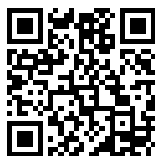


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# Tracts on Slavery.

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**ENGLAND ENSLAVED**  
**BY**  
**HER OWN SLAVE COLONIES.**



**ENGLAND ENSLAVED**  
**BY**  
**HER OWN SLAVE COLONIES.**

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**AN ADDRESS**  
**UNIVERSITY OF**  
**TO**  
**THE ELECTORS AND PEOPLE**  
**OF**

**The United Kingdom.**

**By JAMES STEPHEN, Esq.**

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**LONDON:**  
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**1826.**



TO YTHOZVINO  
ATCZVNO  
YRARELL

# ENGLAND ENSLAVED

BY

## HER OWN SLAVE COLONIES.

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TO

### THE ELECTORS AND PEOPLE

OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

**W**HEN it was lately supposed that you would, by an immediate dissolution of Parliament, be called upon to exercise that noble birthright of British subjects the choice of their own lawgivers, I was employing my vacation leisure in the prosecution of a work in which I have been long engaged, the "Delineation of Colonial Slavery as it exists in Practice"; having already given to the public a pretty full and demonstrative account of it as it stands in point of law.

The work, in my own estimate, and in that of most of the friends of the enslaved Negroes, I might say of all among them whose sentiments on the subject I know, is of great importance; because gross misrepresentation of the facts of the case is the main expedient which our opponents have always too successfully employed; and the object of my labours is to wrest that instrument out of their hands, by proving all the positions in my second volume, as I have done in my first, from their own evidence alone. But I was induced to suspend those labours, by an application from some of the most respectable leaders in the cause of colonial reform, who requested me to write an address to the Electors of the United Kingdom, for the purpose of pointing out to them the

critical position of that cause, and the duty of giving it their strenuous support in the use of their elective franchise. I complied; and before the decision of His Majesty's Government on the question of a dissolution this autumn was made public, had made so much progress, that I was unwilling the fruit of that new effort should be lost; and therefore have completed the intended address, with some enlargements, which I submit to you in the following sheets.

The then expected occasion cannot long be postponed; and if I can effectually excite your efforts, they will not perhaps be the less influential and successful, because your present Representatives will have a further opportunity of showing their disposition on this great and interesting subject before they again solicit your suffrages.

The House of Commons will probably not soon be agitated by questions of war or peace, or by domestic controversies of any great importance; one excepted, on which I have no opinion to offer, and from the notice of which I shall cautiously abstain: but it will very soon have to determine whether we shall advance or retrograde in the path of justice, mercy, and expiation towards that most hapless and injured portion of our species, the much-oppressed African race. Early in the approaching Session, Parliament will be called on to decide whether we shall redeem the pledge to God and man given in the Resolutions of May 1823, or, yielding to colonial influence and clamour, basely forfeit that pledge, and leave upwards of eight hundred thousand of wretched fellow-creatures, with their yet unborn progeny, to perish in their chains.

No less than eighteen years have elapsed since Parliament, in voting the Slave-trade to be contrary to justice and humanity, virtually recorded the moral title of those oppressed and degraded human beings to their freedom; for it is plain, that a bondage iniquitously imposed cannot be rightfully prolonged. Necessity alone could justify the delaying for an hour the full restitution that was due to them; and such a necessity was accordingly alleged. It was asserted that a sudden enfranchisement was dangerous, and that therefore progressive means must be employed.

But how did we follow up those views? Sixteen times had the sun run his annual course, and still beheld all these victims of injustice toiling like brutes under the drivers, in all the moral filth of slavery, and all the darkness of pagan ignorance; tortured at discretion with the tremendous lash of the cart-whip, sold like cattle in a market, and condemned at the owner's will to a perpetual exile from their native homes, their wives, their husbands, their parents, and their children. A hundred thousand at least of hapless infants had in the mean time been born of the enslaved females in our colonies; and how had *they* been treated? Exempted from that state which it was held so hard and dangerous to alter? Educated in Christian principles? Prepared for exercising when adults the rights and duties of free men?—No; but left to learn idolatry from their parents, and their duties from the driver's whip; and to hand down the vices and the miseries of slavery, with the alleged difficulties and dangers of correcting them, to other generations.

Thus, up to May 1823, had we fulfilled those obligations which national contrition had recognised, and the plainest principles of justice and humanity imposed.

A new æra then seemed to have commenced with consolatory and cheering prospects. In consequence of numerous petitions from all parts of the country, and of a motion made thereon by Mr. Buxton, Mr. Canning (the leading minister in the House of Commons) came forward with apparent decision to take this pitiable and opprobrious case into the hands of Government, and himself moved resolutions which I need not here state to you at large; for in what part of the British empire have they not been proclaimed by the press, and echoed by the voice of an applauding people? The first of them, which was the basis of the rest, was in these terms:—"Resolved, *That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for meliorating the condition of the Slave population in his Majesty's Colonies.*" They were all voted unanimously. The friends of the Slaves gladly consented to transfer the conduct of their cause to such potent hands, withdrew their own propositions, concurred in those of the Right Honourable Secretary, and gave to him their confidence, as well as their

cordial applause, He had opened to them in his speech specific plans of progressive melioration and gradual enfranchisement, which, as far as they went, were satisfactory; and which gave an earnest that further reformatations, in the same spirit and of the same prudent character, would, when maturely considered, meet with the same support.

There was however one great drawback on their hopes, and one which was the most disheartening to those among them who knew the Colonies the best; for Mr. Canning intimated his practical plan to be, not the immediate introduction of any of his proposed measures by authority of Parliament, but the recommendation of them by the Crown to the Assemblies:

The experienced friends of the Slaves must have lost their memories or their understandings, if they had entertained a hope that such a course would produce any good effect. They saw in it, if not frustration and positive mischief, at least certain disappointment and delay. Recommendation to the Assemblies!! Why, the experiment had been tried repeatedly, during a period of twenty-six years, as well before as after the abolition of the Slave-trade; and had uniformly and totally failed. The Crown, the Parliament, and that far more influential body, the West India Committee of this country, with Mr. Ellis at the head of it, had all recommended, supplicated, and even menaced, in vain. Not a single Assembly had deigned to relax one cord of their rigorous bondage; or to adopt a single measure that had been proposed to them for the temporal or spiritual benefit of the Slaves, except in a way manifestly evasive, and plainly intended, as well as proved by experience, to be useless; while some of those inexorable bodies had even met the solicitations of their Sovereign, and the resolutions of the supreme legislature, with express rejection and contempt. Recommendation to the Assemblies!!! to the authors of every wrong to be redressed! of every oppression to be mitigated! to Slave-masters, the representatives of Slave-masters, hardened by familiarity with the odious system in which they have been long personally engaged, and surrounded with crowds of indigent and vulgar whites, to whom slavery yields a sordid subsistence, and the

degradation of the blacks is privilege and respect! You might as well recommend toleration to Spanish Inquisitors, or Grecian liberty to the Turkish Divan.

Most reasonable therefore might the friends of the Slaves have regarded this part of the Right Honourable Secretary's plan, as a ground not only of dissatisfaction, but distrust; had he not guarded it by declaring that means should, if necessary, be employed to make the recommendation effectual, and to subdue any contumacy that might be found in the Assemblies, by Parliamentary compulsion.

Still, the well informed advocates of reformation were reasonably alarmed. They did not doubt Mr. Canning's sincerity. The general liberality of his principles is not less unquestionable than his transcendent eloquence; and he had been an early friend to the Abolition. But they saw from this hopeless project that he laboured under a gross delusion as to the true state of the colonial mind; and they knew the formidable influence, both public and private, from which he would have to unfetter himself, before he could oppose himself effectually to that storm that he was about to raise in the Colonies, and make his way to his ulterior purpose.

