursuing the plans they had so pompously announced; (see Report I, page 4 and 5;) or from employing, as they had undertaken to do, proper persons to teach the Arabic and Soosoo languages, instituting periodical examinations, and distributing medals and other honorary rewards in cases of extraordinary proficiency?† Or do they

* Special Report, p. 67.

† Advertisement prefixed to Report II.

think to found on the good works of others, their own justification, for having so long abused the confidence, and imposed upon the credulity of their subscribers, by publishing accounts of establishments which they had never formed, and of benefits which they had never imparted? The correctness of their last position must be admitted, that the Missionary Society, or indeed any Society, was better adapted to pursue the objects of education, than one constituted and conducted as is the African Institution.

Another apology is offered, "in the low "state of the Society's funds;" and it is alledged, "that the salary allowed to Mr. and "Mrs. Sutherland, amounts to not much less "than £300 a year, which of itself nearly "absorbs the whole annual income of the "Society." This, if they have any subscribers left, is a disingenuous evasion of the truth; for though the interest of their invested capital had not quite reached £400,* yet, in order to form a true criterion of their income, their annual subscriptions or donations must be added to that sum; and of these, with their usual finesse, they avoid all mention.

As a last shift, they add, "that whatever has "been effected, either by the Government or

* Special Report, p. 63.

"Missionary Societies, on their earnest recom-
"mendation, may reasonably be considered,
"in a great degree, owing to their efforts."
This is an additional specimen, of the happy knack they have, of arrogating to themselves that merit which belongs to others. In just the same mode they treat his Majesty's Ministers; for in their various comments upon the measures that have been taken, with the view of accomplishing the universal Abolition of the Slave Trade, they praise themselves for all that has been done, and blame his Majesty's Ministers for all that has not been done.*

I shall now dismiss the Directors of the African Institution, and return to their advocate the Author of the Exposure.

In the paragraph respecting the conviction of Samo, Peters, and Tuft, he vindicates the Directors from the charge of inconsistency, by stating that they decided in the first instance upon supposition, but that when they became better informed, their opinion upon the transaction was entirely changed.† Would it not have been more to their credit, to have waited for due information before they pronounced judgment, than to have decided upon mere

* Special Report, p. 125, 126. † Exposure, p. 9.

supposition first, and entirely changed their opinion afterwards?

The writer of the Exposure asserts, that "the regulations of the Abolition Act, respecting the enlisting and apprenticing captured "Africans, were framed with a view exclusively to the West Indies, where alone "captures and condemnations under this Act "were at that time contemplated."* If so, the framers of that Act must have been both very ignorant, and very short-sighted. Ignorant, because it was obvious that vessels trading on the coast of Africa, must be more likely to be captured there, than any where else; and short-sighted, because the Abolition Act, which only became in force on the first of January, 1808, was followed up, as might be expected, on the first of March of the same year, by an Order in Council issued for the regulation of captured negroes, which directed the commanding officers of his Majesty's ships to carry them, if possible, into Sierra Leone.

After admitting the disadvantages of compulsory military service and compulsory apprenticeships, he appeals to me, and says that "I am bound either to adopt this remedy, or "point out a better; or else to admit that my

* Exposure, p. 10.

"wailings on the subject, are not the indica-
"tions of genuine sympathy."* It may be very politic in those who devise a bad system, to call upon those who condemn it to invent a better; but to prove that it is incumbent upon them so to do, requires more reasoning than has been used by the author of the Exposure.

Being apparently somewhat at a loss to find an argument against what I have said, he actually descants upon what I have not said;† and this he calls pointing out my misstatements and misrepresentations.

With respect to my statement, that the captured Africans apprenticed for fourteen years are in a worse situation than those who are slaves for life, he admits, "there is probably "too much truth in it," and yet quarrels with that statement. He probably feels the same reason for objecting to most of my statements; but this is the only instance, in which he has been candid enough to make such an acknowledgment.

After all the pains he has taken to vindicate the apprenticing system, he concludes by de-

* Exposure, p. 11.
† Ibid. p. 13. He has said nothing of the felons, &c.

claring, " that it has not been in use at Sierra " Leone since the year 1812, except in the " case of some of the children."* What other reason can be assigned for its discontinuance, except a conviction of the justice of the objections to which it was liable.

My accuracy is called in question, for stating information to have been received, that the captured negroes had joined the neighbouring natives in a plot to massacre all the white inhabitants of the Settlement.† As men must join in a conspiracy, before they can carry it into execution, the expression is grammatically correct. The fact, too, is admitted; for the writer states, that " he has now before him " a letter from Sierra Leone, dated December " 23d, 1814, full of alarm and apprehension, in " consequence of the rumours that had been " spread abroad."‡ He gives the Governor credit for great wisdom, in refusing to listen to the petition passed at the general meeting of the inhabitants: but the safety of the colony was probably owing to that meeting, rather than to his wisdom; for conspirators rarely attempt to execute a plot, when they know their intentions have been discovered, being aware that to be forewarned is to be forearmed.

* Exposure, p. 14. † Ibid. p. 15. ‡ Ibid. p. 17.

If the military duty of the colony continued, as he states, to be most satisfactorily performed by the black troops, how came it to pass that no less than 240 white troops, of the Royal African Corps, were sent out to Sierra Leone last Spring?

The insalubrity of that settlement is so great, that according to accounts dated in November last, and brought home by the Elizabeth, Captain Grey, only fourteen or fifteen of the white troops landed there last Spring, were alive and doing duty, and between forty and fifty more lying in the hospital: the rest were all dead. The whole civil population of whites, is said to have then consisted of seventeen men, and three women, as under.

Colonel Macarthy, Governor.
Thomas Whitford, Judge V. A. Court, Surgeon and Secretary.
F. Hopkins, Registrar and King's Advocate.
G. Macaulay, Marshal of the Admiralty, Collector of Customs, and Superintendant of Captured Negroes.
James Ferguson, Assistant Surgeon to the Army and second Colonial Surgeon.
John C. Hockley, Engineer.
Lieutenant George Lee, Accountant.

Rev. Mr. Butcher, Church Society Missionary and Chaplain to Garrison.
Rev. Mr. Davis, Methodist Missionary.
Kenneth Macaulay, Agent to Macaulay and Babington of London.
John Grant, Mayor and Carpenter.
George Nicholl, Alderman and Merchant.
James Carr, ditto.
Thomas Fothergill, Deputy Sheriff, Trader.
William Draper, Shopkeeper.
William Grant, ditto.
Peter Kennedy, ditto.
Mrs. Davis, Missionary's Wife, keeps the School for the Captured Negro-girls.
Mrs. Grant, Missionary's Widow, keeps a Shop.
Mrs. Lemon, Huckster.

Such is the flourishing state of the Colony of Sierra Leone, on which near a million of money, either private or public property, has been spent; and which is maintained at such an enormous annual expenditure to the nation.

The writer of the Exposure complains of my animadversions, upon the suppression of the letter from Mr. Ludlam to Mr. Macaulay, which he asserts was a *private* letter, written by one friend to another.* This letter, be it

* Exposure, p. 18.

remembered, was written by a Governor of Sierra Leone, to the Secretary of the Sierra Leone Company. It is not like Mr. Macaulay's celebrated letter to Governor Ludlam, of November the 4th, 1807, indorsed *secret;* nor does it begin with, "My dear Sir, A word *in private* "respecting the African Institution. I cannot "help considering it as an important engine." On the contrary, it commences thus. "I offer "a few thoughts on the Abolition of the Slave "Trade, as it respects Africa in general, and "our own Colony in particular." Is this a subject of a secret nature, in which Mr. Macaulay alone is interested? certainly not. The letter is carefully and deliberately written, expressing the sentiments of the writer on points of great public importance; and was calculated to correct the erroneous doctrines and projects of those by whom he was employed, both with respect to Africa and Sierra Leone. The publication of this letter could have had no possible effect on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, that measure having been carried into a law before it reached Europe; but it would have produced the proper and just effect, of correcting those too sanguine and fallacious expectations of civilizing Africa, which had been held out to the public, by Mr. Macaulay and his associates. A veil, however, was to be drawn over their delusions,

lest their popularity should be diminished; and therefore this letter was withheld from the public.

Mr. Macaulay has given it under his own hand, that this was rather an ostensible than a private letter; for he declares that the receipt of it led him to address his letter of November the 4th, 1807, to Governor Ludlam, in which he says, "In all the *ostensible* letters you write, "whether to Lord Castlereagh, the African "Institution, or *myself*, it will be right to con-"sider the effect of what you say, on luke-"warm friends and in the hands of secret "enemies." Thus among the ostensible letters, he enumerates those addressed to himself; and unless he had considered this identical letter as being of that description, the caution it led to would have been unnecessary and inapplicable. In a subsequent passage he adds, "I have one remark to make, which you will "see to apply to much of what I have written "to you by this conveyance. I am not "writing for myself, but for others." What is this but an acknowledgment, that the general correspondence between them was of an official and public nature? The letter in question from Governor Ludlam, bore no marks of a private character; and nothing but the consciousness

of Mr. Macaulay that it was his duty to make it public, led to his cautions about ostensible letters, and not unnecessarily discouraging the exertions of benevolence.

Now that this letter has been published, it may be hoped some of the excellent lessons it contains, will not be lost upon the Directors of the African Institution. They may here learn, that "the price to be paid for "the improvement and civilization of Africa, "must be the zealous and active superintend-"ence which will be required at home, of "those by whom the task is undertaken;" a hint which it may be presumed would not have been given, unless Governor Ludlam had been aware that it was wanted. It contains another admirable caution, against "sending "out unprincipled men to make a fortune, "partly by oppressing, and partly by fleecing "the public." These animadversions must obviously have been levelled at somebody: and the publication of this letter by Mr. Macaulay, when first received, might have led to the exposure and punishment of malpractices. Even now it may serve to guard against their repetition.

To justify the suppression of this letter,

on the ground of its involving prospective speculations,* is to discard all the benefits of experience; for it is only by observations founded on a knowledge of the past, that we are enabled to form a sound judgment of the future. The Directors of the African Institution themselves acknowledge this principle; for in one of their Reports, they express their reliance upon Mr. Ludlam's judgment, "from "the lights which an experience of ten years "had afforded him."† The plain fact is, that when Mr. Ludlam's sentiments coincided with the plans and views of the African Institution, they were published and applauded; and when they did not, they were suppressed: nor has this system been confined to Mr. Ludlam's letters only.

In the month of October, 1811, Mr. Macaulay addressed a letter to William Wyllie, Esq. Attorney-General of the Bahamas; inclosing, among other papers, that number of the Edinburgh Review which relates to the fifth Report of the African Institution. This article inveighs aloud against the enormous abuses prevailing in the management of Slaves; imputes the barbarities practised by Mr. Hodges and Mr. Huggins, to the whole of the West India

* Exposure, p. 24. † Report II. p. 10.

white population; and expresses a hope, "that "another Session will not pass over, without "such farther measures being adopted, as may "appear necessary to compel the West Indian "whites, to act as if negroes were their fellow-"creatures."*

Mr. Wyllie, in his answer to Mr. Macaulay, dated the 15th of April, 1812, vindicates the Bahamas from the aspersions thrown out in the Review; and against a particular charge, "that one petty Parliament, in scorn of our "legislative Acts, has passed an Act of their "own, which goes directly to render inopera-"tive, as they respect the Bahamas, some of "the clauses of the Abolition Act of this "country. Their temerity, however, we trust "will meet with the cognizance which it "merits," &c. Mr. Wyllie rebuts these charges, by his own statements, and various documents in support of them; such as a set of the Acts of the Assembly of the Bahamas,—certified copies of the proceedings in twenty-four claims of freedom in the General Court at Nassau,—fifteen indictments for offences against the Act passed for ameliorating the state of slavery in those Islands,—fifty-one cases tried by the Receiver-General and Magistrates on claims to freedom,—a census of the population,—an

* Edinburgh Review, vol. 18, p. 324.

affidavit of the jailor, as to the number of Slaves punished for three years,—a list of the poor and state of the poor-house,—and an abstract of eighteen prosecutions, enforcing the Acts for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Notwithstanding Mr. Wyllie's statement, "that "he considered himself, as the servant of the "Crown whose duty it more especially was to "enforce the Abolition Laws, so much injured "by this publication, that he was only pre-"vented by his respect for the African Institu-"tion, from answering it through the same "channel by which its censures had been com-"municated to the world;"—notwithstanding his anxiety to justify both himself and the community of which he was a member, had induced him to make those laborious compilations, his anxiety and labours were all in vain: the documents remained in Mr. Macaulay's hands, a dead letter; and the censures of the Edinburgh Reviewers, with those of the Report on which they were founded, stand to this day uncontradicted.

Even the existence of Mr. Wyllie's letter would have been unknown in this country, had not a copy of it been annexed to the Report of the Bahama Assembly on the proposed Registry Bill. The correspondence has thus been

recently brought to light; and offers an additional proof of the systematic suppression of evidence, tending to contradict the calumnious aspersions of the Directors of the African Institution, on the character and conduct of the white inhabitants of the West Indies.

What a misfortune it is to have an injudicious advocate! I had ascribed to the Directors the misconstruction of an Article in one of the Treaties between Great Britain and Portugal;* and their ingenious friend exposes me and vindicates them, by shewing that they misconstrued both the Treaties. He admits, with respect to the fifth Article of the Treaty of Commerce, that "for the consequences of "this erroneous judgment, the Directors are "doubtless in some degree responsible: the "Admiralty adopted and promulgated it on "their suggestion."† Then, adverting to the tenth Article of the Treaty of Amity, he observes, "that their interpretation of the former "Article was equally erroneous with that "which they put upon the latter;"‡ but endeavours to exculpate them, by stating that the orders subsequently issued to the Navy by Government, "did not contradict, but on "the contrary confirmed and enlarged the in-

* Thoughts, &c. p. 35. † Exposure, p. 31. ‡ Ibid. p. 33.

