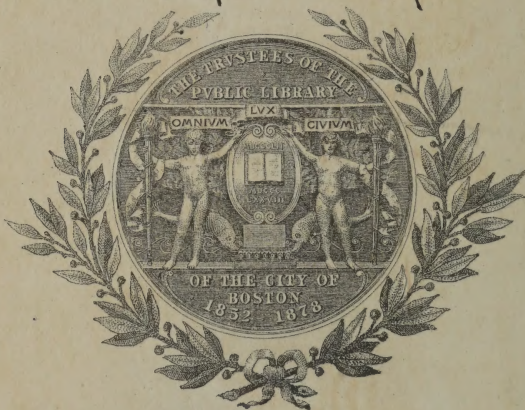


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BRIEF REVIEW, &c.

THE period has at length arrived, at which it appears desirable to take a brief review of the labours of "The Committee of the London Anti-Slavery Society," in bringing about the important events which have taken place in regard to the abolition of slavery throughout the British Dominions; events, the importance of which will still be in the course of development, when many of those which now engross the attention of Nations, shall have ceased to be of the slightest interest.

In contemplating the various circumstances which have marked the progress of this Society, from its formation in the year 1823, down to the present period, the first and deepest sentiment to which such a review gives birth, is one of reverential gratitude to the Almighty, for His own marvellous interposition in overruling the hearts of Princes, and the purposes of Nations, on the great question of Slavery; and next, for his great goodness to the Anti-Slavery Committee, in permitting them, as his instruments, to take so large a share in accomplishing this mighty change.

It is not, however, our present intention to enter into the history of those difficulties and successes which occurred prior to the passing of the Imperial Act in 1833, for the abolition of slavery, but which unhappily restricted the freedom it ostensibly gave, by establishing at the same time, a system of apprenticeship; because up to that period, the publications made by the Committee on these points as well as on others were so full and so frequent, that they cannot have escaped the recollection of those, who have taken any interest in Anti-Slavery proceedings.

On the passing of the above-mentioned act, the Committee hoped that their more arduous labours had ceased, although a latent fear of what might take place, (a fear which subsequent events, unhappily proved to have been too well found d,)

Library of
William Lloyd Garrison
JULY 8, 1899
2

prevented them from dissolving the Society; they, however, instantly proceeded to dismiss their establishment, retaining merely an office as a place of safe deposit for their voluminous documents, and for the receipt of the correspondence still kept up with the colonies.

For a considerable time, nothing certain occurred to indicate any necessity for a more active line of conduct, although occasional reports reached the Committee of such a nature as to satisfy them, that they had used a sound discretion in not abandoning the post in which Providence had placed them, as the advocates and defenders in this country, of the negroes' rights. But although their apprehensions were sufficiently excited, to induce them in the commencement of the year 1835, to renew their meetings, and to take measures for resuming more systematically the duties of their office, the Committee had deeply to regret, that they were left for so long a period without any official documents to show what had really been done either in the colonies, or by the government at home, for carrying out the principles of the Abolition Act. They felt the want of such information the more especially, as it had ever been upon official statements, that the Committee had placed most reliance for establishing their cause, and in the absence of which, they did not in the present instance feel themselves authorized again to come with a case of complaint and accusation before the government and parliament. This want of official information, the Committee stated in their Reporter issued in the month of February, 1835, "to have been the source of much disquiet and apprehension," and added, that they "found it difficult to persist in their plan of forbearance, until they could have the whole case before them, with all its circumstances."* At the same time, the Committee, disposed to think favourably of a government which had concurred in carrying the Abolition Act, although in some respects a defective one, expressed their hope, that "the ministers of the Crown would be able satisfactorily to explain to parliament and the public, their reasons for having withheld all official information on the working of the new system." In this hope, however, the Committee were disappointed; and when a scanty part of the official documents connected with the question was at length laid before parliament, the Committee found abundant reason for alarm and anxiety, not only as regarded the conduct of the planters and the colonial legislatures, but also, that of the then colonial

* Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 112, p. 234.

secretary of state, Mr. (now Lord) Stanley, in granting the sanction of the Crown to acts, which he at the same time pronounced to be unsatisfactory, and contrary to the letter and principles of the Imperial Abolition Act. In a postscript to the number of the Reporter alluded to, the Committee stated, that the information they had received up to that period, "placed in a still stronger light than they could have expected, the absolute necessity of a prompt interposition on the part of government, in order to obviate the evils which were to be apprehended from the perverseness and obstinacy of a great part of the white population in the West Indies:" and the Committee then proceeded to state briefly, the nature of some of those practical evils, namely:

1st. The discontinuance of cooks for preparing food for the labourers; of water carriers in the field, &c.

2d. The withdrawing the allowance of nurses for the infants of mothers during the hours of field labour.

3d. The forcing to field labour the aged, the infirm, and the maimed, and the mothers of six children and upwards; all of whom, in the time of slavery, had been exempted from it.

4th. The withdrawing of watchmen from the negro provision grounds, and thereby leaving them exposed to robbery and destruction from cattle, &c.

5th. The withholding the allowances of salt provisions, fire-wood, &c. made in the time of slavery.

6th. The depriving the negroes of the right of free access to relations residing on different estates.

7th. The destruction of the pigs, poultry, &c. of the negroes, which might be found at large, and the imposition of new and severe restrictions on the negroes, in the disposal of their property at the markets, &c. &c.

In the same Reporter, the Committee also deprecated the evils likely to be inflicted on the negro, by the Act of the Jamaica legislature, sanctioned by the governor (July, 1834), which extended to *any* justice of the peace, as well as special justices, the power of trying, and convicting, and punishing apprentices charged with misdemeanors, misconduct, ill-behaviour, absconding, violation of contracts for labour, &c. &c. And the Committee then proceeded to observe, that—

"No one who is acquainted with the working of plantations in the slave colonies, but must feel, that the whole apprenticeship system, by the means it has given to the planter to exercise his ingenuity in expedients to annoy and torment the apprentice, may so act, that what was meant as a blessing, may be actually converted into a curse. It ought, therefore,

never to have been thought of, and ought now to be made to cease as soon as possible. These very expedients of annoyance, which we have specified, are evidently intended to force the compliance of the apprentice with the requisitions, however unreasonable, of the master, for what he chooses to call *voluntary labour*. But who could voluntarily labour under such cruel constraints as we have shown to have been employed? If the negroes are men they will not, and they ought not, to yield to such unwarrantable and illegal expedients; and we trust, that they will firmly but peaceably resist such attempts, and refuse to be parties in replacing and riveting the chains which the law had, as we hoped, for ever broken.” * * *

“If the legislatures have neglected their duties, and that some have done so is evident, then they are not entitled to one sixpence of the indemnity assigned to them; and we trust that no vote will pass the House of Commons, until that House is fully satisfied, that the conditions on which alone indemnity was promised, shall have been fulfilled to the utmost. It were indeed a monstrous abuse, were it possible, that after paying twenty millions out of the hard-earned contributions of the people of the United Kingdom, we should find, that after all, the apprenticed labourers had been placed in a worse situation, in many essential respects, than when they were slaves. It were perfectly easy to prove, at the bar of parliament, the facts we have now brought forward. And we call on every member of it, who has any regard for that national faith which has been pledged to these long oppressed and injured people, and for the interests of humanity and justice, to protest loudly against any attempt of the planters to frustrate the benevolent intentions, and to elude the essential provisions, and with them, the spirit of the solemn and momentous Act of emancipation, refusing to them a single farthing of indemnity until that emancipation is made complete.”

Again, the Committee say, “We are shocked to find the unsparing use which is made of the degrading inflictions of the cart-whip, by some of the Special Magistrates, in cases where other and less revolting punishments might be resorted to. It is strange and humiliating to mark with what facility some of these newly-imported magistrates reconcile themselves to the brutal and disgusting practice of such severities, and especially to the free use of that most degrading and disgusting of punishments—the cart-whip, and that even, in trivial cases. Such is not the way to raise the moral character of the negro.

We admit, at the same time, that flogging is very popular among the planters, and this is one inducement to practise it so much. It is remarked, indeed, by 'The Watchman,' that even in the Assembly, those special magistrates are sure to be distinguished by the applause of the members who are most noted for the number and severity of the flagellations they inflict on the apprentices, while those who act more leniently, are regarded with disfavour."

In concluding this Reporter, the committee called "the attention of the friends of the African race, and especially of the members of the Anti-Slavery Society, to the circumstances in which they were placed by the details communicated. From these it is perfectly clear," they added, "that the great work in which we have been engaged for the last twelve years, is by no means so accomplished, as that we can intermit our vigilance, or cease to continue in a state of combination, ready to act as emergencies may require. We had hoped, that before this time, we might have disencumbered ourselves of our establishment. We have, indeed, greatly reduced it, but we feel more and more, that we are called to be ready for renewed exertions, if we would not lose the fruits of our past labours. This intimation, we trust, will be felt by our friends in all parts of the kingdom, and especially by our numerous auxiliaries, to whose support and to whose liberal contributions we have been already so deeply indebted. It has become indispensable to replenish the funds of the Society, so as not to be crippled in the efforts we may be called upon to make on behalf of our clients, and for kindred objects. There is much slavery still in other lands than those of the British Crown. We feel so well assured of the liberality of our friends, as to deem it unnecessary to press the point at greater length at present."

The Reporter from which the preceding extracts have been taken, be it remembered, was written in January, and published in February 1835. The Abolition Act, as is well known, came into operation in the preceding August, so that six months had not elapsed, before the Anti-Slavery Committee had specifically denounced to the public, many of the points in which both the letter and the spirit of the Imperial Abolition Act had been violated;—had declared, that a parliamentary inquiry ought to be instituted; had insisted, that the payment of the compensation money ought to be delayed; had again avowed their conviction, that the apprenticeship system, which ought never to have been inflicted on the negro, ought to be abolished as soon as possible; had by a circular addressed to

all their Correspondents throughout the whole kingdom, earnestly intreated their attention to the document containing this exposure; and had called upon the friends of the anti-slavery cause, again to rally round them, and to assist them in reviving the drooping spirit of the negro, and in vindicating the outrages done to the authority of the British Parliament, and to the justice and humanity of the British Nation. The reception given to this appeal, to speak the most favourably of it, was lukewarm indeed. In many instances, the packets were even returned, with a request that no more might be sent. The Anti-Slavery Committee, under this, its first discouragement from the country, found that the absolute necessity was imposed upon them, of husbanding with the most parsimonious care the very scanty resources left at its disposal; and of trusting, rather to what it could do by representations and remonstrances to the government, to the moral influence of its reasonings, to the unimpeachable accuracy of its statements, and to the well-known and high character of many of its members, than of indulging in any sanguine expectations of popular assistance.

It will probably appear somewhat extraordinary, that a course of proceeding to which the Committee were thus in a great measure compelled, and to which their efforts were necessarily limited at this period, by the circumstances already alluded to, should, within a few months later than the time now under consideration, have been made the subject of much misrepresentation against the individuals of whom the Committee was composed; misrepresentations, it is deeply to be regretted, which from that period down to the present time, have been credited it may be feared, by many of the more ardent and least accurately informed supporters of the cause in various parts of the empire. The noiseless, and it may be added, the self-denying duties of the Committee, were at this and at a subsequent period attributed, not merely to indolence and indifference, but to positive insincerity and treachery. Individuals unacquainted with the extreme delicacy required in reporting upon the effects of remonstrances, representations, suggestions, and recommendations made to government, either by individuals or deputations, and still more, the extreme caution, that is required in collecting, arranging, and announcing the facts and arguments, upon which the fate of a great cause may, humanly speaking, be said to depend, might probably have been misled by the apparently quiescent and waiting posture of the Committee at the period now alluded to; there is some difficulty, however, in admitting the same apology for

those, whose habits and opportunities might have readily obtained for them more accurate information. In the retrospect of the whole course of the conduct of the Committee, there is perhaps, no part of it, which deserves to be regarded with greater satisfaction, than the unostentatious, but strenuous efforts that were then unceasingly made, to place their cause on the safest footing, and by arguments and proofs, without which, even the most popular movements must prove ineffectual, to lay the foundation for that enthusiasm, which evinced itself at a later period. Fully convinced, however, of the important influence of great public meetings, as a means of circulating authentic information; of keeping alive the ardour of a common cause; and of impressing a character of authority on more matured councils, the Committee, at the earliest possible period, (in March) determined on calling a public meeting of the friends of the negro, at Exeter Hall, hoping for better success in bringing attention to the question in London, than they had met with through their circulars in the country. The meeting accordingly took place on the 15th of May, at which, on the request of the Committee, Lord Brougham presided. To this meeting a great body of interesting and painful information was communicated; and after various eloquent and convincing speeches from his Lordship, Mr. Fowell Buxton, Mr. Jeremie, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. W. Allen, Mr. (now Sir) Geo. Stephen, the Rev. Mr. Burnet, and others, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

1. On the motion of Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq. M.P.; seconded by George Stephen, Esq.; and supported by J. S. Buckingham, Esq., M.P., and the Rev. John Burnet, it was resolved,—

“That this meeting regards with sincere delight, and devout gratitude to Divine Providence, the object of the act for abolishing slavery, passed by the British legislature; and this meeting cannot too earnestly express its satisfaction, that by the exercise of peaceful and industrious habits, under the most trying circumstances, the negro has proved himself to be well fitted to receive, and worthy to enjoy, the full exercise of the inestimable blessing of civil and religious freedom.

“That whilst this meeting willingly pays this just tribute of its praise to the negro, it thinks it right to withhold all approbation of the working of the Act for abolishing slavery, until full official information on that subject from the colonies shall have been given to the country, fearing that the system of apprenticeship has been made subservient in numerous

instances, and in a variety of ways, to oppression towards the emancipated negroes and people of colour; and, under this apprehension, it is the opinion of this meeting that a parliamentary inquiry should be immediately instituted; and that, until the total extinction of slavery, it is of the utmost consequence, that the greatest vigilance should be exercised by the British public over the whole of this question.

2. On the motion of Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P. seconded by the Rev. Dr. Morison, it was resolved unanimously,—

“That this meeting contemplates with great satisfaction the active exertions now making in France for the extermination of slavery from her colonies: and also regards with solicitude the exertions which are now making in the United States for the abolition of slavery, and warmly sympathises in the labours of those who are engaged in this arduous undertaking; and earnestly hopes that the day is not distant, when America shall no longer incur the reproach of holding in bondage upwards of two millions of human beings, and of allowing prejudice against colour, to perpetuate the injuries and degradation of the negro race. And this meeting, entertaining a deeply-rooted horror of the slave-trade, and of slavery, will rejoice to co-operate with all Societies, in every part of the world, having for their object the immediate and utter extinction of these enormous evils.

On the motion of John Jeremie, Esq., seconded by William Allen, Esq., it was resolved unanimously,

“That this meeting has learnt, with inexpressible grief, that the traffic in slaves is still carried on to an enormous extent, and with increased cruelty, under the flags of foreign nations, but more especially under those of Spain and Portugal, notwithstanding the treaties these powers entered into with this country to put a final stop to it, and notwithstanding they have received from our government, for the accomplishment of that object, more than one million sterling. And this meeting cannot refrain from expressing the grief and indignation it feels, at the dereliction of every principle of honour and of humanity exhibited by those governments, in refusing to adopt effectual measures for repressing the nefarious conduct pursued by their subjects, in the prosecution of this traffic; and which convinces us, that the only measure which can effectually put a stop to the slave-trade is the total extinction of slavery.

“That this meeting feels itself bound to express its grateful acknowledgments to many of the governors of colonies, to the ministers of religion generally, and to the missionaries of various denominations in the colonies, for their zealous, pru-

dent, and indefatigable exertions in explaining to the emancipated negroes the nature and extent of the freedom accorded to them, and in impressing upon their minds the solemn obligations under which they are laid by the high authority of Christianity, to a peaceful, sober, and industrious conduct; and which has greatly contributed to the hitherto successful result, on the part of the negroes, of this measure.

“And that this meeting, regarding it of the utmost importance, that a sound scriptural education, upon liberal and comprehensive principles, should be provided for all the emancipated negroes, desires to see carried into effect, at the earliest possible period, the resolution of parliament which accompanied the Act, viz., that provision should be made to provide for the moral and religious instruction of the colonies, upon liberal and comprehensive principles.”

In consequence of the deep impression made on the very large and respectable meeting at which the above resolutions were passed, and of the unanimity which then prevailed, the Anti-Slavery Committee invited the Committee of the “British and Foreign Society for the Universal Abolition of Slavery,” &c. to assist in carrying them into effect; and a series of joint meetings were forthwith held, and united efforts were made, to awaken the country from the dormant state into which it had fallen on the subject of negro wrongs.

At the first of these meetings, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, viz.—

“That it is the opinion of the London Anti-Slavery Committees, founded upon information that has reached them, that the prompt and energetic assistance of the friends of the negro throughout the country, is peremptorily required to secure support to the motion of which Mr. Buxton has given notice, for the 16th of June, for a committee of inquiry into the working of the apprenticeship system.

“That the Auxiliary Associations be respectfully requested to re-organize their committees, and put themselves in immediate communication with the Secretaries of the metropolitan societies on the subject.”

These resolutions, besides being advertised in the public papers, were circulated all over the country, accompanied by the following address, signed by the Secretaries of the two societies, viz.

“We have been instructed by the Anti-Slavery Committees, to request your immediate attention to the advertisement of which we inclose a copy. Without entering fully at present into the details of that information to which the

advertisement refers, it is right to explain, that there is too much reason to fear, that many of the most essential parts of the Abolition Act, intended for the protection of the apprentices, have been defeated by the measures of the colonial legislatures, that even the system of flogging, though confided to other hands, has been continued to a cruel extent, and that females have been subjected to the whip, in direct contradiction to the Imperial Act. In other cases, the apprentice has been exposed to hardship and injury by the working of the new system, and by the deprivation of those comforts which, by long usage, had been secured to him as a legal right.

“It is the object of Mr. Buxton to obtain official information on these points, with a view to effectual measures of relief; and it is earnestly hoped, that you will call together our friends in your neighbourhood without delay, and through their influence, exert yourselves with your representatives to secure their effectual co-operation in Parliament on the 16th of June.

“It is obvious, that very serious expenses will be incurred in the prosecution of the expected parliamentary inquiry. The funds of both the Metropolitan Societies have been entirely exhausted, and the Committees therefore feel themselves warranted under such circumstances, in appealing again to the liberality with which you have formerly supported them. They entreat that you will draw the particular attention of your friends to this point, and press upon them the importance of forwarding to us without delay, such subscriptions as they feel it proper to give.”

A fortnight later, the Committees printed for circulation a variety of extracts, taken from their correspondence, for the purpose of showing more precisely, the nature of the enormities committed under the various colonial Abolition Acts. These extracts were distributed freely over the country, with a still more urgent Address (dated 12th June, 1835), from which we shall merely give the following short extracts, viz.—

“You have been deluded, in common with ourselves; we now solemnly appeal to you, to address your representatives in a tone that will satisfy them of your determination, that the negro apprentice shall not remain the victim of colonial duplicity; his rights have been guaranteed to him, not less by the decree of Parliament than by the unanimous voice of the British people. You, in common with ourselves, every individual, whatever his rank or station, who came forward on his behalf, and above all, the religious public who openly

avowed, that they came forward impelled by conscience and Christian duty, stand solemnly pledged, in the sight of God, and in the face of their Country, not to desert the negro while a trace of slavery remains; your pledge was given and recorded by the gentlemen whom you delegated to convey your sentiments to the ministers of the Crown; you ratified that pledge in your public resolutions, in your letters to your representatives, and in your petitions to Parliament.

“We now solemnly and emphatically call upon you to redeem it; we charge it upon your consciences with the affection and the respect, but at the same time, with the sincerity and frankness of Christian brotherhood, to awaken from the lethargy into which you have been lulled by a confidence which appears to have been misplaced; and to renew the declaration which you have already made in the Memorial of your delegates, that, while a particle of slavery remains, you will never intermit your exertions for its extinction.”

The Committee then went on to state, that Mr. Buxton was about to move for a parliamentary inquiry, and pointed out the mode in which gentlemen in the country could most effectually aid in obtaining it. In the mean time, the Committee proceeded to make all the requisite arrangements for substantiating their case, which it was obvious, from the fact of the new system of apprenticeship being founded on an Act of the Imperial Parliament, and defined by positive laws, could only be successfully assailed through the laws themselves. The Acts of the Colonial Legislatures affording the most certain and general proof of the state of mind, and purpose of the inhabitants of the respective colonies, and either criminating, or exculpating the several communities in their aggregate character; it depended on the proof adduced of those laws being contrary to the letter and spirit of the Imperial Act, whether government and the parliament would consent to interfere or not in the matter. It was not till the month of June that the Committee succeeded in obtaining a copy of the Jamaica Abolition Acts; not a single Act of any one of the colonies having even then been laid before parliament; the Acts, however, which they had now obtained, were found, upon examination, to be most unsatisfactory, in many cases repugnant both to the letter and to the spirit of the Imperial Act, and proving more strongly than even they had anticipated, the urgent necessity for increased exertions to rescue the negroes from the new state of slavery prepared for them by the colonial legislatures. For the purpose of bringing the discrepancies of these Acts into one

view, the Committee, at a somewhat later period, requested their coadjutor, Mr. Beldam, to prepare an accurate analysis of them, which the Committee printed, and extensively circulated, with the title of "An Analysis of the Imperial Act for the Abolition of Slavery, and of the Acts of the Jamaica Legislature for carrying the same into effect," under the conviction, that Members of Parliament would be much assisted by a more detailed and minute consideration of the colonial statutes. It may here be incidentally mentioned, that in this pamphlet, the first exposure was emphatically made of the shameful evasions of the Imperial Act by the horrid flogging of females in prison, a feature of the case, which at a subsequent stage of the inquiry, deservedly attracted so large a measure of public indignation.

Mr. Buxton's motion having been delayed for a day or two, the Committee seized the opportunity thus afforded, again to address their friends in the country, which they did through their secretaries on the 17th of June in the following terms:—

"We are instructed by the Metropolitan Anti-Slavery Committees to inform you, that in their joint opinion, a crisis has arrived, at which it is imperative on the friends of the negro to come forward and insist on the full concession of those rights, which it was the intention of the Imperial Legislature to assure to him by the Abolition Act. It was Mr. Buxton's intention to have brought forward last night in his place, the just complaints which we are entitled to make, of bad faith on the part of the colonial legislatures in carrying the Abolition Act into effect. He was defeated in this intention, by the non-attendance of members in sufficient numbers to constitute a House, of itself a sufficient proof of the apathy of our representatives upon this subject.

"Under these circumstances, it is hopeless to secure to the apprentice, the rights which have been guaranteed to him by the voice of parliament, and by the unanimous feeling of the country, unless the Anti-Slavery body promptly comes forward to his aid. We are persuaded that we need not do more to secure your immediate exertions, than to quote the concluding paragraph of that memorial which you signed, wherein you say:—*'While slavery obtains, under any form, however modified, or however sanctioned, we will never relax from our efforts, nor swerve from our purpose, to exert that influence which we may collectively or individually possess, to effect, by all legitimate means, its immediate and entire abolition.'*

"The demonstration which the delegates made on the last occasion on which they attended, was followed by the most favourable results. It cannot be doubted, that a similar

determination would materially alter the present views of government, and not less materially affect the feelings of our representatives.

“We are therefore directed, most earnestly to request, that you will hold yourself in readiness to attend again in London on an early day, and at very brief notice, in the event of Mr. Buxton’s motion being defeated, or should he fail in his endeavour to obtain the attention of the House next Friday, on going into a Committee of Supply.”

On the 19th of June, Mr. Buxton, in a very powerful and lucid speech, laid the whole case before the House of Commons,* and moved for “a select Committee to inquire, whether the conditions on which the twenty millions were granted for the Abolition of Slavery had been fulfilled.” Although Mr. Buxton’s statements were not contradicted, the positive assurances which were given by Sir George Grey on the part of the government, and the important information that gentleman gave of their future intentions, induced many of the friends of the cause in the House privately, and Mr. O’Connell in his place, to implore Mr. Buxton to withdraw his motion, which, owing to such assurances, and the sense of the House being evidently against his pressing it to a division, he at length consented to do,—a proceeding, in the propriety of which, both the London Anti-Slavery Committees fully concurred; and, on the following day, they informed the delegates that, under the circumstances of the case, they “did not feel it needful to call for their attendance in London at that moment;” but, at the same time, “earnestly intreated them by no means to abate their vigilant and anxious attention to the subject.” On the same day, the Committee finding that nothing more was likely to be effected in parliament during the session, beyond moving for papers, resolved on making a strong and detailed representation to the Government, upon the whole of this important question; and for this purpose, they appointed a sub-committee “to prepare a Memorial, embodying all the points to which it might be desirable to draw the attention of His Majesty’s Ministers, to be presented by both the Anti-Slavery Committees, such Delegates as might find it convenient to come to town, and such Members of Parliament, as had taken an active part in passing the Abolition Act.” This Memorial was accordingly prepared, and presented to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who assured the deputation, it should receive from the Government

* In this speech Mr. Buxton urged the propriety of suspending the payment of the twenty millions till the proposed enquiry should have taken place.

that serious consideration which a subject of such great importance demanded.

In this Memorial, the Committee took up their position, and clearly and firmly declared the principles on which they had resolved to act.

“Henceforward,” they said, “the attitude of the friends of emancipation must be one of unabated and unceasing vigilance; may they be permitted to hope, it will likewise be one of cordial co-operation in the beneficent designs of government? Their own course is fixed, for they are solemnly pledged to themselves and to the country, *to spare no prudent exertions, and to leave no constitutional means untried, until the last vestiges of slavery shall have merged in perfect and unconditional freedom.*”

This Memorial, to which an Appendix was added, consisting of documents substantiating the allegations therein made, was subsequently printed for general circulation, and was accordingly sent to the Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Societies throughout the Kingdom, accompanied by an Address, (dated the 15th of August, 1835) from which the following paragraphs are extracted, viz. :—

“You will perceive from the concluding passages of the memorial, that both the Societies are united in opinion, that an unqualified extinction of the apprenticeship, is the only means of redressing the wrongs of the negro, and of obtaining for him the full enjoyment of his rights. It is equally their common opinion, that such a measure will essentially conduce to the future tranquillity of the Colonies, and the prosperity of the white inhabitants.

“It is therefore the intention of the joint Committee, to spare no exertion in concentrating the anti-slavery feeling of the country, in the attempt to accomplish this important end as early in the ensuing session of parliament as possible.

“With this object in view, they earnestly entreat, that you will lose no opportunity of communicating to your representatives, and of impressing on the public at large, the facts disclosed in the Memorial and appendix, that the friends of the negro may be prepared to address the legislature, on its re-assembling, for the immediate and entire abolition of colonial apprenticeship.

“Under circumstances less urgent and important, the joint Committee would feel, that they were unreasonably encroaching upon your time and benevolence; but with the facts of the case before them, they feel themselves fully justified in appealing to all those sincere friends of the cause, who have so long afforded them their valuable co-operation, not to

relax their efforts, till their triumph over oppression be complete.