They knew well from long experience how little reliance was to be placed on that apparent disposition which his West Indian friends, and the proprietors resident here had, in general, manifested in Parliament to support the measures in question. These gentlemen are always on the side of melioration when it is to be referred to the Assemblies, but never when it is proposed to be effected by the only practicable means; and it is no new thing with them thus to save their own credit in the first instance, and then support with all their collective weight in parliament the opposition of their friends and agents abroad to the very propositions in which they themselves have expressly concurred at home.

Under these circumstances, the friends of the Slaves have been strangely found fault with for still endeavouring to defend their cause and themselves before the British public, and to guide by necessary information that popular voice which is their only sure ally. They well knew, that the best intentioned and most powerful Administration would, without that support, find it difficult or impossible to stem the broad and

deep tide of Colonial influence, and carry into effect any reformation worthy of the name. The abolition of the Slave-trade, after a struggle of thirty years, would have been finally lost, though supported by Mr. Pitt and many of his powerful colleagues, and the nation would have still been undelivered from the shame and guilt of that horrible traffic, if the public voice had not supported the influence of the Crown, though in the hands of such ministers as Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, against the clamours of the Colonies, and the interest of their too powerful party.

Had these views been disputable in May 1823, they would long since have ceased to be so. The experiment has again been tried; and what has been the result? To the *mother country*, disparagement of her dignity, insolent denial of her constitutional authority, aggravation of her Colonial expenses, additional destruction of her brave troops in a sickly and inglorious service:—to the *Slaves*, a procreation of hopes the most interesting that ever cheered the hearts of men in their unhappy situation, only to be cruelly strangled in their birth; to many of them bloodshed and death, and to many more the privation of those religious benefits most scantily enjoyed before, which were their only human comfort.

Yes, my generous and humane countrymen, these have been the fruits, and without the aid of your further united efforts, these, and many more such horrors as those of Demerara and Jamaica, will be the only fruits of your petitions, and of the resolutions of your representatives in parliament, that “effectual and decisive measures should be adopted to meliorate the condition of these our unfortunate fellow-subjects. Two years and seven months have since elapsed; and the condition of many of them, probably several hundreds, has indeed been effectually meliorated,—for they have been sent to a world where injustice, oppression, and cruelty can no longer reach them. The musket and the gibbet have given to them a happy, though painful manumission. Even those to whom the mercy of a West Indian Court assigned only a thousand lashes each by the lacerating whip, have been thus finally liberated, if uncontradicted and most credible report may be trusted; but as to the remainder of the eight hundred thousand hapless fellow-creatures for

whom your pity and remorse vainly interceded, their condition, with a local exception or two of small account, has if possible been altered for the worse. Bitter disappointment has aggravated their former wretchedness; and to the multiplied oppressions of avarice have been added those excited by a crafty and cruel policy, by suspicion, hatred, and revenge. Every insurrectionary movement, however occasioned, and however partial, has been treated as rebellion; every plantation broil, or *strike of work*, as insurrection; every expression of discontent, or even of hope, founded on the benignant intentions of Parliament and the Crown, as full evidence of a seditious plot; and all alike have been sure consignment to a Slave Court;—in other words, to conviction, and banishment or death. Nay the most cautious prudence, combined with the purest innocence, has been no security; for the assertion of a fellow-slave, however profligate, and however improbable his tale, has been taken as sufficient evidence against the Negroes accused. You are told by their oppressors that they are all too low in morals to be heard as witnesses against a white man, even before a West Indian jury of his own order, and when there is no temptation to deceive; and yet their testimony is implicitly trusted and relied on, when their reward for disclosing a pretended plot is pardon, if they avow themselves to have been accomplices, and if not, the irresistible bribe of freedom. If any fair man thinks these statements too strong, let him read the trial of the Missionary Smith, with the examinations that preceded it, and the trials for the late conspiracies in Jamaica, as printed by the House of Commons the last session; and if he does not entirely concur with me, I am content to forfeit his confidence as to every other fact I state.

Now, to what can these evils be ascribed, but to the fatal course that has been taken, in referring, for a twentieth time, to the Colonial authorities, a work to which they are avowedly, violently, and incurably averse? What was it, but to invite the rash and angry opposition we have found? They tell us, and they tell us sincerely, perhaps, however erroneously, that the proposed measures will be ruinous to their property, and dangerous to their lives; and yet we desire them to adopt and



frame those very measures by their own legislative power. They refused to adopt them, or any one of them, even when assured by their own agents and partisans in this country that there was no other way of preserving their then beloved Slave-trade; yet we expect compliance, when refusal can have no worse effect than the enactment of the same measures by the British Legislature. Even that consequence, we have taught them to believe or know, is not to be apprehended. In eight-and-twenty years of obstinate opposition to the sense of Parliament, its active interposition has not once ensued; and in one instance, that of Mr. Wilberforce's Register Bill, it was attempted in vain, though clearly necessary for the purpose of giving effect to the abolition of the Slave-trade.

That precedent was still more fatally instructive. It taught them that a sure way to prevent Parliamentary interposition, was to add to refusal violence, and uproar, mischief, and alarm.

These means, indeed, were then found rather costly to a particular colony. They raved so loudly and so long in the ears of their Slaves, that those poor beings at length thought them in earnest, in affirming that registration was enfranchisement, and that by the will of the mother country they were to be Slaves no longer. The insurrection of Barbadoes was therefore very naturally produced. But this was a lucky, as well as a very partial mischief. All the colonies gained their point by it. The framing Register Acts was left implicitly to themselves; and fences of cobweb, instead of adamant will consequently be found between them and the Slave-trade, whenever the high price of sugar, or the depopulating effects of Slavery, may tempt them to resume it.

After this, who can wonder at the plots in Jamaica, or the insurrection at Demerara, or the dreadful measures of fury and alarm that followed? Even Barbadoes itself, in spite of its experienced evils, saw more of convenient consequence, than present danger, in adding to the renewal of former provocatives, that of driving away the missionaries, pulling down their chapel, and laying the laws prostrate before insurgent violence for successive days under the eyes of the local Government.

Nor can we be surprised that the Assemblies in this case have treated the recommendations of the Crown, and the voice of Parliament, with more than their former disrespect; and refused to adopt any of the very moderate specific reforms proposed to them. Small though those reforms must appear in *our* eyes, in *theirs*, had not their own former pretences been grossly false, they must have been smaller still; and for the most part the mere enactment, by law, of what before was general practice. They were desired, for instance, to secure a Sabbath rest to their Slaves, which they had a hundred times boldly asserted was already possessed by them. They were desired to exempt their females from those cruel and indecent punishments, the usage of which they had as often indignantly denied. They were asked to lay aside the driving whip, which they had so positively asserted to be wholly inactive, and a mere emblem of authority, that Ministers, in the recommendation itself, soothingly gave colour to the ridiculous pretence, desiring that the whip should no longer be carried into the field by the driver, *as an emblem of his power*.

But here lay no small part of the provocation. They were caught in the mesh of their own falsehoods and delusions. The Sabbath is in fact kept only in the cane pieces; while it is a working day in the provision grounds, and in journeys to a distant market. To abolish such profanation, would be to compel the master to find food for his Slaves; or to give them another day that they might be able to raise it for themselves. The proposed immunity of the females, they knew would have been a still greater sacrifice; because they are in fact worked, coerced and disciplined in common with the males; and, as the Colonists are now driven to assert, equally or more than equally require it. As to the inactive cart-whip, the *emblem* or *symbol*, the *beadle's laced hat*, as some of them before had the effrontery to call it, it is now confessed to be the main spring of the machine; and that to take it from the driver's hand would be ruin to the master, and danger to the State. Though little therefore was asked on their own false premises, it was much, very much, in the case that really exists; and far more than the Planters or their Assemblies ever mean to concede. To repudiate their own former assertions was mortifying; but to adhere to them at the hazard

of their actual system would have been still more unpalatable ; and the dilemma was not the less provoking because it was the effect of their own previous deceptions.