"terpretation given by the Directors to the "tenth Article of the Treaty of Amity."*

After quoting the words of the convention, which run thus, "to provide a liberal indem-"nity for the parties whose property may "have been so detained, under the doubts "aforesaid, have agreed that the sum of "£300,000 be paid, &c. in full discharge of "all claims arising out of captures made previ-"ous to the 1st of June, 1814;" he very strangely asserts that the money is paid, not on account of seizures made under any alledged misconstructions of the fifth Article of the Treaty of Commerce, or of the tenth Article of the Treaty of Amity, but simply in consequence of the *doubts* which had arisen, as to the parts of the African coast to which this last Article had really confined the Portuguese Slave Trade.† The doubts might have continued to the end of time, without costing us a shilling; but the Acts founded upon them, and the seizures made in consequence of the misconstructions given to the Treaties by the Directors of the African Institution, cost us £300,000.

The writer questions me as to the proportion of the compensation made the Portuguese

* Exposure, p. 34. † Ibid. p. 40.

Government, that should be imputed to the instructions of the African Institution. All I can say on this subject is, that the misconstruction of one of the articles was exclusively their own; and that in the misconstruction of the other, they had a priority in point of date, of between two and three years, over his Majesty's Government. They say themselves, that till their instructions were promulgated, the scruples produced in the minds of Naval Officers by the manner in which the tenth Article of the Treaty of Amity is framed, led in one short cruize to the liberation of no less than thirty Portuguese ships found trading for Slaves on the Gold coast; and which the Directors conceive to have been so trading, in violation of the Treaty.* After their instructions were issued, they state that "the captures "of vessels engaged in the trade, were nume-"rous, and the examinations consequent there-"on have been such, as to produce condemna-"tion in the Courts of Admiralty in a great "majority of the cases which have occurred. "Indeed, in the case of all the Slave ships "which have been captured on the coast of "Africa, and sent into Sierra Leone for ajudi-"cation."† Thus, according to their own Reports, their instructions were acted upon with so much promptitude and decision, both

* Report VI. p. 7. † Report VII.

by the commanding officers of his Majesty's cruizers and the Courts of Vice-Admiralty, as to leave very little to be done by the subsequent instructions of Lord Castlereagh; and therefore a very small proportion of the payment can justly be transferred from the account of the African Institution, and charged either to Lord Strangford, the Marquis Wellesley, or Lord Castlereagh, on any or all of whom the writer of the Exposure wishes to throw the blame.

From the singular affinity which the spirit of certain passages in this pamphlet bears to the Reports of the African Institution, it is difficult to resist a conjecture that the same pen has been employed in both. The writer, while he denies all intention of imputing blame to Government, endeavours to throw the whole blame upon them; and after admitting in his text, that "for the consequences of this erroneous "judgment the Directors are doubtless in some "degree responsible, the Admiralty adopted "and promulgated it on their suggestion;"* he qualifies his candour and retracts his admission, by the following note. "But the "Directors naturally concluded that it would "not have been adopted by the Admiralty, "unless it was well founded; and they cer-

* Exposure, p. 31.

"tainly did not *promulgate* the opinion in "question, until it had been first promulgated "by official authority."* He should have informed his readers which to believe, his text or his note; for to believe both, while they contradict each other, is utterly impossible.

Another misrepresentation of the author of the Exposure, will be found in his assertion, that "I maintain it to be absolutely impossible "to prevent smuggling."† I stated, indeed, the impossibility of putting a total stop to the Slave Trade throughout the whole Continent of Africa, by foreigners whose Governments connived at its continuance: but there is a wide difference between a Continent containing a coast of 2000 miles, and one of our West India Islands; still more between West India Islands where the Slave Trade is permitted, and those where not only every precaution is used to prevent it, but where the law has declared it a felony, and punishes it accordingly. Unless the writer can prove that there is no dissimilarity in these cases, I find myself perfectly clear of the dilemma, in which he supposes me to be caught.

Great pains are taken to impeach the validity

* Exposure, p. 31. Note. † Ibid. p. 29.

of my comments upon Mr. Macaulay's account of the imports and exports of Africa, at two different periods; and it is asserted, that "the "price of African goods, was, during a part of "these years, (of war,) as low, allowing for the "increased charges of transport, as it usually "had been in time of peace."* Having no concern in African goods, I have no documents to refer to, that will establish their prices at the respective periods; but I well recollect, that in consequence of the war with America, rice, which in time of peace usually sells at from 25 to 27 shillings per cwt. rose to between 70 and 80 shillings per cwt. I know, too, that additional strength may be given to my argument, from the important circumstance that neither Senegal nor Goree were in our possession during any part of the period from 1783 to 1787, when Mr. Macaulay's first average was taken; but that both of them were in our possession, during the greater part of the period from 1808 to 1810, when his last average was taken.† These are the principal commercial settlements on the coast of Africa; and the gum, which is, I believe, shipped exclusively from them, is one of the most valuable productions of that quarter of the Globe.

* Exposure, p. 45.

† Goree during the whole period, and Senegal from July, 1809.

The writer of the Exposure defies me to do, what I never pretended to do, produce an instance of African commodities brought from Africa to the West Indies, and thence to Great Britain, *in Slave ships*, having been entered in our Custom-houses, as coming from the West Indies.* What I asserted was, that when ships sold their Slaves in the West Indies, they frequently sold the other commodities they brought from Africa; and that these commodities reshipped, not on board Slave ships which had been to Africa, but on board West Indiamen, were entered in the Custom-house books as coming from the West Indies. It may be a very convenient, but certainly is not a very correct practice, to misstate an assertion which cannot be contradicted.

As Mr. Macaulay has given abundant proofs that he is by no means sparing of his labours as a writer, it appears singular that when requested to supply the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh, with such information as he could furnish respecting the state of Africa, he should merely note down a few figures of the official returns of imports and exports at the African Office, but decline transcribing the reports of the Company's officers,

* Exposure, p. 47.

as to the progress made in the industry and civilization of Africa, (which occupied only two pages in my pamphlet,) as an "operose "business."*

My statement, that the African Company had encouraged and promoted the industry and civilization of Africa, and that very little success had attended their efforts, is proved by the reports of their officers made in conformity to their instructions. They were introduced by me, to refute the extravagant and unfounded pretensions set up by the Directors of the African Institution, who would persuade the public, that their slender and confined exertions have made vast progress in accomplishing those objects, which others, with better opportunities and greater exertions, have candidly acknowledged their inability to effect.

The writer of the Exposure says, that if such a Bill as the African Goods Bill was introduced at all, which he first learned from my pamphlet, the African Institution had no hand in it. The history of this Bill was for a long time wrapped up in mystery. When inquiries were made by whom it had been introduced, the Colonial Department had never heard of it, and the Board of Trade disclaimed

* Exposure, p. 49.

all knowledge of it; but at length it appeared, that it had been brought in by a Director of the African Institution, (no less a personage than the Chancellor of the Exchequer,) who carried it through the House of Commons, without saying a single word, that could give any member connected with the West Indies, the slightest intimation of its contents, which were effectually disguised by its title.

Not two years before this, when a renewal of the East India Company's Charter was under discussion, a conference was held at Fife-House, between Lord Liverpool, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Bathurst, Lord Buckinghamshire, Mr. Vansittart, and a deputation of the West India Committee, in order to fix the respective rates of duty, at which the produce of the East India Settlements, and the West India Colonies, should be admitted into British consumption. The old established principle, that the obligations imposed upon the West India Colonies, of receiving all their supplies from, and shipping all their produce to the mother country, in British ships navigated by British seamen, (obligations from which the East India Settlements are exempted,) entitled the produce of the former to be admitted into British consumption on more advantageous terms than that of the latter, was then again recognized.

It was accordingly settled, that East India sugar should pay a duty of ten shillings per cwt. more than West India sugar, on being admitted into home consumption, (except when the latter was above a certain price;) and it was promised that if Java or the Isle of Bourbon should be retained at a peace, a competent protection should be given to colonial coffee, against the coffee of those settlements, which is at present excluded from British consumption altogether. Notwithstanding this, in violation of the principle then admitted, Mr. Vansittart brought forward this Bill in the extraordinary, not to say, (as my antagonist does,*) surreptitious manner, which has been stated.

The writer of the Exposure denies, on the part of the Directors of the African Institution, their having any hand in this Bill; and says, "as for "the object Mr. Marryat supposes them to have "had in view, of clandestinely procuring a legis-"lative recognition of Sierra Leone as a British "colony, it had been previously effected; both "the Royal Charter and the Act of Parliament "transferring Sierra Leone from the Sierra "Leone Company to the Crown, designate it "as a Colony."†

Without entering at length into the argument, how far such a mention of this place as is made

* Exposure, p. 50. † Ibid.

in the Charter and Act of Parliament alluded to, does really constitute Sierra Leone a British colony, within the meaning of the navigation laws, I shall refer to the able work of Mr. John Reeves, " on the Law of Shipping " and Navigation, composed for the use of " the Committee of the Privy Council." This writer says, (page 103,) treating on the plantation trade, " But if the king possesses lands, " islands, and territories, in Asia, Africa, and " America, which are not plantations, there " grows a material difference in what we have " all along been calling the plantation trade: for " it will be found, that many restrictions are " laid upon what are called plantations, and " such dominions as do not come under that " denomination, are clearly exempted from " those restrictions."

The Commissioners of the Customs having been required by the Lords of the Treasury to state, whether any orders had been issued for enforcing the navigation laws in Africa, on the same principles as in the British possessions in the West Indies; and whether any revenue officers had been appointed, and if so, under what instructions they were acting, reported in reply, that no officers were acting at Sierra Leone, or any other settlement on the African coast; and that the Commissioners were not aware that any instructions had been issued for enforcing

the navigation laws in that country, during the last thirty years.

The fact is, that unauthorized by any appointment from the Lords of the Treasury, or instructions from the Commissioners of the Customs, or without bond in the usual form having been given for the faithful discharge of the important duties of the office, Mr. George Macaulay, quite a youth, who holds the situation of Marshal of the Admiralty, and Superintendant of Captured Negroes, has acted as Collector of the Customs at Sierra Leone; and in that character made seizures of British and foreign property to an immense amount, in expectation of being allowed to share in the proceeds. If it should prove that Sierra Leone is not a British Colony within the meaning of the navigation laws, as would seem to be the case from the reasoning of Mr. Reeves, and the circumstance that no regular official establishment has been formed there, not the shadow of a pretence can be offered for these seizures: so that it is of the utmost importance to *this* Mr. Macaulay, and those who have sanctioned his proceedings, to obtain such a legislative recognition of the settlement as a British Colony, as the Bill in question seemed specially framed to provide. Whether Mr. Zachary Macaulay, the relative, patron, and agent of Mr. George Macaulay,

"had any hand" in the introduction of this Bill, or not, its great importance to the latter gentleman is sufficiently obvious: whilst it is equally clear that the Bill was not required for its professed object, namely, the admission of the productions of the British settlements in Africa, upon the same duties as similar articles produced in the British West Indies; there being in fact no such articles produced, either at Sierra Leone, or any of our settlements on the Coast of Africa.

In the next paragraph, this gentleman says, there is nothing "peculiar in the circumstances "of Sierra Leone which has induced Govern-"ment to prohibit the division of certain "seizures made at that place, until the appeals "prosecuted by the claimants have been deter-"mined;—whereas this is the uniform course "of proceeding in all such cases; and would "equally be pursued if the seizure had been "made at Jamaica, at Trinidad, or in the river "Thames."*

The best answer to this assertion, is a copy of one of the applications to the Lords of the Treasury, upon which the order alluded to was founded. This order was issued for the purpose of preventing a distribution of the proceeds of

* Exposure, p. 50.

prizes, before the owners could serve a process of appeal upon the proper parties; which, from the obstacles that exist at Sierra Leone, it has been in many cases found impossible to do, within the period of twelve months, the time limited for entering appeals: and to this cause alone, it may be observed *en passant*, it is owing that so few appeals have been entered, against the decisions of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone.

In the cases of seizures "at Jamaica, Tri-"nidad, or in the river Thames," no such obstacles occur, and appeals are therefore entered of course, which process operates as an interdiction to the distribution, and supersedes the necessity of any such special order as has been given in the instance alluded to.

On a perusal of the following petition, which throws so much light on the general system of proceedings at Sierra Leone, as to render any comments upon it unnecessary, it will be seen that some valuable goods shipped on board the Margaret at Madeira, on account of the house of Macaulay and Babington, were exempted from the seizure made by his relative the Collector, and the subsequent condemnation by Surgeon Purdie, to which the ship and all the rest of the cargo were subjected.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury.

The humble Petition of John Caton of Liverpool, on behalf of himself and Richard Baker, Master Mariner, also of Liverpool,

SHEWETH,

That your petitioner John Caton was Owner of the Brig Margaret, of the burthen of 165 tons, which vessel, in the month of February, 1814, was fitted out by him under the command of the said Richard Baker, on a voyage to Amsterdam, with a cargo consisting of tobacco, coffee, hides, and raisins on freight, and rice and coals on his and said master's account; with the proceeds of which the said Richard Baker purchased at that port a cargo, consisting of oak bark, butter, wood hoops, Geneva, hams, anchovies, and Bologna-puddings, with which she returned to Liverpool.

That at Liverpool, (on the 1st of July, 1814,) your petitioner paid the duty upon the oak bark, and wood hoops, and landed them, and the butter which was free of duty—these articles being suited for the Liverpool market. The Geneva, anchovies, hams, and Bologna-puddings, he reported *for exportation to Africa*, for which market they were intended, and then entered out the vessel for a voyage from Liverpool to Africa.

That afterwards your petitioners shipped at that port such goods as were deemed necessary, to make with those already on board, a proper assortment for the African trade; consisting (with the goods so shipped) of India goods, beads, cotton check, bar iron, cast iron pots, tobacco, salt, &c. which were all duly entered, and then

the vessel was cleared out on her said intended voyage to Africa, and proceeded to Cork to join convoy.

That on account of the goods imported from Holland so remaining on board, officers of the customs and excise were stationed in the vessel, from the period of her arrival until her departure as aforesaid.

That the convoy on the voyage touched at Madeira, where application was made to the said Richard Baker, by Mr. J. H. Edwards, a merchant of that place, to receive on board, on freight, seven trunks of India goods and some wine, to which the said Richard Baker, seeing no objection, consented; those goods were accordingly received on board, and the vessel then proceeded to Africa, and arrived at Senegal, in October, 1814; from thence she proceeded to Goree; at those settlements the captain sold a part of the cargo, and then continued his voyage down the coast, and arrived at Sierra Leone on the first of November, where it was his intention to dispose of that part of the goods for which there might be a demand, and then to go on to the Gold Coast with the remainder.