* * * * *

“The object now to be obtained is of great importance, and will no doubt be strenuously opposed: the joint Committee therefore look to you, to bring those means into operation for its accomplishment, which have heretofore proved so efficient; and by your aid, thus generously afforded, they hope under the Divine blessing, to triumph over that supineness and indifference which would leave the negro to perish, merely because the name of slavery is abolished, while real and degrading bondage remains.”

The subject having now been solemnly discussed in parliament; and the Committee having formally called the attention of the government to the unsatisfactory state of the law and practice in the colonies, so far as their information then extended; having moreover put the country in possession of many of the facts they had collected, and urgently implored their friends to prepare for renewed exertions, they lost not a moment, in laying the foundation in parliament for proceedings in the next session; and with this view, they immediately drew up an energetic Petition to the House of Commons, stating their complaints,—asserting the claims of the negroes to the justice of the House,—showing the outrages and privations to which they had been subjected by various Acts of colonial legislatures,—and detailing at some length, the many points in which these Acts, violating the spirit, and even the letter of the Imperial Act, encroached on the legal rights of the negroes, reviving many of the worst abuses of the old system, arming the magistrates with powers which tended to restore nearly all of slavery but its name, and rendering the change which had been effected in some important respects, a curse rather than a blessing; and concluding with the prayer, that the House would “proceed at the earliest possible opportunity, to abolish the system of apprenticeship, and to grant unconditional freedom, without distinction of colour, to the inhabitants of all the Colonies belonging to the British Crown.”

This Petition, was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Buxton, who, in accordance with the sentiments therein expressed, gave notice, that at an early period in the then next ensuing Session, he should bring forward measures with a view to the utter extinction of the system of apprenticeship in all the British Colonies. This closed the anti-slavery proceedings in Parliament for the session of 1835.

Whilst the general state of the colonies, in regard to the

working of the abolition laws, had engaged a large portion of the attention of the Committee, the special case of the Mauritius, and of the extraordinary proceedings which had taken place there, was not neglected; as a specimen of these transactions, we subjoin the following statement, (drawn up by their friend Sir George Stephen,) which was printed and circulated by the Committee under date of 10th August, 1835.

Mauritius.—“The following is a brief statement of the case of the Mauritius, as respects the slaves in that colony :—

“It was captured in 1810, and for a period of thirteen years, slave trading was carried on to an immense extent. The account of slave importations has never been officially stated; but from data officially given, it appears that out of a population of 64,709 slaves, in the year 1823, not less than 50,000 were illegally imported.

“This fact was established to the satisfaction of Sir George Murray, and Sir George resolved, conditionally, to emancipate the whole. He gave a distinct pledge to this effect to three distinguished members of parliament; but he quitted office shortly afterwards, and nothing further was done.

“The condition annexed to the promise was, that slaves might be retained by such owners as could prove them to be the same, or the issue of the same that they possessed before the capture in 1810. But he threw the *onus probandi* on the owner, avowedly because he had confounded together in the registers his slaves legally and illegally imported, and therefore ought to pay the penalty of his own fraudulent irregularity.

“More than two millions of the abolition grant are now claimed by the Mauritius, for 63,164 slaves, registered in 1832.

“It is contended, that the Mauritius is not entitled to receive any part of the compensation, and that the sum apportioned to that island should be given to increase the share of the other colonies.

“It is perfectly clear that the Mauritius cannot support a claim for any slaves illegally and feloniously imported, for such slaves cannot be duly registered.

“It is equally clear, that, by the words of the Abolition Act, no claim can be sustained for slaves not duly registered, whether they have been legally imported or not.

“The object then is to prove, first, that a large proportion of the Mauritius slaves have been illegally imported; and secondly, that all have been irregularly registered; subject to such trifling exceptions as not to deserve separate notice.

“To prove the first fact, attention is requested to the following statistical calculations : -

“In 1811, the number of slaves at the Mauritius was 53,060; in the proportion of 36,010 males to 17,050 females.

“In 1818, the population was returned at 80,019; (vide Parlia-

mentary Papers, 147, ordered to be printed 17th March, 1828;) yet in the year 1818 it was computed that 20,000 slaves were carried off by the cholera morbus; here then, alone, is an increase of nearly 50,000, not to be explained by natural causes, in the space of seven years!

“Such is one of the data upon which the estimate is founded; but again:—

“On the 28th of July, 1812, Governor Farquhar wrote to Lord Liverpool as follows:—‘The annual reports of the last seven years show no increase of population in any class; but a *yearly diminution of five per cent.* in the numbers of the blacks.’ If we suppose that the same decrease continued for the following seven years, (and, inasmuch as the sugar culture was largely extended, such an assumption would not be unreasonable,) then, in July, 1819, the numbers should not have exceeded 37,000; but, as we have seen, they exceed 80,000 in the end of 1818!

“Once more. The Commissioners of Inquiry examined a man of the name of Dorval, a slave-trader, of whom they say, that ‘where he had no motive for concealment, the information which he communicated was accurate’ (vide Parliamentary Papers, 292, printed 1st June, 1829); yet Dorval states, that from Madagascar alone there were annually imported, from 1810 to 1820, 3000 slaves (vide Appendix to the same papers), making a total of 30,000 in ten years from one depôt!

“These calculations might be corroborated by adding to them the inferential proof to be drawn from the number of captures, and the well-known proportion that always obtains between the number landed and the number lost at sea; but more than enough of direct statistical facts have been given to prove, beyond the possibility of contradiction, that the number of persons illegally and *feloniously* detained in slavery at the Mauritius, bears an immense proportion to the whole slave population.

“The second fact has hitherto been admitted on all hands, but as it will now assuredly be denied, the following proofs may be quoted:

“In a despatch of Lord Bathurst’s, dated the 26th of January, 1826, the defects in the registration are described to be so numerous and considerable as to render it necessary to recommence the whole process.

“In the evidence collected by the Commissioners of Eastern Inquiry, it appears, that with the view of concealing illegal importations, slaves were registered in large numbers by men who were notorious slave-dealers, but who did not possess an acre of land; while all description of height, age, marks, and connexion, was carefully omitted; and neither deaths nor mutations were recorded in many instances.

“Since the re-commencement of the process directed by Lord Bathurst in 1826, similar and equally fraudulent omissions have been practised. Slaves not in the colony have been registered as

duly inspected; males have been registered as females. In one case, out of a gang of 208, not less than 107 males, from the age of fifteen to forty, are registered as having no relative or connexion, whether father or mother, brother or sister, wife or child! Erasures, alterations, interpolations pasted in, leaves torn out, and various other falsifications, too numerous to mention, appear every where; and these facts are given in an official report to the governor, dated the 31st December, 1833.

In 1822 the total of slaves registered was	-	7485
In 1826 it was	-	76,774
In 1830 it was	-	73,196
In 1832 it was about	-	36,000

“ In reference to the last number, it is to be observed, that the actual return to England is 63,164 for 1832 for the Mauritius only; but this number has been swelled out by adding the registrations illegally made *after the time prescribed by law*. On inquiry at the Register Office on the 11th of July, it appears, that no return has been received for 1834.

“ These differences are too great to be explained, except on the supposition that the registration has been purposely falsified; at all events, it is clear, that the excess of the intermediate years over the first census cannot have been duly registered as required by the Abolition Act, and are therefore entitled to unqualified freedom.

“ There is another peculiarity in the case of the Mauritius, which excludes the inhabitants of that colony from the indulgence of the mother country; it has long been in a state of treasonable insubordination; indeed to such an extent has this disaffection been carried, that an attempt was actually made in 1832 to cut off a detachment of the King’s troops, 300 strong; and the attempt was only defeated by anticipating the hour of march.”

It might have been supposed, that a case of such manifest and flagrant injustice could not have been suffered to linger on without remedy. Subsequent events, however, tended only to aggravate the misconduct of this most refractory colony, whose rebellious and oppressive behaviour finally led, as will be recollected, to the expulsion of that most intrepid, consistent, and talented advocate of humanity, Mr. Jeremie, the procureur-general of the colony, but which circumstance led, in the order of an over-ruling Providence, to the appropriation of his invaluable services at home in the cause of the negroes before the Parliamentary Committee. It will be inconvenient, however, for the present to dwell longer on this subject, especially as the case of the Mauritius has been more fully stated in the report of the Anti-Slavery Committee on the Parliamentary evidence on negro apprenticeship, published in a later year.

On the subjects connected with this contumacious Colony, the Committee associated with themselves some leading members of the House of Commons, with whom they held various consultations, and who afforded them the advantage of the influence of their personal and political character, by joining them in the several interviews they had with the colonial secretary of state, for the purpose of making some strong remonstrances to the Government on behalf of the oppressed and the injured;—these measures, although by no means effecting all they desired, were, the Committee trust, productive of some important benefits to those whose cause they advocated.

We will now pause for a moment, to review what may be considered to have been some of the more immediate results of the renewed exertions of the Anti-slavery Committee up to this period; and amongst them, perhaps the most important, was their having induced a much more searching examination by the Home government into the acts of the colonial legislatures, and the various regulations adopted in the Crown Colonies for carrying the Slavery Abolition Act into operation; and consequently, a more vigorous enforcement of the protective provisions of the Imperial Abolition Act. The third Jamaica act, alluded to in the petition above-referred to, after several months' delay, was at length most properly disallowed. The Barbadoes and other acts were likewise disallowed; and recommendations were also despatched to the Colonial Governors, of a nature favourable to the general improvement of the laws respecting the negro population.

Another important point was likewise gained from the increased activity of government, in the recal of the special commissions so liberally bestowed on the planters, or on their representatives by which these interested persons obtained concurrent jurisdiction with the stipendiary magistrates, sent out expressly from this country to administer with impartiality the abolition laws, and to guard the rights of the negroes.

In reference to the Mauritius, it may be observed in addition to what has already been said, that on the 5th of August, a few days before the then impending motion on the state of that colony was to have been brought under the attention of the House of Commons, Lord Glenelg sent off a dispatch to Sir William Nicolay, the governor, which, had it been acted on by the local authorities in good faith, would have secured the entire freedom of nearly the whole of the apprentices in that important possession of the British Crown.

The joint meetings of the two Committees terminated with

the session of parliament; but the London Anti-Slavery Committee still continued to meet frequently, and they at once proceeded to institute a most careful examination of the immense mass of official documents which had at length been laid before Parliament, but only at the close of the Session, and which were not printed till a much later period. The information contained in these documents, proved to the fullest extent the justness of the conclusions at which the Committee had arrived on private, but much scantier intelligence; at the same time, their contents increased the regret they had already expressed at the policy, which led Mr. Secretary Stanley and his immediate successors in office, to withhold from the public all official information respecting the legislation which had been taking place in the colonies: to which injurious policy, the Committee could not but attribute a large portion of the evils which had taken place; for these papers proved, that the sanction of the Crown had been given to many iniquitous provisions of colonial law, which could never even have been allowed by the colonial functionaries to have come into operation for a single day, had these functionaries been properly instructed by the Home government. Now, however, instead of the comparatively easy duty of prevention, the Committee found the laborious duty had devolved upon them, as the friends and advocates of the negroes, to detect, and prove, and expose abuses, and to suggest remedies for the many evils, both legislative and practical, which had been allowed to grow up under the apparent sanction of the Imperial Act, which they had hoped would have proved the Magna Charta of the coloured classes in the Colonies.

The preceding pages have shown what progress the Committee had made in the performance of these duties up to this period, which was but small indeed, compared with what yet remained to be done; and the Committee looked with increasing anxiety to the opening of the then ensuing session of parliament. But a most flagrantly unjust and harsh enactment of the Jamaica legislature, which just then came to the knowledge of the Committee (the Jamaica vagrancy act) demanded that no time should be lost in making a strong remonstrance to government on its unjust and cruel provisions. The attention of the Committee had been the more anxiously directed to this Act, as forming a part of those enactments, which were designed to become permanent substitutes for the apprenticeship system; and if allowed, as being almost certain to become a precedent for all the other slave colonies. This Act was subsequently disallowed; but not before its pernicious enactments had been adopted by

several other Colonies.* The Jamaica legislature have made several attempts to obtain similar Acts, but in that Colony, it is gratifying to observe, they have been attended with no success. The close of this busy year in Anti-Slavery matters, was employed by the Committee in collecting and arranging the evidence to be brought before the expected committee of inquiry, and in preparing for the ensuing parliamentary campaign.

The Committee had deeply to regret, that during the whole of this year, they were deprived of the personal assistance of their highly-esteemed coadjutor, Mr. Macaulay, who, on account of the infirm state of his health, was obliged to reside for a considerable period on the continent; but he was too deeply interested in the cause to which he had devoted by far the larger portion of his valuable life, to permit distance to deprive it of the benefit of his labours: in the commencement of the year, he wrote the Reporter (No. 112), which has been already alluded to; he was also in constant correspondence with the members of the Committee and their secretary; and at its close, he was engaged in preparing several important publications in the French language, for the purpose of arousing the feelings of the French government and people on this subject, and furnishing arguments to convince them, not only of the injustice and cruelties of slavery, but of the safety with which its abolition might be effected, and of the ultimate advantages to be derived from such a measure.

We cannot close the review of the transactions of the Anti-Slavery Committee during the year 1835, without advert- ing to the subject of the slave-trade,—a subject of awful and overwhelming interest,—but as it is one, which, must hereafter more prominently engage the attention of the public than it has done of late, we will for the present merely state, that in the course of the session, (May 12,) Mr. Buxton, in a speech of great force and ability, demonstrated to the House of Commons the following facts, viz.

1st. That the traffic in slaves not only continued to be carried on to an enormous extent, but that it was attended with circumstances of increased and aggravated cruelty, and that too, under the flags of some of those nations who were parties to the Declaration made at Vienna in the year 1815, which asserted, that the “ African slave-trade has been regarded, by just and enlightened men in all ages, as repugnant

* An Analysis of this Act, prepared by Mr. Beldam, was printed and circulated extensively by the Committee, as a specimen of intended colonial legislation for the government of the negroes.

to the principles of humanity and universal morality;”—that “the public voice, in all civilized countries, has demanded, that it should be suppressed as soon as possible;”—that it was “their desire to put an end to a scourge,” which they therein described as having “long desolated Africa, degraded Europe, and afflicted humanity.”

2ndly. That notwithstanding this declaration was agreed to by all the great powers in Europe, in congress assembled, and formally and solemnly by them promulgated in the face of the world, some of those very powers afforded it the protection of their flags; and that the strong and reiterated representations and remonstrances made by the government of England, had been neglected altogether, or met by promises, which subsequent events proved to have been mere subterfuges, put forward for the purposes of evasion and delay.

3rdly. That the conduct of the courts of Spain and Portugal was peculiarly atrocious, they, not only being bound to abolish the trade, by the most solemn treaties, but had actually received, on their solemn promise to do so, money, by votes of the House of Commons, to the amount of £700,000 sterling, and the remission of a debt to the amount of £600,000 more.

4thly. That the trade had been carried on to a great extent under the French flag, but that there was reason to hope that it was greatly diminished.

5thly. That an immense traffic in slaves was still carried on under the flags of other nations, notwithstanding the unceasing negotiations carried on by His Majesty’s ministers, and of the various treaties which had been entered into for its suppression.

No attempt was made to deny a single statement; and on the 19th May, on Mr. Buxton’s motion, the following Address was unanimously agreed to:—

“That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, to inform His Majesty, that this House has learnt with deep regret, from the documents which have been laid before it, that the traffic in slaves still continues to be carried on, under the protection of the flags of foreign nations, particularly under those of Spain and Portugal, to an extent almost as great as at any former period of its existence, and attended with circumstances of additional cruelty and horror.

“That this House particularly calls the attention of His Majesty to the conduct hitherto pursued by the governments of Spain and Portugal, who are bound, not only by the most solemn treaties, but by the payment of large sums of money, and the remission of debts due to this country, totally to abolish this nefarious practice.

“ That this House, with a view to put an end to this iniquitous and detestable trade, humbly beseeches His Majesty to enter into negotiations with his allies, for the purpose of revising all the treaties having for their object the suppression of this traffic, in order to reduce the terms and stipulations contained therein into one solemn league between all the high contracting parties, and to introduce into such general treaty, 1st,—an extension of the limit to the right of search to the whole of the western and eastern coasts of Africa, and the island of Madagascar, and to such distance from these coasts as shall insure the capture of all slaves; and an agreement, that this right of search shall be reciprocal between all the high contracting parties; 2nd,—that the right of seizure shall be extended to vessels equipped for the purpose of trading in slaves, although not actually having slaves on board; 3rd,—an agreement that all such vessels as may be condemned by the Mixed Commission courts, shall forthwith be broken up, or otherwise effectually destroyed; and, 4th,—a stipulation that the trade in slaves shall be declared piracy.”

We will close the account of the proceedings of this year by giving the following

List of Pamphlets, Tracts, &c., printed and circulated by the Anti-Slavery Committee in 1835.

Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 112.	-	-	3000
Condition of Negro Apprentices, &c.	-	-	7000
Ditto, with additional letter.	-	-	1650
Memorial to Lord Glenelg and Appendix on the			} 3550
Working of the Abolition Laws	-	-	
Tracts on Mauritius	-	-	3000
Circulars Printed and Lithographed, and Tracts			} 5000
on Single Sheets, about	-	-	

In addition to these large numbers of Newspapers containing information on Anti-Slavery subjects, were purchased for circulation in the country.

1836.

THE commencement of the year 1836 found the Committee engaged in preparing for the approaching discussions in the House of Commons, and for the parliamentary committee of inquiry, which they expected to obtain. Measures had already been taken for procuring further information from the Colonies;—government had been applied to, for “copies of all the laws and regulations adopted in the colonies, which might in any way relate to, or interfere with, the government of the negro population;”—and on the first day of the Session,

Mr. Buxton gave notice, in the House of Commons, that, on the 22d March, he should move "for a committee to inquire into the working of the apprenticeship system in the colonies, the condition of the apprentices, and the laws and regulations affecting them, which had been passed;"—and, on the same day, he also gave notice of a motion for various papers connected with the question.

Although the Committee entertained a confident hope of the success of Mr. Buxton's motion, they found on the examination of that portion of the colonial laws already in their possession, so much cause for alarm and anxiety, that they could not consistently with a sense of their duty, delay till it should be appointed, a formal investigation of them, with a view of bringing the subject immediately under the consideration of His Majesty's Government. The Committee, therefore, particularly requested two of their number, (Mr. Beldam and Mr. Matthews, both members of the English bar,) to enter at once upon a strict examination of them; to which request, although it imposed upon them a very laborious task, and which must necessarily occupy much time, they readily assented. The result of this preliminary examination, was the preparation by Mr. Beldam of a very copious analysis of all the laws of the colonies, which had up to that time, come within the cognizance of the Committee, with suggestions for their amendment, which, when completed, was laid before the Government; and the Committee, convinced of the vast importance of this branch of their case, prepared an abstract of so much of this analysis as related to Jamaica, which they printed, as already stated, for the use of the Members of Parliament and the public.

The unsatisfactory state of the laws in the colonies, regulating the celebration of marriage there, especially attracted the attention of the Committee, as not only productive of evils great and immediate, but from which, permanent hardships might result to a race yet unborn:—they therefore deputed the consideration of this subject to a special subcommittee, consisting of the above-named gentlemen, and some others, and requested them to put themselves in communication with the Committees of the several Missionary Societies, and to consult with them on the nature of the amendments which it might be requisite to introduce, for the purpose of settling this branch of legislation upon just and liberal principles;—a branch of law, always of great importance, but now about to become doubly so, to the negroes, in the new state of freedom, to which they were rapidly approaching;—a period, for which the Committee was most

anxiously desirous to prepare, so, that when it should arrive, a system of good law should be found already organized and in force, to protect them in all their newly-acquired rights, from invasion and unjust oppression.

The sub-committee immediately proceeded to the execution of the task assigned to them; but except among the members of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, it is to be regretted that the subject at this time appeared to excite little public interest; and it was not till the middle of the present year (1838,) that the beneficial effect of this first movement to amend the Colonial Marriage Laws became apparent.*

The Committee having thus taken measures for bringing that important part of the case which rested on colonial legislation before the government, and laid the foundation for amending many portions of it, proceeded to prepare for publication a statement of that no less important branch of it, which related to the practical working of the apprenticeship system, and on the 1st of March they issued a pamphlet, entitled "Statements and Observations on the Working of the Laws for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies, and on the Present State of the Negro Population." This pamphlet, which is no doubt well remembered by anti-slavery readers, concluded with the following paragraphs:—

"Some of the details in possession of the Committee are of too immoral and disgusting a nature to be laid before the public in print, but the Committee feel convinced, that those contained in the preceding pages cannot be read by any one possessed of a common share of sense and humanity, without producing a conviction of the necessity of immediate measures being adopted, to carry into their *fullest operation, the beneficent designs of the Imperial Abolition Act, and to secure the future and permanent welfare of the negroes.*

"These communications also prove, that justice and humanity alike require, that the friends of the negro race should continue to watch with jealous care the conduct of the Colonial Legislatures and Governments, in every measure they may adopt with regard to the negroes, in order to prevent their engrafting (as they have already but too frequently done,) enactments tending to re-introduce slavery *de facto*, on the very

* There can be no doubt, that the Marriage Order in Council, recently issued for the Crown Colonies, and which is intended as a model for the laws of the other Colonies, owes its existence to the suggestions of this sub-committee, but more especially to the labours of Mr. Matthews, whose attention was chiefly directed to this subject. The Barbadoes Legislature has adopted this model, and passed an act accordingly. It is hoped that all the other Islands will do the same.

laws ostensibly adopted for its extermination; and from enforcing, as they have also done, those iniquitous enactments, by means of the identical machinery established by the British Parliament for giving effect to the freedom it granted.

“When it becomes generally known, that such has been the conduct pursued in the colonies, and that such evils as have been detailed in the foregoing pages still exist, the Committee are persuaded, that the British people will again exert that vast moral power, with which, three years ago, they demanded with a force which could not be resisted,—the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British dominions; and which cannot fail to be equally potent, when it shall declare, that they will no longer allow the fruits of the victory they then so gloriously achieved, to be wrested from their hands by those, whose acquiescence they purchased at an expense of twenty millions sterling! But the Committee must remind their friends, that to produce such an effect, *combined exertion is necessary*; the measures proper to be adopted, in order to obtain it, will no doubt readily suggest themselves to the members of the Anti-slavery Committees, but it must be borne in mind, that not one single day can be passed idly by, in the prosecution of this great work, without the risk of injury to its final triumph. Mr. Buxton on the very first day of the session gave notice, that on the 22nd of March he should move for ‘a Committee to inquire into the working of the apprenticeship system in the colonies,—into the condition of the apprentices,—and into the laws and regulations affecting them, which have been passed.’ But, if on that day, it should be perceived, that he is not effectually supported by the general voice of the country, far better would it have been for the negroes, if their friends in the colonies had witnessed their sufferings without reporting them to this country;—far better would it have been, that such reports, if made, had been received in silence, than, that having been received and made public, the British nation should have heard them without adopting instant and efficient measures for protecting them for the future, against such enormous evils; for if the friends of the negro race are not supported, and supported very powerfully too in Parliament, in the measures they may bring forward in their behalf,—their task-masters will believe, that British philanthropists have deserted the cause of their sable brethren, and left them to the full operation of unjust laws and cruel treatment, and they will triumphantly return to their old courses, and proceed with impunity to load them with chains;—to rivet on the iron neck-collars;—to immure them in dungeons;—to lacerate them with the cat;—and to

flog gravid women on their treadmills; in the full conviction, that the future cries of their victims, will cease to raise sympathy in British bosoms.

“To render the commission of such crimes impossible, the Committee urge every individual who would shrink from being a guilty participator in them, instantly to adopt every constitutional means within his power, to procure support to those measures which may be brought forward in Parliament, for the benefit of the negro population of our colonies; for they are convinced, that it is by such means only, that the continuation of the evils related in the preceding pages, are to be finally put down; and that a system of order, humanity, and justice, can be established in their place.”

The pamphlet from which the above extracts are taken, the Committee lost no time in spreading through the country, and in a circular dated the 1st March, they earnestly called the attention of their correspondents to its contents; they took this opportunity also of referring to their preceding circular of the 15th August, and expressed a hope, that the Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Societies, were in some measure prepared to receive and act upon the representations which had been therein made, of the necessity for strong and active measures being immediately taken, to rescue the negroes from the slavery imposed upon them under the new name of apprenticeship, and concluded as follows, viz.:—

“The Committee cannot close this letter, however anxious they may feel to do so, without stating, that *the finances of the Society are at the present moment, more than totally exhausted.* It will be obvious to their friends, that it is absolutely impossible for them to continue their exertions without pecuniary aid; a correspondence opened with almost every town in the kingdom, is in itself, a source of considerable expense—the printing of Reporters, Tracts, and Circulars, the advertising in newspapers, &c., &c., with many other incidental expenses, form altogether a heavy charge, and if a committee of inquiry should be obtained in the House of Commons, a still further and heavier expense will necessarily be incurred. If therefore, the Anti-Slavery body are desirous, that the exertions of the Committee should not be cramped and rendered inefficient in the task they have set themselves of endeavouring to remedy the evils detailed in the accompanying statements, it will be incumbent upon them to grant that pecuniary aid, which in former instances, they have so generously afforded.

“In addition to the sources of expense above alluded to, it may be mentioned, that a heavy charge has been incurred by the printing and distribution of tracts in France, on the sub-

ject of slavery, where the Committee are happy to say, the Anti-Slavery cause wears a favourable aspect, and gains ground in public opinion."

Soon after the circulation of the pamphlet above alluded to, and of the circular accompanying it, the Committee found reason to congratulate themselves upon the success of their efforts in arousing the dormant Anti-Slavery spirit of the country: correspondence arose in many quarters, which had hitherto neglected their appeals. Members of Parliament were strongly solicited by their Constituencies to support Anti-Slavery measures in their places in Parliament. Public meetings were held, and Petitions to Parliament were in course of signature; and from this time, the Committee more confidently anticipated a successful issue to their exertions, than they had hitherto indulged.

The time having arrived at which the whole question was on Mr. Buxton's motion, to come again under discussion in the House of Commons, the Committee deemed it desirable to put Members of Parliament in possession of the grounds of inquiring into the working of the apprenticeship system: the state of existing laws in the colonies; and the means provided for *the future welfare of the negroes*; for the purpose of doing this, in the most succinct, dispassionate, and authoritative form, they drew up, and unanimously adopted the following important resolutions, viz.:—

Unanimously resolved—

1. That the Imperial Abolition Act, passed the 28th August, 1833, enacted;—That from and after the 1st August, 1834, all British slaves, (amounting to about 800,000 persons), should, subject only to the temporary obligations of apprenticeship, become and be, to all intents and purposes, free and discharged of and from all manner of slavery, and should be absolutely and for ever manumitted; and that the children thereafter to be born to any such persons, and the offspring of such children, should, in like manner, be free from their birth; and that, from and after the 1st August, 1834, slavery should be, and was utterly and for ever abolished, and declared unlawful throughout the British colonies, plantations, and possessions abroad. That for the purpose of carrying this Act into *full* and *complete* operation, His Majesty's Privy Council, for the Crown Colonies, and the Colonial legislatures in the other colonies, should be authorized to frame and make such provisions, rules, and regulations, in certain matters incident to the apprenticeship system, as should not be *repugnant* or *contradictory* to the Imperial Act; or otherwise, that the same should be utterly *void*. And that His Majesty's Privy Council should be further authorized to confirm and allow any such colonial enactments, substituted for the enactments of the

Imperial Act, as should accomplish the objects of the Imperial Act *as fully and to the like effect*; and in that case, the operation of such imperial enactments should be suspended, as therein mentioned, for so long a time as such substituted enactments remained in force. And as a compensation to the owners of such slaves, for any loss of services under the new system, the Act granted and provided the sum of £20,000,000 sterling.