But though refusal was to be expected, insult, it may be thought, might have been forborne. The Colonists (wisely perhaps if their ends were wise) were of a different opinion ; and the Ministers of the Crown, for acting under the advice of Parliament, were made the objects of coarse invective, as well as contemptuous repulse.

And what has been the consequence ? Have Ministers come to Parliament for its assistance to support its own dignity, and give effect to its own resolves ? Has that supreme legislature at length effectually interposed, and made good its promises to the unfortunate objects of its compassion and remorse, ordaining by its own authority what has been insolently denied to its mediation ? Such was the ulterior course that you were expressly warranted by Government to expect, if the Assemblies proved contumacious ; and yet if their conduct has not amounted to contumacy, it is hard to say what more they could have done to satisfy the full meaning of that term. But nothing has been enacted, nothing has been proposed, in Parliament, no communication has been made by Ministers on the subject, except the humiliating despatches of the Colonial governors containing full details of all these opprobrious facts.

It would be unjust to His Majesty's Ministers, not to distinguish here between those colonies which are cursed with representative Assemblies, and those which have escaped that misfortune, and over which the Crown possesses the power of interior legislation. In the latter, Trinidad especially, some advances have been made towards giving effect to the Parliamentary Resolutions. But even in these, the unwise and dangerous course has been taken of referring the work in its form, and practical details at least, to its known and irreconcilable enemies ; of submitting, to their advice, the time of its initiation, and its progress, and even the choice of the means and instruments of its execution.

Of all errors in policy it is the most palpable, to commit the structure and management of difficult and delicate measures to those who avowedly dislike the principles on which

they are founded ; and who wish, not for their success, but their failure : nor is there in this respect any difference between Slave-holders elected into a Colonial Assembly, and Slave-holders sitting in a Council, or Court of Policy, under the authority of the Crown. It would not be more irrational to devise a plan for converting the Irish Catholics to the Protestant Church, and then submit its practical means and accomplishment to the deliberations of the College of Maynooth.

To this unhappy course of proceeding we owe the insurrection at Demerara, with all the dangerous discussions, controversies, remonstrances, and delays, which have been opposed to the execution of the Royal Instructions, not only there but in Berbice; in neither of which is the promised work, I believe, yet fairly begun.

It is due to Earl Bathurst to say, that his Lordship appears hitherto not to have been wanting in decision or firmness, in maintaining his ground, as far as the official correspondence goes, against the clamorous and pertinacious opposition he has met with from the local authorities in those Colonies, as well as from the Planters : but still nothing appears yet to be effected ; nor will any thing, beyond ostensible and evasive compliance, ever be obtained, until Government changes its course, and ends where it should have begun,—by a peremptory Order in Council. The very voluminous correspondence with the Governors laid before Parliament in the last session too clearly justifies these views; and if my readers wish for full satisfaction on the subject, they may find it in an abstract of those papers which has just been presented to the public.\*

Frustration of all the hopes of the poor Slaves, and of their compassionate fellow-subjects, will not be the only ill effect of this unfortunate course of proceeding, if it is not speedily reversed. Terrible mischiefs I doubt not will ensue; and the blame of them will as usual be laid on the Friends of Reformation, not on its true authors,—those who stoop to solicit

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\* See a pamphlet published by Hatchard and Son, entitled, "The Slave Colonies of Great Britain; or a Picture of Negro Slavery drawn by the Colonists themselves."

when they ought to ordain; or those who resist the proposed measures in the first instance, and spoil them in the second.

I cannot wholly exempt from these strictures even the particular case of Trinidad, where alone there has been any direct and peremptory exercise of royal legislation; for though there is much practically good, and more that was well intended, in the Order of Council for that island, there is much also that is very objectionable; and the executive means are bad. An adequate discussion of that subject would be far too long for my present purpose; and it might be unjust to His Majesty's Government, and especially to the able and respectable statesman who presides over the Colonial Department, to give my views of it in a partial and cursory way. It is necessary however that I should protest on my own behalf, and that of my fellow-labourers in the cause of the Slaves, against the notion insidiously propagated, that the Order is *our* work, or framed to *our* satisfaction. Whoever may be responsible for it, we are not. For my own part, I never saw it, or knew any thing of its provisions, till after it was printed by Parliament.

Had my advice been asked, I should have held, as I have ever done, that men who, as Slave-masters, have their prejudices, their habits, and their supposed self-interests, and an *esprit de corps* besides, all opposed to the success of such experiments, are not fit to be trusted with their execution; and would have added, that the masters of domestic Slaves are not less unfit to be so trusted than the owners of plantations. I would have added, and if necessary proved, that by the needless permission of domestic Slavery the predial is much embittered, and rendered more difficult to reform; for that men lose their sensibility more by the administration of a harsh servile discipline in proportion as they are more personally and immediately engaged in it; and that they unavoidably are so engaged, more in the family than in the field. I might have further remarked, that a man who has been long in the personal government of such domestics as enslaved Negroes are usually found to be, and in the numbers that commonly belong to a West Indian household, must have an excellent temper, and great self-command, if he does not

sometimes fall into those very excesses which it is the object of the Order to restrain; and that a magistrate or protecting officer is not very likely to do his duty when conscious that the delinquent he ought to punish might recriminate on himself.

I might perhaps have given, if consulted, still wider views of this subject, and told our Ministers that they ought not only to discourage but wholly to terminate domestic Slavery; because it cannot be alleged to be rendered necessary by the climate, and because its abolition, besides being productive of various other advantages on which I will not now enter, would be the most effectual means of increasing the number of the free in proportion to the Slaves, and thereby providing internal means of defence. But most especially should I have recommended that at least the servants and agents of Government should be exempted from that fatal domestic contagion which spoils their feelings, and disposes them to favour or connive at the abuses they ought to restrain; and such, if I am not misinformed, was the Spanish policy in the protection both of Indians and Slaves.

In Trinidad, however, the right course of proceeding, though not by the best measures, has at length been pursued; and I hope that in the other Colonies subject to His Majesty's legislative power, it will not be longer delayed. As a man who has laboured much, and not unsuccessfully, to prevent the Constitutions, preposterously called English, established in the old Slave Colonies being imparted to the new, I am bound to say that little or no good has been done by adopting that policy, if the Crown, instead of exercising its authority in making laws for the protection of the Slaves, is to delegate that duty to Slave-masters resident on the spot. The former sovereigns of those Colonies, whether Spanish, French, or Dutch, never called on their governors, councils, or courts to deliberate in such cases, but only to obey.

My main business, however, is with that larger class of Sugar Colonies which Parliament only can controul; and these have refused any compliance with its resolutions. Most of them have even boldly set its authority at defiance; and yet Parliament, in respect of them, has hitherto been silent and supine.

I correct myself. Much, very much has been done, but all in the way of aid, encouragement and bounty, instead of coer-

cion, to these refractory Colonists ;—bounty, at the expense of our purses and our commerce, as well as of our feelings and our honour ; aid and encouragement, by the renunciation of almost every principle and rule on which the value of our Colonies to the Parent State has hitherto been thought to depend. Our Navigation Laws have been abrogated for their benefit ; except only in those points in which it was more for their advantage to retain them. They may now reject your manufactures, and take all their supplies from every rival state ; and it depends on their own choice whether they will send their sugar to your markets ; while you are still compelled by protecting duties, as they are called, amounting to a prohibition of foreign sugar, to buy from them alone. Even the long-supposed palladium of your navy has been relinquished for the benefit of these contumacious votaries of the cart-whip. The carrying-trade of your Colonies is no longer your own, but has been thrown open to every foreign and rival prow.