That the India goods and wine taken in upon freight, at Madeira, as aforesaid, were to be delivered to Mr. Mac Millan at Sierra Leone, the Agent of Messrs. Zachariah Macaulay and Babington of London, merchants; to whom Mr. Mac Millan was directed to remit the proceeds.

That on the vessel's arrival at Sierra Leone, Captain Baker reported himself to Mr. George Macaulay, the acting Collector, who gave him liberty to land the said

trunks of merchandize and wine shipped at Madeira, and consigned to Mr. Mac Millan as aforesaid; and which were accordingly landed.

That on the same day, Mr. Mac Millan accompanied Captain Baker to the house of Mr. Carr, where they were joined by the said Mr. George Macaulay, who being invited (as a friend of the house of Macaulay and Babington) to go home with Mr. Mac Millan, that gentleman shewed him his invoices and letters, at which Mr. Macaulay expressed himself much gratified, the article of India goods being greatly wanted in the colony, and the adventure being therefore likely to turn out much to the advantage of Macaulay and Babington.

That availing himself of the information so obtained, of the description of goods composing the cargo of the Margaret, the said Mr. Macaulay went on board the next morning before the master had taken his papers on shore, and seized the vessel, and such of the goods shipped in Holland as had not been sold at Senegal or Goree, with the *exception only of four kegs of anchovies* for Mr. Macaulay himself, which he permitted to be landed.

That the said Mr. Macaulay also demanded of Captain Baker the delivery of the ship's papers, which he accordingly gave up, sealed, as he received them from your petitioner.

That upon the said Captain Baker being informed of the intention of the said George Macaulay to prosecute to condemnation the said vessel and goods, in a court called an "Instance Court," at which Mr. Robert Purdie (a surgeon by profession) officiated as Judge, on the ground of a

violation of the Navigation and Revenue Laws of Great Britain—(namely, the 7th Geo. I. cap. 21; the 15th Car. II. cap. 7, sec. 16; the 13th and 14th Car. II. cap. 11, sec. 5 and 9; the 6th Geo. I. cap. 21; the 9th Geo. II. cap. 35, sec. 27; and 26th Geo. III. cap. 40, sec. 17;) inasmuch as the said goods had not been shipped in Great Britain, the said Richard Baker was advised to protest against the said seizure, and the proceedings of the said Officer and officiating Judge, viz.

First,—Against the seizure itself.

Secondly,—Against the seizors, as persons not duly commissioned.

Thirdly,—Against the legality of the Instance Court to try the seizure.

That your petitioner has annexed hereto attested copies of the said protests, which were rejected by the said seizing Officer and Judge, who upon interrogatories put to the said Captain Baker, his chief mate Peter Stanley, and to the carpenter Nicholas Berg, and upon the ship's papers delivered to the said George Macaulay as aforesaid, in seven days afterwards, (11th November, 1814,) pronounced a sentence of which the following is an extract:

"We, Robert Purdie, Esq. officiating as Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty aforesaid, first calling upon the name of Christ, and having God alone before our eyes, and having heard counsel learned in the law thereupon, do hereby pronounce, decree, and declare, that the said brig or vessel called the Margaret, whereof Richard Baker was Master, her cargo, boats, guns, tackle, apparel, and furniture, are rightly and duly taken and

seized as aforesaid; and that the said brig Margaret, whereof Richard Baker was Master, was, at the time of the said seizure thereof, unlawfully laden, equipped, navigated, fitted out, and employed in breach of the Plantation, Revenue, and Navigation Laws of Great Britain as aforesaid, by having twelve pipes of Geneva on board, and one hundred kegs of anchovies, without *cockets*, or any other document to shew that the aforesaid articles were legally exported, agreeable to the Revenue Laws of Great Britain; and as such, ought to be accounted and reputed liable and subject to confiscation, and to be adjudged and condemned as good and lawful prize.

"I do therefore condemn the brig Margaret, whereof Richard Baker was Master, with all her boats, guns, tackle, apparel, and furniture, the twelve pieces or pipes of Geneva, and the one hundred kegs of anchovies, to our Sovereign Lord the King, for a breach of the Navigation and Plantation Laws, to be divided and disposed of as by the statutes in such case made and provided, by this our definitive sentence and final decree, which we read and promulge by these presents."

That upon the said Captain Baker thus being dispossessed of the said ship and goods, he found himself under the necessity of landing the other parts of the cargo, and disposing of them as well as he could; and finding that the Officer and Judge were determined to proceed to the confiscation of the vessel and said goods, Captain Baker thought fit to make an affidavit of all the circumstances attending his voyage, and declaring his willingness to give bond, to prove that the gin, hams, anchovies, and sausages should be made appear to have been exported agreeably to the rules and regulations of the port of Liverpool; (of

this affidavit an attested copy is hereto annexed, marked B;) but the authorities before-mentioned having resolved to be satisfied with nothing short of the sale of the vessel and goods,—the vessel, gin, and anchovies were put up and disposed of at public sale accordingly.

That your lordships will thus perceive, that an adventure, begun and conducted with the most fair and honest intentions, has turned out of the most ruinous description to your petitioner; who, being a young merchant, with very limited means, will be reduced to a state of insolvency and distress, if he should not obtain relief from the dreadful disaster which has been so brought upon him.

That for the purpose of bringing before your lordships' view the extent of the mischief these proceedings of the authorities at Sierra Leone have caused in this instance, your petitioner begs leave to quote a passage from the letter of Captain Baker, dated 25th December, which is as follows:—

"In consequence of my crew being all discharged on condemnation, some entered in the colonial service, *and several have died*, which caused me some detention, as seamen are scarce here, but I trust I shall leave this in ten days. By the Brisk you will have the original papers, and you will see by my protests, and Mr. Mac Millan, a merchant of this place, will be a guide for you to go by, in appealing, and hope you will be able to make them sweat, *being seized by a man, I may say a boy*, not duly commissioned, nor having any document whatsoever to shew. Not a vessel comes here but gets into some dilemma or other, but ours is very serious, God knows how it will end; it will ruin our expectations. I never saw

such a prospect before me (ever since I had a command to Africa) as this voyage of doing well. I had sold nine pieces of gin the day I arrived, at 12s. per gallon. I should have remitted you from here £800 or upwards; it has almost broke my heart. When the gin and anchovies were put up by public sale, some sold by private, the amount of sale was £960; every settler cried shame. In former times ships never delivered their papers; now they demand all your papers, and keep them until sailing, and make you pay 2½ per cent. upon goods sold; and if they find the least flaw in your papers, you are tried and condemned accordingly."

That your petitioner having thus brought all the circumstances of this distressing case under your lordships' consideration, most humbly begs to offer the following observations, as the grounds of his confident reliance that your lordships will deem the proceedings of the authorities at Sierra Leone to have been wholly unjustifiable.

1st. Your petitioner begs to assure your lordships, (and which, on inquiry of the officers at Liverpool, will confirm,) that the Geneva and anchovies *which the officer thought fit to select* from the foreign goods for seizure and condemnation, were regularly reported at Liverpool; and that, with respect to them, nothing was either done or omitted that could subject them to forfeiture. It will indeed, he trusts, be obvious to your lordships, that, had they been held liable to seizure, the officers who were in possession until the vessel sailed from Liverpool, would have seized them.

2dly. That the existing settlements on the coast of Africa have never, until lately that the officers of Sierra

Leone have set up the doctrine, been deemed (as far as your petitioner can learn) to be British settlements within the meaning of the navigation laws. In proof whereof your petitioner begs to refer your lordships to the first part of the affidavit of Mr. Mac Millan of Sierra Leone, dated the 9th of November, by which it appears that the brig Minerva* took in, at Madeira, tobacco, flour, beef, and gin, which arrived safe at Sierra Leone in December 1811, unaccompanied with any cocket, and which goods were admitted to entry without let, hindrance, or molestation.

In support of this fact, so far as respects the settlements of Goree and Senegal, your petitioner begs to advert to the circumstance of the Margaret having disposed of part of the gin and anchovies on her way down to Sierra Leone; and, as to the important and established settlements on the Gold Coast, your petitioner is informed on inquiry at the office of the African Company, that never, from their first establishment to the present day, has it been considered that they were settlements within the meaning of the navigation laws, and accordingly, neutral ships have constantly traded at them, without interruption.

3dly, That even supposing the local authorities at Sierra Leone to be fully empowered to prohibit all importations, but such as should be made conformably with the laws regulating importation into the plantations in the West Indies and British America, yet it certainly was, your petitioner submits to your lordships, the duty of those authorities, upon every principle of law and justice, to have acquainted the master with such prohibition,

* This vessel belonged to Mr. Zachary Macaulay.

and permitted him, as in that case he would have done, and as is the practice in England, to have reported the prohibited articles for exportation; or to have allowed her to go away, as foreign ships are permitted to do upon being warned, (see the 33d sect. of 4 Geo. 3. cap. 15.) and not to have made seizure of the vessel and goods in the manner practised by them on this occasion.

That your petitioner having thus pointed out the excessive hardship of the case, and (as he conceives) the illegality of the proceedings of the local authorities at Sierra Leone, begs leave to advert to what appears to be a most extraordinary part of the sentence itself, of which a copy is annexed, (marked C.)

It has been already said, that besides the anchovies received by the seizing officer himself, the *India* goods shipped at *Madeira*, the property of Messrs. *Macaulay and Babington*, of London, were exempted from seizure, and allowed to be landed—and upon this point of the case, Mr. Purdie, the officiating judge, makes the following extraordinary observation.

" Forasmuch as we have by the acts enacted, deduced, pleaded, propounded, and proved in the said business, found and clearly discovered that the seven trunks of India goods were landed before the arrest of the said brig Margaret took place by the acting Collector of Duties, *by which they were taken out of the jurisdiction of the Court.*"

Upon which your petitioner submits to your lordships that the following reflections naturally arise; either that Mr. George Macaulay acted with the most gross

partiality in permitting the goods of his friends Messrs. Macaulay and Babington to be landed, whilst he refused this indulgence to the goods of other persons; or, that the absolute landing and sale of the goods without permission, was adjudged to be an act that removed them out of the penalty of the law, those goods only being liable to forfeiture which remained on board the vessel, without any attempt having been made to land them!

That your petitioners have only in conclusion to add, that if any doubt shall exist in your lordships' minds as to the fact of the Dutch goods having been duly reported at Liverpool for exportation, and the vessel being afterwards regularly cleared; or as to that of the other settlements on the African coast having been always considered free for foreign vessels to enter and trade; your petitioners hope that your lordships will satisfy yourselves upon those points, by causing inquiry to be made of the Board of Customs and the African Company. Whether the Sierra Leone Company's Charter, or the powers conferred upon the local authorities by the Lords of the Admiralty under the Company's Patent, are of such a destructive latitude as that which they now exercise, your petitioners are ignorant, and unable to learn, (being informed upon inquiry of Mr. Zachary Macaulay,) that the local laws of Sierra Leone are not published in this country, and that he cannot tell where your petitioners may obtain a copy here; but, if such powers are really possessed, and the persons who exercise them are legally authorized to do so, your petitioners trust, that your lordships will find the present to be a case to warrant your extending to them the benefits of the Act 54 Geo. 3. cap. 171, by which you are empowered to direct the restoration of all seizures under the navigation and revenue laws; and they therefore humbly entreat

that directions may be given for payment to them of the full proceeds of the Margaret, and the goods before mentioned.

And as it is a matter of the utmost difficulty to find any person willing to serve upon the judge and other officers at Sierra Leone, the necessary process to compel the transmission of the proceeds to this country, your petitioners humbly hope that your lordships will be pleased to give directions that the said proceeds, with the accounts of sale, may be transmitted without delay to such department of Government as your lordships may think proper.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

P. S. It occurs to your petitioner to add, that there would have been no duty payable on the Geneva and anchovies, had they been landed and re-shipped at Liverpool.

As to the story of the ship Merced, I find nothing to prove that I am not as correct in the minor facts, as in the leading points of the case.* The vessel was condemned at Sierra Leone; and therefore the certificate of condemnation must have been obtained from thence. Although drawn up from the official copy of the sentence filed in the Registry of the High Court of Admiralty here; still that copy was taken from the original proceedings in the Court at Sierra Leone. Whether there was any thing improper or irregular in the conduct of the

* Exposure, p. 52.

Judge of Sierra Leone, in giving a certificate of condemnation, first in one form, and afterwards in another, to serve a particular purpose;—first describing the Merced as a ship condemned for Slave trading, and when it was found that under such a certificate she was not entitled to a British register, giving her a fresh one describing her as a prize, but suppressing the cause of her condemnation before stated;—or whether there was any thing improper in the conduct of Mr. Macaulay, upon whose application, and to promote whose interest, he so acted, every man who has read the transaction will form his own opinion.

Many vessels have obtained British Registers, under the Act passed in 1814, at the instance of the African Institution, entitling vessels condemned for any infraction of the Abolition Laws to that privilege. The greater part of these condemnations have been since deemed unjust, by the reversal of the sentences; and in all these cases the privilege has been improperly obtained, to the benefit indeed of the Sierra Leone and other speculators, but to the prejudice of the British ship owners, whose property has thus been depreciated in value.

This writer says, that "the African Insti-

" tution knew nothing of the opposition made " last spring, to the annual grant for the ex- " pence of the Forts on the Gold Coast; and " took no step whatever in it."* By referring to the Morning Chronicle of June 15th, 1815, it will appear that the grant was objected to in the first place by Mr. Whitbread, a Director of the African Institution; and by referring to the Times of June the 24th, that it was again opposed by Mr. W. Smith, another Director. On the latter occasion, that gentleman declared his intention of making the affairs of the African Company, the subject of Parliamentary investigation.

Notwithstanding the three notes of admiration, which are appended, to mark the surprise of the writer, at the deliberate proposition of a Merchant and a Member of Parliament, I believe my readers will join me in opinion, that the goods wanted at Sierra Leone, should, like those wanted for the Forts on the Gold Coast, be provided at the least possible expence to the public; or, to state the proposition in the very words of the writer of the Exposure, that " instead of being bought of individuals, who, " trading with their own capital, and at their " own risk, find it necessary to charge a profit " on their goods, the system of the African

* Exposure, p. 52.