2. That in pursuance of the authority so given, various orders in council, ordinances, colonial Acts, provisions, rules, and regulations, purporting to carry the said Act into operation, have from time to time been made and passed. And various enactments of the Imperial Act have been suspended, and other colonial enactments and ordinances substituted; and a system of apprenticeship has been established, and has been in operation in most of the colonies ever since the 1st of August, 1834. And that since that period, adequate provision for the carrying into operation of the Imperial Act, has been declared to have been made in various colonies, and a great part of the compensation has been already paid, or is now in the course of being paid.

3. That from the date of the coming into operation of the apprenticeship system, a period of more than a year and a half has elapsed, and the said ordinances, acts, provisions, rules, and regulations, most of which had been wholly or partially allowed before that period, have, with few exceptions, been since in operation; that up to the present time, no public inquiry has been instituted into them, nor has any certain account been given of their nature or provisions, although upon their correspondence with the Imperial Act depended the right to compensation, and what was of still higher consequence, the present and future welfare of the negroes.

4. That in the absence of public inquiry, authentic information has nevertheless reached this Society, tending to convince its members, that such colonial ordinances, acts, provisions, rules, and regulations, do by no means correspond with either the letter or the spirit of the Imperial Act; that on the contrary, many of them are directly and plainly *repugnant* and *contradictory* to it. That although some of these colonial provisions have been disallowed by his Majesty's Privy Council on this account, yet that many others, scarcely less objectionable, have been left to their operation, and *are now in force*. And that the law and practice of the enfranchised colonies, as it regards the apprentices, are in a great variety of respects, and in a very high degree unsatisfactory and objectionable.

5. That the peculiar circumstances, and the unprecedented cost of the compact thus entered into with the colonies, entitled the people of this country to receive before this time, the most satisfactory proof, that so great a national sacrifice had not been made in vain; that the beneficent intentions of the Imperial Legislature had actually been carried out into *full* and *complete* operation in the colonies; and that the negroes were in the actual possession and

enjoyment of those substantial rights and privileges which had been so dearly purchased for them.

6. That nothing short of parliamentary inquiry seems calculated to give to the great body of the people the satisfactory proof they have a right to require. That a longer neglect to demand it would render inquiry comparatively useless; it would imply an apathy unworthy of the sacred cause they have espoused and an indifference to the application of the public expenditure, both unusual and ominous. That the Imperial Parliament evidently contemplated the probability of such an inquiry, and reserved to itself a check upon the various instruments employed in carrying its purposes into execution. Thus, although all ordinances, acts, provisions, rules, and regulations were to be submitted, in the first instance, to the sanction of the Privy Council, yet even orders in council, contravening the intentions of the Imperial Act, equally with the colonial regulations they sanction, are declared to be *null* and *void*. And although in such a case, it is competent to the authority issuing the order, to recal its own order, yet if a question should arise, as to the fact of repugnancy between an order in council, and the Imperial Act, the Imperial Parliament alone can decide that question, and enforce its own enactments.

7. That the conduct of all parties appears to be thus involved in a public inquiry. That should such inquiry be granted, the friends of Abolition undertake to prove, that the colonial ordinances, enactments, and provisions, (amended and allowed by various orders in council, and understood to be still in force in the colonies,) still manifest in a variety of important particulars, a direct and irreconcilable repugnance to the Imperial Act; that they still fall short—far short of the spirit and intention of the Imperial Act; that the orders in council themselves, on which many of them assume to be founded, are open to serious objection and amendment; that the practical operation of the whole is in many respects *harsh*, *afflictive*, and *repugnant* to the beneficent designs of the imperial legislature.

8. That while such inquiry conveys no hasty censure upon His Majesty's government, in the execution of a difficult and delicate task, so neither does it contemplate any breach of faith, in respect of the £20,000,000 agreed to be paid to the West India body. Its object is, to secure the equal fulfilment of engagements, and the correct performance of duties by all parties. It calls upon Parliament to decide on the question of their fulfilment and performance, and if any failure should be detected, to determine in what manner redress may be satisfactorily obtained.

9. That while the good conduct of the negro population remains undoubted, and instances of humane treatment under an objectionable system of laws, may occasionally be set off against numerous well-authenticated cases of flagitious cruelty, the general submission of the negroes, urged as a motive for non-interference, admits of a solu-

tion quite different from the fact of general contentment, or the *boná fide* enjoyment of substantial justice. That the severe restraints and penalties by which the right of complaint is fettered in most of the colonies, render it, in many cases, either virtually useless, or practically dangerous to complain, and connected with the shortness of the supposed term of oppression, are quite sufficient to explain the silent endurance of much present suffering; and the doctrine would be as novel as it is unjust, that exemplary patience is a ground for delaying redress; or that the humanity of the functionaries intrusted with the execution of the laws, is an adequate compensation for the defects or repugnancies of the laws themselves.

10. That even if such substantive proofs of the defects of the apprenticeship laws, and of the various mischiefs of their operation, did not exist, still the near approach of an era of freedom, makes a corresponding change in the general laws of the colonies necessary, with a view to the settlement of the new relations, to the discouragement of all distinctions of caste, and the establishment of the enfranchised population, in the full enjoyment of their newly-acquired rights and privileges—objects of great importance even now, but absolutely essential to the future welfare of the negroes; which nevertheless have not yet been provided for; and which can only be adequately accomplished through the medium of immediate parliamentary inquiry; to ascertain, confirm, or disannul the past, and to make suitable provisions for the future.

11. That no adequate provision appears to have been made by any imperial or colonial laws, for the present anomalous condition of the negroes, considered as members of society, whose social rights and privileges, as well as their liabilities, in this stage of transition, are left in the most painful uncertainty and suspense. The validity of their marriages is not yet ascertained or secured; the general administration of justice is defective; and the settlement of well-considered police and penal institutions, with the establishment of proper asylums for the diseased, infirm, and aged victims of slavery,—all of which are essential to the protection and well-being of the poorer classes of the community, still remain uncertain or inadequate.

12. That the friends of abolition, as such, by no means forgetting their rights as contributors to the cost of emancipation, feel a deep and peculiar interest in general parliamentary inquiry; and conscientiously believing, that the enjoyment by the negroes of substantial liberty depends in a great measure upon full and fair investigation, they conceive themselves under a solemn pledge, to neglect no constitutional means to obtain it. It must be obvious, that the abolition of an avowed system of slavery, and the legislative bestowment of an abstract right of freedom, are but the commencement of the work of emancipation, which has to be brought into practical operation. The danger now consists in mistaking the shadow for the substance—the name for the thing intended;

in a word, *lest the vices and the crimes of slavery should revive under a new and more permanent form of legalised oppression.* They therefore cordially hail the motion for inquiry, proposed by their esteemed parliamentary leader, Mr. Buxton, for the 22nd instant; and while they entertain the sincerest hope, that His Majesty's government will perceive in this motion nothing injurious to their own, or the country's honour, they earnestly implore their other parliamentary friends, by their own consistency, and the devotion due to a righteous cause, to be ready in case of need, with that display of moral force, which has so often achieved the greatest triumphs."

The Committee took the opportunity at the same time that they circulated the above Resolutions amongst Members of Parliament, earnestly to solicit the support of such, as were known to be favourably disposed towards the cause of negro freedom; in which canvass they became fully sensible of the great advantage of the simultaneous representations made by the constituents of the respective members.

On the 22nd March, agreeably to the notice he had given, Mr. Buxton, after a speech in which he took a luminous and comprehensive view of the whole question, moved "for a committee to inquire into the working of the apprenticeship system in the colonies, the condition of the apprentices and the laws and regulations respecting them."

This motion was carried without a division.

This important preliminary step having been thus obtained, the chief labour of the Committee, during the remainder of the session, devolved upon their able and indefatigable parliamentary leader, Mr. Buxton, in conducting the inquiry; and upon their before-mentioned legal coadjutors, Mr. Jeremie, Mr. Beldam and Mr. Matthews, who not only gave a most important body of viva voce evidence before the Committee, but furnished a mass of documentary evidence in the shape of various analyses, of almost innumerable colonial laws, orders, and regulations, the great value of which is only now in the course of development.* To Mr. (now Sir) George Stephen, the Committee were also under great obligation for the able and laborious professional assistance, which, equally with his legal friends of the Committee, and Mr. Jeremie, he rendered gratuitously, on this as well as on all former occasions, services which had they been paid for at the usual rate of legal charge, would have proved very expensive indeed to the Anti-Slavery Society.

* We refer to the several orders in council recently issued for the government of the Crown colonies, and also intended as models for laws in the Chartered colonies.

It may be proper here to state, that the Committee soon discovered, that there was but little chance of being able to obtain a Report, recommending the immediate abolition of the apprenticeship, and their labours were therefore the more strenuously directed to the putting on record such satisfactory proofs respecting the apprenticeship laws, and other laws of a more permanent character, which had then already begun to be passed, as should furnish an incontrovertible body of evidence for ulterior purposes. So essential was this object deemed, more especially as it regarded the permanent laws of the colonies, that permission was obtained for the two legal members of the Committee to examine all Laws, Ordinances, Orders in Council, &c., of this description in the Colonial office; of which they drew up an analysis and presented it to the Parliamentary Committee, and which will be found amongst the comments printed in the Appendix to their report. The important use to which these comments have been applied will hereafter appear.

The close of the Session arrived, before the Committee (though it had sat regularly since its appointment) had examined more than a small portion of the evidence ready to be brought before it; but the examination of the *laws* of the colonies, and of the practical evidence respecting Jamaica, having been considerably advanced, upon that portion of the inquiry only, the Committee reported to the House. The Report is of so recent a date, and the substance of it is so well known to the Anti-Slavery body, as to render it unnecessary to comment upon it here, more especially as a review of it was printed shortly after, and extensively circulated by the Committee; it will suffice, therefore, for the present to say, that there was an understanding that the Committee should be re-appointed in the ensuing session; and it consequently became the business of the Anti-Slavery Committee in the mean time, to direct its earnest attention to the proceedings in the colonies, and from time to time to make such representations in the proper quarter as they deemed most judicious for mitigating the evils of colonial law and practices, and to take such other steps, as might generally forward Anti-Slavery objects. We cannot, however, quit the history of the proceedings in Parliament of this year in reference to the Colonies, without noticing those, taken in consequence of the House of Assembly of Jamaica having refused to re-enact its own amending Abolition Act, which having been passed for one year only, was about to expire,—a matter of the utmost importance to the apprenticed labourers, for although defective in many important respects, still it remedied some of the most

daring repugnancies of the original Abolition Act of that island. The House of Commons, therefore, on the motion of Sir George Grey, took the matter into their own hands, and passed a Bill to "revive and continue in force, until the 1st of August, 1840, the act of the Jamaica legislature, entitled 'an Act to explain and amend an Act for the Abolition of Slavery.'" This proceeding was the more momentous, as it was the first instance of Parliament having passed an act to carry out the details of its own original measure in the Colonies. The Anti-Slavery Committee did not indeed neglect this opportunity to propose and press some further enactments of a remedial nature; but finding it impossible to carry their wishes into effect at that juncture, they silently acquiesced in the government measure, especially as it established a precedent, which they entertained no doubt would be followed by important consequences. Subsequent events have proved that this anticipation was formed on good and sufficient grounds.

The Committee issued, in the course of the summer, another number (113) of the Reporter; and the subject of slavery in the French colonies continued to engage their serious attention. The circumstance of Mr. Macaulay's being still in Paris; his being on terms of personal intimacy with some of the leading members of the government there, and his having also become an honorary and active member of the "Société Française pour l'Abolition de l'Esclavage," enabled the Committee to learn precisely, what was most wanting to aid the exertions of this valuable and benevolent institution. Finding that Mr. Macaulay was still diligently engaged in arranging and furnishing further information with a view of laying it before the French Government and the Chambers, and that he had already printed some valuable pamphlets, and was preparing others for the press, the Committee felt they should not be fulfilling their duty, if they did not aid the important work in which he was engaged, by taking upon themselves the burthen of paying for the printing of such works as he should publish upon the subject of Slavery in France, where, notwithstanding the existence of an Anti-Slavery Society, the real merits of the question were but little understood, even amongst those who felt interested in its success.*

* The titles of the French pamphlets prepared by Mr. Macaulay and printed at the expense of the Committee, are as follows:

Hàïti, ou Renseignements Authentiques sur l'Abolition de l'Esclavage, et ses resultats à St. Domingue et à la Guadeloupe, &c. Tableau d'Esclavage tel qu'il existe dans les Colonies Françaises. Détails sur l'Émancipation des Esclaves dans les Colonies Anglaises. Suite des détails sur l'Émancipation, &c. Appel de la Capitale de l'Écosse aux États-Unis d'Amérique au sujet de l'Esclavage.

A very important Bill was brought into Parliament by the Government this year, which was passed and received the royal assent, namely, "An Act to make provision for the better Administration of Justice in certain of His Majesty's West India Colonies." This Act, which is one of essential importance to the welfare, not only of the negro, but of all classes in the colonies to which it relates, has not yet been brought into operation, but it is earnestly hoped that measures will ere long be taken to give it effect, since without it, legislative improvements will be unavailing.

The following is a list of publications, printed and circulated by the Committee this year, viz. :—

Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 113	-	-	3000
Analysis of Imperial and Jamaica Abolition Acts			500
Pamphlet on the Working of the Apprenticeship system, entitled "Statements and Observations," &c.	-	-	3500
Circulars, Extracts, &c.	-	-	
Newspapers, &c. &c.			1250

1837.

The Parliamentary recess, afforded the Committee the opportunity of taking a calm review of the progress they had made before the Committee of the House of Commons in exposing the real state of legislation in the colonies, under the Abolition Acts. They saw, that not only much of this branch of the inquiry remained unexamined, but that it was daily increasing; whilst the practical working of these laws was as yet scarcely touched; they were convinced, therefore, that on these points, so far as Parliament was concerned, they had still important duties to perform; but on the latter subject they expected to derive most important assistance, on the return of Mr. Joseph Sturge, Mr. Scoble, and two other gentlemen, who at the close of the autumn of 1836, had gone out to the West Indies, and spent the succeeding winter in a tour through the different Islands, for the purpose of making personal observations and investigation on the spot, into the state of the apprenticed labourers. To the information of the proceedings of these gentlemen, which reached them from time to time, and to the more full information they expected to derive from them on their return, the Committee looked with feelings of deep interest. In the mean time, the Committee published, for the information of their friends in the country, "A Review of the Report of the Select Committee of

the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the working of the Apprenticeship System ;” and to which amongst others, the Committee added the following paragraph :—

“ We have now had three years’ experience of the spirit and temper of the Colonial Assemblies, as exemplified in the laws they have passed for the government of our emancipated fellow-subjects ; and referring to the preceding pages, and more especially to the luminous analysis of those laws by Mr. Jeremie, Mr. Beldam, and Mr. Matthews, we ask whether the apprehension entertained by the Earl of Aberdeen, of the probable growth of an unjust code of laws, was not but too well founded ? We greatly fear the evil will never be abated, till the Imperial Parliament shall follow up its own precedent of last session, and determine upon enacting such laws as shall secure to that portion of his Majesty’s subjects whom they have rescued from slavery, the free exercise of the liberty the British nation intended they should enjoy.”

Another most important subject, which still continued to occupy the attention of the Committee, was, the alarmingly and progressively rapid increase of the foreign slave-trade, which Mr. Buxton had from time to time, distinctly proved, both in amount and in atrocities, to have arrived at a point far exceeding that to which it had attained, when this wholesale system of robbery and murder first aroused the virtuous indignation of the people of England. The absorbing interest produced by the unprecedented efforts made to procure the abolition of slavery in our own colonies, however, so completely occupied the public mind, incapable it would seem of warmly embracing two subjects at one time however germane they may be, that the Committee considered it would be useless at an earlier period to make any specific effort on the subject ; but they now felt that the time had arrived, when some more systematic effort on their part ought to be forthwith made ; and convinced that the first step towards removing an evil is to expose it, they directed their Secretary to prepare a pamphlet, briefly showing the extent of the trade,—the activity with which it is carried on,—the horrors and dreadful mortality attendant upon it ; with an account of the negotiations which have been entered into, the laws which have been enacted, and the treaties which have been concluded, for its suppression. In the beginning of March, this pamphlet was completed, and on the 9th of that month, the Committee addressed a circular to each of their correspondents throughout the kingdom, enclosing copies of the above-mentioned two pamphlets, earnestly calling their attention to the respective subjects on which they treated. In this Circular,

the Committee took the opportunity of stating to their friends, that their efforts were deplorably cramped by the want of funds; and added an urgent appeal for that pecuniary support which was necessary to prosecute their exertions.

These pamphlets were favourably received; that on the slave-trade excited for a short time a good deal of general attention; extracts from it were freely given, not only in many of the daily and weekly newspapers, and monthly periodicals in this country and the colonies, but in several of the continental journals. This interest, however, was merely of a temporary nature; and the *undivided* attention of the anti-slavery public was again directed towards the abolition of the galling remnant of slavery which still existed in our own colonies, to which the return of Mr. Joseph Sturge and his friends, soon imparted a livelier character than it had assumed since the passing of the Abolition Act in 1833.

The Committee having received a great deal of important information from these gentlemen, much of which was condensed in a speech delivered by Mr. J. Sturge, at a public breakfast given to him at Birmingham; the Committee printed the speech, with some additional statements, and gave it the widest possible circulation, under the title of the "Present Condition of Negro Apprentices in the Colonies." The "Narrative of James Williams," which is too well known to require a single comment here, having been reduced within the compass of a small pamphlet, was also printed and circulated by the Committee by tens of thousands throughout the kingdom, as was also another pamphlet, entitled "A Statement of Facts illustrating the Administration of the Abolition Law in the Colonies;" a very accurate representation of a treadmill scene in a West India prison, was also engraved and circulated, even in still greater numbers, with the publications above-mentioned. The excitement caused by this extensive circulation of authentic and recent information, derived from eye-witnesses of the highest respectability, was greater than the Committee had anticipated, or even than they were made acquainted with, until a considerable time afterwards.

In the mean time, Mr. Buxton had moved for, and had obtained, the re-appointment of the Parliamentary Committee of inquiry. The Anti-Slavery Committee had deeply to regret, that circumstances, over which neither Mr. Buxton nor they had any control, had delayed the resumption of this important inquiry, till the 19th May. On the 23rd, however, of that month, the Parliamentary Committee met, and at once proceeded to take the evidence of Mr. Joseph Sturge, which occupied several days; they then proceeded to examine some

other witnesses, and were engaged in taking the evidence of Dr. Palmer, when the session was suddenly brought to a close by the demise of the late King. Whereupon the Committee made the following report:—

“Your Committee regret, that owing to the late period of the session at which they were appointed, and the prospect of its premature termination, they have been able to proceed but a little way in the investigation of the various important questions which have been submitted to them.

“Under these circumstances, they do not feel warranted in reporting to the House the evidence which they have received, nor in expressing any general opinion upon it.

“There is, however, one subject to which they consider it to be their duty especially to advert. The state of the workhouses and of the prison discipline is so intimately connected with the working of the apprenticeship system, that it has engaged the attention of your Committee, particularly as it exists in the island of Jamaica, to which their inquiries have been principally directed; and it appears to them to be indispensable, that there should be instituted without delay, a strict and searching examination into the state of the Workhouses in the West Indian colonies, and especially into the construction and use of the Treadmills which are employed in them, and the nature of the coercion adopted to insure labour among the prisoners.

“It has been satisfactory to your Committee to learn, that the attention of the Colonial Office has been directed to this question, and that it is the intention of that department, to take effectual means to obtain the information which is required upon it.

“In conclusion, your Committee would recommend, that a select Committee should be appointed, to pursue this inquiry in the next session of parliament.”

This is the brief history, (with the exception of some motions for sundry papers,) of the Parliamentary abolition proceedings of this Session. But short as was the sitting of the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry, its labours were productive of great and immediate benefit, especially in regard to tread-mill discipline, which perhaps, more than any other grievance, had excited the indignation of the people of England, arising probably from the subject having been brought more strikingly under their notice, by the recital of individual cases of suffering, and presented before their eyes by means of the engraving already mentioned. Not only were steps taken by the government to rectify these enormities, as soon as they were exposed, but the Report of the Committee led to the appointment of a Commissioner, who was sent out from this country, specially authorised and instructed to visit all the prisons, to report on the state of prison discipline, and to sug-

gest improvements. This gentleman has since made a very able report; and last session, government carried a bill through parliament, for the better regulation of prisons in the colonies, corresponding in its main provisions with the suggestions previously made, in the evidence laid before the Parliamentary committee in the session of 1836; thus taking out of the hands of the planters, the organization of a system, which otherwise they might have rendered one of great and cruel oppression to the negroes, even long after their apprenticeship should have ceased.

The Committee, anxious by every means in their power to call into action the virtuous and benevolent sympathies of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, in favour of the unjustly oppressed negroes in the colonies, and deeply impressed with a recollection of the great benefits rendered to the cause, by the exertions of the ladies in their behalf, at a former period, resolved again to request their assistance, being convinced that there were some circumstances in the present state of the female apprentices, likely in a peculiar manner to interest their feelings, and that there would be something particularly appropriate in their addressing a youthful Sovereign of their own sex, at the commencement of her reign, in behalf of unjustly oppressed females.

This call upon the tender charities of Englishwomen, was, as might naturally be expected, promptly and nobly answered. "The Committee of the Ladies' London Negroes' Friend Society," immediately prepared and put forth the following interesting Address:—

"To Her most Gracious Majesty, Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland.

"May it please your Majesty,

"We, the Undersigned, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal female subjects of Great Britain, humbly beg to approach your Majesty on behalf of the deeply-injured Negro Apprentices in the British colonies.

"The 1st of August, 1834, was hailed by the nation as a joyful epoch in the annals of our Country.

"The hope was cherished that slavery, with all its attendant miseries and horrors, would thenceforth and for ever cease within the wide range of the British dominions; and that effectual measures would be taken to secure the blessings of liberty and domestic comfort to the long-oppressed captive children of Africa.

"We are indeed thankful for the legal provisions which have led to an improvement in the observance of the Sabbath, and which to some extent give facilities for Negro education.

"But it is with heartfelt regret that we have now to represent to

your gracious Majesty, that we have learned, from the most authentic sources of information, that the Act of Emancipation has grievously failed to produce the benefits we had anticipated.

“ Our feelings have been wounded with the horrid details of continued oppression and degradation ; and we have been more especially shocked by the wrongs and cruelties to which the female apprentices are now exposed.

“ Many, who by reason of advanced age or infirmity, or as the mothers of large families, had long been, to a great degree, exempted from employment in the service of their masters, are now compelled to endure oppressive labour.

“ Women of every age, and in every condition, are liable, for the most trivial faults, to be committed to houses of correction, from which they are sent out to work on the highways, chained together by the neck with iron collars. They are placed on tread-mills of torturing construction, and are subject to the dreadful punishment of flogging with the whip.

“ We are also deeply grieved to learn that children are, through the continued oppression practised on their parents, liable to such extreme neglect as outrages every feeling of humanity.

“ These particulars, lamentable as they are, form but a part of the appalling evils which still prevail to a fearful extent, and which claim the deep attention and warm sympathy of all who acknowledge it to be their duty to obey the precepts of the Gospel.

“ May the sorrows and afflictions of our coloured fellow-subjects receive, in an especial manner, your Majesty’s gracious and benevolent consideration. May the dawn of your Majesty’s reign be signalized by the happy consummation of full and unrestricted freedom to these deeply-injured sons and daughters of Africa. And may the blessings of them that are ready to perish, be mingled with the prayers of all in your Majesty’s dominions, and ascend to the throne of the King of Kings, for a long and righteous reign to our beloved Sovereign the Queen.”

To this Address, about half a million of signatures were affixed. It was afterwards presented to Her Majesty, by whom it was most graciously received, by a deputation, consisting of Mr. Fowell Buxton, Mr. William Allen, Mr. Weymouth, and Mr. G. Stacey. Similar Addresses were subsequently presented from the ladies of Scotland and of Ireland.

On the same day that the Committee came to the resolution which led to the above Address, they also unanimously resolved, “ that it is expedient to call a public meeting of the friends of the negroes, in Exeter Hall, on Tuesday, the 11th July, to take into consideration the present state of the negro population in the colonies, and the measures most proper to be adopted, in consequence of the grievous oppressions practised on that portion of our fellow subjects.”—

Having adopted this resolution, the Committee requested his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex to preside over the proposed meeting, which his Royal Highness most kindly condescended to do; and the crowded state of the Hall, proved that the labours of the Committee, and the interest raised by the return of Mr. Joseph Sturge and his fellow travellers, had effectually excited the attention of the friends of the cause in the Metropolis. The statements made to the meeting by that gentleman, and by Dr. Palmer, of the scenes they had witnessed in the West Indies, produced a deep feeling of the necessity for exertion by the friends of the negro, upon the minds of all present; and after some eloquent speeches, made by members of parliament and others, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, viz. :—

“ That, as in the year 1833, parliament passed an act for the abolition of slavery in the colonies, granting at the same time, the immense sum of twenty millions of money, as compensation to the slave owners; it is essentially necessary, that the public should be fully informed of the nature of the measures adopted by the colonies, in consequence of the Imperial Act.

“ That although the system of apprenticeship was enacted for the purpose of preparing the negroes for a state of entire freedom, this meeting is convinced, from the statements now laid before it, as well as from other sources of information, that the apprenticeship has been made the instrument of cruel oppression in the colonies; so much so, that the compact between them and the mother country has been disregarded and violated, both in law and in practice; and that, therefore, as a General Election is approaching, it is the duty of every elector to urge upon the several candidates, the necessity of a prompt and efficient remedy, in the first Session of the ensuing Parliament, for evils inseparable from every form of colonial bondage.

“ That this meeting is convinced, from the specimens already furnished, that unless the progress of that description of colonial legislation, which is intended, under general titles of law, more peculiarly to affect the negro population, be carefully and anxiously watched by the British public, slavery will be continued, under new forms, for many generations after the close of the term of the present apprenticeship.

“ That this meeting desires to express its sympathy with those individuals in the British colonies, whether holding official situations or otherwise, who have been marked out for reproach and persecution, on account of their endeavours to obtain justice for the apprentices; and its admiration of the integrity and firmness they have displayed.