I stop not to inquire whether the plausible arguments on which this grand revolution in our maritime policy has been defended are not only specious but sound. They have certainly an air of liberality ; and I was taught long since by one whose judgment, as well as his virtues, I held in very high estimation, my much-lamented friend Mr. Percival, to regard Mr. Huskisson as one of the most enlightened and judicious of our statesmen. Therefore, although I have been heretofore a feeble advocate for those principles which the wisdom of our ancestors handed down to us, and under an adherence to which, during two centuries, our naval greatness rose, perhaps I was mistaken. If so, I need not be ashamed to read my recantation ; for it will be in a crowd of splendid converts, who have now renounced the same erroneous faith.

Let me not be understood, then, as condemning in the abstract these new principles, or the applying them, if impartially done, to our Colonial trade and navigation. But as the change was one which our sugar planters had long and ardently solicited, and as one of its prominent immediate objects was avowed to be *their* accommodation and advantage, it was certainly in that respect very ill-timed, and tended to encourage and confirm their contumacy.

Had this been all, we might have regarded it only as an

unfortunate coincidence. But unhappily this great commercial and maritime revolution had some awkward modifications, some striking departures from its own principles, and exceptions to its own rules; and upon every one of these, West Indian interests, and West Indian views, were so legibly written, that if the West Indian Committee had sat in council with the Board of Trade, and guided its resolutions, the new code could not have been better framed for the gratification of our planters.

The general principle is the favourite maxim of political economists, that trade should be perfectly free. The Colonial monopoly therefore ought clearly to have been abolished on both sides; but it was relaxed only where it was restrictive on the Planter; and continued only where it made for his advantage. He may now sell his sugar where and to whom he pleases; but the English consumers are still bound as before to buy it. Foreigners may bring us what they please, except any thing that West India planters have to sell. As to protective duties, they should no longer have a place in our Custom-house vocabularies: the very name is heretical, by the new faith; for "commerce can be protected only by itself." Aye, but our planters were here a little sceptical; and thought that 36s. per cwt. additional duty on sugar, and 84s additional duty on coffee, of foreign growth, would be better than theoretical security against rivalry in the British markets; and plain men perhaps will suspect that they were right; for they were humoured in this whim; and we are now paying on an average from 42s to 45s. per cwt. for sugar which a year or two ago we bought at an average of from 27s to 30s.

The case of our East Indian possessions, was a little stronger. We and our fellow-subjects there had a mutual and irresistible claim to be placed within the pale of this new-found liberality. The only plausible pretext before for favouring the Slave Colonies of the West, at the expense of our Eastern Empire, by imposing on the Sugar of the latter a duty which, when added to the high expense of the carriage, amounted to a prohibition, was, that we had a monopoly of the supply and navigation of the former, which was burthensome on the West India planter, and demanded therefore in justice a reciprocal pri-



vilege to him. The Assemblies themselves had expressly rested their case on this ground ; and had repeatedly admitted that when the restrictions on their trade should be taken off, they would no longer have a claim to any exclusive privilege in our markets. To remove the one therefore, and retain the other, was to favour them beyond the utmost range of their own former expectations and demands.

Whilst the new principles applied to our East Indian trade in a commercial and economical view, with peculiar force, every consideration of justice and policy, entitled our fellow-subjects in the East at this period to all the favour we could justly accord to them. They had become important customers to our manufacturers, who had begun to supplant their own cotton weavers at the foot of their own looms in Bengal ; and they wanted only a return article like sugar to enlarge their commercial intercourse with us to an almost boundless extent, and in a way the most advantageous that can be imagined, not only to our national wealth and maritime strength, but to the security of our Indian Empire. But all these potent considerations fell before West Indian influence ; and from the benefit of the new principles, as well as the old, our East Indian trade was excluded.

There was indeed one exception. The sugar of the Isle of France was before subjected to the same duties with that produced within the dominions of the East India Company ; but it is now privileged like that of our West India Colonies ; though for what reason it is thus preferred to the produce of Bengal, except that it is raised by the forced labour of Slaves, it is hard to imagine. This, it may be said, is no benefit to the West India planters. No ; but it is a great one to that most influential part of their body in this country, the consignees of tropical produce ; and besides, it tends to increase the interest of Slave-holders in general among us ; and to consolidate their union as a body for the maintenance of the common system. Of these advantages they well know the value. We should not otherwise have been cursed, not only through their acquiescence, but by their concurrence, and by their secret intrigues, with the acquisition of new Sugar Colonies on the continent of South America ; by which, though our islands

~~were~~ generally prejudiced as agriculturists, their political weight as Slave-holders has been much and fatally increased.

It may seem but a trivial item in this large account, when I add to it the different treatment of two Joint-Stock Companies, who applied contemporaneously in the last session of Parliament for legislative aid to supply their want of charters, and set their plans in motion; but small features sometimes mark more strongly than large ones the character of a partial system. The object of one of these projects was to obtain loans on sugar estates, by means of a joint stock, upon securities which individual prudence had been too well taught to decline. The object of the other was to promote also by a joint stock, and the co-operation of numbers, the raising and importation of sugar, the produce of free labour. It had an eye to the East, but not to the East alone. Some parts even of the West Indies might have been the theatres of an experiment interesting to every friend of humanity and justice. The former project was among the multitude of Joint-Stock Companies (the madness of the day), one of the most objectionable on the score of imposition on the public. It was manifest to every thinking man of ordinary information, that the sole purpose of the projectors was to pass upon the credulous subscribers securities which those who knew best their nature were unwilling to take or to hold. The plan was also one of sure and great prejudice to the Slaves; not only by subjecting them to fall into the wholesale management of perpetually non-resident owners, but because the super-orientation of the estate they belong to naturally enhances their forced labour, and diminishes the means of their support; nor did these objections escape the notice of their friends, but were forcibly submitted to Parliament and the public.

But between the two plans there was this important difference; the one was advantageous to Slave-holders, and supported by their powerful influence at the Board of Trade and in Parliament; but the other had no such recommendation or support. The West India Company in consequence was patronized by ministers, and its bill passed into a law; though the only one of the Joint-Stock Company bills, I believe, that had that good fortune, after the Lord Chancellor entitled

himself to the gratitude of the country by exposing their mischievous effects. The Free Sugar Company, on the contrary, finding that their bill, though not really objectionable on the general grounds, would be encountered by insuperable opposition in the Upper House, was obliged to abandon it after it had made its way through the Commons\*.

I will point out only one more instance of this partiality. It is one which cannot be stated adequately in few words; but it was the consummation of a system of measures portentous of infinite mischief to our country, as well as a case in which not only the principle of giving freedom to trade and navigation, but with it other principles of high political importance, have been sacrificed by the same boundless complaisance to the prejudices, and the supposed particular interests, of our West India Colonies.

Here some retrospective remarks are necessary. Our treatment of *Hayti* from the moment of its first Revolution, but more especially from the time of its actual, to the momentous recent period of its recognised independence, has been one continued surrender of national interests to the narrow views and potent influence of the Colonial Party. We paralyzed our belligerent arm in Europe, when the fate of the civilized world apparently depended on its energies, for the sake of engaging in the *bellum servile* between the French Planters of St. Domingo and their Slaves. At least forty thousand, as I believe, of our brave soldiers and seamen, and as much public money as constituted, by the terms it was borrowed upon, perhaps eighty millions of debt, charged by heavy taxation on the purses of the British People, were the price we paid in that war alone for the sake of our Sugar Colonies, in the attempt to restore the

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\* It is right to admit that the West India party in the House of Commons did not openly oppose this bill; but I doubt not, the reason was, that their leaders well knew it would be thrown out if carried to the Upper House. I certainly cannot commend the conduct of its promoters in not putting that expectation to the proof: but they thought it right, I understand, to save useless expense, having official information that the bill could not possibly pass; and that the exception to the general rule, made in favour of the rival Company, was the result only of a promise given by His Majesty's Ministers, before that rule was adopted.

cart-whip government, lest it should be subverted also in our own islands, though disappointment, and disgrace, and calamity were the only fruits of that attempt.