"Company should be introduced, because they "having no capital of their own, but trading "with the public money, charge no profit on "their goods."* The introduction of the latter system, would obviously have much reduced the charge of maintaining Sierra Leone.

In my former publication, I contradicted the assertion of the Directors of the African Institution, that their resolution of the 1st of August, 1814, had been posted at Lloyd's. I now farther state, that no copy of this resolution, with a request that it might be posted up there, to whomsoever it might have been delivered, ever came to the knowledge of the Committee; and that the notice framed by them, was so widely different from the resolution of the Directors, that to mistake the one for the other was absolutely impossible.

I am charged with inaccuracy, for wishing to have it understood, that it was the African Institution who brought in a Bill, to prohibit British subjects from assisting to carry on the Slave Trade.† I expressed no such wish. I merely stated that this Bill furnished one of those opportunities, which some members of the Institution avail themselves of from time to time, for venting their philippics against the

* Exposure, p. 53. † Ibid. p. 54.

West Indians; and the truth of this fact will be acknowledged, by all those who recollect the debate in the Committee upon that Bill, in which Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. William Smith, all members of the African Institution, took a part.*

I do not pretend to be in the secret between his Majesty's Ministers and the African Institution; but if the former acted in concert with the latter,† in the motion made in the House of Commons, respecting the pardon granted to Cooke, Brodie, and Dunbar, all I can say is, that the deception was admirably conducted; for the debate between the legal advisers of the Crown, and some of the learned members of the African Institution, had no appearance of a sham-fight; both the attack and the defence, if in jest, being so much like earnest, as completely to deceive all the bye-standers.

The difficulty and delay of serving monitions at Sierra Leone, is admitted by the writer of the Exposure; and he endeavours to account for the cause.‡ Whether his exculpations will be satisfactory to the parties interested, is their concern, not mine. I have only to do with the fact; and that stands confessed. Who occa-

* See Morning Chronicle of May 6, 1815.

† Exposure, p. 54. ‡ Ibid. p. 56, 57.

sioned the delay I know not. Who profited by it, Mr. Macaulay, as Prize Agent, can best tell.

I certainly have not inquired how many of the Sierra Leone cases have been affected by the " notorious circumstances,"* which the writer of the Exposure recites, in exculpation of the officers at Sierra Leone, and to account for the delays and difficulties experienced by claimants. That such delays and difficulties have not been complained of without reason, will appear from the following case:

The ship Juan, Jose Patrollo master, sailed from the Havannah in the month of January 1313, with a cargo of dry goods, bound to the coast of Africa. No tidings were heard of her until the month of November following, when her owner, a merchant at the Havannah, was informed by a person who arrived there from the Rio Pongus, that the ship had been captured and carried into Sierra Leone. The master arrived at the Havannah in July 1814, and declared that his vessel and cargo had been captured in the month of May 1813, by his Majesty's ship Thais, Captain Scobell, carried into Sierra Leone, and condemned there on the 7th June following: that he and his mate had

* Exposure, p. 57.

been thrown into prison at Sierra Leone, and confined until the 14th of May 1814, and that in consequence of his imprisonment and want of pecuniary means, he was unable either to enter his protest against the proceedings of the Court, or to make known his situation to his owner.

When the Agent employed in this case, applied to Mr. Zachary Macaulay to inform him whether distribution had taken place, (as in such event it would have been useless for him to appeal,) he replied that it had. The Agent, having reason to doubt the assertion, brought the case into Court, and Mr. Macaulay was called upon to make an affidavit to the fact; copy of which is as follows:

Case of the Juan, Jose Patrollo master.

Appeared personally Zachary Macaulay, of Birchin-lane, London, Merchant, Agent for Edward Scobell, Esq. the commander, and the rest of the officers and crew of his Majesty's ship Thais, the captors of the above ship and cargo, and being duly sworn to depose the truth, made oath, that upon the time for prosecuting an appeal in the above case expiring, the deponent proposed to the said Captain Scobell to distribute the proceeds thereof, amounting in the whole to about the sum of £990, to and amongst the captors; but in consequence of the said Captain Scobell having then several appeal cases from the Vice-Admiralty Court of Sierra Leone depending before the Court, and the issue of such appeals being

from decisions already given uncertain, and the said Capt. Scobell apprehending, in the event of restitution, the expences would exclusively fall upon himself, directed the deponent to retain the proceeds of the said ship Juan and cargo, to be appropriated for the sole purpose of paying law expences in his unsuccessful appeals. And the deponent lastly made oath, that in consequence of the ship Calypso and her cargo, that had been condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone, as prize to the Thais, having been restored upon farther proof by this Court, without any allowance being made to the said captors for their expences, he in obedience to the orders of the said Captain Scobell, has paid and applied the sum of £400 or thereabouts, part of the said proceeds, towards the captors' expence, both here and at Sierra Leone in that case. And the deponent holds the remainder of the said proceeds, subject to the expences in any future unsuccessful causes, in which the said captors are interested. Same day the said Zachary Macaulay was duly sworn to the truth of this affidavit, before me,

S. Parsons.

The Court, in their decision, admitted the appeal of the claimants, considering their allegations reasonable, and Mr. Macaulay paid in the sum of £800, as the proceeds; the Court having rejected his defence of having paid part of the said proceeds towards unsuccessful causes on behalf of the captors.

The facts of this case not only prove the unjust treatment experienced by the claimant, but lead to some very important considerations

of a more general nature, with respect to the proceedings both in Sierra Leone and in this country.

After the Juan had been condemned by the Court of Vice-Admiralty at Sierra Leone, the master was imprisoned, and detained in confinement near twelve months; by which means the owners were prevented from hearing of their loss, until Mr. Zachary Macaulay, the prize-agent, had not only received the proceeds of the sales, but had entered the case in the Registry of the High Court of Admiralty, as a "deserted claim;" and also began what he called a distribution. The conduct of Mr. Macaulay, however, was as illegal as that of the Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty at Sierra Leone; and his having appropriated the proceeds of this ship and cargo to other uses than such as are directed by the statute, enabled the Lords of Appeal to repair the injustice that had been done at Sierra Leone, and grant a hearing of the cause.

The plea which Mr. Macaulay urged in his affidavit, as an excuse for his violation of the Prize Act, developes some very curious circumstances. Captain Scobell appears to have been determined to act upon the instructions issued by the Directors of the African Institution, as

to making captures; and Mr. Macaulay to have undertaken to indemnify him from the consequences, by violating the Prize Act. Mr. Macaulay's affidavit shews this to have been a sort of systematic arrangement, not confined to one case only; for he swears that he held the said proceeds of the Juan to be "subject to the "expences in any future unsuccessful causes in "which the said captors are interested." So that if the imprisonment, or want of pecuniary means, of the masters of captured vessels, did not prevent parties from lodging their appeals in England, within the twelve months allowed by law, then the expence of these future "unsuccessful causes," as they are called, was to be defrayed by an illegal appropriation of the proceeds of those vessels and cargoes, the claims for which were considered as deserted, because the parties had been prevented from lodging them in regular time.

How admirably this arrangement was calculated to promote the favourite objects of the African Institution! In the first place, Mr. Macaulay, by a violation of the Prize Act, was giving a bonus to his Majesty's naval officers, to persevere in those illegal captures which the Directors had recommended in their instructions. In the second place, the claimants being precluded from the means of appeal-

ing against the condemnations at Sierra Leone, the Directors of the African Institution were enabled, from this circumstance, to enforce upon the minds of his Majesty's Ministers and the public, a belief that the Slave Trade carried on under Spanish and Portuguese colours, was a smuggling trade to the British colonies; the parties interested in which dare not come forward as claimants. And, in the last place, this idea led to a presumption, that the Slave Registry Bill was a measure of absolute necessity, as the only expedient which could be devised to put an end to this contraband and felonious traffic.

My fairness and candour are called in question, because I stated that, in cases of restitution, the proceeds of prizes condemned and sold at Sierra Leone, had not always been forthcoming; and the writer of the Exposure says, "he cannot find that there is more "than a single instance to support my asser-"tion."* One instance suffices for that purpose; and the one I had in view, was the case of Captain Clement Sneyd, of his Majesty's ship Myrtle, whose agents were obliged to pay into Court a considerable sum, which had been received for him, his officers, and crew, by Mr. Kenneth Macaulay at Sierra Leone,—from

* Exposure, p. 58.

whom it could not be obtained, nor has been obtained to the present moment. This circumstance came to my knowledge by mere accident. Whether there are other instances of the same description, I know not, having never given myself the trouble to inquire.

I have now waded through this series of dull malignity; for I shall not go out of my way to notice the single observation on that part of my pamphlet which relates to the Registry Bill. In concluding, the writer accuses me of "hostility to the Directors of the African "Institution generally, and in particular Mr. "Macaulay."* My hostility is not to men, but to measures. I felt it my duty to expose the fallacies, and repel the calumnies which they have published to the world; and to endeavour to check proceedings which threaten the most alarming consequences, both to the colonies and the mother country. In acquitting myself of this task, I avoided all personalities, and the mention of individual names, as much as possible; and neither the Directors nor Mr. Macaulay, will have much reason to thank their officious advocate, who has now obliged me, in self-defence, to bring them more prominently forward. After the many injurious

* Exposure, p. 68.

and unfounded aspersions which they have promulgated, both against the West India Legislatures and the West India Communities, they must expect a few truths to be told of them in return. Some of them, I trust, will have candour enough to admit the general tone of moderation in which my original pamphlet was written; and to acknowledge, that they ought rather to thank me for what I omitted, than to complain of me for what I published.

The first observation that occurs, on perusing the Introduction to Mr. Stephen's pamphlet, is, that a perfect understanding subsists between him and the Author of the Exposure. The former, speaking of the idle attempts in my pamphlet to defame the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, or their Agents, says, "I "leave the task to others."* The latter does "not mean to enter on that part of my pam-"phlet which relates to the Registry Bill, as "he understands it is already in far more "competent hands."† So that they appear to have divided the labour of answering it between them, by mutual consent.

Considering the union of sentiment that sub-

* Defence, p. 7. † Exposure, p. 61.

sists between them upon other subjects, it is singular that they should differ so entirely, as to my being, or not being, the author of the pamphlet in question. The anonymous gentleman declares, that "it is generally ascribed to me; "and that the undisguised admission of both "the booksellers, whose names are affixed to "the title-page, removes all doubt of the cor-"rectness of the report."* He therefore addresses me by name, in almost every page. Mr. Stephen, on the contrary, after characterizing the pamphlet with these gentle epithets,—"opprobrious attempts, odious pur-"poses, spiteful malevolence, stale trumpery, "miserable attempt, artful though impotent "endeavours, disingenuous means, illiberal "work, preposterous accusations, coarse ri-"baldry and abuse,"—declares that the rumours which ascribe this pamphlet to Mr. Marryat, are very injurious to that gentleman, and cannot possibly be true.†

Now if any doubt existed upon this subject, it might much more reasonably have been entertained by the anonymous gentleman, who had nothing but report to guide his judgment, than by Mr. Stephen, to whom the work bore such internal evidence of the author, as could hardly be mistaken. Mr. Stephen knew that

* Exposure, p. 1. † Defence, p. 21. *Note.*

I am the only person now in this kingdom, who was a party to the controversy before the Privy Council, in which he volunteered the letter from which the pamphlet in question gave an extract. He knew, too, that no person except myself, as being the then Agent for Trinidad, was likely to be in possession of duplicates of the papers, transmitted to the Colonial Office by Governor Hislop, respecting Mr. Tallboys. He knew, too, that many of the remarks in that pamphlet, upon the Order in Council for Registering the Slaves in Trinidad, were the same in substance with those, which, as Agent for that Colony, I sent in my own name, to the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, soon after it was promulgated. With such proofs before his eyes, there seems to have been a disingenuousness on his part in affecting not to know what he really did know, and declaring that could not be true which he must have believed to be true, in order that he might indulge more asperity of language towards an unknown author, than he could consistently with reasonable decorum apply to myself. The only notice I shall take of his illiberal epithets, is, to quote them; for such terms can only disgrace the party using them. I shall therefore make no comments on his abuse; and only answer his arguments.

Mr. Stephen complains that his opponents have made an extensive gratuitous distribution of pamphlets, to the Members of both Houses of Parliament. With what justice the public will judge, when they know that the example of this practice was set by the African Institution, who last year made a gratuitous distribution of the Reasons for Registry; and this year have followed up the same system, with a Review of that Report reprinted from the Christian Observer, the Exposure, and the Defence.

He gives his opponents credit for their combined simultaneous and well-timed attacks, on the Registry Bill and the Report; and says, "the instructions of the Assemblies, in "short, have been well executed, and their "money advantageously laid out."* Here, he is in error; for the West India Committee has not had their money to lay out. The insinuation contained in his note, about "the "instructions said to be given by one of "the Assemblies, to corrupt some active Mem-"ber of Parliament by the salary of an extra "Agent," has been included in the same public contradiction, with the falsehood of his friend the author of the Exposure, about the West India body having employed and paid Dr.

* Defence, p. 3.

Thorpe. Both these insinuations, therefore, instead of being injurious to those at whom they were aimed, have recoiled back upon their authors.

The Directors, who regulate the proceedings of the African Institution, treat all animadversions upon their conduct with sovereign contempt. When it is proved to the world, that they have deceived their subscribers and the public, by fallacious reports of the progress they had made in the education and instruction of the natives of Africa; that they have suppressed intelligence, tending to correct the extravagant expectations they had excited, of success in accomplishing the civilization of Africa; that by assuming the exercise of official authority, they have misled the officers of his Majesty's navy, and brought expense and disgrace upon the nation; that they are now urging violent and intemperate measures, which are pregnant with the most serious evils both to the colonies and the mother country; they consider it as a sufficient answer to all these charges, to characterize them as "insidious apologies for the "Slave Trade, attacks on the African Institu-"tion, personal invectives and libels against "the most distinguished promoters of the

"Abolition, and attempts to discourage the "generous enterprize of civilization in Africa."*

In the same spirit, the author of the Exposure says, "the objects of Mr. Marryat's hostility "are the Directors of the African Institution "generally, and in particular Mr. Macaulay: "the other gentlemen whose names he has "brought forward, are secured from any at-"tacks which malevolence may direct against "them, by the place they hold in the public "esteem and confidence. Even to Mr. Ma-"caulay, indeed, it may be a subject of just "congratulation, that he should be deemed "worthy of elaborate misrepresentation, by one "who seeks to degrade the character of such "men as Mr. Wilberforce."† Then again comes Mr. Stephen forward: "I heartily wish that "I were as well entitled to share in the merits "of that truly excellent and valuable man Mr. "Macaulay, though at the price of being as "distinguished an object of malignant hatred, "as he has the honour to be, with the enemies "of our cause."‡ Thus they bolster up one another; and whoever dare utter the smallest censure, upon the conduct of any individual member of the African Institution, or any individual measure of the whole body, is immediately anathematized, as an enemy to the Abolition

* Defence, p. 6. † Exposure, p. 58, 59. ‡ Defence, p. 8.

of the Slave Trade, and the civilization of Africa.