“ That this meeting anticipates a most favourable influence, from the renewed and more active interposition of the Ladies of Great Britain, on behalf of the negro race generally, but especially with

regard to the peculiar hardships which press so grievously on that class of their female fellow-subjects.

“That, with a view to the more efficient prosecution of the objects of the foregoing resolutions, this meeting earnestly recommends the immediate re-organization of all the Anti-Slavery Societies throughout the country; it also calls on the delegates, who assembled here in 1833, at once, and perseveringly, to act on the declaration to which they then pledged themselves, viz. :—“ We feel bound, publicly and emphatically to declare, that while slavery obtains, under any form, however modified, or however sanctioned, we will never relax from our purpose, to exert that influence which we may collectively or individually possess, to effect, by all legitimate means, its immediate and entire abolition.”

Prior to the holding of the meeting at which these resolutions were passed, the Committee had already taken into consideration the opportunity which an approaching general election afforded them, for bringing the state of the apprenticed labourers in the colonies before the electors of the United Kingdom, and of urging upon them, the duty of making the willingness to amend it, a prominent subject in the consideration of the eligibility of candidates for a seat in the new Parliament. With this object in view, the Committee prepared an energetic “Address to the Electors of Great Britain and Ireland,” which, after briefly, but plainly stating the facts of the case, concluded with these words—viz :

“Fellow Countrymen, it would ill become you to rest contented with having conferred a merely nominal emancipation upon the slave—you have not yet really emancipated him—you nobly made the abolition of slavery the first object of reform; you pledged your representatives to insist upon the boon; you thronged the doors of Parliament with emphatic and indignant petitions;—and in what has it all ended? You have been duped and deceived by colonial chicanery; you have paid £20,000,000 sterling, wrung from the sweat of the nation’s brow, as a ransom,—and the man whose freedom you have paid for, enjoys little of it, but the name. It is a duty which you now owe to the cause of humanity,—to the national character, and to your own consistency, to arouse from your apathy; for, in all probability, the representatives whom you now return, will have to pronounce upon the negro’s fate, whether for slavery or for freedom.

“Amidst the anxious and agitating questions, which the Hustings will raise for your decision, let the Negro once more come in for his share of sympathy. Tell the Candidate, that he must not forget his coloured fellow-subjects and their neglected offspring. There never was an occasion, on which

a positive pledge could be more constitutionally demanded. Tell him, you will hereafter exact a full and rigorous account of his votes on their behalf; and demand from him, the promise which he cannot as a man of humanity or religion withhold, that he will insist on the power of the Imperial legislature being exerted to secure the immediate fulfilment of that solemn Contract, which on your part has been so faithfully and generously performed."

Although every means was put in requisition to give circulation and publicity to this Address, and to the proceedings and resolutions of the meeting at Exeter Hall, the suddenness of the dissolution of Parliament, and the early period at which the writs were returnable for the new one, left little time for forming any well-organized plan of operation for carrying the object of the Address to the Electors into effect.

The Anti-Slavery Committee availed themselves however of the opportunity of forwarding the Address to the Electors, together with copies of the proceedings and resolutions of the public meeting at Exeter Hall, to transmit the following circular letter to all their correspondents throughout the country, under date of the 14th July,—viz :

"Present circumstances render it absolutely necessary, that authentic information of the actual condition of the negro apprentices, should be as widely diffused through the public mind as possible, and we earnestly implore you, and all who have heretofore exerted themselves in this righteous cause, at once to take effectual measures to accomplish this object.

"We earnestly beg to call your attention to the latter part of the 4th resolution, passed at Exeter Hall, on the 11th instant, recommending the immediate re-organization of the Anti-Slavery Societies throughout the kingdom.

"We take this opportunity of stating to our friends throughout the country, that very heavy expenses have already been incurred in printing the documents above alluded to, and also by other necessary disbursements, and that still further expenses are anticipated in our present exertions to obtain the complete extinction of Slavery, expenses, to which the funds of the Society are at present totally inadequate. The Committee trust therefore, that their friends individually, will, on the present occasion, renew the liberality with which in former times they supported this Society."

In answer to this appeal, some remittances were received, and many favourable accounts, stating that measures were in progress for raising subscriptions, which would be remitted at a future time; subsequent events however, diverted most, if not all these anticipated subscriptions into another channel, and the Committee would have been placed in an awkward predicament in respect of the heavy debts which they had

incurred in the performance of their duties as above narrated, had not the Committee of the Society of Friends, ever the most prominent and the most active in promoting the Abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery, and without whose liberal pecuniary assistance, the Society must long since have become extinct, issued about the same time, an appeal to the members of their Society throughout the Kingdom, the result of which enabled the Treasurers of the fund so raised, to afford the Anti-Slavery Committee the means of discharging the larger part of the heavy debts they had contracted.

In order to leave no means untried of fixing the public attention on the progress already made in the proof of colonial delinquency, and with the view moreover of bringing the influence of the general constituency of the country to bear on all future Parliamentary proceedings, the Committee, in addition to these measures, again requested their coadjutor, Mr. Beldam, to prepare a sketch of that part of the examination before the Parliamentary Committee, which was now completed, and which, of itself, established the charge brought against the colonial legislatures, of a deliberate violation of the spirit and letter of the Imperial Act of Abolition. This pamphlet with the title of "Colonial Laws," was accordingly prepared and printed, and the following extracts from it will show the use then made of the case, so far as it had been already proved:—

"Under such circumstances it seems highly desirable, though at a short notice, to prepare a sketch of the evidence taken on these laws, since it will not be questioned that the good faith of the colonists, and the future prosperity of the negroes, about which the public, after such an enormous expenditure of money, must feel naturally anxious, can be tested by no more certain criterion than the deliberate Acts and Ordinances of Colonial legislators. In this sketch the attention of the reader will be confined to some of the more objectionable enactments of colonial law;—the practical grievances to which they have necessarily given rise, and which of themselves, furnish an independent and overwhelming testimony against the present order of things, will, except with a view to occasional illustrations, be reserved for future exposure."

* * * * *

"Such then, has been the course of legal examination before the Commons' committee, and such the imperfect results in which it has ended. An incomplete, but, so far as it extends, a faithful summary, is now exhibited of colonial laws and regulations having particular relation to the present anomalous condition of the negroes, and purporting to be framed under the authority of the Imperial Act of Abolition; and to this is added a concise but comprehensive exposition of the character of those colourable

and more dangerous laws, which at the termination of the apprenticeship system, are intended to supply its place.

“In conclusion, it may be confidently asked, whether the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, had not abundant reason for their avowed jealousy of colonial legislation, and whether they have not amply sustained the charges originally brought by them against the colonial laws,—‘that they still fall short, far short of the spirit and intention of the Imperial Act;’ and ‘that no adequate provision appears to have been made by any Imperial or Colonial laws for the anomalous condition of the negroes.’ The friends of the negroes were charged, indeed, before the committee, with hypercritical nicety; and it was asserted, that no code of laws could stand so severe a test as that to which the colonial regulations were submitted. But surely, no person will pretend that the objections above cited are of a minute or unimportant character, or that they constitute any thing less than the very substance of the apprenticeship system. It may be said again, that objections of this kind are after all, merely theoretical; but this is positively denied. The peculiar object of these comments, indeed, precludes the possibility of entering minutely into the melancholy subject of actual grievances. But the reader may be assured, that the evidence as to colonial practices, when fully developed, will prove to be commensurate with the legislative evils complained of. And even were no such positive proofs at hand, the principles of human nature operate in a manner much too uniform to leave the least doubt of enormous practical evils arising from a legislative system, framed, as it should seem, less for the purpose of preventing, than of sanctioning and concealing injustice and oppression. Besides which, an observation of the Anti-Slavery Committee, made at their meeting above alluded to, appears strictly correct;—‘that even if laws so unjustifiable could be shown to be leniently enforced, the humanity of the functionaries, and other persons entrusted with their execution, would be no adequate compensation for the defects and repugnancies of the laws themselves.’ The sum of twenty millions sterling was not paid to purchase the humanity of the planters, but the substantial freedom of the negroes, and to place them for ever after, within the impregnable safeguards of the constitution. Has this been done? Have the spirit and intention of the Imperial Parliament and unanimous Nation been fully carried into effect by the colonial legislatures? These are the important questions to be decided; not at the present juncture by select committees, nor by orders in council, but by an appeal to the great body of the British people, about to execute the most solemn function of a free representative government. On such an occasion, the language of diplomacy must be dropped, minor difficulties and delicacies must be laid aside, and the plain truth be openly spoken. It is this: The apprenticeship system has been converted into nothing less than a grievous political fraud; and it now exhibits a striking instance of the gross impositions which may

with impunity be practised on the good sense and generous feeling of the nation. As a specimen of penal legislation, it outrages all notions of justice and propriety; as a practical means of improving the social and moral condition of the negroes, it is a complete and notorious failure. The pretence of its being necessary, as a preparatory condition for the enjoyment of perfect liberty, proves altogether futile; for beyond all doubt or contradiction, it is now discovered, that not only will the negroes work well for wages, but that they will not work nearly so well without them; that the present system, so far from being one of necessary preparation and improvement, is in reality one of needless deterioration and abuse,—abuse at all times inseparable from a system for the enforcement of unremunerated labour, and especially from such a system in colonies but just emerging from a more cruel and destructive type of the same social calamity. If therefore so fraudulent an arrangement is still permitted to continue, let its real nature and object be at least known. Let it henceforth be understood to be, not a necessary pause in the negro's ascending progress towards freedom, but as it is in truth, a dilatory step, intended to prolong the profits of an unjust system, and as a convenient precedent for re-establishing, at a future time, a modified condition of slavery. Let it be recollected, as a circumstance of no light moment, that the distinctive principles of the two systems are the same; and that rapid advances have already been made towards a more permanent system of coercion and restraint, when the apprenticeship shall expire. Of the apprenticeship system, indeed, it may be safely affirmed, that whether regarded in the light of legislation or of morals, it does not possess a single ameliorative quality; that the best praise ever bestowed upon it, which is merely *negative*, proceeds from an unacquaintance with evidence yet to be produced, and that it will more fully hereafter appear to have been wholly undeserved. And if, contrary to the expectation of many abolitionists, and of the West Indians themselves, it be sullenly endured unto the end by the negroes, that circumstance is not to be attributed, as some imagine, to their real acquiescence or content, but to the cruelty of the system which deprives the sufferer of his last privilege, that of proclaiming his sorrows, and which makes it less terrible to endure than to complain. It is to legislative provisions of this kind, that the pretended improvement in the working of the apprenticeship system is to be mainly assigned; for the negroes have now reason to think themselves deserted by their former friends, and they have discovered by bitter experience, that in many cases it is worse than hopeless to seek a legal remedy. On this subject, the sentiments of the Anti-Slavery Committee, so frequently alluded to, peculiarly apply when they observe, that 'the general submission of the negroes, urged as a motive for non-interference, admits of a solution quite different from the fact of general contentment, or the *bonâ fide* enjoyment of substantial justice. That the severe restraints and penalties by

which the right of complaint is fettered in most of the colonies, render it, in many cases, either virtually useless, or practically dangerous to complain, and connected with the shortness of the supposed term of oppression, are quite sufficient to explain the silent endurance of much present suffering; and the doctrine would be as novel as it is unjust, that exemplary patience is a ground for delaying redress.' Let it be remembered, however, that it is a fundamental principle of English law, that there shall be no injury without redress, no violation of compact, without compensation, no fraudulent abstraction of valuable rights without, at least, an ample restitution. It will now be for the great body of the constituency, in the exercise of their elective franchise, not only to say, whether this principle of justice and of humanity shall be enforced in the case of the British negroes; but, should this be decided in the affirmative, to instruct likewise their future representatives as to the manner in which that principle shall be hereafter enforced. At all events, a fair though imperfect sketch of the colonial laws is now presented to the public; and it is impossible to believe, that with the leading facts of the case before them, they will longer neglect to insist on a strict fulfilment of their own Imperial Act, or henceforward remain contented to see the fruit of a most expensive effort to ameliorate the condition of our suffering bondsmen, intercepted and snatched away, in the moment of its enjoyment, by colonial craft and cunning.

About this period too, the attention of the Committee was further called to attempts that were then making in various Colonies to tamper with the classification of Apprentices, and to prolong the servitude of tradesmen and other persons of the non-prædial class of negroes, by a false construction of the Imperial Act of abolition. The Legislature of Jamaica, intent upon this object, had passed an act for this purpose of so flagrant a character, that the Committee, apprehensive of the effect of this daring example, immediately caused an analysis of the Act, accompanied with a list of objections to be prepared, which was not only laid before the Colonial Secretary of State, but was afterwards printed and extensively circulated throughout the country; and it was a source of great satisfaction to the Committee to learn, that this outrageous Statute was subsequently disallowed by the Home Government, on the grounds of objection urged against it by this Committee.

The result of the election at Weymouth was most sincerely deplored by the Committee, who, upon ascertaining the loss the Anti-Slavery cause had sustained there, by Mr. Fowell Buxton's not having been returned to the new Parliament, immediately held a special meeting for the purpose of taking into consideration the course it might be most expedient for

them to pursue, in consequence of this untoward event ; at this meeting the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, viz. :—

1. That the loss of Mr. Buxton's services in parliament is to be deeply lamented by all who have the interests of humanity at heart, and more especially by those, who have long sympathized with the sufferings of the negro, whether in his former condition of a slave, or in his present equivocal character of an apprentice.

2. That the position in which the Anti-Slavery party is placed, by the absence from parliament of a leader so well qualified by high and honourable principle, consistent character, extensive colonial knowledge, and firmness combined with distinguished ability, at a period when the conduct of the colonial legislature requires to be watched with redoubled vigilance, is one of most serious responsibility, and demands increased activity of exertion.

3. That this responsibility is greatly increased by the consideration, that the grave questions of East India Slavery and Foreign Slave Trade, have not yet been brought before parliament in the full and solemn manner which their importance demands.

4. That Mr. Buxton is not only peculiarly qualified to conduct the investigation, and secure the reform of these dreadful abuses, but has long been engaged in preparing himself for the arduous controversy to which they are likely to give rise.

5. That it is expedient, either by calling a public meeting at Exeter Hall at a seasonable period, or by other convenient means, to elicit an expression of the feelings of the country on this important occasion, and to consider what further measures the crisis demands from the negro's friends.

6. That copies of these Resolutions be circulated extensively through the country, and generally advertised in the daily papers.

The excitement caused by the general election having at length subsided, and the new Parliament being about to assemble, the Committee proceeded more deliberately to consider the actual position of their great question, and the measures which it might be most desirable for them now to adopt, not only with a view to the immediate benefit of the coloured classes in the colonies, but to *the security of their future liberties and welfare.*

It is but due to the individuals who were united in these deliberations, to advert briefly to the circumstances by which their judgments were at that period decided. The Committee it may be remembered, though incessantly labouring for the Abolition of the Apprenticeship System, had never lost sight of the superior importance of whatever related to the permanent condition of the Negroes. They had found time, even when most actively employed, in proving the intolerable evils of the existing system, to collect a body of official evidence,

equally proving the unjust designs of the Planters upon the future liberties of their apprentices. They could never therefore, deem any effort complete, which did not effectually secure from future, while it redressed present grievances. They were still under a solemn engagement to Parliament, and the Country, to establish a case of legislative and practical violation by the Colonists, of the Imperial Act for the Abolition of Slavery; and the practical part of their case was not yet completed. They had, it is true, in despair of accomplishing the Abolition of the Apprenticeship, by a direct recommendation of a Parliamentary Committee, appealed as they constitutionally might do, to the general constituency, for their judgment on the evidence, so far as it had proceeded; but that judgment required to be more unequivocally announced, before the position of the Anti-Slavery Committee towards the question, could be materially altered; and even then, it was not for those who had provoked the inquiry, to decide for themselves when and how it should terminate. The indignation of the country had indeed been roused, far beyond the expectation of the Anti-Slavery Committee; but it was exceedingly doubtful what impression it would be able to make on a reluctant House of Commons, and this indignation was moreover concentrated upon one only of the great objects to be accomplished, and that not the paramount object, in the opinion of the Committee. A painful experience besides, of the apathy which had recently followed a former burst of public enthusiasm, induced the Committee further to dread a similar result from exertions, which even if successful, might, by exterminating the more palpable evil, probably leave the future fate of the Negroes to subside into a mere political question, of the distribution of power in society, and never again unite the understandings and the hearts of British Philanthropists, in an adequate effort to obtain justice. The Committee, at the same time, had reason to believe that the beneficial effects of the movement might be more certainly accomplished by a cautious procedure, and without any of the risks attending a more direct method. It was highly probable indeed, that the strict enforcement of all the rights of the Apprentices, under the Imperial Act, which no party in this country would be hardy enough to refuse, would be equivalent to an Act of Abolition here. At all events, the time was not yet come, in the opinion of the Committee, when they could safely commit a cause so sacred to the hazard of any exclusive and perilous alternative. They resolved, therefore, while awaiting a further development of circumstances, to justify and sustain the public indignation by still more copious and sum-

many proofs of the completeness of their case for all practical purposes: and to endeavour so soon as results should appear more certain, to direct the popular influence towards the accomplishment, under one grand effort, of the two main objects of their desire.

In pursuance of this plan, the Committee determined to begin by preparing a more elaborate statement, founded on the evidence already laid before Parliament, and on other official information, the object of which should be to place the fact of a substantial and general violation of the obligations of the Imperial Act, by the Colonial Legislatures and Planters, beyond the possibility of contradiction, and thus, if needful, relieve the Committee from the delay and anxiety of all further public investigation.

Whilst the Anti-Slavery Committee were employed in preparing the document above-mentioned, they were informed by the "Birmingham Anti-Slavery Society," that they had called a meeting of delegates from various parts of the country, to be holden in London; but from which all delegates from any society in London or its vicinity, were to be specifically excluded; and a few days afterwards, they received an intimation from the delegates, who by that time had assembled at Exeter Hall, stating, that they wished to have an interview with the Committee at that place. Upon inquiry, the Committee were informed, to their extreme surprise, that they were not invited for the purpose of deliberating upon any plan for the benefit of the negroes, but merely to assist the recently elected body in carrying out certain resolutions of a grave character, from the consideration of which, they had been thus carefully excluded.

The third of these resolutions, to which a full and implicit assent was thus made the condition of future co-operation with the delegates, was as follows:—

"That the proof being complete that Slavery, in its essential features, and, in some particulars, of an aggravated nature, still exist in the British Colonies, and believing that no Legislative measures, short of absolute Emancipation, can supply an effectual remedy; we solemnly deprecate the re-appointment of a Parliamentary Committee of Enquiry, as calculated to evade the demands of justice, and prolong the misery of the Negro; and that we will therefore use all proper means to prevent so disastrous a measure." And other resolutions adopted by the delegates were understood to repudiate any measure of redress whatever, which did not include the immediate and total Abolition of the Apprenticeship System.

It is obvious from the course already resolved upon by the

Anti-Slavery Committee, that they could not, at this time, accede to propositions which they necessarily considered to be, so far as regarded themselves, premature and hazardous ; and which would moreover deprive them of all future chance of accomplishing their hopes by those cautious methods, which they conceived might probably prove to be more safe and practicable. At the same time, their anxiety was great to avoid any such expression of their desire to retain their own deliberative functions, as should tend to check that generous impulse, which they deeply felt to be essential to the success of either plan. The Committee could even perceive advantages arising out of a division of labour and exertion at this crisis, provided their motives were appreciated and a substantial unity of feeling and of purpose, were preserved between the two sections of the Anti-Slavery body.

Under such impressions the Anti-Slavery Committee unanimously adopted the following resolutions, viz :—

“That the delegates be respectfully informed, that this Committee feels bound to act in conformity with the concluding passage in a Memorial presented by the joint Committees of the London Anti-Slavery Societies to Lord Glenelg, on the 14th August, 1835, viz. ‘Their own course is fixed, for they are solemnly pledged to themselves and to the country, to spare no prudent exertions, and to leave no constitutional means untried, until the last vestiges of slavery shall have merged in perfect and unconditional freedom ;’ and that in pursuance of this great principle, the Committee have under their consideration a variety of measures which they deem to be most important to the present and future welfare of the negroes.

“That this Committee, after deliberately considering the present position of the Anti-Slavery cause, conclude, that they shall be rendering it the most efficient aid by continuing for the present to act independently,—‘as the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society.’ At the same time, the Committee would express their cordial desire, that the labours of the delegates may promote the great object in which all are united, and they trust, that the harmony which has hitherto so signally marked the proceedings of the Anti-Slavery body, may continue to characterize their future proceedings.”

The Delegates in the course of their deliberations, having determined to form a new Society in London, which might be directly under their own control, for the single object of effecting an immediate abolition of the remaining two years of the prædial apprenticeship, without the intervention of any further Parliamentary inquiry ; the Anti-Slavery Committee

while still prosecuting their original plan of furnishing all the necessary materials for the ensuing parliamentary campaign, now found themselves more at leisure than they otherwise might have been, to devote their attention to this branch of the subject, and also to some others of great importance, alluded to in their preceding Resolution, such for instance, as the case of the children apprenticed under an unfortunate clause in the Imperial Abolition Act;—of the state of the captured Africans, apprenticed under various Treaties for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, (to neither of which cases of apprenticeship, could the general abolition of the apprenticeship system have applied:)—the condition of the Negroes who had been illegally imported or unduly registered in the Mauritius, whose claims to immediate emancipation were unquestionable;—the general state of the liberated Africans under the Slave trade Abolition Acts;—the means provided for the education of the Negroes in the colonies;—Slavery in the East Indies;—and the Foreign Slave Trade. All these general and very important subjects, and some others, which it is unnecessary to dwell upon now, occupied the time and attention of the Anti-Slavery Committee, in addition to various efforts, both public and private, with a view to facilitate that measure on which the public attention was almost exclusively riveted. On most of these topics they had various conferences with the Government, at which their several representations and remonstrances were courteously received, and in many instances they have reason to believe, were productive of the most decidedly beneficial effects.

List of Publications, printed and issued by the Anti-Slavery Committee this year:—

Brief Account of the Foreign Slave Trade	-	2250
Review of the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Negro Ap- prenticeship	- - - }	3000
Address to the Electors of Great Britain and Ireland	-	40,000
Resolutions of Meeting at Exeter Hall	-	16,000
Colonial Laws	- - -	3000
Observations on Classification	- - -	2000
Present Condition of Negro Apprentices in the Colonies	- - - }	23,000
Statement of Facts, &c.	- - -	17,500
Narrative of James Williams	- - -	30,500
View of a Treadmill Scene in the Colonies	-	50,000
Sundry Circulars, Extracts, &c.	-	10,500
Newspapers, &c.		

1838.

THE unmitigated horrors of the Foreign Slave Trade still pressing heavily on the attention of the Anti-Slavery Committee, they felt it to be their duty to keep the subject before the public, and in the month of January, they issued a second pamphlet, containing the history of its constantly increasing progress and accumulating horrors down to the date of the then latest reports contained in the Official papers laid before Parliament. Copies of this pamphlet were sent to all their correspondents; and the subject having regained the attention of Lord Brougham, his Lordship in one of his most powerful speeches, brought the whole question under the notice of the House of Lords; and having in compliance with the wishes of some of the friends of abolition, consented to revise the report of his speech for publication, the Committee immediately availed themselves of the opportunity thus afforded them, for circulating the astounding facts of the case in another form through the country, hoping, that though the facts were the same as stated in their pamphlet, they might make a livelier impression, when clothed in the eloquent language of the noble Lord; they therefore printed a large edition of this speech, and gave it a most extensive circulation. At a subsequent period of the session, Sir Robert Inglis, in a very able speech, no less pregnant with facts, brought the subject before the House of Commons, which unanimously agreed on his motion to the following Address to the Crown:—

“That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, dutifully to submit to Her Majesty, that the Slave Trade, which the Congress of Vienna most justly described as having degraded Europe, desolated Africa, and afflicted humanity, nevertheless still continues with great intensity; that, notwithstanding the various treaties and conventions which have been entered into by Her Majesty, and Her Royal Predecessors, with different powers for the suppression of this traffic; and notwithstanding all the endeavours of successive administrations at home, and of Her Majesty’s ministers and agents in foreign countries, and of Her Majesty’s Naval Force employed in this service abroad, the trade has been aggravated in all its horrors; and that it is the opinion of this House, that a general concurrence of the great powers professing Christianity, in a declaration that the Slave Trade, by whomsoever carried on, is piracy, and ought to be punished as such, is, under the blessing of God, one of the most probable means of effecting the abolition of that trade.

“That this House is further of opinion, that, in all Treaties to be contracted between Her Majesty and Her Allies, the concession of a mutual right of search of their commercial vessels respectively, would be another of the means likely to attain this most important object; and that this House most respectfully implores Her Majesty, to represent these their opinions, and wishes, and hopes, in such manner, as to Her Majesty shall seem most likely to be effectual, to Her Majesty’s several Allies.

“That this House cannot refrain from expressing to Her Majesty the deep concern with which they have observed, from the papers which Her Majesty has caused to be laid before them, that Portugal has not yet fulfilled the engagements which she has taken towards this country, by concluding with Great Britain an adequate treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade.”

To this Address, Her Majesty returned a most gracious answer, assuring the House, that she “fully shared in their regret at observing the extent of human suffering, which is still occasioned by this cruel trade,” and of her desire to give full effect to their wishes.

Still, the subject languishes in a manner the most extraordinary; and were it not for the efforts of that able, long-trying, and consistent friend of the negro race, Mr. Buxton, who has been for some time directing the energies of his powerful mind to this subject, and is now engaged in preparing a case to lay before the public, embracing new and most important suggestions of means for its suppression, there might be almost ground to despair of seeing an end put to this flagrant disgrace to human nature.

In the month of January, the Committee completed their statement of grievances of the “Negro Apprenticeship in the British Colonies” founded on official information, already alluded to, to which they subsequently added a very copious Appendix, proving and illustrating the various topics of complaint treated of in the Statement containing extracts from the Imperial Abolition Act, from Orders in Council, from the Reports of the Select Committees of Inquiry, and of the evidence laid before it; from Colonial Laws, Ordinances, and Regulations; from Despatches of Secretaries of State; also appendices on the “Illegal Importation, and Defective Registration of Slaves in the Mauritius, and other Colonies;” on the “Classification of Apprentices;” on “Labour;” on “Colonial Regulations as to Food and other Maintenance and Allowances;” on “Punishments;” on the “Treatment of Women and Children;” on the “Powers and Protection of the Special Magistrates;” and on other points connected with the subject. Several of these appendices were in them-

selves complete and important pamphlets, upon the respective subjects on which they treated, and were published separately; but taken as a whole, the Statement with its appendix, formed a complete and well-arranged body of incontrovertible evidence, in proof of the breach of contract of which the colonies had been guilty, and of the justice and necessity of an immediate abolition of the Apprenticeship System;—in fact, it was quite a text-book for this purpose, and was used as such by all parties. The Committee sent copies of it to the Members of both Houses of Parliament, and distributed it extensively in the country, and while its accuracy has never been disputed, they were gratified in hearing it spoken of, as one of the most useful and convincing documents published on the subject during the whole of the exciting discussions which at this period took place in Parliament. A work so voluminous, and requiring such a lengthened train of continuous argument, and of research into official documents both of former and recent periods, as well as collateral authorities, originating both in this country and in the colonies, necessarily occupied a considerable period of time, and required a constant legal superintendence. The labour of performing this duty was therefore entrusted to Mr. Beldam, assisted by the Secretary to the Committee.