The triumphs of the heroic TOUSSAINT happily drove us at length from that dreadful field; and his magnanimity gave us the olive-branch, and commercial benefits along with it, which but for our deference to Colonial prejudices might have been much greater than they were. Federal connexions with the island were not perhaps then in our choice, for he was a faithful subject of France. But the next war with Buonaparte made us from necessity associates in arms with Toussaint's brave successors; and we found them in possession of a real and asserted independence. Then was the time, when the just exasperation of the brave Haytians against that detestable tyrant was at the highest, and when we owed to France nothing but resolute defiance; then was the time, when a most happy opportunity offered to make the new people our friends, our allies, and our commercial tributaries for ever. We had but to recognise an independence which it was plain to every thinking man could never be subverted, and that "citadel of the Antilles" never again would have fallen into rival or hostile hands. All its agricultural and commercial, all its political and belligerent, faculties, would have been permanently ours. The opportunity was not unnoticed. Even the labours of this feeble pen plainly, however inadequately, pointed out its value\*. But it was neglected, as I foresaw it would; and the effects that I foretold have followed. The pestilent vapours of Creolian prejudice obscured the true interests of our country, or the fatal influence of the Colonists betrayed them.

The gross impolicy of the neglect was no short-lived error; for the opportunity continued open to us for ten or eleven years, from the time of the final expulsion of the French under Rochambeau, till our pacification with France in 1814. No rational doubt could be entertained during that long period of the ability or the determination of the Haytians to maintain

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\* In a pamphlet called "The Opportunity," published in 1804, as well as other publications.

their independency. Under our protection at least, their ability was as certain as their will. It was as manifest also then as now, to all but Creolian eyes, that Negroes were capable of sustaining, by peaceable and loyal conduct, the social edifice which their intrepidity and love of freedom had erected. Rival leaders indeed had successively started up, and by military conspiracies two of them had perished, like the early Roman Emperors by mutinies of the prætorian bands; but like the Roman populace of that æra, the black people at large had always submitted peaceably and loyally to their existing Governments. Wearied, like that unfortunate people, by the bloody and ferocious scenes through which they had previously passed, they loved their new-found repose; but the remembrance of the driving-whip was a band of union against France, stronger than the glory of the Roman name against Barbarian conquerors. The unanimous sentiment was liberty and independency, or death. For a while the question between Monarchical and Republican Government, or rather between Christophe and Pétion, produced a territorial division, and an interior war; but they had the wisdom soon to sheathe the sword; and the fidelity of the people at large to their respective Governments stood the new and severe test of instigation by border enemies within the island. Before, as well as since their re-union under Boyer, it was found in vain to excite any disaffection among them that could favour in the slightest degree their restitution, either as slaves or subjects, to the abhorred dominion of France.

Their successive and their divided chiefs also manifested, in regard to exterior relations, one only and one anxious wish; and that was to cultivate the amity and obtain the alliance of England. They courted us almost to servility; they endured many insults from the Slave-masters of our islands with exemplary patience; they gave us, without any equivalent, commercial privileges of the most decisive kind, exclusive of the Americans and all other neutral nations; and they so carefully avoided every occasion of offence to their contemptuous neighbours of Jamaica, that not even a complaint, true or false, has been heard of, to my knowledge at least, from that jealous and hostile quarter. Our ships of war were received in their

ports with every honour the government could possibly pay ; and our officers (Sir Home Popham among others) were astonished at the elegance and splendour with which they were entertained on shore.

But the necessary limits of this Address will not allow me to go further into detail. If it pleases God long to spare my life, and continue my powers of labour, you shall have, in a History of Hayti, sustained by authentic documents, facts of this kind, which will show to your astonishment perhaps how worthy this people were of our confidence and friendship. But all that we condescended to do in return was to connive at our merchants buying their coffee, and selling our manufactures in their ports ; abstaining from all diplomatic or other public intercourse as cautiously as if Buonaparte had been our friend, or an enemy whom we were afraid to exasperate. Our whole conduct proclaimed to their intelligent leaders, in a style not to be mistaken, that maritime and commercial England—England, the only power able and entitled by her hostile relations with France to countenance their independence—was irreconcilably averse to it ; and they well knew that it was from motives which made us not less averse to their personal freedom.

Does any one of my readers doubt that our servility to West Indian prejudices and West Indian influence dictated such conduct ? Then let him suppose for a moment that this important island had been peopled, not with Blacks and Mulattoes, but with Whites, who had in like manner thrown off the yoke of France ; or that its Planters had succeeded in putting down the insurgent Slaves, and afterwards proclaimed their independence, and offered us their trade as the price of our recognising and protecting it ; and then ask himself whether he thinks our rulers would have acted as they did.

I will not stop here to inquire whether regard to the safety of our Sugar Colonies, and the maintenance of their interior system, might excuse or justify the policy in question. I have heretofore demonstrated the contrary ; and shown that, assuming, what the event has since proved, the invincible stability of Haytian freedom, the safety of our own islands, of Jamaica at least, not only admitted, but demanded an opposite course,

though their foolish antipathy and contempt towards the African race strongly and too successfully opposed it\*. But at present my object is to show the sacrifices we have actually made, whether wisely or unwisely, to the wishes or the interests of our Sugar Colonists: and it is an undeniable article in the account, that, for their sakes, we have thrown away the exclusive commerce, the amity, and alliance of the Haytian Republic.

We have done still worse: we have at length forced back this truly formidable West Indian power into the arms of France; and this, by persevering in the same obsequious course towards our Sugar Planters, even since they have refused to indulge us with giving a Sabbath to their Slaves, and exempting their females from the whip.

*Boyer*, menaced with the horrors of a new invasion, though fearless of its ultimate event, has, since our peace with France, persisted in courting our friendship. No stronger instance of it can be desired, than that while the flags of all maritime nations were eagerly frequenting his ports, bringing an overflow of the merchandize of Europe and North America, and taking his produce in return, he exacted from all other foreigners duties of 12 per cent *ad valorem*, and only 5 per cent from the merchants and ships of Great Britain. Nor did he withdraw this important privilege till the month of April last, notwithstanding the repulsive coldness and contempt with which we had received it, and the continued provocations he met with from Jamaica.

We were no longer indeed at liberty, without a shadow of international wrong, to enter into a treaty of alliance with this new power, while yet unrecognised by the former sovereign, with whom we were now at peace. That golden opportunity had been lost beyond recall; yet there was a middle line of conduct, such as we have adopted towards the new South American States, and to which France could not with reason, or without gross inconsistency, have objected. We might have given a national sanction and safeguard to the existing commerce, and secured the continuance of its privilege, by ap-

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\* See the work last referred to.

pointing resident consuls, and even by sending envoys to the court of Port-au-Prince, as we have done to Buenos Ayres, to Mexico, and Columbia. We might have thus acted, I may add, with greater reason and more apparent justice, towards Hayti, than towards any of the revolted colonies of Spain; because the independency of the Haytian people had been longer, and more firmly and unequivocally established in point of fact, than that of any of their continental neighbours; and no advantage could, in their case, have been alleged to have been taken of the weak and distracted situation of the Parent State. On the contrary, France during several years of peace and internal tranquillity, and when powerful enough to cast her shield over the impotent monarchy of Spain, and to occupy its territories with her armies, had practically acquiesced in the independency of Hayti, as a loss of sovereignty not to be retrieved. What is still stronger, she had herself virtually recognised its government, by repeatedly attempting to treat with it; and latterly it was well known, that the recognition of its independency was only a question of terms; whereas Spain, even in the extremity of her weakness, has not yet condescended to treat with her revolted subjects; and the royal standard is still supported among them by faithful though feeble adherents. If a further argument *à fortiori* were wanted, we were under no self-defensive necessity to secure the amity, or guard against the future enmity of the South American States; whereas a free Negro state, in the centre of the Antilles, unless secured as a friend, was obviously likely to prove to us a most formidable and dangerous enemy. Should France recover her sovereignty there, over a nation of free and military Negroes, or what perhaps was still worse, if she should gain them as independent allies and confederates, it was manifest that our West Indian possessions must hereafter lie at her mercy. But powerful and urgent as these national considerations were (immense commercial advantages on the one side, fearful public dangers on the other), colonial influence still prevailed.