This is a very convenient, though not very novel mode, of evading what cannot be disproved;—of substituting clamour for argument. Reason, however, requires us to distinguish between the professors of a cause, and the cause itself. These gentlemen will hardly go the length of contending that our Saviour was an enemy to religion, because he exposed the hypocrisy and fanaticism of the Pharisees and Sadducees: and if the most sanctified professors of religion have sometimes been fallible, the case may be the same with those of humanity and philanthropy. "By their deeds "ye shall know them," is a rule of too high authority to be shaken by the pen of any anonymous writer, or even by that of Mr. Stephen.

The first objection to the Register Bill which Mr. Stephen examines, is, "that the measure is "brought forward in a fanatical, uncharitable, "and revolutionary spirit;"* and he maintains, that "during the last eight years, our fanatical, "jacobinical, mischievous labours, for the "Abolition of the Slave Trade, have been the "subject of panegyric by all parties, their own

* Defence, p. 8.

"not excepted."* The Abolition of the Slave Trade has no relation whatever to, or connection with, the Emancipation of the Slaves,—which is now the avowed intention of Mr. Stephen, and his friends; nor with the proposed Registry of Slaves by an Act of the British Parliament,—unless he can prove, (what he cannot prove,) that such a measure is necessary to put a stop to the illicit importation of slaves, from Africa, into the British West India Islands.

That fanatical, jacobinical, mischievous labours have been, and still are, operating, and that they have not been the subject of panegyric by all parties, but on the contrary reprobated by the highest authority among us, is easily proved. The dangers arising from the interference of clubs, societies, associations, institutions, and other self-constituted bodies of men, with the political functions of the executive government, were lately animadverted upon, in the House of Commons, by Lord Castlereagh, with great force and justice. In this country, we are happily free from that spirit of military jacobinism, as his Lordship termed it, which has lately been so predominant in France; but we have much to fear from two other spirits, equally dangerous, which have

* Defence, p. 10.

gone forth among us,—the spirit of jacobinical philosophy, and the spirit of wild fanaticism. The danger too is the greater, from their having coalesced, and acting in concert. Indeed, notwithstanding the apparent discrepance of their nature, there is a strong bond of union between them; for although the fanatics are not philosophers, the philosophers are great fanatics.

Every philosopher would move heaven and earth, were it possible, to establish his favourite hypothesis. As Mr. Burke has observed, "no-
"thing is so hard as the heart of a thorough-
"paced metaphysician. It is like that of the
"principle of evil himself, incorporeal, pure,
"mixed, unmixed, dephlegmated, defecated
"evil. They never see the way to their pro-
"jected good, but through the road of some
"evil. Their imagination is not fatigued with
"the contemplation of human sufferings, through
"the wild waste of centuries, added to cen-
"turies, of misery and desolation. Their hu-
"manity is at the horizon, and like the horizon
"it always flies before them. These philoso-
"phers consider men in their experiments no
"more than they do mice in an air-pump, or in
"a recipient of mephitic gas.* They are carried
"on with such a headlong rage towards their

* Burke's Works, 8vo. edition, vol. i. p. 58.

"desperate trials, that they would sacrifice the "whole human race to the slightest of their "experiments."*

How dreadfully were these truths confirmed in the French Revolution, that practical illustration of the theory of liberty, equality, and the rights of man; a fascinating theory which turned the heads of half Europe. The tree was goodly to the eye, but bitter were its fruits; anarchy, confiscation, and massacres. These philosophers overset the altar and the throne; set up a drunken strumpet, as the goddess of reason; and while they were prating about the perfectibility of human nature, they and their followers were committing every abomination by which human nature could possibly be degraded. Those who vainly imagined they could ride in the whirlwind and direct the storm, perished in the tempest they had raised; and those who inflamed the minds of the people, fell victims to the violent passions which they had set in motion. Notwithstanding this warning voice, some of our metaphysicians still think favourably of the experiment; for one of them, no longer ago than in the late debate in the House of Commons on the Treaties, described the French Revolution as "a noble and virtuous struggle, on the part of

* Burke's Works, 8vo. edition, vol. i. p. 58.

"the people, to reform the abuses of a bad "Government!"

With respect to the fanatics, the history of all ages has shewn the tendency of religious zeal, when it fails of accomplishing its objects of persuasion, to resort to persecution and violence. This truth has been repeatedly exemplified, not only in our own days, but in our own country.

In the year 1780, under the cry of no popery, a fanatical mob overset all law and order, broke open the jails, let loose the felons, levied contributions from street to street, burnt and pillaged houses, set the metropolis on fire in various places, and would have laid it completely in ashes, but for the interference of the military. Those by whom this cry was first set up, probably meant no more than the due maintenance of that Protestant ascendancy, which forms an integral part of the British constitution; but the consequences that ensued furnish another lamentable proof, how much easier it is to inflame, than allay, the passions of the people.

Though the spirit of fanaticism then received a salutary check, it has greatly revived since its union with the spirit of false philosophy;

and both have lately shewn themselves in increasing strength.

In this spirit, pursuing the end regardless of the means, and doing evil that good may come, the African Institution devised those instructions to the commanding officers of his Majesty's cruizers, and the Courts of Vice-Admiralty, which occasioned the capture and condemnation of so many foreign vessels, carrying on the Slave Trade in perfect conformity to the laws of their own country; for which Great Britain has been obliged to make compensation, as being contrary to the faith of treaties, and the rights of nations.

In the same spirit, some of them declared, in the House of Commons, that they would rather have continued the late war on the continent, than have consented to make any peace that did not stipulate for the immediate Abolition of the Slave Trade by France. The good sense of the House, however, over-ruled this extravagant proposition, which would have perpetuated the miseries that had so long desolated Europe, in the hope of obtaining an eventual and unequivalent benefit for Africa. Such intemperate counsels would probably have defeated their own object; which has since been happily attained, by the wisdom and moderation of his

Majesty's Ministers, without either expence or bloodshed.

In the same spirit, an attempt was made, first by a pamphlet written by one Director of the African Institution, and then by a motion made in the House of Commons by another, to plunge this country into a war with Spain. The former urging it on the ground of her having refused to concede the immediate Abolition of the Slave Trade, on the coast of Africa North of the Line; and the latter on the plea of Ferdinand VII. having acted towards his own subjects, not on those principles of liberty which are happily established in this country, but on those principles of despotism which are exercised in Spain.

In the same spirit, various societies of sectaries, the self-titled protectors of the Protestant religion, inflamed the public mind, with statements of the persecutions inflicted on the Protestants by the French Government. After having excited a ferment throughout the nation, by publishing accounts, some of which were grossly exaggerated, and others wholly unfounded, they suppressed information addressed to themselves, which they knew to be official and authentic, and by which that ferment might have been allayed. Had his Majesty's Ministers listened to the precipitate suggestions of these

mistaken and blind zealots, this country would probably have been plunged into a fresh contest with the Government of France.

In the same spirit, with the view of accomplishing the emancipation of the slaves, they urged Parliament to violate the legislative rights of the West India Colonies, and enact heavy pains and penalties on offences altogether imaginary. They still persist in this measure, notwithstanding the agitation they know it has excited among the slaves, and the danger, of losing both property and life, to which it exposes their masters.

Thus these zealots and theorists, would have us new model the Government of other countries, according to our own fashion; and set out righting wrongs and redressing grievances, till like Don Quixote we had our teeth knocked down our throats, by the galley-slaves whom we liberated. For the prejudices of the Spanish nation appear to be so strong, in favour of that arbitrary system in which they were born and bred, that Ferdinand the VIIth. seems to have re-established his popularity, by the very measures which we are called upon to reprobate and prevent. In the instance of the French Protestants, zeal and theory persisted in interfering on behalf of those by whom their interference was deprecated, as not

only unnecessary but calamitous; and they still persist with respect to the West Indies, in defiance of the warning given them, of the dangers to which they are exposing every class of the West Indian community.

Imitating the cool indifference of an operator, dissecting a living animal and viewing its agonies with unconcern, while his own mind is intent upon the solution of some new experiment, or the discovery of some hidden phenomena, these self-constituted bodies still pursue their projects, are continually urging the country into violent and extravagant measures, attempting to interfere with, and controul, the regular constituted authorities; and his Majesty's Ministers must either make a stand against these assumptions of power, or give up the reins of Government altogether into their hands.

Their philanthropy is of a most singular cast; none of it is bestowed upon their fellow-subjects, but the whole is reserved for foreigners and savages. An eminent and learned divine* has truly observed, that "when any dazzling phan-"toms of universal philanthropy have seized "our attention, the objects that formerly en-"gaged it shrink and fade. All considerations

* Dr. Parr.

"of kindred, friends, and countrymen, drop "from the mind during the struggle that it "makes to grasp the collective interests of "the species."

Such is the case with the African Institution. The inhabitants of no part of the globe stand more in need of civilization and instruction, than the lower classes of the people in Ireland; and the acts of outrage that continually disgrace their conduct, are such as cannot be read or thought of without pain. But no attempts are made by the Institution to enlighten their minds, to soften their ferocity, or instruct them in the arts of civilized life. Our fellow-subjects in the sister kingdom are suffered to remain in ignorance or barbarity; and all their efforts are directed in favour of savages, to whom they are bound by no kindred ties. Ireland is neglected, that Africa may be civilized. Notwithstanding the proverbial attachment of the inhabitants of the Highlands of Scotland to their chiefs, their clansmen, and to the farms which have been occupied by their ancestors for so many centuries, they are exiled by hundreds from the lands of their fathers, because their chief considers it more profitable that sheep should occupy the place of his tenants. Their remonstrances are fruitless. They are told that the

wilds of America are open to them; and are left without any possible resource, but a voyage, similar in point of comfort and accommodation, to that of the middle passage from Africa to the West Indies: nor, on their arrival, is their servitude much less pitiable than that of the negroes who are carried into slavery. The hardships of their case have excited no sympathy, at least have occasioned no remonstrances, from the African Institution; but the idea of removing slaves from one estate to another in the West Indies, though absolutely necessary to preserve both them and their masters from starving, harrows up the fine feelings of the Directors; they pronounce it "an odious oppression, a needless, unjust, and "unmerciful aggravation of their lot;" and declare, "that it loudly demands the attention "of Parliament."

My notions of humanity are somewhat of a different nature; and rather resemble the description of it, given by one of our poets,* who compares its impression upon a well-regulated mind, to that made by a pebble upon the bosom of a peaceful lake.

> The centre mov'd, a circle straight succeeds,
> Another still, and still another spreads;
> Friends, parents, children, first it will embrace,
> His country next, and next all human race.

* Pope.

This philanthropy I can comprehend, because the progress of it is natural. It begins with the domestic affections, which first controuled the dictates of self-love, and by purifying the passions and enlarging the affections of mankind, gave an expansion to benevolence, and extended its circumference to the interests of the whole human race. But this modern philanthropy is of a spurious and inverted cast. It begins where it ought to end, and ends where it ought to begin. Its impressions are strongest where they ought to be weakest, and weakest where they ought to be strongest. In short, it is something out of nature, a circumference without a centre.

The extravagant extent, to which the principle I have endeavoured to illustrate is acted upon, by some of the philanthropists of the new school, will be fully demonstrated, by the following account of their proceedings on a late public occasion.

An advertisement announced, that the members and friends of the African and Asiatic Society, would dine together at the Freemason's Tavern, on the 27th of March last, the day the Report of the African Institution was read; and that a number of Africans and Asiatics

were expected to dine in an adjoining room.* The tables were laid out for a far more numerous company than attended. Mr. Wilberforce took the chair. After dinner, the company drank the usual toasts; the King, the Prince Regent, the Queen, and the rest of the Royal Family, but, *without rising from their seats.*

Mr. Stephen then arose, and apologized for addressing the meeting, which he was induced to do, as being more accustomed to speak in public than Mr. Prince Saunders, a man of colour, who had just returned from a mission to St. Domingo; and whose communications from thence he would lay before them, appealing to Mr. Saunders for the correctness of his statement. Mr. Stephen addressed himself in a great degree to the Africans and Asiatics, who had only been separated from the company by a screen, drawn across one end of the room, from behind which they had by this time emerged, and were standing round the tables. He dwelt upon the infamy of supposing, that the difference of colour in the skin could occasion any inferiority in the mind. From a warm eulogy upon black as contrasted with white, he slid into a panegyric upon Christophe, whom he described as an ornament to the African

* Morning Chronicle, March 20th, 1816.

name, and an honour to the human race—as the friend of the immortal Toussaint—the patriot, liberator, and exalter of his fellow-creatures—the hero who had broken their bonds of slavery, and raised them to freedom and independence—liberal—enlightened—beneficent—merciful—and, above all, a sincere and pious Christian.

Mr. Prince Saunders corroborated every assertion of this harangue, by bowing assent from time to time. Mr. Stephen distinctly asserted that King Henry of Hayti, the name by which he always spoke of this person, was one of the most august sovereigns in the universe; and derived his title from a more legitimate source than the monarchs of Europe, having been raised to the throne from the abject condition of a slave, by the affection and gratitude of his fellow beings. This broad assertion was afterwards somewhat qualified by particularizing the Ex-Emperor of France, and the Kings of Spain and Naples; and contrasting their rights to the "golden circle," with those of his immaculate favourite, the glorious founder of a new dynasty, which he predicted, would, in no distant time, subvert the relations of the western world as at present constituted, and give Africa its natural rank, if not superiority, in the scale of mankind.