On many of the Colonial Laws then in existence, such for instance, as “Police Acts;” “Tenancy Acts;” “Vagrancy Acts;” “Fire Arms Acts;” “Regulations of Market Acts,” &c. &c., the Committee availing themselves of the evidence before the Parliamentary Committee, and of the permission granted by the Secretary of State to examine such laws in the Colonial Office, had already made strong representations both by Memorials and Deputations to the Government. What effect these representations may have produced, cannot be positively affirmed: but at all events the most serious attention of the government was called to these enactments; and it must be highly gratifying to the Committee to find from the Colonial Journals, and from other quarters, that many objectionable acts have since been disallowed, and many important suggestions embodied in the amendments that have since been made, or recommended by the Colonial Office.

The popular agitation of the question, having been as already stated assumed by the Delegates and the Committee named by them, the details of this branch of the question do not, from this period, so immediately belong to the Anti-Slavery Committee.

It is proper however to state, that although excluded from an active participation in the steps adopted by the Dele-

gates, they nevertheless felt it their duty from time to time publicly to reiterate their earnest desire for the immediate abolition of the apprenticeship. With this view, and not losing sight of the more important one, of obtaining a just and liberal Code of Laws for the future government, and permanent security of the coloured classes; the Anti-Slavery Committee about this time unanimously adopted and published the following resolutions, viz:—

1. "That recent events, in Jamaica and elsewhere, have confirmed this Committee in their detestation of the Apprenticeship System. They continue to entertain a deep conviction of the absolute necessity, with a view to the interest of all parties, of an immediate interposition on the part of the Imperial Parliament, in order to the fulfilment of its own designs; which, in the deliberate judgment of this Committee, cannot be effectually accomplished, except by the abolition of a system, admitted by the Parliamentary Committee to be "anomalous, defective," and productive of many of the evils of slavery; which, according to the same authority, has already accomplished the experimental object for which it was originally instituted, and which daily experience discovers to be otherwise utterly incurable.

2. "That the Committee feel, that there is another subject of immense and paramount importance, namely, the permanent condition of the negroes. They continue to entertain a lively apprehension of the perils which await the future liberties of the apprentices, from past and present colonial legislation. While, therefore, they earnestly seek the abolition of the apprenticeship system, they strenuously repeat their former declaration, that the great ends of the Abolition Act will never be fully realised, until the Imperial Parliament shall have undertaken the final supervision of all colonial laws affecting the condition of the coloured races, and by efficient and decisive measures of its own, have placed the future liberties of the negroes, beyond the reach of colonial encroachment and evasion."

It was a subject of great gratification to the Committee to find, that neither the government nor parliament were wholly indisposed to the work of legislating on important points, necessary for the purpose of securing to *all* Her Majesty's subjects in the colonies, the enjoyment of their legal rights; and the Committee on a variety of accounts already assigned, not venturing to hope, that the abolition of the apprenticeship would be triumphantly carried through both Houses of Parliament, were disposed to welcome the appearance of Lord Glenelg's bill for amending the abolition act of 1833, as indicative of the commencement of a supervision, calculated in their judgment to induce the Colonial Legislatures themselves, to set about effecting that abolition which could

scarcely be accomplished by a vote of the Imperial Parliament. The Committee did not indeed consider the bill *as introduced*, at all satisfactory, nor likely without great improvement, to effect even the limited object it professed to have in view, but trusting to its final character and operation, they considered it to be their bounden duty, to exert themselves to the utmost, to render this bill, as perfect, and as stringent in its protective and executory clauses as possible. They therefore after very mature consideration, drew up a Memorial to Lord Glenelg, pointing out such parts of it, as appeared to them defective, and suggesting such amendments as the justice of the case seemed imperatively to require, and as appeared to them best calculated to bring about the object they had in view. The Committee also requested and obtained an interview with Lord Glenelg, at which, after protesting as usual against the apprenticeship system altogether, they personally stated and enforced their sentiments in regard to this very important measure. They also made representations of a like nature to the leading friends of abolition in both Houses of Parliament. Here again it must be evident, that the Committee cannot dwell upon the share they had in the improvements effected in this bill in its passage through parliament; but on comparing the clauses of the bill, as it received the Royal assent, with the suggestions, made to the government and others, by the Committee, it must be obvious that their labours upon it were not lost, and subsequent events testify that they acted on the dictates of a sound judgment, when they determined not to turn their backs on this bill, but rather to use their utmost exertions to render it as stringent a measure as possible. It seems scarcely needful to observe here, that an adherence to the terms of co-operation insisted upon by the Delegates, would have wholly precluded the Committee from any interference with this measure, on which, as it ultimately appeared, the fate of the Apprenticeship System depended.

But the observations in reference to this bill have led again to an anticipation of the chronological order of proceedings.

Sir George Strickland having given notice that on the 29th March he should bring forward his motion for the abolition of the apprenticeship, the Anti-Slavery Committee felt that having done their utmost to render the government plan effective, the time was at length come, when in fulfilment of their original pledge, and without endangering the permanent interests of the negroes by committing their cause to a single and perilous hazard, they might safely proceed to declare their sense of the necessity of a definite period being fixed for

the termination of the apprenticeship system. They accordingly unanimously adopted, and published the following resolution, viz:—

“That it is the imperative duty of this Committee to declare, that, duly considering the interests of all parties, justice and sound policy require, that the negro apprenticeship system should terminate on the 1st August, 1838; and, that by the authority of the British Parliament, all laws shall be repealed which, either by express enactment or their operation, have a tendency to restrain the negro in the free use of his labour or disposal of the fruits thereof, or otherwise make any practical distinction to his injury, between him and the free white inhabitants; and further, that measures should be taken to prevent the enactment of any such laws, or any laws similar in effect or operation, diminishing the rights of the negro as a free British subject.”

This resolution, signed by the Chairman, was advertised in the public papers, and Petitions to both Houses of Parliament founded thereon, were also prepared and presented,—that to the House of Lords, by the Marquis of Sligo, and that to the House of Commons, by that ardent and devoted friend of the coloured classes, their learned coadjutor Dr. Lushington; and on the same day, the Committee requested, and had an interview with Lord Glenelg for the purpose of stating to his lordship, that in conformity with their unvarying protests against the system, they now required, on the ground that the Contract had been violated, the total abolition of the apprenticeship on the 1st August, 1838; coupled however, with a still more important measure, viz:—the preparation of a code in this country, calculated to remove every colonial enactment, which interferes with the entire and unqualified freedom of the negro when the apprenticeship ceases.

It is not the intention of this publication to give a history of the generous and persevering efforts made by the delegates to procure the accomplishment of their one great object, the total abolition of the apprenticeship on the day above mentioned. It will be sufficient to state the result of their labours in regard to the proceedings in the House of Commons upon the motions emanating from them.

The first motion for the abolition of the apprenticeship, was made on the 29th March, by Sir George Strickland, who on that day, moved the following resolution, viz:—

“That this House is of opinion, that the apprenticeship in the British Colonies established by the 3rd and 4th William 4, cap. 73, shall determine on the 1st August, 1838.” After two nights’ debate the House divided, and the motion was lost by a majority of 64, the ayes being 205, and the noes 269.

On the 22nd May following, the subject was again discussed, on the motion of Sir Eardley Wilmot, who on that day moved the following resolution, viz:—"That it is the opinion of this House, that negro apprenticeship in the colonies should immediately cease and determine," which on a division was carried by a majority of 3, the ayes being 96, the noes 93. Here, (with the exception of an amendment, moved on a resolution subsequently brought forward by Sir George Grey,) ended the parliamentary exertions of the delegates, who did not follow up the victory they had thus gained, as it appears from the *Mirror of Parliament* that a day or two afterwards, Sir Eardley Wilmot, stated in answer to a question from Sir George Grey, "that it was not his intention to introduce any measure at present in consequence of the resolution agreed to by the House." Upon this statement being made, Sir George gave notice of a motion for the 28th of the same month, on which day he moved the following resolution, viz:—

"That, in order to prevent the injurious consequences which may follow from the intentions of parliament being left in doubt, and in order to maintain the peace and welfare of the colonies, it is necessary to declare, that in the opinion of this House, it is not advisable to adopt any proceeding for the purpose of giving effect to the resolution of the 22nd May."

"On this resolution being put, Sir Eardley Wilmot moved the following amendment, alluded to above, viz:—

"To leave out from the word "that" to the end of the question, in order to add the words, "it is the opinion of this House, that the resolution passed on the 22nd May should be carried into effect by means of a legislative enactment, due provision being made to secure the peace of the colonies, and to promote the welfare and good conduct of the negro population, on their attaining the full enjoyment of their entire freedom," instead "thereof." The question being put, "that the words proposed to be left out, stand part of the question," the House divided, ayes 250, noes 178. The amendment being thus lost by a majority of 72, the original resolution, together with the following, were put and carried unanimously, viz:—

"That this House, at the same time, declares its opinion that no means should be omitted which can tend to secure to the negro population of Her Majesty's colonies the privileges to which they are entitled under the act for the abolition of slavery, and under the act for the amendment of the Slavery Abolition Act: and further, that the anxious attention of this House will be directed to the state and condition of the negro population, when the expiration of the term of apprenticeship

shall have entitled them to the full enjoyment of entire freedom."

Immediate abolition through the direct interposition of the Imperial Parliament, having thus been rejected, the second parliamentary resolution, became of much greater importance, as it tended to increase the efficacy of Lord Glenelg's Bill, by convincing the Colonial Legislatures, that whatever doubt might yet be felt about the propriety of abrogating an original contract, none whatever existed, as to the necessity of enforcing its strict fulfilment on their part for the future: this the Anti-Slavery Committee had long persisted in asserting, would be equivalent to a repeal of the apprenticeship system, and the event has proved the correctness of their anticipations, for it was soon evident to all, that the Colonial Assemblies themselves, however unwillingly, had become abolitionists. But as the Anti-Slavery Committee saw the period of final emancipation approaching, they became more and more anxious for a satisfactory settlement of the laws for the protection and government of the coloured classes in their new state of freedom, lest the rising hopes of the nation should now be blasted by an attempt being made at the anomaly of governing a free people, by laws, heretofore enacted by slave owners, for the government of slaves. This subject therefore engaged a larger share of the consideration of every Committee meeting, and was introduced at every interview the Committee had with the Government. They had ascertained, from official sources of information, as already stated, the actual existence and the progress of a scheme of laws of this description in the colonies, and they felt assured, that if strong measures were not speedily adopted to prevent it, the ardently anticipated freedom, when at length obtained for the negroes, would be merely nominal, whilst they would in fact be bound down by harsh and unjust statutes, in a bondage not less galling but more permanent, than that from which they had been delivered. Deeply impressed with this conviction, the Anti-Slavery Committee sought an interview with Lord Glenelg on this special subject, at which they read the following address to his lordship, and earnestly enforced the subject upon his most serious attention.

"The Committee of the London Anti-Slavery Society being now led to entertain a confident expectation that negro apprenticeship will shortly terminate throughout the British colonies, cannot forbear expressing their joy at the approaching extinction of this anomalous and oppressive system. At the same time they are bound publicly to declare, that this satisfaction is mingled with many and painful apprehensions

for the future security of the negroes. They have never concealed their conviction, that when the evils of the present system shall have passed away, the dangers incident to those permanent laws which are to fix the ultimate condition of the negroes, will be seen and felt to be of paramount importance. Past experience of the character of colonial legislation, in matters connected with the coloured races, obliges them, however unwillingly, to give credence to the opinion expressed by a competent witness before the parliamentary committee on negro apprenticeship, respecting the views and intentions of the Jamaica legislature, (and to extend the same opinion, with but few exceptions, to the legislatures of the other chartered colonies,) namely, 'that their unceasing object has been to frame the laws with such adroitness, that they might re-enact as much as possible of the ancient system of slavery under a new name;' and at the expiration of the apprenticeship, they 'will not leave an act in which they will not try to introduce some system, which shall interfere with the future liberty of the negroes.' And moreover, that in this endeavour "they will succeed in almost every instance," unless the best precautions shall be taken. This Committee do not, however, pretend to found such painful apprehensions on opinion merely, nor on very extensive experience, modified as former inferences might possibly be, to a certain extent, by recent colonial enactments of a more liberal nature. Their fears, they regret to state, are fully justified and confirmed, by the actual appearance of various proposed laws in different colonies, the real objects of which, under mask of preserving the public peace, and promoting industry and good conduct among the labouring classes, are manifestly to reduce the nominal freemen to the condition of serfs, and to substitute for the present system, when it shall terminate, a severe magisterial despotism. Of this description might be mentioned a great variety of laws already introduced into different colonies, of which specimens may be seen in the Appendix to the printed Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Negro Apprenticeship. Such, for instance, are the proposed vagrant and emigration laws of Jamaica, Barbadoes, St. Christopher's, the Bahamas, the Cape of Good Hope, Antigua, Bermuda, and other colonies, which are intended to confine the emancipated negroes to particular localities, and thus to circumscribe the market for labour. Such, also, are the prohibitory enactments of the same colonies, which rendering it highly dangerous and penal for the negroes to possess or vend numerous articles of ordinary trade and produce, indirectly compel them, for the means of subsistence, to a course of

agricultural *servitude*. Such, again, are the contract laws of Antigua and other colonies, which, under colour of settling the relation between masters and servants, are intended, (more especially as connected with former scales of labour, and combinations among the planters to keep down wages,) to secure to the master undue advantages, both in respect of work and wages. Of the same kind are the trespass and police laws of Jamaica, Barbadoes, St. Christopher's, Antigua, Bermuda, and most of the other colonies, which, in connexion with vagrant acts and other acts, are obviously designed to place the labouring population under a perpetual surveillance, and to invest the local magistrates and territorial proprietors with alarming and unconstitutional powers. Lastly, may be mentioned the various modes of new apprenticeship,—whether for the importation of labourers from distant quarters, as in the case of the Hill Coolies and the liberated Africans, or for the appropriation of the services of children born in the colonies, by means of parochial regulations, the effect of each of which must necessarily be, to prolong many of the evils of the present oppressive system. With respect to all these classes of laws, and others of a similar kind, their main scope and tendency will be best understood by describing them as so many parts of a scheme (at present but imperfectly developed) to defeat the ultimate objects of the British Abolition Act, by perpetuating, and if need be, coercing and compelling hard and oppressive labour, at unjust and inadequate wages.

“ Under these circumstances, this Committee, duly appreciating the solemn guarantee already given by the British Parliament, *for the entire and unqualified freedom* of the negroes at the expiration of the apprenticeship system, and deeply convinced that the imperial authority which enacted, can alone effectually enforce and secure to the emancipated negroes, the permanent possession and enjoyment of those inestimable privileges to which they will then be undoubtedly entitled, feel it to be an absolute and pressing necessity, that the present critical period should be employed in the adoption of such precautionary measures as may adequately meet and counteract these new and complicated dangers. They unhesitatingly repeat their former declaration, that nothing can fulfil the just expectations of the British public, after an expenditure of £20,000,000 sterling, for the utter extinction of every vestige of slavery, except the entire repeal of all colonial laws which, either by express enactment or their operation, tend to restrain the negro population in the free use of their own labour, or disposal of the fruits thereof, or otherwise make any practical and injurious distinctions be-

tween the coloured classes and the free white inhabitants of the colonies: and the application, moreover, of the most efficient means for preventing the future enactment of any such laws, or any laws similar in effect, diminishing the rights of the coloured classes as free British subjects.

“The Anti-Slavery Committee, after the most mature deliberation, now conclude, by expressing their firm persuasion, that no plan can so effectually or satisfactorily accomplish these great and paramount objects, in their full extent and complex operation, as the appointment of a competent and impartial tribunal *in this country*, with a view to the immediate inspection of all laws proposed to be passed as accompaniments to the abolition of negro apprenticeship;—the complete revision of all colonial laws affecting the constitutional rights and privileges of the coloured classes;—and the final establishment of such just and equal principles of government, as shall be authoritative and binding upon all future colonial legislation.”

This address, the Anti-Slavery Committee subsequently communicated to the Central Negro Emancipation Committee, and requested their co-operation, in an endeavour to obtain its object; but that Committee not concurring in the recommendation of the appointment of a “competent and impartial tribunal in this country,” for the object mentioned in the last clause of the address, declined to lend its aid in procuring such an appointment as is there recommended, but at the same time, stated their general willingness to co-operate with the Anti-Slavery Committee in their endeavours to secure to the emancipated negroes just and equal laws, and an impartial administration of justice.

The Anti-Slavery Committee, however, feeling it due to themselves and to the cause, to lay their own decided opinion on the question of Colonial law before their friends and the public, as well as before the Government, reduced the above address into the form of resolutions, and published them in the daily papers;—but thinking it not sufficient, in a matter of such vital importance, merely to record their sentiments in a series of bare resolutions, they determined, at a subsequent period, to make another effort, not only to attract the attention of the anti-slavery public to it, but to convince them, by facts and arguments, of the necessity which existed for the adoption of some such constitutional and authoritative measure as is alluded to in their Address; they therefore requested their able and highly-valued coadjutor, Mr. Beldam, “to prepare a statement to lay before the government, and also adapted for general circulation, proving the necessity

which exists for such a revision and amendment of the colonial laws, as shall secure the future independence and well-being of the coloured population in the colonies ;” and he as in other instances, readily consented to afford the Committee the benefit of his acute judgment and legal talents.

The Committee were the more desirous of an early completion of this statement, as the arrival of every mail from the West Indies, brought them intelligence of the effect produced by Lord Glenelg’s Act:—Colony after Colony in quick succession, decreed the abolition of the apprenticeship upon the 1st August 1838, and in some of them, many of the individuals who had been strenuous opposers of such a measure, were even desirous to fix upon an earlier date,—so sudden, and so complete, was the change produced by the dread of this act, that in fact it became, as was foreseen it would be, an act for the immediate abolition of the apprenticeship system. On this subject, the Anti-Slavery Committee have therefore especial reason to rejoice, not only as events have fully justified the course which a strict sense of duty obliged them to take, unsupported by the leaders of the popular portion of the Anti-Slavery body ; but as they amply compensate them for the obloquy they incurred among their brethren of that section, by venturing to meddle with this measure. That to this act, the abolition of the apprenticeship in the West Indies must be mainly attributed, is clear, since the change which took place in the councils of the legislative assemblies, could not have arisen from the fear of the abolition being effected by a direct vote of the House of Commons, that House having finally decided, by a considerable majority, that it would not abolish the apprenticeship. But the matter is placed beyond question in the case of Jamaica by “the Humble Address and Petition” of the Assembly of that Colony to the Queen, which contains the following expressions: “We humbly declare to your Majesty, that *in consequence of the act* recently passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, wherein we are no ways represented, *an act dangerous in its tendency to the peace and welfare of this island, we have been constrained to abandon the remaining term of the apprenticeship*, and to pass an act, conferring on all the apprentices unqualified freedom on the first of August in the present year ; but while we thus abandon the apprenticeship, we do not abandon the right to demand indemnity for *the sacrifice of property thus forced upon us.*”

The Anti-Slavery Committee would have hailed with delight any proof of a change having at length taken place, in the

minds of the Planters and the Colonial Legislatures, as they should then have had good ground to hope, that the new spirit so exhibited, would have led them on, to pass laws for the government of the colonies founded on the principles of humanity and justice; and the Committee would have rejoiced in the prospect of soon being able to resign the character of the advocates of the negroes, in the well-grounded hope and belief, that they would find sufficient protection in their own colonial laws, and efficient friends in their own native leaders and employers. Unhappily, the Committee could indulge in no such pleasing vision. The very language used in the colonies, even while passing their Abolition Acts, teemed with abuse of English philanthropy, and proved, as is above stated, that they adopted them from no generous motives, but simply in order to avoid the operation of Lord Glenelg's Act, and the future surveillance of the Home Government. The laws which accompanied the Abolition Acts, as well as those which were subsequently enacted in the Colonies, fully demonstrated the same painful fact. Under such circumstances the necessity of extreme vigilance on the part of judicious friends of the cause in this Country, as well as of an *authoritative* interference on the part of the Home Government, became more and more apparent. Lord Aberdeen himself, when Secretary of State for the colonies, in 1835, had justly observed, that "There is no danger connected with the transition from slavery to freedom, demanding a more vigilant circumspection, than that of the silent growth of a new code, depressing below the common level of society, in respect of civil rights and penal liabilities, persons who have been so long accustomed to regard themselves, and to be regarded by others, as in a state of social inferiority and domestic and personal degradation. The moral influence of such distinctions, if revived and perpetuated in this new form," his lordship added, "will be felt to a much greater extent, and more injuriously, than the direct operation of the law itself."

It was not merely to abolish a variety of laws already passed, but likewise to prevent the *silent growth* of future codes, such as are deprecated by the Earl of Aberdeen, and to do away with the necessity of correcting unjust colonial legislation, piece-meal,—act by act,—months perhaps after the act may have been in operation, and with the painful feeling that many months more, were likely to elapse before it could be annulled, that the Anti-Slavery Committee were so urgent for the appointment of a "competent and impartial tribunal in this country, where alone it would or could avail for the complete revision of all

colonial laws affecting the constitutional rights and privileges of the coloured classes ; and the final establishment of such just and equal principles of government as shall be authoritative and binding upon all future colonial governments." The Anti-Slavery Committee were aware, however, that there was little excitement attendant upon such a course of duty, and they felt that lucid statements and legal arguments, combined with an ample exposition of constitutional law, were alone likely to insure success to such a measure. Entertaining these views, they felt much indebted to Mr. Beldam for the pamphlet on "The Permanent Laws of the Emancipated Colonies," which he laid before them shortly after the request already alluded to had been made to him. This Pamphlet was immediately approved and adopted by the Committee ; and as the best expression of their joy at the glorious event which was about to signalize the 1st of August of this year, they resolved to publish it on that memorable day. Copies of this document when published, were forthwith transmitted to the government, and measures taken for placing it in the hands of the members of both Houses of Parliament. It was also circulated in other quarters ; and to the judgment of all men of unbiased minds and plain understandings, the Committee are willing to leave the proofs and arguments it contains, not doubting that they will lead to a conviction of the urgent necessity which then existed, and which further experience has more abundantly testified, for the adoption of some constitutional and authoritative means of securing an equitable code of laws for the government of the emancipated colonies. A work of this description will not admit of analysis ; but a single extract from its concluding pages will be introduced, not only for the purpose of confirming the views then taken of this subject, but at the same time of evincing the affectionate regard of the Committee for the memory of their venerated coadjutor, Zachary Macaulay, whose irreparable loss they had previously had occasion deeply to lament.

"It may suffice for them (the Anti-Slavery Committee in adopting these sentiments observe,) to have proved the certainty of a scheme in the colonies, to deprive the negroes of their future rights. It will be for the nation, whose freed men the emancipated classes are become, to provide for them an adequate protection. Assuredly, however, there never was a moment in the history of the Anti-Slavery cause more pregnant with future consequences ; not one in which union, promptitude, and a wise decision among its friends were more essential to final success. How does the case really stand ? An ancient and pernicious form of society

is on the eve of dissolution, and an opportunity, long waited for, is here afforded, for creating new institutions of a liberal and permanent character. The change about to occur in the political condition of the emancipated classes, not only justifies but necessitates a change in the laws by which they are to be hereafter governed. The laws cannot possibly remain as they are, and the all-important question is, what do the British nation desire they should hereafter be? The character of colonial law for generations to come, will in all human probability, be determined by the answer which is now given to that question.

“It is, meanwhile, an indubitable fact, that a powerful party, ever on the watch for a suitable occasion, astute, adroit, and deeply interested in accomplishing their object, are now, under colour of constitutional laws, actually employed in collecting together the scattered links of slavery, and forging them into fresh chains. It is not less certain, that without an abundant measure of corresponding skill and perseverance on the other side, this object will be, at least, partially effected. It were a most serious error, therefore, to remain supine, in contempt of a danger that has been proved to exist, and in confidence of a victory, which is not yet completed. The Anti-Slavery Committee do not presume to prescribe to others the course they ought to pursue under such critical circumstances. But to them it certainly does appear, that no greater satisfaction could be desired by an opposite party, than to perceive the friends of unqualified freedom, at such a crisis, holding themselves merely in reserve to counteract the plans of others; declining an effort of their own to establish at once the great principles of a liberal code; and indulging the vain hope of being able, at a future time, to carry these principles, when frittered down into detail, safely through the struggles of parliamentary debate, or the fervour of popular discussion. The opinions of the Anti-Slavery Committee on this subject are already explained. They have been adopted from no wish to escape from any share of responsibility in carrying out the great measure of emancipation; but from a firm conviction, that matters of such vast importance, involving moreover so great a minuteness of practical application, require not only all the ordinary, but all the extraordinary assistance likewise, which can be obtained to secure a satisfactory result. At such a juncture, indeed, a loss occurs to the cause, which, under any circumstances painful, must now be especially deplored, in the recent decease of their ever to be esteemed and lamented coadjutor, Zachary Macaulay, whose calm judgment, varied talents, and unshaken constancy,

in former seasons of difficulty, have proved their most faithful support. It is, however, a subject of high consolation and of future hope, to remember how signally an All-wise Providence has heretofore interposed to repair such losses, and to provide appropriate instruments from time to time for the accomplishment of its own purposes. Nor would this Committee, after having witnessed those unprecedented efforts of philanthropy which have recently been made by the great body of the Christian public on behalf of their suffering bondsmen, permit themselves for a moment to question the continuance of those efforts, while so much remains to be done. Hapless, indeed, would be the fate of the negroes, if after unexampled patience and good conduct on their part, and unbounded generosity on the part of the nation, the present golden opportunity of securing their future rights should be neglected, and the tyranny of unjust and unequal laws be finally established on the ruins of slavery."