The finishing stroke to our infatuated policy was that last exception, that last inconsistency, in our new system of trade and navigation, which I proposed to notice. In laying open



our colonial trade to all nations we made a special exception in the case of Hayti, highly offensive and injurious to that country, forbidding under extreme penalties all intercourse whatever between it and Jamaica. By the statute 6th Geo. IV. cap. 114, sec. 48, it is provided, first, that no British merchant ship shall sail from any place in Jamaica to any place in St. Domingo, or *vice versa*, under penalty of *forfeiture of ship and cargo*. Secondly, that no *foreign ship* which shall have come from, or in the course of her voyage have touched at, any place in St. Domingo, shall come into any port or harbour in Jamaica, *under the like penalties*. Thirdly, that if any person shall be landed in Jamaica from on board any ship which shall have come from or touched at St. Domingo (*without restriction to the same voyage even*), the ship and cargo shall be forfeited.

It can be no sufficient excuse to say that an Act or Acts to a like effect had existed before that period. True it is, that the Assembly of Jamaica, having gratified its indignant spite against Negro freedom, by an Act restraining all such intercourse with Hayti, as far as its own power of interior regulation extended, its agents soon found Government complaisant enough to lend its aid, in order to extend the penalties and right of seizure, to ships that might not be found, or cases that might not arise, within the colonial jurisdiction. A *July Bill* for that purpose, was more than once pushed, without noise or notice, through Parliament; and so effectually escaped observation, that though my attention has been pretty much given to such subjects, I must confess my ignorance of any such measure having been adopted, till the recent revolutions in our maritime and colonial code led me to look back with some particularity on the state of the former law.

But when Government so materially altered its system, the measure, though not in a separate consideration new, had in its connexion with those important changes, all the effect of an injurious and offensive innovation. A gentleman who at his country residence should choose to live retired, and receive no guests but his own family, would give no just offence by omitting to invite his nearest neighbour, who had made to him the most courteous advances; but should he reverse his

plan of life, and invite all his neighbours, with the exception of that particular person, the case would be completely altered, and would reasonably be considered as a disparagement or affront; and such has been our conduct towards Hayti. While all foreign bottoms were systematically excluded from our Colonial ports, with a few particular exceptions only, in the Free Port Acts, founded on regard to the convenience or necessities of our West India Islands, as in the supply of North American flour and lumber (articles not furnished by the Haytian people), or for the sake of favouring our valuable commerce with Spanish America, while contraband by its own laws, the interdiction of trade between Jamaica and Hayti placed the latter in a situation not materially different from that of our other foreign neighbours, whether in America or Europe: but when we reversed our ancient maxims, and threw open the doors of our Colonies, which we had before so jealously barred, to every state and every flag but one, the re-enacting of the former interdict against that particular country alone, gave it a new character, and made it a more invidious distinction.

The effect also of such sweeping and extreme penalties, under the new circumstances of the case, was unjustly to subject the commerce, of the Haytian Republic, and of all the nations that trade with them, to new and multiplied disadvantages and dangers, the consequences of which it is easy to foresee, will be highly mischievous, and productive of disputes, not only with Hayti, but, perhaps, with other powers.

To such of my readers as know any thing of West Indian navigation and commerce, this will be obvious enough; especially when they recollect that all the ports in the Mexican Gulf, and of the late Spanish continent to windward of it, as well as those of Jamaica, are now open to every friendly flag. To those who are uninformed on such subjects, it may be proper to remark that both Hayti and Jamaica lie directly across, or very near, the track of ships trading between North America or Europe and a great part of the new states of South America north of Brazil; and that from the effects of the trade-winds this proscription of Hayti is in such respects, though limited in form to its intercourse with Jamaica, not less

restrictive or inconvenient in practice than if it were extended to all our West India Colonies. It is with that British island only that the Haytians could easily or profitably trade; and there only that foreigners trading with them would often be desirous or able to touch, in their outward or homeward voyage.

In consequence of these sweeping prohibitions, Hayti will be debarred from a large part of that commerce which would otherwise be opened to her, through her central and advantageous position, by the revolutions in Mexico and South America at large, as well as by our own change of system; and also from those benefits to which she is justly entitled by that commercial habit of visiting the West Indies in what is called a "trading voyage"; namely, a voyage destined not to a particular port or island only, but to a market, where it can best be found, or where the desired returns can most advantageously be obtained. So important is this practice deemed by the merchants of the United States in particular, that they were disposed to go to war with us for obstructing it in their trade with the Colonies of our enemies, after we had conceded the point of permitting a trade directly with them to and from that neutral country. But now, every North American or European ship bound to the West Indies or South America, on a trading voyage, must make an exception, in her papers, of Hayti or Jamaica, or both; and if Hayti be not excepted, the exception of Jamaica alone will not only be a renunciation of the new privileges that we have opened to them in that our most important island, but will leave them exposed to great hazard of being seized on suspicion, if obliged by bad weather, currents, or other causes to approach near to that island in going to or returning from any market on the South American continent. In this respect the Spanish-American revolutions, and our own more recent commercial revolution, will make the former restrictions operate much more severely and unfairly than they before did against the interests of the Haytian people. It should never be forgotten in framing such prohibitions, that their indirect and undesigned, are not less prejudicial to the interdicted country, than their direct and intended effects. A new commercial crime constitutes of course a new ground of suspicion or false imputation, and a new ground therefore

of maritime seizure and prosecution, with all the vexatious consequences that are sure to attend them in a distant part of the world; consequences peculiarly formidable when the courts that have to decide on them in the first instance are strongly disposed to favour the seizure. A prosecution in Jamaica, for trading with Hayti, is certainly not one in which an injured claimant would have the best prospects of just redress.

When a country is infected with the plague, or when a hostile port is under blockade, the necessity of the case which compels us to impose such restrictions on the commerce of friendly powers, furnishes not only an excuse, but a salvo for their dignity. But here we have the same and greater restrictions in time of peace; and on a new principle, never acted on by any other civilized power, a principle also as offensive in itself, as the practice founded upon it; for what does it plainly imply but that the Haytian Government is disposed to excite insurrections in Jamaica, though no part of its conduct, during above twenty years of actual independence, has furnished the slightest pretext for the suspicion? Where else can lie the justification of condemning both ship and cargo, not only for having touched at infected Hayti *before*, but even *after* touching at Jamaica? In this it exceeds the restrictions of the quarantine laws; and the utmost severity of the law of war in regard to blockaded ports.

It would have been enough for my present purpose that the Government has in fact from complaisance to our Slave-owners departed from its own new and favourite commercial system, by impairing without necessity the general freedom of trade. But my last remarks show that there is, in the tone and temper of the proceedings towards Hayti, enough to mark still more clearly a subserviency to all the bitterness of West Indian prejudices, at the expense not only of trade, but perhaps also of our peace with the Haytian people.

*Suppose President Boyer and his Council should choose to retaliate!* It seems due to their own independency and dignity to do so; and it would be impossible for us decently to complain if they did. We should then soon find to our cost the importance of these remarks. Not a ship from Jamaica could beat through the windward passage, without exposing herself

to a reasonable suspicion of meaning to violate the counter prohibition, so as to warrant perhaps her being brought into the Cape, or some other Haytian port, for examination or trial.