He next vindicated King Henry of Hayti from charges, of fondness for pomp, show, and cruelty, which it seems had been brought against him. He declared that he despised all those trappings of sovereignty, in which other monarchs delight; that when a superb carriage was sent to him from this country, he asked what they must think his mind was made of, to suppose he could be pleased with such a gingerbread toy; and said, that he wanted nothing but bibles, prayer-books, implements of agriculture, and information respecting the arts and sciences of Europe.

The health of King Henry of Hayti was then proposed; but the waiter who repeated the toast from behind the chair of Mr. Wilberforce, being apparently not very conversant in the history of this new black dynasty, gave, in a loud voice, King Henry the Eighth; which occasioned much laughter and some confusion. The mistake, however, was soon rectified, and his black Majesty was drank, the *whole company standing, with three times three, and enthusiastic acclamations.*

Mr. Prince Saunders confirmed the details of Mr. Stephen. He repeated the earnestness with which Christophe longed for religious instruction, and his disdain for the trappings of

state. He particularly dwelt on the assurances he had given his Majesty, his court, and his people, while in St. Domingo, of the sure alliance and aid they might expect from Mr. Wilberforce, and his associates in this country, of whom he expressed himself in terms of the highest admiration.

The secretary of the society next congratulated the company, on the display of African talent which they had just heard; and said he would favour them with another specimen of its superiority, by calling on Mr. Paul for a speech.

This Mr. Paul repeated a composition, something between a speech and a sermon: but by this time the party-coloured children had made their way to the table, and were delivering their sentiments so loudly, on the relative merits of the nuts, figs, and oranges of the desert, as to give no small interruption to Mr. Paul, and render much of his oration inaudible. It appeared, however, to consist principally of a mixture of religious instruction, more connected with the mysteries of the christian faith than with moral advice, and of fulsome compliments upon Mr. Wilberforce, interlarded with texts of scripture. He congratulated himself on the happiness he never

expected to enjoy, of seeing face to face the saviour and benefactor of the blacks, the friend of the whole human race.

Mr. Wilberforce, who sat "attentive to his "own applause," declared, when another of the company expressed a wish to address the chair, that he was glad to find it was one of his own countrymen; for after the admirable specimens of eloquence they had just heard from their brethren of colour, he began to be apprehensive they had monopolized all the talents, and that he should feel ashamed of his own complexion. Mr. Stephen, determined to take the lead in this gratuitous contest of humility, intimated that he actually felt that shame which Mr. Wilberforce only began to apprehend.

Dr. Stoddart prefaced the health of Mr. Wilberforce, by an eulogium upon that gentleman; according to which, Mr. Wilberforce was the greatest living being in this hemisphere, as King Henry of Hayti was in the other. The world was full of their fame; and nothing but the universal conflagration, which is to devour the universe, would prevent its continuing to resound with their praises.

The health of Mr. Wilberforce having been

drank with appropriate honours, that gentleman expressed himself gratified with the approbation his humble exertions had received; but modestly ascribed part of the success which had attended them, to the able assistance of his friends. He then gave Mr. Stephen as high-sounding praises, as he had himself received from Dr. Stoddart.

Mr. Stephen pronounced a second harangue; and in illustrating the merits of Dr. Stoddart, ascribed the Abolition of the Slave Trade by Louis the XVIIIth, to the public writings of that gentleman.

Dr. Stoddart repaid all the compliments he had received, with interest; and translated an address, composed by a French gentleman present, of which the praises of Mr. Wilberforce were the leading theme.

In the early part of the entertainment, a black man led in a white woman, with a party-coloured child, the fruit of their mutual loves. This interesting group paraded round the room, as a proof of the happy result of that union of colours and races, which all true philanthropists are so anxious to promote.

When the Africans and Asiatics introduced

themselves from behind the screen, which at first separated them from the company, a medley of blacks and mulattoes appeared; many of them mendicants, whose faces were recognized, as constantly plying at their respective stands in the public streets; and in the true spirit of equality and fraternity, wine was handed about to them to drink with their benefactors.*

Had the gentlemen who presided at this meeting, confined themselves to the indulgence of a little harmless vanity, they would have escaped without animadversion; but some of the doctrines they preached, and the principles they inculcated, have too dangerous a tendency to be passed over unnoticed.

The doctrine of legitimacy laid down by Mr. Stephen on this occasion, is certainly not calculated for the meridian of the Congress of Vienna; nor even such as Mr. Wilberforce would have ventured to broach, at one of his visits to the Prince Regent.

---

* Two accounts of what passed at this meeting, were sent me by Gentlemen who were present. I have omitted much of both, and added nothing to either. So far I can answer for the statement not being overcharged.

Like other panegyrists on monarchs, Mr. Stephen painted the virtues of his hero, rather with the pencil of flattery than of truth.

So far from King Henry of Hayti despising those gingerbread toys, gilded equipages, he actually ordered a considerable number of them from Messrs. Crowther and Tapp, of Charles-Street, Middlesex Hospital; not only for his own use, but for that of many of the august personages attached to his court and household. True it is, that when these carriages (which almost all London went to see before they were shipped,) arrived at St. Domingo, King Henry made difficulties about receiving them, pretending that they were not executed exactly according to order; but at the same time was graciously pleased to declare, that he would still take them, provided Mr. Crowther would accept coffee in payment, at a price far above its actual value. Mr. Crowther, having no other resource, was obliged to make the sacrifice required; and his Majesty gained the object of this royal manœuvre.

Not satisfied with having his harness, saddles, bridles, and housings, in the first style of magnificence used in this country, the articles which the Prince Regent orders plated or gilt, King Henry of Hayti orders of massy silver or

gold. Some of these gorgeous specimens of magnificence were lately to be seen at Mr. Milroy's, Sadler, in George-yard, Lombard-street; and a diamond hilted sword, and epaulets studded with precious stones, ordered by this despiser of finery, for the decoration of his own person, were not long ago exhibited at Messrs. Rundell, Bridge, and Rundell's, on Ludgate-hill.

These traits in the character of King Henry of Hayti, prove that he has not altogether renounced the pomps and vanities of this wicked world; and it remains for Mr. Stephen to shew, in his next letter to Mr. Wilberforce, that the trifling sums he has thus expended, are a mere nothing, when compared with the profuse donations, which his royal munificence has entrusted to the care of Mr. Prince Saunders, to be expended on those objects so much dearer to his heart, bibles, prayer-books, and implements of agriculture.

Instances of cruelty in the conduct of King Henry of Hayti towards his own subjects, Mr. Stephen may probably consider merely as acts of military discipline, necessary for the support of a military government. But it must be admitted, that he has been very sparing in the exercise of that godlike attribute, mercy, even

towards the subjects of other Powers; perhaps, because he thinks that the less of it he uses, the more he will have in reserve. Not long ago, the troops he employed on an expedition against Jeremie, revolted and went over to Petion. The news of this disaster very much ruffled his royal mind; and, finding that it had been talked of by a merchant, a Mr. Davison, before he knew it himself, it is said that he put that gentleman's thumbs into a vice, in order to extort from him by torture, a confession through what channel he obtained the intelligence. An American paper, the Norfolk Ledger, of the 29th of February, mentions that a report had just been received there, of his having "lately put to death two Americans, "mates of different vessels, on mere suspicion of "their having smuggled two bags of coffee."* But as these anecdotes, however authentic they appear, may be exaggerated or erroneous; and as an infallible judgment of his character may be formed from his own official acts, I shall give an extract from his royal proclamation dated the 20th of November, 1814, signed by himself, and countersigned by his Minister of War, the Prince du Limbé. This proclamation was issued, when he expected that an expedition would be sent out by Louis the 18th, in order to reduce St. Domingo to the

* Times, April 17th, 1816.

Government of France; and the ninth Article runs thus:—" *Sa Majesté ordonne, enjoint de* " *la maniere la plus positive, aux generaux et* " *officiers, commandans les troupes de ligne, de* " *toutes armes, infanterie, cavalerie, et artillerie,* " *bataillons de Royal Dahomé, etc. de ne point* " *faire aucun quartier à tous les prisonniers que* " *le sort des armes fera tomber en leur pouvoir;* " *quels que soyent leurs grades, leur age et leur* " *sexe, qu'ils soyent tous immolés sans pitié,* " *et sans remission, dans les genres de supplices* " *les plus horribles.*" This proclamation shews the real character of the personage, whose vindication from the charge of cruelty was publicly pronounced by Mr. Stephen, and publicly applauded by Mr. Wilberforce.

The origin of this eulogium on King Henry of Hayti, may perhaps be traced to a more remote source, than the mere exuberant feelings of a convivial moment. Last year a mulatto man, named Garbage, who acted in this country as agent for Petion, and had been for some time in a decline, died, leaving Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Stephen, from whom he had received great personal attentions, his executors. Of course, they came into possession of his papers; and all his correspondence with, and instructions from, his employer. In the autumn, they set on foot a subscription for sending out Mr.

Prince Saunders to Christophe, or as they call him, King Henry. The ostensible objects of his mission, were to introduce vaccination in Hayti, and to establish a school there on the Lancasterian system of education. Both Mr. Prince Saunders and his patrons unfortunately forgot, that before a man can teach others, he must learn the language in which they are to be taught. Now Mr. Prince Saunders could not speak French, and the negroes of Hayti could not speak English; consequently he had no means of communicating his ideas, or imparting his instructions to them; but after a stay of a few weeks, left them just as wise as he found them, and returned to London.

During his visit to Hayti, he was treated with distinguished honours by Christophe, who gave him the use of one of those gingerbread toys, as Mr. Stephen calls them, to ride about in. Previous to this time, Christophe had regularly employed as his agent and correspondent here, Mr. Pèltier, a gentleman well known in the political world, for his talents as a writer, and his devotion to the cause of royalty. But it so happened, that just about this particular period, the mind of Christophe was impressed, by some means or other, with a sense of the great advantages, that might be derived, both to his subjects and himself, from his cultivating the aid

and alliance, to use Mr. Prince Saunders's words, of Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Stephen.*

---

* Mr. Stephen expresses great apprehensions, lest the salary of 100*l.* per annum attached to the agency of St. Vincent's, should corrupt some of us sinners, the Members of the House of Commons. Does he feel no apprehensions, lest the agency of Christophe, or as he styles him, King Henry of Hayti, which is reported to have led to a royal grant from that munificent sovereign to Mr. Peltier, of 50,000 dollars, should corrupt some saint, either in or out of that house?

Some of the sweets of the new connexion with Christophe have just appeared. The Brilliant, Captain Fenn, from St. Domingo, brought home sixty-six cases and casks of sweetmeats, marked W. W. and consigned to William Wilberforce, Esq.

The history of what lately passed in a neighbouring kingdom, proves that however liberal the free people of colour have shewn themselves in rewarding exertions in their cause, the philanthropists in that country, with a single exception, were as ready to receive, as they were to give.

"It is certain beyond all doubt, that Brissot, Condorcet, and other chiefs among les Amis des Noirs, received from the mulattoes large sums of money. From the correspondence between the mulattoes and les Amis des Noirs, discovered to the French Ministry by the mistress of Raymond, agent for the mulattoes at Paris, it appeared that instructions and plans were sent by the parties just mentioned to St. Domingo, in the year 1790 and 1791, for the purpose of exciting, conducting, and supporting the insurrection of the negroes; with copies of prints, pamphlets, and hand-bills, to be distributed in the colony. Among the same papers, was found a parcel, containing a plan and register of contributions to be raised upon the mulattoes of St. Domingo; the sum total of which amounted to about seven millions of livres. To these papers was joined a memorial, respecting the manner in which the money was to be employed. Great part of it was to be sent to Paris, to reward the past and purchase new services, of several members of the Assembly and of the Jacobin Club; to pay lawyers, writers of pamphlets, and journalists; to defray the

Perhaps Christophe may have apprized his new correspondents of his royal wishes, to have honourable mention made of his name; and this may have led to the encomiums so profusely lavished upon him, at the meeting at the Freemason's Tavern. A narrative of what passed on that occasion, may be expected at all events soon to reach him, from some of his subjects who were present, and are about to return to St. Domingo; or a written report of it may perhaps be drawn up and forwarded, for his satisfaction, by some of the company.

Dismissing, however, any farther consideration, either of the panegyric itself, or of the circum-

---

expence of printing placards, &c. Another parcel contained a great number of original letters, addressed to Raymond by his correspondents at St. Domingo; and notes of his answers. One of the letters announced, that near a million of livres had been sent to Paris, 'en attendant mieux;' and it appeared by one of his letters, that Brissot had been entrusted with the sum of 300,000 livres, Condorcet with 150,000, the Abbé Gregoire with 80,000, and Petion 60,000. But Robespierre would accept of no money, either for distribution or gratification, although he served the cause with equal zeal."—*Dodsley's Annual Register for* 1792, p. 84.

From the above anecdotes it appears, that Robespierre was the only truly disinterested man among all the French philanthropists. He loved massacres and revolutions well enough, for their own sakes, to labour at subverting the relations of the western world as at present constituted, and cementing the black fabric of African sovereignty in the West Indies with the blood of his white brethren, without fee or reward.

stances which may have led to it, it is time to advert to the dangerous consequences that are likely to result, from such proceedings of the professors of philanthropy and humanity.

Can it be supposed that these Africans and Asiatics, who have seen and heard an assembly of white men, some of them distinguished public characters in this country, pay honours to the name of King Henry of Hayti, which they did not think proper to pay to any of the Royal Family of Great Britain;—who have heard them express their admiration of the superior eloquence and talents of the coloured races;—will not, when they return either to the West or the East Indies, where the superiority of the whites is maintained as the basis of their political institutions, endeavour to overthrow the established order of things, and contend for that equality to which they are told they have such just pretensions? The consequences to which these sentiments tend, cannot be better expressed than in the words of the Report of the Jamaica Assembly. "The dominion of the "whites is founded on opinion. Unsettle those "opinions, and the physical force is on the "opposite side, and must soon preponderate."*

In the very same manner originated the Revo-

* Farther Proceedings of the Jamaica House of Assembly, p. 39.

lution in St. Domingo. Les Amis des Noirs en France, invited the mulattoes and negroes to their meetings, and made speeches in their presence, in favour of liberty, equality, and the rights of man. Anarcharsis Clootz, the orator of the human race, introduced his tawny and sooty protegés to the bar of the National Convention; where they were declared worthy of being admitted to all the privileges of French citizens, were honoured with the fraternal embrace of the President, and then departed for their own country, inflamed with holy zeal to propagate the doctrines, and establish the principles they had imbibed.