It has been matter of deep regret to many persons, that the discordant sentiments deprecated in this pamphlet, should have nevertheless prevailed, and that a measure which might probably at one time have obtained the approbation of government, should have been lost by a want of concurrence among Abolitionists themselves. It has already been stated, that the Committee of the "Central Negro Emancipation Society," while admitting the importance of revising colonial laws, had declined to recommend any authoritative interference of the kind proposed. But unfortunately, the opposition of that section of the Anti-Slavery body, did not end here: for while the "London Anti-Slavery Committee" were urging upon Government the adoption of the only means by which an authoritative code could be prepared; the "Birmingham Anti-Slavery Committee" adopted a resolution deprecating such a measure, which they also published, and formally transmitted to the Government and to the Colonies. Nor was this all, for at their great festival on the 1st of August, a resolution was passed at one of the public meetings, declaring the opinion and belief of that assembly, that the enfranchised population, not only have acquired personal freedom, but are legally invested with "*efficient powers of self-protection*," an opinion which if just, would certainly have been in the highest degree condemnatory of any authoritative interference here. It is not the intention of the present publication, to criticise so extraordinary a resolution, but its necessary effect, coupled with the other proceedings of the same influential body, could not fail to be the defeat of the efforts then making by the London Anti-Slavery Committee; and further, by its open exhibition of divided councils on so

vital a subject, to diminish the probabilities of future success which might have followed upon a reconciliation of opinions. It is unnecessary, therefore, to advert to the unsuccessful negotiations afterwards set on foot for this purpose. But recent events have only tended to increase the regret of persons most intimately acquainted with the necessities of the case, that this paramount object should still remain in so deplorably unsettled and unsatisfactory a condition. In expressing this opinion, it is proper, however, to admit, that the London Anti-Slavery Committee have since found additional motives for confidence in the expressed desire of Government to settle these important matters, and to secure all the rights and privileges to which the negroes have now become unquestionably entitled. It must, indeed, have been no small source of gratification to them, to discover in the Government measures lately adopted, that their own previous labours on particular portions of Colonial Law, have not been employed in vain. In reference to this point, it will be sufficient to refer once more, to the recent West Indian Prison Act, to the Order in Council for the regulation of Marriage in the Colonies, and to various other enactments affecting the relation between Masters and Servants, on Vagrancy—Police, &c., which have been already introduced into the Crown Colonies.

Such then, has been the course pursued by the Anti-Slavery Committee, through this most critical period of the history of Abolition. Their subsequent duties have been of a general kind, consisting chiefly, in a supervision of the various objects which fall within their province. Some suggestions have been made with a view to the further improvement of the Model Laws already referred to, and the attention of the Committee has been unceasingly occupied upon the most practicable methods of employing their remaining influence, for the benefit of the Emancipated Negroes. It is time however, to take a final retrospect of the preceding narrative. It will be observed then, in conclusion, that Negro Apprenticeship is now totally abolished in all the West Indian Colonies, and likewise at the Cape of Good Hope. And although it has lingered for some time longer in the Mauritius, yet it is almost certain that an order issued by the Home Government in the month of July last, has at length effected its extinction, even in that rebellious Colony. By a most important clause in Lord Glenelg's Bill, in conformity with the earnest remonstrances of the London Anti-Slavery Committee, the Apprenticeship of children articulated under an unfortunate clause in the British Abolition Act, has likewise been made to terminate at the same time with that of their parents. The entire slave population of the British

Colonies therefore, may now be presumed to have entered on a career of freedom. The unhappy case of the liberated Africans, captured under various treaties for the abolition of the slave-trade, and since apprenticed in the British Colonies, is the only exception to universal emancipation. And although it has been stated from authority, that no future apprenticeships of this oppressive kind, will be allowed; yet the hard treatment of those unfortunate individuals, who, under pretext of their own advantage, are still detained in this cruel servitude, entitles them to the liveliest commiseration, and the most active sympathies of the Anti-Slavery public.

To set against this success, it is painful to remark, that slavery in our Eastern empire still continues to trample on the rights of humanity; and that the horrible slave trade on the shores of Africa, having attained a fearful pre-eminence in atrocity, appears to have gathered fresh energy from the assaults of its opponents, and mocks every past effort for its overthrow. Yet even here, the hopes of the Anti-Slavery Committee again revive, in anticipation of the success of those simple, but comprehensive methods already alluded to, which have been recently suggested by their distinguished leader, Mr. Buxton, and adopted, there is reason to hope, by the Government.

It may be asked, What then is left for the Anti-Slavery Committee to do? The remark of a great mind on a different occasion, seems to furnish the appropriate reply. "Nothing can be said to be yet done, while any thing remains undone." On this principle, it is clear from the preceding statements, that the functions of the Anti-Slavery Committee are by no means exhausted: and the most cursory survey of recent events in the colonies, fully confirms that opinion. The predictions of the Committee appear to be in a course of melancholy fulfilment there; but more especially in Jamaica, which is the leading colony. In that colony, two successive Houses of Assembly, backed by the general constituency of the Island, have recently declared their unalterable determination to resist the interference of the Imperial Parliament, in further carrying out the benevolent designs of the British Act of Abolition. In this refractory temper, they appear to have been prevented only by a salutary conviction of their own weakness, from unfurling the standard of rebellion against the parent authority, and proceeding to resume their ancient habits of domination over their negro dependents. The negroes themselves, at the very dawn of their liberty, and before they have attained perhaps, sufficient light or leisure for a calm and steady perception of the full extent of their new privileges and duties, are thus, at once plunged into

irritating disputes with their former rulers. Can any state of things be more unfavourable to the fair development of this great experiment? Can any condition be more calculated to stimulate the wounded pride of the masters; to kindle the resentment, and even foster unreasonable expectations of the labourers; or to retard the cause of universal emancipation, by presenting to other nations, a scene of apparent disorder, and a partial suspension of industry, which a proslavery party will of course pretend to have been the inevitable consequences of such a change? It is now too late however, for the purposes of prevention, to reiterate those solemn warnings, by which a large proportion of these mischiefs might certainly have been obviated; to renew the often repeated recommendation, that a settlement in this country, of the more prominent questions which were sure to arise out of the new relations of society, might be made as nearly as possible, contemporaneous with the boon of freedom: or strenuously to insist not only upon the right, but on the duty, with a view to these objects, and in fulfilment of a sacred compact, of exercising those Imperial Prerogatives, which can never be more safely employed, than in the protection of liberty;—prerogatives, the latent existence of which, must be presumed in every charter, wherein they are not *expressly* surrendered,—which are alike essential to the protection of the subject, and the dignity of the Imperial Crown, in every part of the empire; and which never, indeed, can be surrendered, without an act of suicidal absurdity, to any strictly dependent colony. There is ground however for believing, that these constitutional views are at length forcing their way upon the attention of the Government, and it may not be too much to presume, that the opponents of such a procedure among the friends of the negroes, have at length seen some cause, to distrust those resolutions, by which this essential course has been for a time delayed.

But it deserves again to be remarked, that the period is long gone by for tampering with the details of colonial legislation, and for resting satisfied with the occasional suggestions of private individuals, which, however just, must always be attended with disadvantages of position, ill-calculated to promote their efficacy at home, or to furnish a justification for their application, in case of determined resistance in the colonies. These observations are not of course intended to depreciate the efforts of any former period, or to disparage those improvements of Colonial Law, which have already been assisted by such means. Much more however, requires to be now done; nothing short indeed of that sweeping reform, which the foresight of Mr. Buxton and his coadjutors long since perceived

to be necessary—a reform that shall extend itself, not only to every department of legislative enactment, but likewise to all judicial arrangements; establishing a uniform system of equitable laws, and a pure administration of justice throughout the colonies.

It will doubtless be the earnest desire of the Anti-Slavery Committee in the mean time, and so long as its associated existence shall continue, to pursue their self-denying way through evil and through good report, to the attainment of those objects, which they deem essential to the welfare of their emancipated clients, deeply regretting, as they must necessarily do, those painful divisions among brethren, which weaken the efforts of all, and tend to prejudice the common cause; but at the same time, unfeignedly rejoicing over its success, by whatever agency, and with whatever circumstances of alloy, it may please Providence to bring it to pass.

The friends of the Anti-Slavery Committee in conclusion, do not believe, that an impartial posterity, fully apprized of the delicate and difficult task the Committee have had to perform, while protecting their cause against the assaults and the artifices of the pro-slavery party with one arm, and endeavouring with the other to guide the generous enthusiasm of their ardent coadjutors to a successful issue, will be disposed to entertain those unworthy prejudices against them, which inconsiderate minds have unhappily circulated. And still less do they anticipate that an enlightened Christian public, when made fully aware of the vantage ground occupied by the London Anti-Slavery Society, for the protection and advancement of the future welfare of the coloured and aboriginal races, as well as for other ulterior purposes, will be disposed, even after the claims of our own negro dependents have been fully satisfied, to withdraw from such a society the moral and pecuniary support essential to its permanent utility.

List of Publications printed and issued by the Anti-Slavery Committee this year:—

Brief Account of the Foreign Slave Trade, &c.	} 2000
No. 2. - - - - -	}
Lord Brougham's Speech on the Slave Trade	- 3000
Present Condition of Negro Apprentices	- 1000
Remonstrance against Negro Apprenticeship	- 500
Negro Apprenticeship in the Colonies	- 7100
Appendix to Do. with Tables published separately	5000
"Punishment," part of Appendix of the above,	} 3000
published separately - - - - -	
"Food," ditto ditto - - - - -	- 1500
Permanent Laws of the Emancipated Colonies	- 1000

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE

OF THE LATE

ZACHARY MACAULAY, Esq. F.R.S.

AS CONNECTED WITH THE SUBJECTS

OF THE

Abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery.



It has not been deemed inappropriate to the subject of the preceding "Brief Review," to subjoin a few biographical notes of the late Mr. Macaulay, whose irreparable loss to the cause of humanity in general, and of abolition in particular, the Anti-Slavery Committee have so deeply deplored in a former publication; and the Committee, moreover, believing that any authentic information relative to this revered and excellent man could not be otherwise than acceptable to their Anti-Slavery friends in general, they directed their secretary to turn his attention to the subject, and he has consequently laid before them the following brief sketch.

It is not our present intention to furnish a history of Mr. Macaulay's life: even were it in our power to do so, the intended immediate publication of the pamphlet to which it is purposed to append these notes, would not allow time sufficient to collect the requisite materials, nor even to refer to dates. A biography of Mr. Macaulay, would necessarily comprise a far more complete history of the Abolition of the Slave Trade and of Slavery than any which has been yet written.* Indeed, a history of the abolition of the latter by any

* The earlier portion of Mr. Clarkson's history of the former subject is very interesting and minute in its details; but the narrative of the proceedings of the last ten years of the struggle, from his having been precluded from taking an active share in it, in consequence of the shattered state of his health, and the consequent necessity he was under of compiling this part of it from

individual, who may not have the advantage of consulting Mr. Macaulay's papers and correspondence, must necessarily be a failure. It is true, they may write down how many meetings were held in the Freemasons' Hall, and how many in Exeter Hall—and who made speeches, and moved resolutions—and how many times the subject was brought forward in Parliament, and give extracts from the lucid and powerful speeches made by Mr. Buxton, the great parliamentary leader in this cause, and by others; but if they have not had access to these valuable documents, they will never be able to show how the mighty machinery which effected it was, in the first instance, constructed and set to work, nor scarcely even, how it was kept in action, till the victory was completed. The history of the locomotive steam engine, written by a man

such written documents as he might be able to collect, is by no means so full; and from the circumstances alluded to in this note, he scarcely seems to have been then aware of who became leaders in the battle which he had commenced; nor by whose aid the victory was finally achieved. Under the circumstances of the case, we are not at all surprised at the striking contrast which exists between the two portions of the History; being aware as we are, that *very few formal meetings* of the "Committee for the Abolition of the Slave-trade" were held during this period; but those who are personally cognizant of the transactions which then took place, know, that this deficiency of regularly constituted committee meetings, was more than compensated by the very frequent meetings which were held at Mr. Wilberforce's house, in Old Palace Yard, at which were generally present Mr. Wilberforce himself, Mr. Stephen, Mr. Henry Thornton, Mr. Macaulay, Mr. William Smith, Mr. (now Lord) Brougham, and others. From these meetings we have known Mr. Macaulay retire at day-break, to carry the result of their deliberations into immediate effect. It is evident that such a mode of proceeding, rendered it unnecessary to summon formal meetings: indeed nothing can prove more clearly than the history of this period, how little ground the frequent set meetings of committees furnish, for forming an opinion of the real amount and importance of its labours. M. Clarkson, writing subsequently to the period when he published his History, says, "At that time I also knew little of another eminent person (he had been previously speaking of Master Stephen) whose name likewise does not appear in my History, except as a new member of the Committee, but who will hold a very high place in the future history of the abolition of negro slavery in the British colonies. That gentleman (Mr. Macaulay) was the friend and associate of Mr. Stephen in all his philanthropic labours. He was a man of great ability, undaunted courage, indefatigable industry, and warm benevolence. I witnessed with admiration his labours in the *Anti-Slavery Society*. He had to endure the fate which such powers and virtues invite. He was the object of bitter persecution and malignant slander by the tools of the planter and colonial party. But he survived them all, and lived—a felicity denied to his friend Mr. Stephen, but alike conferred on me and our common friend Mr. Wilberforce—to witness the grant of legal emancipation, though not the enjoyment of actual liberty, by the negroes."

Such is the testimony borne by the venerable Clarkson to the late Mr. Macaulay's merits and services.

who had seen it rush along a rail-road—would be about as accurate, and contain about the same amount of information,—as to its construction and its management.

As several of the London public journals have published biographical notices of Mr. Macaulay, we will, for the satisfaction of such friends of the Anti-Slavery cause as may not be in the habit of seeing them, give a somewhat more detailed though still short sketch of his labours in connexion with the abolition of the slave trade and slavery.

From the period of the Anti-Slavery Committee's recommencing their labours in the beginning of 1835, they were deprived of Mr. Macaulay's personal assistance, in consequence of the infirm state of his health, which had been much undermined by those incessant labours in the great cause of abolition, which commenced at a very early period of his life,—were carried on in the West Indies,—in Africa,—and in Europe, and terminated only with his existence. The extent, and the unceasing nature of these labours, were known but to few,—not to their full extent, even to the Members of the Anti-Slavery Committee, except perhaps to such only as devoted day after day, and night after night to the same object, and even amongst these, he was the hardest of the hard workers. He not only readily, but gladly sacrificed time, health, money, domestic enjoyments, hours of recreation, and even those of necessary rest, to this great cause of humanity and justice,—and such only as we have mentioned, could form anything like a just estimate of the very great and important share he had in bringing about the Abolition of the Slave Trade and of Slavery. Yet so singularly did he retire from the public gaze, so utterly indifferent was he to the applause of man, that he was always not only willing, but desirous that others should appropriate his share of it to themselves, if it were likely to benefit the cause: and when some of his friends anxious that praise should be bestowed where praise was due, have proposed to explain, we have heard him object, saying that he trusted he was influenced by nobler motives than the love of applause, and was quite willing that those who set a higher value upon it than he did, should enjoy it, especially as it might stimulate them to further exertions.

Mr. Macaulay, who was descended from an ancient and highly respectable Scotch family, was thrown upon the world at a very early age, and found himself, as we believe, when only in his seventeenth year, in that most trying and dangerous of all occupations,—the overseer of an estate in Jamaica. His conduct even when thus young, was so marked by steadiness and sagacity, that he was soon promoted to the management of

the property; and he remained at his unpleasant post for ten years, from 1782 until 1792.

The benevolent principles inherent in his nature, are shown by the following passages in a letter written to a very intimate friend, dated 25th November, 1789. Speaking of an expected change in his employment in Jamaica, he says—"It is a situation in which I flatter myself I shall be able from my freedom from control, to alleviate the hardships of a considerable number of my fellow-creatures, and to render the bitter cup of servitude as palatable as possible." And shortly after, he says—"There are on the estate between 200 and 300 negroes whose lives in a manner depend on my care and attention,—whose labours I am obliged to direct,—whose irregularities I must punish,—and whom I must faithfully attend in sickness." But we have often heard him say, that while he was thus engaged, his hardships and privations were only inferior to those of the wretched beings whose labour he superintended.

During the whole of his West Indian residence, no deviation from the straight path, however slight or venial, even once occurred. When in subsequent years, Mr. Macaulay became the object at which West Indian malignity vindictively threw its daily shaft, the treasures of Peru would have been lavished on the individual who could have exposed an error of his early days: ingenuity was taxed, and invention exhausted in vain endeavours to render this worthy man suspected by the public: one newspaper in particular, (the *John Bull*,) selected Mr. Macaulay as the special object of its weekly abuse, and was driven to despair, in the hopeless attempt to fix him either with guilt or folly, or even with the minor charge of inconsistency, though its coarse and frequent reference to his West Indian engagement showed the strict scrutiny which was made into the history of his early life.

In the year 1791, the Sierra Leone Company was established, under the auspices of Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Henry Thornton, Mr. Granville Sharp, and other distinguished characters. The object of this company was to promote the civilization of Africa, by opening the field for commercial enterprise of a nobler character than the traffic in slaves. Mr. Macaulay, at the recommendation of his brother-in-law, the late Mr. Babington, formerly the member for Leicester, was, by the following resolution of the Board of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, (September 18th, 1792,) appointed junior Member of Council, viz.: "Resolved, that Mr. Zachary Macaulay, who has left the West Indies to enter into the Company's service as a manager, in consideration of the

general knowledge which he possesses, as well as his ability and zeal for the company's service, be appointed second in Council at Sierra Leone."

About the time of his quitting England for Sierra Leone, a letter which he then wrote to one of his friends, dated 16th of November, 1792, leaves on record, that even before that period, he had written in the cause of philanthropy, and furnishes also a striking proof of that almost singular indifference to the value of mere human applause and vulgar popularity, to which we have already alluded. In this letter, alluding to the draft of a pamphlet which he had prepared on the Slave Trade, he says—"Mr. Thornton was pleased with my essay. He thought its title ought to be 'Dispassionate Thoughts on the Slave Trade, and the Effects of an Abolition on the West Indian Islands,' by &c. He thought at first, that it ought to bear my name, in answer to which, I urged my situation with respect to him, Mr. Wilberforce, and the Sierra Leone Company, which would be made use of to prejudice the public mind, while no good effects that I could foresee, would flow from it. The principal end of publishing it, I take to be, the drawing men's attention to a part of the question which has hitherto been little attended to, and of course making it a subject of discussion, and still more of inquiry in the course of the examination of witnesses in the House of Lords. I conceive it to be, as if I were to furnish to the public a set of queries to be put to the witnesses who appear at the bar of the House of Lords. The matters of fact they can only reply to in one way, if they be not either grossly ignorant, or wilfully false. And as to the conclusion I draw from these facts, if they are fairly deducible, they will not of course, require the junction of my name to produce conviction. Mr. Thornton thought, that to obviate any objection that might be made, on the score of my present situation, there ought to be a reference to my *letters to you on this subject, written long before the Sierra Leone Company had an existence.** But you will easily perceive the tedious details and *painful egotism* into which this must necessarily lead; indeed, he seemed to be convinced at last, that it might be ranked among his questions of comparison, and ought to be made a subject of serious consideration at Yoxall Lodge. To myself, I state the question in this way: In one case, there is a deal of useful and novel information laid before the public, which, with my name prefixed, I flatter myself would make an im-

* The Sierra Leone Company came into existence about 1790, and was incorporated the following year.

pression on those to whom I am known; but against that, may be placed the peculiar disadvantages of my situation, as connected with the abolitionists and Sierra Leone. In the other, there is the same information, and from that information must result the same advantages as if it were not anonymous, for in either case it would serve no end but that of attracting attention and exciting curiosity, while in the latter, people are prevented from straying from the question at issue, and are not hindered from inquiring into the truth of the allegation, by an inquiry after the planter, who had had boldness enough to advance such assertions, and whose present situation, (Member of the Council at Sierra Leone,) when discovered, would in minds whose idol is interest, weigh considerably against his arguments. I confess *I am exceedingly anxious that that course should be taken, which would the least frustrate, and best promote the end in view*, the calling and fixing, the calm attention of West Indian planters to the real question at issue, as well as suggesting queries to the House of Lords. But I know not that any thing would more effectually operate in prejudice of the work, or in preventing that calmness which ought to precede the perusal of it, (I mean in the breasts of West Indians,) than knowing that it came from the school of Thornton, Wilberforce, and Gisborne: my connexion with all of whom, they would certainly discover. To many of them, indeed, it is already well known. Do write me about this matter."

Mr. Macaulay's devotion to the cause of abolition, and the little desire he had of showing off as a champion, may be gathered from the following extract of a letter addressed to Mr. Wilberforce in 1793, in which he says—"but should your hope of gaining evidence from any other quarter be disappointed, I shall certainly feel myself bound to obey your summons, when you may think necessary; you know the peculiar situation in which I stand, and though I think I grow daily more indifferent to the world's good or bad report, yet I certainly should not wish to overlook it; it would be more agreeable to me on the whole, not to be called, but, in such a case, I should hold no parley with my own feelings."

But while Mr. Macaulay was indifferent to the applause or censure of the common herd, he by no means undervalued that of the wise and the good. In a subsequent letter he says, "however, I am ambitious of *your 'well done,'* and of that of some of our common friends, but how poor is even that, compared with His approbation, who seeth in secret! I know it to be a high degree of piety, which will enable us to set the fear of God above the fear of men, and it may cost a man years,

effectually to attain to it. I console myself, however, on my journey to that lofty pinnacle, with reflecting, that the men whose favour I am ambitious of, and whose disapprobation I dread, will prove like steps, whereby my ascent will be made easier to that height, where God will be all in all."

The state of the Slave-trade question detained Mr. Macaulay in England till the close of the year, when he sailed; he arrived in the colony early in the succeeding January, and immediately became first in Council, and shortly after succeeded to the Government. He soon discovered that the duties of the post, to which he had been appointed, required exertions of no ordinary character, and entailed labours and privations of the heaviest and most distressing nature. The colony at the time of his arrival was in a very deplorable and critical state; badly supplied with provisions, in fact a famine must have ensued had any accident delayed the arrival of supplies from England, an event very likely to have happened during the war; the dry season was half over, and no comfortable dwellings had been erected for the people previous to the rains. The colonists were turbulent and disorderly, and the colony exhibited constant scenes of lamentable riot and licentiousness. We cannot however go into the history of the Sierra Leone Colony, we will therefore merely observe, that all the difficulties and dangers incident to this unhappy state of affairs, did not overcome Mr. Macaulay's fortitude nor damp his zeal, nor lead him to despair of ultimate success. More than a year afterwards (Oct. 16th, 1793,) alluding to the preservation of the Colony, he writes thus:—"To mention a few of the more discernible providences during these last nine months,—though almost totally neglected by the Court of Directors, continually in the jaws of famine, often with not a week's provision in the colony, succour has still come from some unexpected quarter, and recovered our fainting spirits. Exposed at times to the fury of a rabble, goaded on by an artful incendiary, we were enabled to avert its force, until now by a happy concurrence of circumstances the storm is laid; unanimity reigns among the Company's servants; few murmurs are heard from the settlers, and the authority of the laws is respected. Entangled in a palaver on account of H. G. Naimbanna, which threatened to stain our colony with blood, God was pleased to turn the hearts of the natives, and even to make our old enemy King Jamie our chief friend; while war is pouring its fury on the other quarters of the world, we are free from its ravages. Though in want of many necessaries, the rains, which have fallen with uncommon severity, have passed over us almost innoxious. And, as if God

meant to give a still more striking proof of his kindness, the war, and the failure among Guinea merchants, have removed the slave trade in a great measure from our neighbourhood, though we are unable from a want of goods to avail ourselves of that circumstance."

The early losses suffered by the Company, seem to have led them to adopt a most ruinous system of economy. During the whole time the colony was in their hands, there was at no period of it a sufficient number of hands employed for the performance of the necessary duties, a circumstance perhaps not much to be wondered at, when it is considered that for many years, the salaries offered to clerks varied from only £30 to £90 per annum, whilst those given to officers of a higher grade were also in the same miserable proportion. About this time, Mr. Macaulay writes thus to the Court of Directors (March 4, 1793):—"If you mean to carry on trade to any advantage in this part of the world, you must have active and methodical agents. You cannot imagine the want of proper people, not only to fill up that department, but every other. Mr. Dawes and myself are not simply in the capacity of governor and counsellor, but we are commercial agents, paymasters, judges, and clerks." And in another letter he says, "I am obliged to perform the duties of chaplain; to marry people, and to deliver sermons." These representations seem to have had no great effect, for more than a year afterwards he again writes:—"My own constitution will require a visit to England sooner than I expected, if the Directors do not find people to help us. My confinement to the desk injures my health considerably. What do you think of my being obliged to undertake the detail of the commercial department, and even the arrangement, reduction, and posting of all accounts in it, since the beginning of the colony?"

Notwithstanding all these difficulties and severe labours, Mr. Macaulay about the end of the year, (December) writes thus:—"I am now in better health, and considering every thing, in spirits: my attachment to Africa has diminished nothing by a twelve months' residence in it. It is on the whole a pleasant country, few of the insects which infest us so much in the West Indies: ants are far from troublesome, and the heat tolerable; the smokes are over in four or five days. The soil here is poor, but does well for provisions, coffee, cotton, &c. On the Bullom shore the soil is exceedingly rich. My hopes rise daily on the subject of African improvement. My avocations, however, are so numerous at present, and so urgent, that I dare not let my pen slip into it. I think, had I nothing to do with the government, I could

do much in Africa, but God knows best. * * * Our schools are a cheering sight: three hundred children fill them, and most of the grown persons who cannot read, crowd to the evening schools. We have made a schoolmaster of almost every black man in the colony who reads or writes well enough, and the business of instruction proceeds so rapidly within the colony, that in the course of a year or two, we expect there will be few within it who will not be able to read their Bibles."

Great exertions were made by the governor and council to establish good order; peace officers were appointed, and rules and regulations were adopted, with a view to enforcing and maintaining order; but the discontent which existed in the breasts of the colonists, and which had been long fomented by a set of the worst characters in the colony, most of whom had suffered under the law, at length broke out into acts of open rebellion, in the month of June, 1794, and Mr. Macaulay's life at one period was placed in great jeopardy, and the colony appeared to be on the eve of destruction, but by his judicious measures and great firmness of mind the evil was averted, and the Company's property saved from destruction.* And at a Court of Directors, held on the 25th of September, 1794, they passed the following resolution, viz. :—

"That the thanks of this Court be given to Mr. Macaulay, their acting governor, for the zeal and resolution with which he maintained the laws of the settlement, and protected the property of the Company; and that he be assured that this Court do highly approve of his general conduct on that occasion."

The colony had scarcely recovered from this insurrection, when it was attacked by a French squadron, consisting of one two-decker, two frigates, two brigs of war, and two other armed vessels. This squadron, which arrived off the colony on the 28th of September, 1794, was piloted into the river by an American slave captain of the name of Newell. This ruffian, inflamed by private revenge against Mr. Macaulay, came to him, attended by half-a-dozen Frenchmen, and foaming with rage, presented a pistol to his breast, with many oaths demanding instant satisfaction; to which demand Mr. Macaulay, with his usual calmness, replied, "that since

* These colonists were not the natives of the place, but were originally American slaves, who, during the American war had enlisted in the British army, under the king's proclamation of freedom to all slaves who should join the British standard. At the peace, they were first settled at Nova Scotia; and subsequently, at their earnest request, transferred to Sierra Leone: their numbers amounted to about 1200, and they formed the large majority of the colonists.

he was no longer master of his own actions, he (the slave captain) must now take such satisfaction as he judged equitable." Newell did not fire, but threatened to do so, and was so outrageous, that Mr. Macaulay thought it prudent to request a French guard for his house, and a safe conduct on board the commodore's ship; on his arrival there, he expressed to this officer his surprise at the proceedings which had taken place, and complained that the colony had been dealt with in a manner which he believed unusual, except in places taken by storm. "Have you removed any property?" was the answer. Mr. Macaulay replied that he had not. "Be careful of what you say to me; for if I should find after this, that you have removed any thing, I shall make *you* suffer, and there shall not be a hut left in the place." Mr. Macaulay repeated his assurance, and the commodore then gave him a promise that the pillage should be stopped; declaring, however, in the same breath, that if the seamen and soldiers were disposed to plunder, he could not prevent them; and adding, that "it was his intention to burn every house in the place belonging to Englishmen."