I repeat that such treatment of a country which was anxiously courting our friendship, and with which France was known to be then negotiating on the basis of acknowledging its independency, was too egregious a blunder in policy to have had its origin in any thing but the enormous influence of the West Indian party. It too well accounts for, and justifies the conduct of President Boyer, in at last indignantly withdrawing from us the favour and privileges we had so ill requited, and casting himself into the arms of France. I admit however that the Haytian people had ground enough, without this last affront, for despairing that creolized England would ever recognise their independence, or cease to be the secret enemy of their freedom; still more that she would ever be induced to enter into any connexion that might be a support to them, in the event of a new invasion, or tend to avert that calamity.

Some writers have been unreasonable enough to condemn the President for agreeing to pay 150 millions of livres (six millions sterling) to France, for the relinquishment of an empty title. But his conduct was made by our bad policy natural and right. Beyond doubt he would gladly have avoided so heavy an incumbrance on his finances; but we had taught him that there was no other way to give to the republic, in its foreign relations, the benefit of its independency, or obtain for it decent respect, even from the country it had most highly favoured. We had taught him also to apprehend, that in the event of a new invasion by France, he would be treated by the only maritime power that durst despise her resentment, and consequently by all the rest, not as a legitimate belligerent, with whom neutrals might lawfully trade, but as an insurgent and a rebel. He did well and wisely therefore, in my opinion, to prevent the evils of such a contest by as large a pecuniary sacrifice as the country could afford.

He has been blamed also for giving to France such commercial privileges as will exclude in its consequences the ships and the merchandize of other countries. This perhaps

was a necessary part of the price; but perhaps also, it was some gratification to reflect, that ungrateful and contemptuous England had rejected the same boon when gratuitously offered, and would lose what France would gain by it. If letters from Port-au-Prince inserted in the newspapers may be trusted, Anti-British feelings have already appeared from measures beyond the terms of the Treaty. "Not only," it is said, "is the duty to be increased on English goods imported, but the valuation of them, by which the amount of the duty is estimated, is capriciously *doubled*. With the French merchants, a contrary course is pursued, and the duty on goods exported has been lowered 50 per cent in their favour, while that paid by the English remains unaltered." It is added, "British goods if imported at all must be imported in French vessels, which will give them a monopoly of the carrying-trade with the island."

We have performed then that seeming miracle, the possibility of which I vainly foretold twenty years ago, as a consequence of our infatuated policy. We have made France popular in Hayti! in betrayed, butchered, massacred, blood-hounded Hayti! Nor will the matter end here. Haytian ambassadors are already arrived at the French Court, and we shall soon probably hear of a perpetual league offensive and defensive, far more formidable to the British West Indies in future wars, than the family compact ever was to Europe. The "citadel of the Antilles" might have been the bulwark of our Islands; but now it will be a place of arms, and an enormous ever-teeming barrack for their enemies. Woe to the British regiments when next we draw the sword! Twice ten thousand inglorious graves await them in Jamaica.

Mean time let us place to the account of our Slave Colonies the loss of a commerce of vast importance to our merchants, our manufacturers, and our ship-owners, and capable of an indefinite increase. For those Colonies, and by their baneful influence, we sunk many millions to reclaim the Haytians into slavery; for them and their gratification, we have cast away the compensation which the folly and crimes of Buonaparte would have given us. France, not England, will have the indemnities for the past. England, not France, will have the

dangers and mischiefs of the future. While we, my countrymen, are paying the interest of a debt probably amounting to eighty millions or more, contracted for the St. Domingo war, the French Proprietors, whose crimes and insanity we abetted, are receiving by our gift many millions of livres per annum. For the sake of Slavery, we sinned and bled and squandered ! And for the sake of Slavery, we have rejected that reparation which fortune, in spite of our folly, had placed within our grasp.

These, however, are but a part of those sacrifices which Colonial influence has cost us. Scarcely a year passes in which some West India job is not imposed on Parliament at the expense of the British people ; and all for the hopeless purpose of perpetuating Slavery, by sustaining a system, the inherent weakness and wastefulness of which makes it incapable of self-support. It is not enough that you pay an annual subsidy to your Sugar Colonies of a million and a half per annum, in bounties and drawbacks, and in prices which their monopoly enables them to exact ; and at least as much more for their military protection, even in this time of profound peace ; but whenever their alleged necessities require it, your own healthful faculties must be laid under contribution, to nourish and relieve their morbid and rickety frames, till the new paroxysm is over.

Sometimes you have had to lend them millions at five per cent, which you borrowed and funded at more than six ; at other times, they have laid violent hands even upon your agriculture and your manufactures, prohibiting the use of barley in your distilleries, that their sugar might be used in its stead ; and the loud remonstrances of your landholders and farmers were opposed to them in vain. Now they have made successfully a still further inroad on your corn-fields. Rum is to be re-distilled into British spirits, that your wheat and oats, as well as barley, may make room for their slave-raised produce. Before even the late grand revolution, your export of flour and oats to them, formerly of no small amount, was effectually precluded ; and the same benefit was taken from your North American Colonies, by opening their ports to the cheaper and nearer produce of the United States.

But was not all this, some of my good-natured readers may be here ready to ask, the result of a compassionate regard for the distresses to which the Sugar Colonies have been occasionally subjected by temporary causes, such as might fairly entitle them to relief from the Parent State? This has certainly been the usual pretext: and I am far from meaning to deny that if the pecuniary embarrassments or hopeless insolvency of a large proportion of the planters, constitutes a case entitling them and their brethren to relief at the expense of the empire at large, their claim to it has been fairly made out. I admit, nay I am ready to maintain and prove, that such a case, now and at all times, exists in every one of our West India islands. But I am at a loss to conceive on what ground, except the preponderating weight of their political influence, our sugar planters are entitled, more than any other adventurers in hazardous and losing speculations, to cast the burthen of their distress or ruin on the shoulders of their fellow-subjects in Europe. The adventurers in a state lottery, the jobbers on the Stock Exchange, nay the subscribers to the joint-stock companies of the day, do not play a more desperate game than theirs; and yet what would be said if such speculators, when distressed by the natural consequences of their own imprudence, should petition Parliament for relief at the public expense? Our more sober adventurers, in commercial and manufacturing undertakings, and our agriculturists also, sometimes are plunged into distress, from causes affecting not only individuals, but large classes of people, in a very compassionate way; yet we do not lay the nation at large under contribution to save their credit, or repair their shattered fortunes. But the much-favoured Slave-holders of the West Indies too successfully maintain, that while the benefit of prosperous adventures is to be their own, their losses in adverse times are to be borne or shared by you. Whenever their sugar is not dear enough in your markets to produce, to the more fortunate and influential of their planters, an adequate profit (which, from the nature of their ruinous system, never was or can be long made by the body at large), they come with loud lamentations to the doors of the Privy Council and of Parliament; they add their combined private solicitations



and intrigues; and some costly boon at the expense of the country at large, and sometimes too at the expense of the most important and favourite principles, is sure to be accorded to them. They are at the same time sturdy beggars; for their petitions rarely fail to be garnished with accusation and abuse; especially of those who deprived them of the Slave-trade, and who now would persuade them to improve the condition of their Slaves. They rail even at the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent duty; though it was the original price of their lands, in other respects gratuitously granted by the Crown, in the islands in which that duty prevails. They rail at our own import duty on their produce; most absurdly assuming that it is paid by themselves, and not by the British consumers. They find fault in short with every thing, except their own wretched interior system, the true source of all their evils. It is in vain pointed out to them that the exhaustion of their lands is the natural effect of the substitution of human labour for that of cattle, and the consequent want of manure; that the expenses of their culture are enormously enhanced by the same cause, and by the want of such machinery and implements as all other farmers employ; more especially as their multitudinous labourers are bought at high prices, and therefore large interest on the perishable capital so invested must be deducted from the gross returns. If the pretence were true, (would to God it in any degree were so!) that these poor labourers are fairly paid or sustained, the price given for them would manifestly be a dead loss, in comparison with free labour, from the moment of the purchase. We should laugh at the complaints of a farmer, that he could not obtain adequate returns, even from the best lands, raising the richest produce, if, rejecting ploughs and harrows and wains, he employed a hundred labourers on as many acres, maintaining them and their families to boot, and had paid besides for removing them from a distant country at the rate of eighty or a hundred pounds per man. It would not be necessary to his ruin that he had, like many of the sugar planters, bought the land itself at a high price, such as some agricultural speculation of a tempting kind (hop-planting for instance) might have raised it to.