Can it be supposed that the slaves in the West Indies, who find people in abundance to give them an account of all that passes in this country, when they hear that a state of slavery is declared to be a reproach to humanity, and that their emancipation is projected, by persons of high authority and great talents here, will not be eager to anticipate the promised blessing? Such an agitation has already been excited among them, by the proceedings that have actually taken place. The most alarming information has been received of growing insubordination, and a general belief among them, that they are to be emancipated by orders sent to the Governor. As the Report of the Committee of the

Jamaica House of Assembly justly and forcibly observes, "If the emancipation, so long denied "by the advocates of Abolition, but now pro-"claimed to have been their object, shall "be countenanced in Parliament, the slaves "will accomplish the measure, without aid "from their friends in England. Of gradual "emancipation, of a new state to arise out of "progressive civilization, when it shall become "the interest of the master to employ free "labourers—of emancipation, not to be precipi-"tated by legal enactments, they do and can "understand nothing. It is a language conveying "to them no ideas, and altogether unintelligible. "But that Parliament has announced the plan "of making them free, and means to accomplish "it by measures which their masters disapprove, "they can clearly comprehend. They will not "be long in accomplishing the object by a way "which they better understand; by fighting the "white men, by attempting a general massacre, "and ensuring a complete desolation and de-"struction of property."*

After this, let us not be told of pretended colonial dangers, nor of the art of resorting to a cry of methodism, fanaticism, and revolutionary principles.† If the philanthropists affect to ridicule

* Further Proceedings of the Jamaica House of Assembly, p. 39.
† Defence, p. 11.

these well-founded apprehensions, and persist in their career in spite of these manifest warnings, their conduct can only be compared to that of the madman, who scatters firebrands, arrows, and death, and saith, " Am not I in sport?"

They are thus admirably characterized, in the following paragraph of the Report of the Bahama Assembly. " Mankind are often com-
" pelled to admire, even the mistaken or mis-
" guided zeal of those well-meaning reformers,
" who heroically involve themselves in the ruin
" they occasion. The patriotism of the Aboli-
" tionists is of quite a different character. Se-
" cured by a distance of upwards of a thousand
" leagues from the theatre of their exploits,
" against all individual danger, they pursue their
" sanguinary and ruinous schemes, (for such they
" must inevitably prove in the end,) without any
" manner of risk to themselves; and, with an
" unrelenting spirit of spurious ambition, distin-
" guished alike for cruelty and cowardice, push
" forward their own headlong experiments, at the
" sole hazard of other men's lives and fortunes."*

Whence can this irresistible propensity to be for ever tampering with the Slaves in the West Indies proceed, except from their incurable fondness for the popularity they acquired by

* Report of Bahama Assembly, p. 16.

the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and their insatiable desire to keep it up, by perpetually recalling the attention of the public, to the source from whence it was derived? This restless inquietude, this constant attempt to do something where nothing remains to be done, is adopting the precept given by Ovid to his lover, not only to wipe off the smallest particle of dust that might chance to lie on the bosom of his mistress, but even if none were there, to wipe off that none.

> Et si nullus erit pulvis, tamen excute nullum;
> Quælibet officio causa sit apta tuo.——

But really this officious amatory toying with their charmer, is quite out of character, in the grave elderly gentlemen by whom it is practised.

Mr. Stephen has lately brought Mr. Wilberforce and himself to the determination, that if their Registry Bill be passed, "there we are "content that the reforming of slavery by Act "of Parliament shall end."* Is this new declaration owing to their dependence on any other means for the reforming of slavery, which they consider as being now in their hands? They and Mr. Zachary Macaulay are in perfect confidence with each other; and a late article in the Christian Observer, understood to be edited by that gentleman, and reprinted for the use of the

* Defence, p. 26.

Members of both Houses of Parliament, contains the following passage.

"A reformation, radical and effective, in the "whole of our colonial system must be made, or "the day of retribution is not, cannot be, remote. "Even now a Negro Empire is rising in the "Charibbean Seas, in fearful strength and energy. "The slave-drivers of Jamaica may yet strut their "hour as legislators, and publish their childish "boasts of independence; but they have in King "Christophe, and President Petion, near neigh-"bours, who may ere long, if they heed not the "calls of mercy and justice, address these blus-"terers in a style yet more peremptory than "their own."*

It is a singular coincidence of circumstances, that the Jamaica Planters should for the first time be threatened by Mr. Macaulay with the hostility of Petion and Christophe, now that Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Stephen are become their correspondents. Such a menace coming from such a quarter, cannot be considered as a mere brutum fulmen; and if it is really founded on any thing that has passed between them and their new allies, it is high time for His Majesty's Ministers to inquire into, and guard against machinations, that portend the ruin of Jamaica, and

* Review of Reasons for Registry re-printed, p. 31, 32.

the fulfilment of the prediction made by Mr. Stephen, " that the new black dynasty of Hayti, " will in no distant time, subvert the relations of " the western world, as at present constituted."

Christophe should be aware, that while he may flatter himself with the hope of obtaining the recognition of his authority, as an independent and legitimate sovereign, through the influence of Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Stephen with the British Government, he may perhaps find himself an instrument and sacrifice to their project of emancipation; for if such a developement of his views should be made, as should render a blockade of his ports a necessary precaution on the part of the British Government, for the preservation of their own colonies, his commerce, the source of his wealth and power, would be at an end; his subjects might become discontented and disaffected, and rid themselves of him to place another leader on the throne, whose system of policy would be more conducive to their interests and happiness.

Mr. Stephen and Mr. Wilberforce have already made so many declarations, as to their views and intentions respecting emancipation, all of them so inconsistent with each other, that the moment they touch upon this subject, con-

tradiction stares them in the face. Mr. Stephen appears conscious of this; for he says, "And "here, my dear Wilberforce, it may not be im- "proper to guard myself and you from future "imputations of inconsistency, on this great "and interesting subject. Knowing your views "of it as fully as my own, I will here publicly "repeat the avowal of what our intentions really "are. If a general registry of slaves be obtained, "(not such as the interior legislatures will or can "establish, but such as your Bill proposes to "provide, a register which should really prove "effectual to its object,) there we are content "that the reforming of slavery by Act of Par- "liament shall end. Though I have no autho- "rity to speak for the friends of our cause at "large, I doubt not but such is the common "opinion, and would be the willing engagement "of those who act with us, in promoting the "registration of slaves."

This new confession of faith is confined to Mr. Stephen and Mr. Wilberforce; for being made without any authority from the friends of their cause at large, as to them it of course means nothing; and even as to themselves, it will require some ingenuity on their part, to reconcile their present with their past declarations.

In the Report entitled Reasons for Registry,

which Mr. Stephen framed, and Mr. Wilberforce adopted, they openly avow emancipation to be their object; declare, that "they regard colo-"nial slavery as an evil which they are bound "to terminate, as a reproach which they are "called upon to wipe off."* In the present pamphlet, Mr. Stephen says, "If a general re-"gistry of slaves be obtained, there we are con-"tent that the Act of Parliament for reforming "of slavery shall end." Last year, slavery was an evil which they were bound to terminate, a reproach which they were called upon to wipe off. This year the evil may continue, and the call to wipe off this reproach is no longer felt. It would puzzle an assembly of casuists to divine, how these gentlemen can have got over the scruples, which must weigh in the mind of every man who considers the obligation of moral and religious duties as invariably the same, at making the latter declaration, if they were sincere in the former.

Mr. Stephen, in his letter to Mr. Smith of January 5, 1813, printed in my former pamphlet,† treats the design of the emancipation of the slaves as the renewal of a stale and idle charge against both Mr. Wilberforce and himself; and says, it was long the watch-word of the colonial party. Mr. Wilberforce, in his letter

* Reasons for Registry, p. 4. † Thoughts, &c. p. 93.

to Prince Talleyrand, printed in 1814, says, "the "hostility of the West Indians was greatly ag- "gravated by an attempt which had been made, "with considerable success, to confound the "abolition of the trade in slaves, with the "emancipation of those already in the colonies; "though the abolitionists took all opportunities "of proclaiming, that it was the Slave Trade, "not Slavery, against which they were directing "their efforts."* Thus, in 1813 and 1814, both these gentlemen disclaimed all intentions of emancipation; treated the very idea of their entertaining such a design as a stale and idle charge, which had been publicly disclaimed; and as a weak invention of the enemy. In 1815, they both openly avow it; and in 1816, they both abjure it again, with certain restrictions and reservations. What tenets they will maintain in 1817, may afford a curious subject of disquisition to the inquisitive; but time alone can discover.

Mr. Wilberforce, in his letter to Prince Talleyrand, does justice to the humane feelings of British subjects; and declares, that "such has "been the progress of truth and right, such the "consequences of the developement of the real "nature and effects of the Slave Trade, that "now, throughout the kingdom, not an indivi-

* Letter to Prince Talleyrand, p. 21.

"dual is to be found, by whom that traffic is "not condemned in terms of the strongest re-"probation. There is no man, whose feelings "would not shrink from the shame, as well as "his conscience recoil from the guilt, of being "concerned in it. No man who would not con-"ceive that he should thereby hand down to his "descendants, profits polluted with blood, and "a name branded with infamy."* The very next year he recants all these liberal opinions, and embraces the calumnious doctrines contained in the Report of the African Institution, "that "African negroes have been illicitly imported "into some, if not all our islands, since the year "1808, and even since the offence was made "felony, there is abundant reason to conclude:"† and that slaves have not ceased to be imported "into our islands to the extent of the actual "demand for them."‡ When Mr. Wilberforce answers Mr. Stephen's letter, it is to be hoped that he will explain the change that has taken place in his belief upon these points, to the satisfaction of the public.

In his usual style of declamatory invective, Mr. Stephen accuses the West Indians of claiming it "as their constitutional right, to treat

* Letter to Prince Talleyrand, p. 4.

† Reasons for Registry, p. 22. ‡ Ibid. p. 51.

" more than half a million of human beings, born " or living under the king's allegiance, with what " severity and cruelty they please;"* and talks of their groaning and successively perishing under the heaviest chains that ever pressed on the children of Adam.† These calumnies are perpetually repeated, in defiance both of fact and probability. It may be some little excuse for Mr. Stephen, that he had not then read the evidence given before the Committee of the Jamaica House of Assembly, upon this subject; but how can he justify not yielding to a conviction, which he himself commends in Mr. Wilberforce, who, he says, " wisely relied on the self-interest of the " master, when the fatal competition between " the breeding and the buying system should no " longer have place, in preference to laws which " the civil magistrate would not in general be " able to enforce."‡ Or with what propriety can he reject that plan, the superiority of which, he tells his readers, was perceived " by the luminous mind of Mr. Burke."§ With strange inconsistency, he passes great encomiums on others for trusting to the " simplicity and certainty of effect" of a plan, in which he himself refuses to concur.

During the war on the Peninsula, I certainly

* Defence, p. 16. † Ibid. p. 36.
‡ Ibid. p. 18. § Ibid. p. 19.

declared my opinion in Parliament, that we ought to have availed ourselves of the influence which circumstances then gave us with our allies, and of those feelings which must have been excited in their minds, contending as they were against the attempt of Buonaparte to enslave them and their posterity, to obtain from them the renunciation of the Slave Trade in Africa. But I never, as Mr. Stephen asserts, recommended using force or compulsion;* for I am not zealot enough to believe it lawful to do evil that good may come, or to preach robbery and murder in the name of humanity; and therefore equally reprobate the spoliations upon their commerce, committed under the instructions of the African Institution, and the open war against them, recommended in a recent pamphlet of Mr. Stephen.

Mr. Stephen ridicules the idea of "inculcating those principles and feelings on which humanity is founded;" and seems to wonder what this new and happy process may be.† He must either

---

* In order to give this sense to my words, Mr. Stephen prints in Italics, and marks with inverted commas, the following expression, as a quotation from my pamphlet:—"*The opportunity of using compulsion against our allies during the Peninsula war was unfortunately lost.*"—(Defence, p. 22. note.) Only the two first and three last of these words are mine; all the rest are an interpolation of his own, and unworthy of the gentleman who has made it.

† Defence, p. 23. Note.

have fully comprehended my meaning, or have written in perfect ignorance of his own, when he mentioned the "benign, though insensible, revolution in opinions and manners,"* to which he proposes to look forward for the emancipation of the slaves. I believe that great progress has been made in inculcating those principles and feelings throughout Europe at large, by the proceedings of the Congress at Vienna. The Slave Trade cannot long withstand the shock of being declared, by all the great Powers of Europe, even by those who still permit their subjects to carry it on for a limited period, to be contrary to the principles of humanity and of universal morality. More has been done towards the real and effectual abolition of the Slave Trade, by establishing and promulgating this principle, than could have been done by war, robbery, and plunder, although the latter modes of proceeding may appear most congenial to modern philanthropy.

This subject has been well illustrated by the Edinburgh Reviewers. They say, "The great-
"est delicacy is required in the application of
"violence to moral and religious sentiment. We
"forget that the object is not to produce the
"outward compliance, but to raise up the in-
"ward feeling, which secures the outward com-
"pliance. The violent modes of making men

* Reasons for Registry, p. 8.

"good, just alluded to, have been resorted to "at periods when the science of legislation "was not so well understood as it now is; or "when the manners of the age have been pecu-"liarly gloomy or fanatical."* Thus, according to these acute critics, ignorance of the true principles of legislation, or gloomy fanaticism, characterize the enforcement of morality and humanity by violence and compulsion.

I am charged with bringing forward preposterous accusations, and lavishing coarse ribaldry and abuse on Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Stephen, and other gentlemen who never offended me.† Not a single quotation from my pamphlet is given in support of this accusation; and the best answer to it, is a reference to the work itself. To the merits of Mr. Wilberforce, for his exertions in the cause of the abolition, I have borne, and shall ever be ready to bear, my best testimony; and I the more regret the danger he is in, of forfeiting his well-earned fame, by being persuaded to join others, who have their popularity yet to establish, in the intemperate, dangerous, and unnecessary measures they are now meditating.

The public conduct of all men in public

* Edinburgh Review, vol. xiii. p. 337, 338.