The scene which Freetown now exhibited, was in every respect distressing. All the houses were filled with Frenchmen, who destroyed whatever they found in them which they could not convert to their own use; while several other parties were scouring the town in quest of live stock, of which the destruction on this and the following day was extremely great. The books of the Company's library were scattered about and defaced. The dwelling-house of the botanist was pillaged, and his collections destroyed: in the accountant's office all was demolished in the search for money; the copying and printing presses also were destroyed; all the telescopes, barometers, and thermometers, and an electrical machine, were broken to pieces. A sentinel, who had been set to guard the governor's apartment, served only to retard the pillage of it.

The settlement being thus completely at the mercy of the invaders, and Mr. Macaulay believing his remonstrances with the commanding officer, to be the only service he could now render to his people, demanded permission to remain on board the commodore's vessel, where he was permitted to lie in the cabin, but without being able to obtain so much as a sheet to throw over him. "To add to our distress," says Mr. Macaulay, "near one hundred and twenty English prisoners were put ashore at the settlement the day before the fleet sailed, without their having any visible means of subsistence; and this prospect, of itself sufficiently gloomy, was rendered still

darker by our uncertainty of being able to procure a supply of food for ourselves, and by the almost total want of medicines.”*

In a private letter dated 15th Nov. 1794, Mr. Macaulay says—

“During their stay, which was for fifteen days, the ‘Harpy’ arrived, and fell into their hands. None of us received any personal injury from them, but they plundered us of every thing, even to our wearing apparel, and destroyed whatever they could make no use of. I underwent a good deal of severe fatigue during this period, and was much exposed to every vicissitude of weather, but my health was miraculously preserved, nay, it was even improved. Since that time, however, I have had a more tedious attack than usual, which confined me near a fortnight, but from which I am now recovered. I must refer you as usual for particulars to Mr. Thornton, who will be in possession of a great many. I thank God for all things, but above all, for the peace of mind he has granted me in all our troubles.”

“My situation on the whole,” he further observes, “is not a pleasant one at present, but I have resolved to remain at my post, convinced that it is my duty to do so till I am forced from it. I am pretty comfortably lodged, and live on the whole tolerably well. But we are short-sighted mortals, and know not what a day or an hour may bring forth; however, I can truly say, that I am ready to meet the event of the hour and day, whatever it may be. I should be ashamed of distrusting God after what I have already experienced of his goodness.

“Among the Company’s officers we have had no deaths, although there has been much and severe sickness amongst us, increased by the want of medicines.”

“After I had shut the enclosed, it occurred to me, that what I had said, would bear too much the appearance of self-confidence and boasting; but God is my witness that I have on no occasion felt more the need of his help; and what a poor, miserable, insignificant, blind, naked, and helpless object man is without him! What I bless him for above all, is, the collectedness of mind he has given me throughout the whole business; he made my way so clear, that I scarce felt an embarrassment; he has also blessed me with unusual health, although I expect from some symptoms I now begin to feel, that I may have an attack of fever ere long,—be it so, He is able to deliver me from that also.”

The state of Mr. Macaulay’s health shortly after, rendering

* Vide Narrative in “Memoirs of Granville Sharpe.” 4to. edition, p. 283.

*This is followed by
J. Smeaton's letter*

it necessary that he should return to Europe for a season, he, in order to become experimentally acquainted with the horrors of the Middle Passage, embarked in August, 1795, on board a slave ship, the *Anna Philippa*, bound to Barbadoes. That this act of moral heroism should have placed his life in jeopardy, will surprise no one who has observed the bitter and venomous feelings which have actuated the conduct of slave traders and their advocates even in this country, towards those who have exposed their murderous proceedings, but the painful and dangerous situation of a distinguished servant of the Sierra Leone Company on board a slave ship on her passage from Africa to the West Indies, can scarcely be imagined: the scenes however which he witnessed, and the dangers he then encountered, well fitted him for subsequently becoming a Member of the "Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade." Mr. Macaulay arrived in England in the July following, and remained till the succeeding February, when he took his leave, and landed again in Sierra Leone in March. In a letter dated the 29th of that month, he says:—"I was much flattered and delighted with the warm and seemingly genuine expressions of joy and satisfaction in the countenance and manners of our settlers on seeing me return. Poor people! one cannot help loving them, with all their strange humours; they have a warmth of affection which is quite irresistible."

Notwithstanding this favourable reception, Mr. Macaulay was still harassed by their opposition and unruly conduct; in a letter dated 30th May, 1796, he says:—"I have avoided any expression of displeasure against those who thus thwart us, lest it might be construed into persecution. I pray God to give them better minds, and to give us a temper of meekness and forbearance under injuries, however great, and provocations however galling."

The duties of governor of the colony were not only unusually heavy and vexatious, but they were rendered more painful from the appearance of the colony being neglected at home, though this no doubt arose from the numerous captures made of vessels during the war. In a letter, dated December, 1797, Mr. Macaulay says, "Upwards of four months have passed since I have had an opportunity of writing to you, and about nine months, since the date of the last letter received from you. In all that time, I have been without notices from any of my friends, indeed, there have been no arrivals by which I could have heard from them. This is doubtless a very unpleasant situation to be in at the present juncture, especially as the unpleasantness of it, is aggravated by many extrinsic circumstances; as the war, the almost perpetual blockade by the Goree cruizers, the *total* want of those comforts, which in

this country, and above all, in a state of sickness and convalescence, may be deemed necessaries, as flour, sugar, wine, Peruvian bark &c.

“There has not been so much sickness amongst us during the rains as I expected. Had it been as prevalent as usual, we should have had peculiar difficulties to struggle with, considering the wants I have mentioned. How graciously does a kind and over-ruling Providence temper the wind to the shorn lamb! We have all, however, had a share of suffering, and the constitution of several of the Europeans appears broke. Through the blessing of God, the rains passed over my own head, without my experiencing any but very trifling indisposition indeed. During the last month, however, I had an attack, which, though not fever, was more tedious and wasting than usual, from our want, I am persuaded, of bark and wine.”

We have already given more voluminous extracts from Mr. Macaulay's letters than we intended, but they are interesting in themselves, and show more clearly than any thing we could say, that firmness of mind which Mr. Macaulay possessed under circumstances of great difficulty and danger, that resignation under suffering, and that faith, which he placed in Providence, for all of which he was so remarkable. We will close our notes relating to Sierra Leone with the following extract of a letter, dated from that colony on the 15th of January, 1798:—

“For more than two weeks past, my time has been engrossed by the men of war at present with us, a circumstance, which on the eve of a vessel's sailing, presses hard on me, as I have now no one whatever to assist me. But I thank God, who in some measure proportions my strength to my day, and enables me, though standing singly, and harassed by a slight tendency to a bilious complaint—though distracted a good deal by the politeness of the necessary returns of attention to our protectors,—though plagued by the settlers, and threatened by the natives—to preserve a mind tolerably tranquil and unbroken, and to get on with my work. I find such a hurry and weight of business by no means favourable to the growth of grace. I submit to it, however, as the cross I am called to bear, though I do indulge a wish and a hope of better days. In God's good time, if they are reserved for me, I shall see them. If not, I would still try to persuade myself, that the exchange of time for eternity is not an event to be deplored; nor even an addition of bitter ingredients in a cup, certainly teeming with no common mercies, a bad preparation for that event.”

Mr. Macaulay finally left Sierra Leone in the year 1799;

and in 1800 he was appointed secretary to the Company, which office he filled till the colony was transferred to the Crown. On the 11th of February, 1808, the Court of Directors unanimously adopted the following resolution:—

“The Court, taking into consideration the long, able, and faithful services of Mr. Macaulay, both in Africa and in England, are of opinion, that his superior talents, great industry, and intimate knowledge of African affairs, may be of considerable use to His Majesty’s government, in any transactions which they may have to conduct with the African continent.

“Resolved, therefore, that this Court do earnestly recommend him to Lord Castlereagh, as qualified to fill any situation which may require an acquaintance with African subjects, and that a letter be prepared and be signed by the Directors for that purpose.”

The resolution and letter, however, were productive of no beneficial results to Mr. Macaulay.

It was thus, that Mr. Macaulay, during a period of nearly twenty years, was daily acquiring, by practical experience, that vast fund of colonial knowledge from which the Anti-Slavery party drew so largely, and so advantageously, in support of truth: it was, indeed, a copious stream; for the accuracy of his memory, the keenness of his observation, and the calmness of his judgment, made the fountain inexhaustible.

Mr. Macaulay was elected a Member of the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade either in 1799, or 1800. From this period, to that of the abolition of the trade by the British Parliament (in 1807,) he may, without speaking lightly of the merits of any one of its members, be considered as the most laborious, and most effective. Many, we may say, most of the pamphlets which advocated the Abolition of the Slave Trade at this period, were the production of Mr. Macaulay’s pen. He not only originated proceedings, but worked with his own hands in carrying them into operation; he was not only to be found below the bar in the House of Lords, and under the gallery in the House of Commons, furnishing facts and making useful suggestions to the great Parliamentary leaders of the cause, but he was daily in his office attending to, and superintending the petty details of transmitting letters and parcels to country correspondents, at the same time that he himself was engaged in a correspondence with the Members of the Government upon important points; and so plain and distinct were all his directions, that a common messenger could scarcely make a mistake, whilst so little did his attention to these minutiae disturb the calmness of his

mind, that he simultaneously supplied statements and arguments so full and so powerful, that he was constantly complimented by the leaders of the day on the extent of his information, the clearness of his language, and the accuracy of his calculations. All that is said here, in regard to the Abolition of the Slave Trade, will apply equally to a later period, when, as a Member of the "London Anti-Slavery Society," he was engaged in denouncing the evils of Slavery in our own colonies, and proving, that the advantages to be derived from its abolition, would be reciprocally beneficial to the negro and to the planter.

It is well known, that immediately after Parliament had decreed the Abolition of the Slave Trade, a new and very important society was formed under the designation of the "African Institution," having for its chief object the civilization of Africa, and the universal Abolition of the Slave Trade. His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester was President of this Society, and personally attended almost every meeting of the Board of Directors, and many of its sub-committees; it comprised amongst its directors, not only the élite of the Whig aristocracy, but great men of all parties, and amongst them were to be found at one time or other, no less than five premiers, viz:—Lord Grenville, Mr. Perceval, the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Canning, and Earl Grey; two lords chancellors, Lord Erskine and Lord Brougham; two or three Chancellors of the Exchequer, and several Secretaries of State, viz. Lord Bexley, Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Peel, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Earl of Harrowby, Mr. Spring Rice, &c. The Archbishop of Canterbury, several Bishops, many of the leading Members of both Houses, and officers of high rank, both in the Army and Navy, several eminent members of the Society of Friends,—and added to all these, in the list of Directors, were to be found the names of Wilberforce, Granville Sharpe, Clarkson, Stephen, Z. Macaulay, William Smith, Henry Thornton, Mackintosh, Fowell Buxton, C. Grant, William Evans, William Allen, Dr. Lushington, Sir Robert Inglis, &c., &c., &c. In the planning and formation of this Society, Mr. Macaulay, together with Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Stephen, and some other leading abolitionists took a principal share, but the chief labour, as in most other cases fell upon Mr. Macaulay:—for five years, he performed gratuitously the laborious duties of secretary to the Institution:—those who are unacquainted with the extended relations of the society in question, and the important and multifarious duties which devolved upon it, can but little estimate the amount of labour this office entailed upon him, during the time he held it; he

at his own expense visited Paris, expressly on the abolition question. On his resigning the office, which he would not do until he had found a gentleman of ardent zeal and high talents (the late Thomas Harrison, Esq.)* to succeed him on the same terms of unrequited labour, a public Meeting of the Members of the Institution, held at the Freemasons' Hall, on the 25th March, 1812, passed the following Resolution unanimously, viz:—

“That this meeting is bound once more to express the deep sense it entertains of the eminent services of their *pro tempore* secretary, Zachary Macaulay, Esq., who, combining great local knowledge and experience, with the most ardent zeal, and the most assiduous and unwearied industry, has strenuously and gratuitously devoted to the concerns of the African Institution, the time and talents which, applied to the prosecution of his private business, might have been employed to the pecuniary advantage of a large and increasing family, and has thereby established his claim to the lasting gratitude of all who are interested for the civilization and happiness of Africa.

It was then moved, and unanimously resolved, “That this Meeting can no longer excuse themselves from presenting to Mr. Macaulay a permanent, though most inadequate, testimony of their gratitude for those services of which, in the preceding Resolution, they have endeavoured to express their sense:—and, that Viscount Valentia (now Earl Mountnorris,) the Right Hon. N. Vansittart (now Lord Bexley,) E. W. Bootle, Esq. (now Lord Skelmersdale,) William Smith, Esq., M.P., and William Wilberforce, Esq., M.P., be requested to take on themselves the office of providing a piece of plate, of the value of one hundred guineas, with a suitable inscription, to be offered to Mr. Macaulay, in the full confidence that he will confer on the Institution the additional favour of accepting it.”

Although Mr. Macaulay had resigned the Secretaryship of the Institution, he still continued to attend all the Meetings of the Board, and of the numerous Sub-Committees, which met very frequently either at Gloucester House, Lansdowne House, Camelford House, at Mr. Wilberforce's, or at the office. It has been observed that, “the movements

* To this gentleman, the Abolition cause was indebted in a much greater degree than the public are at all aware of. He devoted his time and talents to the duties of the office up to the time of his death. He was succeeded by William Evans, Esq., M. P., who most disinterestedly held the Secretaryship for a year or two, but finding it interfere with his parliamentary duties, he resigned, and the office was accepted by William Empson, Esq., professor of Political Economy at the East India Company's College at Hertford.

of the African Institution were impeded by its own dignity," which to a certain extent may perhaps be considered as having been the fact: but whether this were the case or not, the labours of the Society were striking and important. At the period of its formation, England was the only nation in Europe which had declared the traffic in slaves to be illegal, but further acts to render it effectual were required, and consequently the Slave Trade Felony Act, and the Act making the Slave Trade Piracy emanated from the Society; and since that period, chiefly by its exertions and influence acting incessantly at home and abroad, more perhaps on the governments, than on the people at large, that trade, which only a few years before had been upheld by majorities in the House of Peers, and of the House of Commons, as a beneficial and honest trade, and one which could not be put down without injury to the State, was declared cruel, unjust, and illegal, by every nation in Europe;—declared to be piracy by some; and "holy alliances" were entered into with others, mutually to assist in its suppression. The United States of North America, and the new states of South America, have joined in proscribing this accursed traffic; and whilst the Society kept a vigilant eye on the proceedings of our own West India islands, and on those belonging to other nations, it exercised a jealous watch over the infractions of the slave abolition laws of all countries; and even the furthest limits of Asia have received benefit from the pervading care of this great Institution.* Thus, Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, both land and sea, have been the fields, over which it spread its benevolent and superintending care: but, like all human institutions, this Society at length decayed, and in 1834, it became extinct. The great men we have mentioned were not merely the ornaments of the Society;—scarcely a Board was held of which the majority was not composed of Peers and Members of Parliament; and in foreign countries they rendered it the most essential service.

The restrictions imposed on the issue of publications, and the distaste to the usual modes of getting up public meetings, and producing excitement, which was felt by the Board of Directors, certainly did not tend to increase its popularity. Mr. Macaulay and the late Mr. George Harrison, we believe, were the first to perceive the necessity for more popular and vigorous measures, as the Board of Directors of the African Institution, though it devoted a consider-

* See Annual Reports, Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19; Ceylon, Java, Madagascar, Mauritius, Persian Gulf, Zanzibar, correspondence with East-India Company, &c.

able portion of its time to the investigation and correction of West India abuses, were not inclined to embark in the question of the Abolition of Slavery, Mr. Macaulay projected "The London Anti-Slavery Society." We can well remember, that he was looked upon for this, as a visionary and wild enthusiast, even by his nearest friends; but they little knew the resources of the man, or the energy with which he could avail himself of them.

The Anti-Slavery Society, though instituted mainly for a specific purpose, has felt the objects of the African Institution, in common with all other measures affecting the African race, a sort of legacy which it is bound to take up, when occasion may offer, and even when the specific object of the Anti-Slavery Society shall have been fully accomplished, these duties will still remain to occupy its attention. The publication of Mr. Buxton's plan indeed, which accords so fully with the principle on which the African institution was founded, seems to require the immediate consideration of the question, as to how far the Anti-Slavery members, while rallying about it the former members of the old African Society, and infusing fresh vitality into its exertions, by the addition of new members, may become an appropriate instrument for the carrying out of the original plan, and the support of Mr. Buxton's new exertions in the same cause.

For the sake of keeping unbroken the history of Mr. Macaulay's connexion with these Societies, we have gone beyond the date of some events which can scarcely be passed over, even in the briefest biographical notice of this eminent man and consistent Christian. "About the year 1800, *the 'Christian Observer'* was established by some pious individuals, who then formed the circle at Clapham, long designated as 'The Saints,'—an appellation given in levity and contempt, yet truly descriptive of the worthy men that received it. There were few indeed in that circle, who have not vindicated their title to be considered as holy men; and most of them are now gone to the mansions of 'the just made perfect.' Mr. Macaulay was literally 'servant of all work,' where a good end was to be obtained. *The Christian Observer* was designed for a channel through which sound doctrine and practical religion might be periodically inculcated among the middle and higher classes, and Mr. Macaulay was judiciously selected as its editor." This work he rendered a most powerful auxiliary to the cause of abolition, and the statements and arguments contained in its

valuable pages, we have reason to believe, induced many of the classes mentioned to give in their adhesion to the Abolition and Anti-Slavery cause, who would otherwise have taken but little interest in their support. But Mr. Macaulay's labours were by no means confined to these subjects: he also took an active share in the general schemes of benevolence, which have distinguished the present age,—and his zeal, perseverance, and extensive practical knowledge, unostentatiously worked with sure effect in promoting the success of every Society to which he joined himself, and they perhaps, included a large majority of those established in the Metropolis for religious and benevolent purposes: he not only joined, but was amongst the first projectors and founders of some of the most important of them; of the British and Foreign Bible Society for instance; his exertions mainly procured for it at its first outset, that dignified patronage which was of such service to its progress, and his counsels assisted in clothing it with that catholic character, which has rendered it an ornament to the nation, and the most important society in the Christian world. He was likewise one of the projectors, and a member of the committee of the Church Missionary Society, and we believe the Prayer Book and Homily Society, owes its first existence to his suggestions and labours. He was also a member of the African and Asiatic Society, and the Society for the Suppression of Vice, to which at one period he devoted much of his time, and effected great improvement in its modes of proceeding. We could name many other societies to which he belonged, for it was not only those of a more conspicuous order which were benefited by his counsels; he was a member and constant attendant on those local committees in his own immediate neighbourhood, which had for their object, either the temporal or eternal welfare of the poor.

But Mr. Macaulay's benevolence was by no means confined to the support of public charities. He was ever ready to listen to, and relieve cases of individual distress. We never recommended one to his attention, to the alleviation of which he did not immediately contribute with a liberality exceeding our expectations. His only request in such instances was, that in any list of subscriptions, his donation might be entered as anonymous. He did not give alms to be seen of men; and we could cite instances in which he has heaped "coals of fire on the heads" of those who have injured
im.

Mr. Macaulay was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and

frequently attended its evening sittings. He always took a deep and active interest in the important subject of general education; he was one of the earliest promoters of Sunday Schools, and Infant Schools, and he also befriended, and greatly assisted with his counsels Joseph Lancaster, in the development of the important plans introduced by him into this country; he was one of the Provisional Committee for forming the London University, and long took an active share in its management. As a Commissioner of Inquiry into the Administration of Public Charities, he distinguished himself likewise by his energy and diligence; and, though this office was not gratuitous, he brought gratuitous zeal to the performance of it. Besides bestowing much of his time on these regularly established societies, he was ever ready to devote himself to those occasional calls, which are frequently made upon the time and sympathy of the philanthropist and the Christian,—many such present themselves to our recollection, but we will only mention one.

The deplorably destitute state of the many millions of British subjects in India in regard to instruction in the Christian religion, in consequence of its teachers having been carefully and arbitrarily excluded from that portion of the British empire, had long engaged Mr. Macaulay's attention. The renewal of the Company's Charter, however, in the year,—appearing to afford an opportunity for remedying this monstrous evil; he lost no time in consulting some of the leading friends of the Gospel, on the propriety of calling a public meeting at the City of London Tavern, for the purpose of arousing public feeling upon the subject, and of calling upon the nation at large, but especially upon all those denominations of Christians who constitute what is usually designated "the religious public," to petition Parliament to secure, by means of the new Charter, the opening of that mighty empire to the light of the Gospel, by providing for the free admission into it of Christian Missionaries, and for placing them out of the reach of that arbitrary and unjust expulsion, to which they had formerly been exposed:—and as in other instances already alluded to, Mr. Macaulay, not only assisted in preparing the resolutions carried at the public meeting, but attended daily in the committee room to carry them into effect.

In reference to the unostentatious manner in which these, and all other duties of a public character were performed by this excellent man, various extracts might be made from the communications of individuals who have filled some of the

highest offices in the state, and others, acknowledging the extreme importance of his suggestions, and disclaiming the exclusive merit of those measures that were founded upon them; but we forbear to enter upon this extensive field of correspondence.

As we have already said, we do not profess to give any thing like a memoir of Mr. Macaulay's life; we earnestly hope and trust however, that this will ere long be undertaken by some one fully competent to the task. We will only remark in passing, that though he was not bred to mercantile pursuits, he became after the dissolution of the Sierra Leone Company, a ship-owner and merchant of very considerable eminence: his transactions with Sierra Leone, and the East Indies more especially, were very extensive; and there can be no doubt whatever, that had he devoted to them a tithe of the talent and time which he so generously dedicated to the Anti-Slavery cause, he would have accumulated great wealth, which he certainly did not do, though his enemies accused him of making philanthropy a stepping-stone to pecuniary advantages, and traduced and abused him without mercy, for motives imputed to him by themselves; but we who knew him well, assert fearlessly, that his anti-slavery labours were the bane of his temporal prosperity, and so far from their having been a source of gain, that in the furtherance of the cause, he spent large sums, the reimbursement of which he never claimed, either from the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, the African Institution, the Anti-Slavery Committee, or from any other source. We feel strongly tempted to say something more on this subject, but as he bore calumny patiently, and felt for his slanderers nothing but Christian pity and forgiveness, we will endeavour to follow his example, and without further observation on this point, continue our narrative.

It is well known to the members of the Anti-Slavery Society, and generally to the Public, that the Monthly Reporters issued by the Anti-Slavery Committee, with the exception of one or two, were prepared and written by Mr. Macaulay; they will remain a monument to his honour, so long as the history of the Abolition of Slavery by Great Britain shall be a subject of interest. Written in the height of the exciting controversy which led to this important event,—they form a singular specimen of calm and acute investigation,—of straightforward and manly exposure of abuses, unsullied by any intemperance of language, undegraded by any invidious personalities,—whilst the reasoning and argumen-

tative portions of them, show the grasp of a powerful, clear, and comprehensive mind. It must have been with feelings of no slight satisfaction, that in the last number but one, which he wrote when stretched upon his couch in great bodily suffering, he could thus contemplate his former labours,—and thus appeal to the public. Alluding to the delay which had occurred in printing that number, he says—“We deem it necessary to explain to the members of the Anti-Slavery Society the reasons of our long silence. It has chiefly arisen from the want of authentic documents respecting the operation of the great act for the abolition of slavery in the British Dominions. The reports respecting its progress were so various, proceeding from sources which might be supposed partial either to the slave or to his master, that we could not but hesitate as to committing ourselves to the narration of facts, or the expression of opinions which we might not be able afterwards to justify, and might thus afford our opponents the occasion of bringing into question what we have so often in vain challenged them to disprove—namely, the uniform accuracy of our statements, and the general correctness of the inferences we have ventured to draw from them. Approaching now, as we trust, to the close of our labours, as far at least as the extinction of *British* slavery has been our object, we look back on the one hundred and eleven numbers of ‘THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,’ with the same unshaken confidence in the eternal truth of its principles, and the unvarying integrity of its details, with which we invited our opponents, from the first, to abandon their chosen ground of abuse and invective, and to expose to the world a single instance in which we have knowingly falsified a fact, or unfairly and disingenuously reasoned upon it. That the heart-stirring nature of our subject may have sometimes led us, in the warmth of controversy, to the use of expressions which may have been unnecessarily offensive, and therefore inexpedient, we are not unwilling to admit; but even in such cases, the apparent harshness of our language was chiefly to be ascribed to the graphic representation of the intrinsic nature of the evil that we had to portray.”

The great share the Anti-Slavery Reporters had in preparing the way for emancipation by enlightening the public mind upon the subject of slavery, but more especially by the influence they had on the Government and Members of Parliament, is generally acknowledged; with a view to their preparation he was careful, by the aid of his parliamentary friends, to secure, from time to time, official returns on all matters connected with slave labour. These returns were

voluminous beyond the conception of those who are strangers to the controversy. He would sit up, night after night, regardless of sleep, and insensible of fatigue, until he had waded through the whole of these huge folios, often full of arithmetical detail and dry statistics, and had weighed each fact, and almost every word, in the scale of truth; and the next *Anti-Slavery Reporter* was certain to contain a clear analysis of all that was important to them; and thus, condensed into a pamphlet of twenty or thirty pages, a faithful journal was given to the world of all that daily passed on the subject of slave treatment.* As a public writer, Mr. Macaulay might, perhaps, be deemed deficient in vivacity and amusement; but, as an accurate expositor of difficult details, and, as a close reasoner in statistical controversy, he was without an equal. His time, indeed, was far too valuable, and his subjects too serious and pressing, to allow of much leisure for what are called the graces of style, which indeed he did not affect; yet specimens are not wanting in his numerous writings, to prove, that in the higher branches of composition, he would have attained, had he chosen, to very considerable eminence. Very few people are aware of the great value of his aid, not only to Mr. Wilberforce, and afterwards to Mr. Buxton, but to every successive Colonial Minister whom accident placed in office; no matter what was the subject, or which was the colony, if, in addition to the most matured judgment, *accurate* information was required, Mr. Macaulay was an animated dictionary, to which they could confidently refer, and most abundant and most frequent was the reference made to him; hence it followed, that arduous as his labours were, in dissecting and abstracting the official papers laid before parliament, this duty formed by no means the most onerous of his daily tasks. In some sense, his hours were divided between Downing-street and Aldermanbury. No deputation could go up without him—no Committee could get on without him—no board could decide without him—no public meeting could be convened without recourse to his advice, as to its propriety and conduct; for, to quote the words

* Mr. Macaulay was also the author of various other Anti-Slavery publications, "East India Sugar; or, an inquiry respecting the means of improving the quality, and reducing the cost of Sugar raised by free labour." "East and West India Sugar, or a refutation of the claims of the West India Colonists to a protecting duty on East India Sugar." "Letter to W. W. Whitmore on ditto." "Negro Slavery, or a view of some of the more important features of that state of Society." "Death Warrant of Negro Slavery," and many more, too numerous to insert in this note.

of a distinguished member of parliament, "whatever Macaulay says may be taken for gospel, and quoted."

In fact, Mr. Macaulay was regarded by one and all, as the Atlas on whose strength the Anti-Slavery world rested, but we must stop, lest we should give to this plain and unpretending statement of facts, something of the appearance of a studied panegyric: it is true, we have said much of what Mr. Macaulay did for the cause of humanity and justice, but we have not, nor is it in our power to enter on any thing like a detail of the eminent services which he rendered. The mass of the Anti-Slavery body of the present day, we regret to say, are quite ignorant of the difficulties, which those, who were early in the vineyard, had to encounter; it was in meeting and surmounting these difficulties, that the calmness of Mr. Macaulay's judgment, and the elasticity of his spirits were peculiarly beneficial to the cause, in sustaining the occasionally desponding feelings of those, who with less nerve, were ready to sink under a far less share of reproach and calumny than were heaped upon him. "I knew him," says an eminent banker, in a letter we have recently received, "more than twenty years, and not excepting the moments of the most violent rage of party politics, I never knew any man so unremittingly, and so shamefully, and so unjustly slandered as he was, by those, who thought their gains would be diminished by his exertions."

Mr. Macaulay was not gifted with the powers of oratory; and though he prepared most of the Resolutions which were brought forward at the great Anti-Slavery Meetings, and in stating his views and arguments in Committees, was peculiarly clear, forcible, concise, and distinct, we cannot call to mind any effective or powerful speech delivered by him upon the platform; nature had not given him a powerful voice, and he had not studied the grace of action, nor was he ever desirous of putting himself forward. There was something too, in the calm and sober tone of his general habits of business, and in the construction of his mind, which apparently led him to think the arts of a professed orator, beneath the dignity of a philosophical reasoner. To this deficiency in the powers of oratory, may perhaps be ascribed, conjointly with his innate modesty, the little knowledge which exists in the country at large, of the debt of gratitude every enemy of slavery owes to his memory:* the calumnies too, to which

* This ignorance would, in some cases really appear ridiculous, if it were not almost melancholy; not a month ago, we were asked by the Secretary of one of the most extensive and useful of the Auxiliary Societies, whether we really thought Mr. Macaulay was a sincere abolitionist?

we have alluded, have no doubt had their operation, more especially on the provincial population, who may certainly be excused, when those who were on the spot fell into similar errors; for it was Mr. Macaulay's unmerited fate to be occasionally misunderstood by many of the ardent friends of abolition, as well as to be openly traduced by its enemies. A striking instance of this misfortune, occurred at the period of the formation, or rather separation of the "Agency Society," from the Parent Committee; on this subject, a Public Journal, long one of the staunchest supporters of the Anti-Slavery cause, (the Christian Advocate,) has since observed, "It is not without a feeling allied to remorse, that we look back to the reflections which we then threw upon this excellent man, for withholding his sanction to the agency scheme; but we then were little aware of his real value, and still less of the latent difficulties with which emancipation, even when enforced by public opinion, was surrounded. But, though Mr. Macaulay lent but little assistance publicly to the agency agitation, he daily, and almost hourly, counselled, suggested, and evinced deep interest in its proceedings; for, with him, negro freedom was the sole and single object, and, in comparison with that object, personal trouble or sacrifice was lighter than a feather."

Though grieved by the misrepresentations of friends, and to a certain extent, probably, annoyed by the foul calumnies of enemies, Mr. Macaulay, knowing well that "obloquy is a necessary ingredient in all true glory," still continued apparently unmoved, in the steady course of his labours, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left, and it would seem difficult to those who knew not his habits, to conceive how he effected the daily labour which fell to his share: every member of Parliament, every foreigner of distinction, or individual in our own country, who wanted any information relative to Africa, in connexion with the subject of the Slave Trade or Slavery, applied to Mr. Macaulay, and he usually answered their letters fully and distinctly by the next day's post at furthest; on his arrival at his counting house in the morning, he generally disburthened his pockets of an amount of letters, which would have taken common minds and common hands, weeks of labour to have produced; we know of no instance of his employing an amanuensis.* But all this, could only be effected

* Mr. Wilberforce used to say, if any paper was suddenly wanted to be drawn up, "Come, Macaulay, you can do it better than any one else, yours is the pen of a ready writer." He also used to say, "Really, Macaulay is a wonderful man, he seems to be able to comprehend and analyse these Parliamentary volumes at a glance."

by abridging the hours of repose. "For the last fifteen years of his life," said one who knew him well, "and as I believe, from good authority, for more than twenty years before that, he dedicated the greater number of his hours, day and night, to Anti-Slavery duty—for many years he used to rise habitually at four in the morning, winter and summer, to steal time for this duty without intrenching on others."

In further illustration of his character, we might refer to innumerable passages in the life of Mr. Wilberforce, recently published, and cite from hundreds of letters; but we refrain from so doing, and content ourselves with giving an extract from one only, which we have just received from one of the most eminent merchants in Liverpool, and one of the oldest and most effective advocates, both in public and in private,—by his money and by his pen,—of the Anti-Slavery cause. Mr. Cropper says, speaking of Mr. Macaulay, "It was my lot to see a good deal of him. I have seen him at work at all hours, very early in the morning, and whenever, and wherever I saw him, I always found him the same: always looking straight forward to the object, from which no views of expediency ever put him aside, and often as I called upon him, I never felt myself, even in one case, an unwelcome visitant."

It might naturally be supposed, that one who imposed upon himself such heavy labours, would have exacted very largely from others, but this was by no means the case; of all men he was the most considerate in this respect, and taking a large share in the detail of business himself, he well knew the time it necessarily occupied, and was never impatient. Setting out in life with the desire of making "the bitter cup of servitude palatable;" he never forgot it, and those under him, whether in situations, the most confidential, or in those of the humblest menial, always found kindness of heart, and suavity of manner.

As we are not writing a biography of Mr. Macaulay beyond his connexion with the Anti-Slavery cause, and of that, giving rather a sketch than a memoir, it is not our province to speak of him as to his habits in private life, but we can scarcely omit, having in a slight degree been led from our original intention, to say, that they were of the most domestic nature; fond of children, and pleased with the society of the young, he was always cheerful; peculiarly alive to a sense of the ridiculous, and had a keen relish for wit; in his house, mirth and wisdom went hand in hand, and no one left his domestic circle, without being the wiser and the better for having entered it. With all his multiplicity of labour, he was ever

ready to act as a mediator where differences had occurred, whether between members of the different committees to which he belonged, or to reconcile friends whom misunderstandings had separated; and it is needless to say, his endeavours were almost always successful, for in him, all felt the fullest confidence, and with him, charity in its most extended sense, was an ever active virtue.

The services rendered by Mr. Macaulay in France, to the cause of Abolition have been already alluded to in the preceding review. At a meeting of the "Société Française pour l'Abolition de l'Esclavage," held in Paris on the 20th June last, Monsieur de Saint Anthoine read an oration on the occasion of his death, which has been printed by the French Society, and circulated in France, in which M. de Saint Anthoine, after alluding to the earlier events of Mr. Macaulay's life, says:—

"Upon his arrival in France, Mr. Macaulay lost no time in expressing his approbation of the foundation of a French Society for the Abolition of Slavery; and he immediately took measures to strengthen it, by securing the aid of his friends. 'The continuance of Slavery,' said Mr. Macaulay, is the foul spot which tarnishes the brightness of the national character. It remains for France to render a great act of justice to her enslaved negroes; and he showed, that from thence would result a glorious future, that their chains broken, and the overwhelming burden of slavery removed, the black man would be able fully to develop his faculties, and that his present inferiority proceeds from the cruel oppression under which he labours.' Mr. Macaulay proved by numberless facts, that the negro, though degraded by slavery, possesses great capacity and virtues, his virtues and his capacity often showing themselves, even in spite of oppression; and hence, that the period is at hand, when the old fallacy of his natural inferiority being for ever exploded, will become mere matter of history, fitted only to amuse antiquaries, or to encourage those who may have to wrestle in other fields against similar errors. This eminent philanthropist, thought that the long and painful study which he had personally made of the evils which slavery inflicts, imposed upon him the duty of furnishing the French public with the information which completely demonstrates that the immediate extinction of slavery would be an operation as easy as it was free from danger; and he proved the advantages which must result from a measure so loudly called for by humanity and justice.

"Yet however high he ranked among the advocates of this noble cause, he had not in view alone, the well-being of the

unhappy negroes who now suffer under the yoke of slavery in the French colonies, nor that of their masters, no less to be pitied perhaps than them; but he was moved by considerations of a more elevated order. 'Without doubt,' said Mr. Macaulay, 'we ought to see with pleasure, France and England unite their power to insure independence, peace, and prosperity to their respective countries, and those of their allies; but what is still more ardently to be desired, is, to see them understand and aid each other, in order to give to the universe the admirable example of two great people working in concert, to spread abroad wherever their empire extends, the benefits of liberty and civilization, and also the light of Christianity, in order that other nations, which may still hesitate to follow them, *may be convinced*, that to be great and flourishing, their policy must be founded upon the eternal principles of justice.

"Animated and sustained by this last thought, Mr. Macaulay, in writing his works, had constantly in view to give to the French public a faithful picture of the conduct of emancipated slaves, and to prove by the effects of the great measure adopted by England, that there was not in the perspective of its adoption by France, any thing which could justify the fears of the planters; and he showed, that the emancipation of the blacks in our colonies, would offer no greater obstacles, and no greater real dangers, than those which ensued from changing the condition of the slaves in the English colonies.

"The French Society for the Abolition of Slavery were indebted to Mr. Macaulay for several works which he published for them during his sojourn in France. In his work entitled 'Haïti,' (Paris, 1835,) he has sought to diminish the prejudices which the atrocities and disasters that signalised the emancipation of the slaves in St. Domingo naturally gave birth to in France. The history of this revolution and its results, have hitherto been either very imperfectly known, or singularly misrepresented. Mr. Macaulay has shown that the English and French colonists have thought, that it would be for their interests, to give the most unfavourable and odious idea possible of a republic composed of enfranchised negroes; but the details which he has given of the past history and present condition of this extraordinary people, appears to us to controvert all their statements.

"In the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 112, written in English, he presents under their true colours the effects of the act of parliament, which proclaimed liberty to the slaves in all the British possessions on the 1st of August, 1834. To these two publications he afterwards added a third, having for its title, 'Tableau de l'Esclavage tel qu'il existé dans les

Colonies Françaises.’ ‘This publication,’ said our colleagues, M. M. le Marquis de Sainte Croix, Isambert, Dufau, Carnot et Thayer, in their letters to Mr. Macaulay, ‘without having either the extent or the importance of your work on the actual state of Hayti, is of great value to us, from the talent and accuracy with which it is written, and from the true colours under which slavery is presented. The last works published in France by Mr. Macaulay are entitled 1st, ‘Faits et Renseignements prouvant les avantages du travail libre sur le travail forcé, et indiquant les moyens les plus propres à hâter l’Abolition de l’Esclavage dans les colonies Européennes.’ The article Porto Rico contains a review of the actual state of commerce and agriculture, and of the physical and moral condition of the population of that colony. The facts in it are taken from the book which colonel Flinter published in English, in order to prove the immense advantages of free labour over forced labour. 2nd. Détails sur l’Emancipation des Esclaves dans les colonies Anglaises pendant les Années 1834 et 1835, tirés des documents officiels présentés au parlement Anglais et imprimés par son ordre, avec des notes et observations.’ This pamphlet is a reply to MM. the delegates from the colonies, and to the allegations of the editors of the Revue de Paris et des Deux Mondes, apologists for an odious system.

“‘The cause of the slaves, both in respect of facts and of reasoning,’ said Mr. Macaulay, ‘may be considered as finally adjudicated and decided in our favour, by the long debates it has given rise to in the face of Europe, for more than half a century past,—debates, which have left in every liberal and impartial mind a firm and unalterable conviction, that Colonial Slavery is a CRIME which no christian or civilized nation can long tolerate, and the immediate and entire abolition of which, by every enlightened nation, is a duty admitting neither of exception nor delay.’”

“The gratitude of the French Society for the abolition of slavery to Mr. Macaulay, was shown by his being nominated honorary president of our Society, upon the proposition of our president, M. Passy; he accepted the title, which was as a crown placed by an illustrious hand upon the head of a man, whose whole life, as lord Brougham has recently said, whose health, whose fortune, and whose energies, were spent in our holy cause.

“Zachary Macaulay, one of the oldest and one of the most powerful defenders of the rights of the African slave, is gone to rejoin Wilberforce, Granville Sharpe, Gregory, Kimbal, Lovejoy, and other celebrated philanthropists.”

“His name will live in future ages as long as the noble cause in which he fought shall be remembered.”

Mr. Macaulay returned from the Continent in the winter of 1836. A few months after his arrival, the Anti-Slavery Committee unanimously adopted the following Resolution, viz:—

“That this Committee deeply regret the long and continued indisposition of their much esteemed friend and coadjutor Mr. Zachary Macaulay, more especially as it deprives them of much of his invaluable assistance at the present critical juncture.

“In referring to the history of the society, they are perfectly sensible of the pre-eminent services, which for so many years he has been enabled to render the negro cause:—and although they are fully aware, that a much richer reward of such devoted efforts, will be found in the reflections of his own mind, they feel it nevertheless due to themselves, and to their respected friend, to avail themselves of his absence on the present occasion, to record their united sympathy in his affliction, and their affectionate and grateful remembrance of his talents and labours.” This resolution was acknowledged in the following letter addressed to the secretary, viz:—

“Dear Sir,—My father being quite unable to write himself, desires me to express his deep sense of the kindness of the Anti-Slavery Committee, manifested in the resolutions of which you have sent him a copy; he is indeed much gratified at this proof of their kind feeling towards him, and sympathy with him, under the great and protracted sufferings with which it has pleased God to visit him.

He deeply regrets that he is so completely incapacitated from taking any active part in a work which he has so much at heart. He begs you will convey to the Committee his grateful sense of their kindness. I am, &c. &c.

S. MACAULAY.”

After the period of Mr. Macaulay's arrival in England, he scarcely quitted his house, or even his couch, till the period of his death, which took place on the 16th May, 1838, in the 71st year of his age. His illness was long and severe. It would be too little, merely to say, that he bore his great sufferings with fortitude and resignation;—he received affliction from the hand of God with that humble thankfulness and cheerfulness with which he received those dispensations of Providence which were of a more joyful character, in the well grounded hope and assurance, that they were comparatively but “light afflictions” sent in mercy, to “work out a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.”

We have shown that the earliest efforts of Mr. Macaulay's

life were devoted to the amelioration of the sufferings of the African slave. We have traced him through many years, labouring hard to procure his emancipation;—and we believe, that one of the last letters, perhaps the very last which he wrote, was to the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, respecting the Foreign Slave Trade.

Some of the leading friends of the great objects which Mr. Macaulay had so long and so successfully advocated, feeling that the retirement and privacy in which his self-denying mind had shrouded his arduous and useful labours, had given him a posthumous claim of no common character to the respect of his surviving coadjutors, and to the gratitude of future generations, whilst the vast national importance of the policy to which he peculiarly devoted himself, and the great share which it is acknowledged on all hands, that his zeal and moral courage had in securing the success of that policy, combined to render it a duty to posterity, to record his worth by some suitable memorial, called a meeting to take into consideration the best means of effecting this object:—such a meeting was accordingly held on the 30th July, 1838, and was most respectably attended, T. F. Buxton, Esq. being in the chair, when the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted, viz:—

“That the eminent services rendered by the late Zachary Macaulay, by the long and disinterested zeal with which he devoted his talents, his time, and all the powers of his well-informed mind, to objects of benevolence and utility, and more especially to the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and to the important cause of Negro Emancipation, demand a public testimony that may record his worth as a bright example for future generations, and prove the grateful esteem in which he was held by his cotemporaries.

“That with this view, a subscription be raised to erect a Monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

“That the following Noblemen and Gentlemen, having consented thereto, be appointed a Committee to conduct such subscription, and make the necessary arrangements for the application of it, viz:—

The Most Noble the Marquis of Northampton, The Earl Fitzwilliam, The Earl Grey, K.G., The Earl of Caledon, The Earl Jermyn, The Right Hon. Lord Calthorpe, The Right Hon. Lord Skelmersdale, The Right Hon. Lord Brougham and Vaux, The Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice Denman, The Right Hon. Lord Glenelg, The Right Hon. Lord Teignmouth, M.P., The Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, The Right Hon. Sir Alexander Johnstone, The Right Hon. Dr. Lushington, M.P., The Hon.

Frederick G. Calthorpe, The Hon. and Rev. B. Noel, Sir Thomas Dyke Ackland, Bart., M.P., Sir George Grey, Bart. M.P., Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart., M.P., Sir George Stephen, Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq., George Gisborne Babington, Esq., Joseph Beldam, Esq., The Rev. Dr. Bunting, Thomas Clarkson, Esq., James Cropper, Esq., The Rev. J. W. Cunningham, The Rev. Dr. Dealtry, Henry Drummond, Esq., William Empson, Esq., William Evans, Esq., M.P., Thomas Farmer, Esq., The Rev. Thomas Gisborne, L. C. Lecesne, Esq., The Rev. Josiah Pratt, B.D., The Rev. M. M. Preston, Benjamin Smith, Esq., M.P., James Stephen, Esq., Thomas Sturge, Esq., Robert Stokes, Esq., Henry Sykes Thornton, Esq., The Rev. Henry Venn, Henry Weymouth, Esq., The Rev. Robert I. Wilberforce, The Rev. Samuel Wilberforce, and The Rev. Samuel Charles Wilks.

“That Henry S. Thornton, Esq. be requested to act as the Treasurer of the Committee, and that Sir George Stephen be requested to act as Secretary.”*

We feel deeply sensible, that we have very inadequately performed, not our task but our duty, in drawing up the preceding notes; our sincere desire, however, has been to prepare a faithful narrative, so far as it goes, of the more remarkable incidents in the life of our deceased friend: and we entertain this confidence, at least, in presenting it for publication, that scanty though it be, we have endeavoured to place his future reputation, not on a comparison of his great merits with those of any of his illustrious brethren in the common cause, but on such foundation only as was personal, and intrinsically his own. We will therefore no longer use our own words, but conclude with those of an able public writer:—“Mr. Macaulay, has rested from his labours. He is no longer within the reach of human praise or human censure. A monument to his memory upon earth concerns him not, but it is of great concern to the interests of society, that virtuous actions,—that generous labours for the benefit of the human race,—that services faithfully rendered to the cause of our common humanity, should not go unremembered, or unrewarded by the public. Even from the marble monument that records the actions and sufferings of departed virtue, the youth of future times, may catch the holy flame which revives the virtue so recorded, in deeds of generous emulation.”

* It is not a little remarkable, when it is recollected, that at the commencement of his career, the man whom it is intended to honour, was but a juvenile overseer on an estate in Jamaica, and that amongst the list of Subscribers to the erection of a Monument in Westminster Abbey, to his memory, are now to be found the names of the two late Governors, and of the present Governor of Jamaica, viz: the Marquis of Normanby, the Marquis of Sligo, and Sir Lionel Smith.

POSTSCRIPT.

We think it right to state, that the few extracts from Mr. Macaulay's letters, contained in the preceding pages, have neither been selected nor furnished to us for that purpose:* and further, that since we were requested to draw up this "Sketch," we have had no communication whatever, either directly or indirectly, with any member of Mr. Macaulay's family. We feel indeed, that we ought to apologize to every member of it, for having undertaken to write it, without consulting them, or requesting them to name some person more competent to fulfil the wishes of the Anti-Slavery Committee in regard to it. The quotations from Mr. Macaulay's letters speak for themselves, and cannot but tend to strengthen the respect felt for his memory: for the remainder, we, and we alone, are responsible. So far as regards the earlier period of the narrative, we have spoken from the most authentic documents: and for the last thirty years, not only on similar authority, but from our own personal knowledge; and we can, with the strictest adherence to truth, say, that in every sentence we have written, we have rather refrained from entering fully into a description of Mr. Macaulay's constant, severe and disinterested labours in the cause of religion and humanity, of which during all these years we were a witness, than sought for language in which to depict them.

Having recorded the resolutions of the Committee, we think it but right to insert the following list of sums which have been subscribed towards erecting a Monument to the memory of Mr. Macaulay:—

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Sir Thomas Dyke Acland,				Mrs. Clarkson	5	5	0
Bart., M.P.	10	10	0	James Cook, Esq.	5	5	0
The Right Hon. Lord Wm.				Christian Advocate, Pro-			
Bentinck	5	0	0	prietor of	1	1	0
Thomas F. Buxton, Esq.	10	10	0	John Crisp, Esq.	1	1	0
Edward N. Buxton, Esq.	5	5	0	The Rev. J. W. Cunning-			
Miss Buxton	1	0	0	ham	5	0	0
Joseph Beldam, Esq.	5	5	0	The Rev. Francis Cunning-			
George G. Babington, Esq.	10	10	0	ham	2	2	0
The Rev. Dr. Bunting	3	3	0	James Cropper, Esq.	10	0	0
T. P. Bunting, Esq.	1	1	0	John Cropper, Esq.	10	0	0
Mrs. Bealy	2	2	0	Panton Corbett, Esq.	5	0	0
J. Briggs, Esq.	1	1	0	John Carr, Esq.	1	1	0
S. C. Butler, Esq.	1	1	0	The Rt. Hon. Lord Chief			
The Lord Bp. of Calcutta	10	10	0	Justice Denman	10	10	0
The Right Hon. Lord Cal-				The Rev. Dr. Dealtry	5	5	0
thorpe	10	10	0	Henry Drummond, Esq.	10	0	0
The Hon. Frederick G. Cal-				The Right Hon. the Chan-			
thorpe	5	0	0	cellor of the Exchequer	10	10	0
Thomas Clarkson, Esq.	5	5	0	William Evans, Esq. M.P.	10	10	0

* They are taken from a few scattered documents which have long been in our possession.

£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.		
William Empson, Esq.	5	5	0	The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel	1	1	0
James Burn Eddie, Esq.	1	1	0	The Countess of Pomfret	3	3	0
Joseph Flamment, Esq.	1	1	0	Henry Pownall, Esq.	5	5	0
William Fern, Esq.	1	1	0	Dr. Palmer	1	1	0
The Earl Grey, K.G.	10	10	0	W. N. Payne, Esq.	1	1	0
The Rt. Hon. Lord Glenelg	10	10	0	Richard Peek, Esq.	5	5	0
Sir George Grey, Bart., M.P.	5	5	0	The Rev. I. N. Pearson	2	2	0
Col. A. Galloway, C.B.	5	5	0	W. W. Pearson, Esq.	2	2	0
W. A. Garratt, Esq.	5	5	0	The Rev. Josiah Pratt, B.D.	2	2	0
The Rev. T. Gisborne	10	10	0	The Rev. M. M. Preston	5	5	0
George Gow, Esq.	5	5	0	John Preston, Esq.	5	5	0
William Greaves, Esq.	5	0	0	Miss Rankin, President of the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, New York	1	0	0
Edward Gibbs, Esq.	4	4	0	William Rothery, Esq.	2	2	0
The Rev. R. Hankinson	2	0	0	William Rothery, jun. Esq.	1	1	0
T. Hankey, Esq.	5	0	0	Robert Russell, Esq.	1	1	0
John Hatchard, Esq.	3	0	0	The Right Hon. Lord Skel- mersdale	10	10	0
John Gurney Hoare, Esq.	5	0	0	The Marquis of Sligo	10	0	0
W. S. Hathaway, Esq.	2	2	0	His Excel. Sir L. Smith, Governor of Jamaica	5	5	0
David Hill, Esq.	1	1	0	The Very Rev. the Dean of Salisbury	5	0	0
W. B. Hudson, Esq.	2	2	0	Benj. Smith, Esq. M.P.	10	10	0
Edward Hamnett, Esq.	5	5	0	James Stephen, Esq.	10	10	0
William Heyrick, Esq.	2	2	0	Mr. Serjeant Stephen	5	5	0
His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	10	0	0	Sir George Stephen	5	5	0
Sir R.H. Inglis, Bart. M.P.	10	10	0	Thomas Sturge, Esq.	10	10	0
The Earl Jermyn	10	0	0	Robert Stokes, Esq.	2	2	0
Lord Jeffrey	5	5	0	Miss Stokes	1	1	0
The Right Hon. Sir Alex. Johnstone	10	10	0	Edward Strutt, Esq. M.P.	5	0	0
Andrew Johnston, Esq.	1	0	0	James Scott, Esq.	1	1	0
Mrs. Johnston	1	0	0	Henry Stuart, Esq.	5	5	0
The Marq. of Lansdowne, K.G.	10	10	0	The Rt. Hon. Lord Teign- mouth, M.P.	10	10	0
The Right Hon. Dr. Lush- ington, M.P.	10	10	0	Henry S. Thornton, Esq.	10	10	0
J. Labouchere, Esq.	10	10	0	The Misses Thornton	3	3	0
J. C. Lecesne, Esq.	4	4	0	The Rev. W. J. Thornton	1	1	0
Master Stephen Lushing- ton Macaulay Lecesne	1	1	0	The Rev. C. Thornton	1	1	0
James Large, Esq.	2	2	0	Henry T. Thatcher, Esq.	2	2	0
The Rev. W. Marsden, B.D.	1	1	0	The Rev. Dr. Thorpe	10	10	0
Robert Marsden, Esq.	2	2	0	W. A. Thompson, Esq.	1	1	0
K. Morison, Esq.	2	2	0	Mrs. Upcher	3	3	0
Professor Malden	1	0	0	The Rev. Henry Venn	5	5	0
George Mackey, Esq.	1	1	0	The Rev. John Venn	2	2	0
Thomas M'Foy, Esq.	1	1	0	The Marq. of Westminster	10	10	0
John Mills, Esq.	2	2	0	Henry Waymouth, Esq.	5	5	0
Thomas Mills, Esq.	1	1	0	The Rev. Robt. Isaac Wil- berforce	3	3	0
Mrs. Milner	1	1	0	The Rev. S. Wilberforce	2	2	0
Capt. Moorsom, R.N.	1	1	0	The Rev. S. C. Wilks	2	2	0
John Montefiore, Esq.	2	2	0	The Rev. Daniel Wilson	2	2	0
The Marq. of Northampton	10	10	0				