† Defence, p. 23. Note.

situations of life, is open to general scrutiny and investigation. I before stated, (as I had a right to state, for the fact is admitted,*) that Mr. Wilberforce was a party with Mr. Macaulay, to the suppression of the letter from Governor Ludlam: and I have now stated my reasons why that letter cannot be considered as private, or confidential. If these reasons are just, the suppression of it was disingenuous; and then it is not me, but Mr. Wilberforce, who has given the shock to public sentiment.†

Mr. Stephen is indignant at being accused of calumniating the whole West India population, and says, "Instead of a malicious desire to "censure our fellow-subjects in the West Indies, "I have felt, perhaps, too strong a disposition "to spare them:"‡ and by way of corroborating this assertion, he in a few pages afterwards, applies to them the story of a Welch jury, the moral of which is, that not a man among them is to be believed upon his oath! §

He brings forward quotations, from the evidence given before a Committee of the House of Commons in the year 1790, to shew the opinion of several gentlemen connected with the West Indies, that a contraband importation of slaves into our islands would take place, if the

* Defence, p. 24. Note. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 32. § Ibid. p. 43.

Abolition Act passed into a law; and, by a reference to these opinions, attempts to shew, that he has not dealt uncharitably with the planters, in imputing to them a reliance upon illicit importations of slaves, as a potential resource whenever their estates may require them. But those gentlemen spoke without experience, and without any idea that the Slave Trade would be declared felony by law. No fair inference, therefore, as to the conduct of the planters, under present circumstances, can be drawn from their declarations; and it now appears, upon the testimony of many gentlemen, not planters or interested persons, but officers of the army, the navy, or the customs, barristers, and others having no connection with West India property, that no such illicit importation has taken place. The question then is, whether we shall believe conjectures in opposition to facts, or facts in opposition to conjectures.

As far as Mr. Stephen is concerned, he cuts the matter short, by a predetermination to shut his eyes against conviction; for he says, "I doubt "not, that if the numbers have been any where "maintained, it has only been by means of illicit "importation."† Here he directly contradicts his brother abolitionists, who uniformly contended, that when the Slave Trade was abo-

* Defence, p. 46.

lished, the population would be kept up by natural increase; but as Hudibras says,

> "He that's convinc'd against his will,
> "Is of the same opinion still."

What is called a Defence of the Registry Bill, is in fact an attack on its opponents. The Registry Bill can only be defended, by proving the truth of the allegations contained in its preamble; and then, to use the words of Mr. Stephen, by shewing "the adaptation and ade-"quacy of the means to the end proposed."* I shall bring it to this test.

The first allegation in the preamble is, that it is necessary to prevent the unlawful importation of slaves. Now it cannot be necessary to prevent that which does not exist; and no proof has been given of the existence of this practice. On the contrary, it has been completely dis proved, by the most respectable and unprejudiced testimony, that can possibly be produced.† The evidence annexed to the Jamaica and Bahama Reports will be found highly satisfactory on this point. The Resolutions of the Legislatures of all the other colonies that have yet been received,

* Defence, p. 7.

† Evidence annexed to the Jamaica Report, p. 45 to 52.

deny the charge most unequivocally, and defy their calumniators to prove it in a single instance. Those of St. Vincent's term it not only false but wicked. Thus challenged, the African Institution must either prove the fact, or submit to these imputations.

The next allegation in the preamble is, that it is necessary to prevent free persons from being unlawfully sold into slavery. Proofs of the existence of this practice are equally wanting; and testimony of a contrary nature has been given, by his Majesty's Attorney-General and another eminent barrister in the island of Jamaica, against which this charge is particularly levelled. These gentlemen, in a long detail of evidence distinctly state, "that a black person who contends for his "freedom before a Jamaica jury, has as fair play "as a suitor before an English jury for his "character or fortune;" that the feeling of the jury, has invariably gone with the plaintiff; "that the proceedings have been conducted "by subscription, and that the services of the "counsel and solicitor have been gratuitous." The particulars are given of a case, in which the son of an Indian woman, born upon the estate of a planter, claimed and recovered his freedom, with £230 damages; and of another, in which reputed freedom for eighteen years, obtained a

verdict, in opposition to proof that the plaintiff was the descendant of a slave.*

The following conclusive testimony upon this subject, is given, and supported by documents, in the suppressed letter from Mr. Wyllie, Attorney-General of the Bahamas, to Mr. Zachary Macaulay.

"It is admitted that any freeman may take up a *runaway Slave*, and conduct him to his master, or to the next work-house: but prudence would require that a person making such an arrest in any of these islands, should previously ascertain the man arrested to be a Slave; for should he happen to be free, the violation of his liberty would be punished here in the very same way, and with as much as certainty, as if committed in any county in England. But the laws of these Islands provide an effectual remedy, by which any man of colour, who has claim to freedom, may assert his right to it, with but little delay, and without either expence or personal risk. The document No. 3, will prove, that of fifty-one negroes, who claimed their freedom in these islands under the Act of 28th Geo. III. between the years 1788 and 1796, thirty-two were adjudged to be free. Another of the documents (No. 1,) shews that, since the year 1799, seventeen trials have taken place in this island, either under the new Act (see vol. i. page 490,) or according to the forms of the common law, as prac-

* Further Proceedings of the Jamaica House of Assembly, p. 87 to 93.

tised in England, while slavery existed in that country under the name of Villeinage—and the author of the paper, upon which I am observing, will perhaps be astonished to perceive, that in fifteen of those seventeen cases, the claimants were restored to liberty. 'Yet the sphere of these operations was a West India Court of Judicature.' "*

It now remains to consider the "adaptation and adequacy of the means to the end proposed;" and Mr. Stephen assumes, that, "as this topic has been left untouched, his opponents felt the Bill to be on this side invulnerable;" but as usual, he assumes much more than the truth warrants, as will easily be shewn.

This Bill is copied, in its leading provisions, from the Order in Council for Registering the Slaves in Trinidad, the framers of which seem not to have been aware, of the complex nature of the piece of machinery they attempted to set in motion; and which cannot be kept going by

---

* The Laws of Grenada, which are reviled in the Reasons for Registry for discouraging manumissions, at least give good security for the enjoyment of freedom by those to whom it belongs, and liberal indulgence to those by whom it is claimed; for they provide, that "where there is neither manumission nor proof of freedom by birth, a claim of freedom by repute, may be proved, certified, and given in evidence, if the party has been reputed free for five years."—*Smith's Laws of Grenada*, p. 256.

all the exertions of the Registrar,—a compliance with its injunctions being absolutely impracticable.

It requires, in the first place, a description of the country marks on each slave. Now the country marks, on some of the African nations, are almost innumerable. For instance, the Moco and Bibby negroes, both men and women, are covered with marks all over the front of their bodies, down to the very bottom of their loins; and a gentleman in Trinidad, filled ten sheets of paper in describing the country marks of a single slave, with the accuracy which he considered necessary, to distinguish him in case of any dispute about his identity, and also to comply with the Order in Council. The Registrar, however, probably foreseeing that the whole world would scarcely contain all the books that would be written, were he, in every such case, to enter and copy all these particulars, refused to receive his return in that shape.

In the next place, the Order in Council requires the owner " to insert, in the ninth or " further columns of his returns, the relation that " the slave bears to the superior relative, or " slave, by whose name the family section of " the list to which he belongs, is entitled, as " aforesaid, with such farther particulars of

" genealogy, or family connection, as the owner, " or party making the return, shall think fit to " add."* So that the progeny of every new connection between a male and female slave, requires an alteration in the returns; and a very long and complicated entry in the Registrar's books.

According to the Order in Council, the new annual returns " must specify the then existing " stature, by actual admeasurement, of infant " slaves formerly registered, or slaves who had " not at the time of the original registration " thereof, attained to their full stature."†— They must farther contain, " a true and " particular account, of all births and deaths " within the year preceding; also an account of " all deductions from, or additions to the former " stock of slaves, by other means, which parti- " cular cause, or mode of deduction or addition, " shall in all cases be distinctly specified; and in " case of purchase or other acquisition or sale, or " other transfer or manumission, of slaves formerly " registered, the registered name and descrip- " tion of every such slave, and of his or her " former plantation, owner or owners, shall be " set forth at large in such annual return."‡

Experience has shewn, that the alterations in

* Order in Council, p. 5. † Ibid. p. 11. ‡ Ibid.

the annual returns, arising from various causes, are in the proportion of about one to three of the whole number of slaves. Thus the Registrar in Trinidad has between eight and nine thousand new entries to make in his books every year; each of which requires a reference to, and comparison with the books of the preceding year, (and some of which must necessarily run into long details,) before he can "make out a general account, or abstract, of all the annual "returns, and the accounts and particulars of "all deductions or additions specified in each "return, and compare the same with the said "returns and the registry thereof remaining in "his office,"* and forward copies of the same, to the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department.

All this the Registrar is bound to do, by the Order in Council, on or before the first day of March in each year, the Planters furnishing him with their returns by the 11th of January; but so far from this having been done, the copies of the first returns, which were completed in December, 1813,† have not reached the office of the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department to this very moment. The book containing the returns of the personal slaves is indeed arrived, but that containing the more voluminous re-

* Order in Council, p. 15. † Reasons for Registry, p. 28.

turns of the plantation slaves, has not. The fact is, that the duty which the Registrar is enjoined to perform in two months, remains unexecuted after a lapse of above two years; so that the farther he proceeds, the more he will be behind-hand; and the vast mass of returns before him are already in such a state, both of long unentered arrear, and inextricable confusion, as renders them totally useless for any practical purpose whatever.

These details are sufficient to shew, that even if the end proposed by the Bill now before Parliament were necessary, the accomplishment of it would never be secured by that measure. The Order in Council for registering the Slaves in Trinidad, and the Bill founded upon it, are standing proofs of the absurdity of attempting to legislate for distant colonies, by persons who have not that local knowledge, which can only be acquired by a constant residence on the spot, and which is indispensably requisite to enable them so to frame their measures, as to make them effectual to the objects they have in view.

Lord Grenville, in his speech on his late motion for Papers respecting the state of the Slaves in the West Indies, stated the necessity of Parliament having such information before them,

as would enable them to judge of the effect produced by the Abolition of the Slave Trade, on the population of the West India Colonies. His Lordship observed, "If in the course of "your deliberations on this subject, you should "be satisfied that the object may be attained, "by other means than by the interposition of "the British Legislature, I am willing to admit "that such an interference ought not to be "pressed: for with a reference, generally speak-"ing, to the situation in which the British Colo-"nies are placed, I am of opinion, that it is only "in cases where it can be shewn, that the local "Legislatures, from whatever cause, are inade-"quate to remedy the evils complained of, that "it becomes our duty to interpose." How different are these just and moderate sentiments, from those contained in the violent and intemperate Report of the African Institution! Had they recommended a registration of the slaves, on the same grounds and in the same spirit, Registry Acts would have been immediately passed by the Legislatures of every island; acts that would have proved effectual to their object, without being either so expensive or oppressive, as the ineffectual Order in Council framed by Mr. Stephen, has been to the inhabitants of Trinidad. But when the Report of the African Institution declared, that the British Parliament must legislate for the Colonies, in order to pre-

vent the illicit importation of slaves, and the selling free coloured persons into slavery, and that Registries established by acts of the Assemblies, would be made a cover for the very frauds they were designed to prevent,* well might the Jamaica House of Assembly declare, "that having proved that smuggling does not "exist, and that persons entitled to freedom "never have been held in slavery, they cannot "in compliment to any body of men, propose "legal enactments against imaginary crimes."†

Registry Acts have already been passed in many of the islands, either for the purposes of revenue, or of ascertaining the population; and if any amendments can be shewn to be necessary, they will doubtless be readily adopted, not only in these, but in all the other colonies. No opposition has been made to a Registry of the Slaves by the Acts of the Colonial Legislatures, except that which has been provoked by the severe and unjust aspersions contained in the Report of the African Institution, and still repeated by Mr. Stephen.

This gentleman farther proposes, as an appendage to the registries, a public depositary of them in this country, which would be both an useless and an expensive establishment; the proper

* Reasons for Registry, p. 107. † Jamaica Report, p. 40.

place for the registries certainly being that, where the negroes themselves may be compared with them; and where all other records respecting West India property are also lodged.

Mr. Stephen has, for the present, abandoned his attack upon us pamphleteers, to encounter the Report of the Jamaica House of Assembly; and in announcing this determination, modestly compares himself with the first of Generals,* meaning the immortal Wellington. He might have found a more appropriate comparison, in the manœuvres of his impetuous and desperate antagonist, when instead of following up his first furious onset on the Prussians, he left them, to pour down with his whole force on the British army. But as all his efforts to break their solid masses were foiled, as his curassiers and imperial guards were broken and repulsed in every charge; so will the casuistry and impetuosity of Mr. Stephen spend themselves in vain upon the solid facts and impenetrable arguments of the Jamaica and Bahama Reports; till, at length, he will be driven from the field in irretrievable confusion, and the triumph of truth and reason, over calumny and fanaticism, will be complete.

---

* Defence, p. 50.

I have little leisure to engage in literary controversy, and less disposition to make myself conspicuous by doing so. But having read the abuse, that for some time past has been constantly poured out upon the West India Legislatures and West India Communities, and finding it was at length followed up by overt acts, interfering with the rights, injurious to the property, and even dangerous to the existence of that class of our fellow-subjects, I felt it due to the cause of truth and justice, to endeavour to correct the misrepresentations, repel the calumnies, and expose the fallacies distributed among the Members of Parliament, with the view of supporting Mr. Wilberforce's Bill. I merely flattered myself, that my book, like an advanced guard, might in some degree stop the march of the enemy, and give time for that more powerful force to come up, which I was aware would soon be furnished by the Colonial Legislatures, in support of their own cause; and therefore did not avow myself as the Author. Having, however, like Mr. Stephen, been mentioned both by friends and foes, and having no wish to shrink from the responsibility of what I have written, I have put my name to the title-page of the fourth edition of "Thoughts, &c." The attacks made upon me, as the author of that pamphlet, and some new fallacies on the part of my opponents,

have now induced me to write MORE THOUGHTS, in which I have treated men and measures with less reserve, than I thought delicacy required me to use, when writing anonymously. I have other facts and arguments yet in store; which, if the same provocation is given, and the same system continued, I shall also arrange and publish, under the title of MORE THOUGHTS STILL.

FINIS.

HUGHES & RAYNES, PRINTERS, MAIDEN-LANE, COVENT-GARDEN.

Marryat, Joseph
More thoughts