From whatever cause, it is a clear and uncontested truth,

that of a vast majority of those who engage in sugar planting ruin is soon or late the ordinary lot. I have shown it to demonstration in a work already before the public, and am not aware that the proposition has ever been denied; but as it is a fact of great importance, and your feelings are perpetually assailed on the score of West India distresses, as if they were occasional and accidental, not permanent and inherent evils, I will subjoin a few of the many testimonies, in illustration of the ordinary case, that have been furnished by the Colonists themselves\*.

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\* In one of them, we are told, that in the course of twenty years, which reaches back to 1772, "one hundred and seventy-seven estates in Jamaica had been sold for payment of debts, and ninety-two more were in the hands of creditors, and that executions had been 'lodged in the Marshal's office for £22,563,786 sterling\*.'" In another, that "every British merchant who holds securities on Jamaica estates is filing bills to foreclose; although when he has obtained a Decree he hesitates to enforce it, because he must himself become proprietor of the plantation; of which, from fatal experience, he knows the consequences:" that "all kind of credit is at an end:" and after other most impressive traits of general ruin, that "a faithful detail would have the appearance of a frightful caricature†."

In a third, that "the distresses of the sugar planters have already reached an alarming extent, and are now increasing with accelerated rapidity; for the sugar estates lately thrown up, brought to sale, and now in the Court of Chancery, amount to about one-fourth of the whole number in the Colony:" that "the Assembly anticipates very shortly the bankruptcy of a much larger part of the community, and in the course of a few years that of the whole class of sugar planters‡."

In a fourth, that "estate after estate has passed into the hands of mortgagees and creditors absent from the island, until there are whole districts, whole parishes, in which there is not a single resident proprietor of a sugar plantation§."

Lest it should be supposed that such long continued, or often reiterated ruin, was peculiar to Jamaica, take another brief extract of high authority from a Speech in Parliament of the late able and eminent Colonial Agent Mr. Marryatt: "There are few estates in the West Indies that have not

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\* Report of the Jamaica Assembly, Nov. 23, 1792.

† Report of the same Assembly, Nov. 23, 1804.

‡ Report of the same, Nov. 13, 1807.

§ Petition of the same Assembly to the Prince Regent, Dec. 10, 1811.

After such testimonials from the Assemblies of the Sugar Colonies, their agents, and zealous partizans, as I have here referred to, how can it be pretended that their recent distress is the effect of any extraordinary or temporary cause, or that it is a case which any assistance from the Mother Country, however liberal or lavish, can effectually cure? It is manifest that the motive of compassion which has been held out to a good-natured public, as an excuse for all the costly boons so unseasonably bestowed by Parliament, was, if not insincere, at least much misplaced. All attempts to relieve the distresses of the sugar planters by such means, while they persist in their present system, are not less hopeless and irrational than those misdirected charities which the Mendicity Society benevolently labours to restrain,—they aggravate the very evils which the heedless benefactors wish to palliate or remove.

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*during the last twenty years (i. e. from 1793 to 1813) been sold or given up to creditors \*."*

There never was a period at which the prices of sugar rose to and long maintained such very high prices, as from the time of the ruin of Saint Domingo as a sugar colony in 1791, to the end of our succeeding war with France. It was the golden age of the British planters, as Reports of Parliamentary Committees, founded on their own evidence, have attested; and yet the reader will observe that Mr. Marryatt's twenty years comprise the whole of that very fortunate period.

But lest a doubt should remain, whether at still earlier times the case was better, I give two further extracts from the works of eminent West India proprietors, the late Mr. Bryan Edwards of Jamaica, and Mr. Tobin, formerly of Nevis and of Bristol; the former writing in 1792, and the latter in 1785, and both professing to give statistical views of the Sugar Colonies in reference to their general and ordinary situation. The former, speaking of the sugar planters in general, says, "Many there are who have competencies that enable them to live with economy in this country; but the great mass are men of oppressed fortunes, consigned by debt to unremitting drudgery in the Colonies, with a hope which eternally mocks their grasp of happier days, and a release from their embarrassments †." And Mr. Tobin, in his cursory remarks on the Rev. Mr. Ramsay's Essay, says, "For one planter that lives at his ease in Great Britain, there are fifty toiling under a load of debt in the Colonies."

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\* Debate on the East India Sugar Duties, 1813.

† History of the West Indies, vol. ii. book 6. chap. 5.

But the lavish and ill-timed national favours bestowed on our Sugar Colonies may be ascribed perhaps to other and wiser motives. Though they teem perpetually with individual distress and ruin, they may be supposed to have a commercial, financial, or political value to the Mother Country, such as are worth those sacrifices; and which might have led to them, independently of any bias from Colonial influence on the counsels of the State. Let me therefore entreat the reader's patience while I examine a little further what benefit or compensation redounds to this country, from all the sacrifices, and all the sins, by which West Indian Slavery is maintained.

And first, as to the boasted value and importance of the Sugar Colonies, in a view to the employment of our commercial industry and capital.—There are certainly very large pecuniary transactions and commercial dealings between the planters and the West India merchants of Great Britain. Most adversely to our cause, as well as to the general soundness and stability of British commercial credit, the two characters are in many cases united; and the capital invested in the purchase of sugar estates is for the most part lent or procured by our merchants. I do not deny therefore that our trading capital is largely so employed; but that it is profitably employed seems utterly irreconcilable with the facts already stated and proved.

Let any political economist explain to me, if he can, how it can be advantageous to a country to employ its commercial capital in a way that is always productive of loss and ruin to a vast majority of all the particular adventurers. National profit must be made up of the profits of individuals; and if the result to these, in a collective view, is not profit but loss, it is paradoxical and absurd to say that the nation is a gainer. It would be so, even if the Sugar Colonies cost us nothing for their government and protection. What then is the case, when it is considered that we maintain them at an enormous annual expense to the National Treasury, even in time of peace; and that in war, the average consumption of public money in their acquisition and defence, has amounted to many millions a year? The nation gains by a lottery, though a great ma-

jority of the adventurers lose by their tickets : but it is because in a lottery the public itself is a trader. It sells at a high price the chances that the adventurers buy, and gains what they collectively lose, deducting only the small charge of the commissioners and wheels. But the public is not the seller of West India estates ; and instead of wheels and commissioners, it finds fleets and armies, and governors and judges, and jobs. Even when we have at an enormous expense conquered some new Sugar Colonies, what does the public gain by them ? Not the estates ; for they are retained by the foreign proprietors. It is a transfer only of the loss attending their future cultivation, from creditors and consignees in Bordeaux and Amsterdam, to creditors and consignees in London and Liverpool. British capital is soon largely employed, in the way of purchase or mortgage, to extricate foreign capital from the same profitless and ruinous investment ; and the Treasury of England performs the same kind service for the Treasuries of Holland or France.

Here one difficulty usually presents itself to men who are happily inexperienced in colonial affairs. "How, the case standing thus," it may be asked, "are new adventurers always found to embark their own or borrowed capital in West Indian speculations?"

No better or shorter answer can be found than by referring again to that clear illustration, the closely parallel case of a state lottery. Why do the contractors find purchasers at twenty pounds, of tickets worth only ten ?—Because there are most alluring high prizes in the wheel, though the far greater number of the tickets are sure to be blanks. Equalize the returns, by making each ticket a ten-pound prize, and no man of course would buy at a greater price than that. Add a small though certain profit, and the tickets would not easily be sold. The case is the same with sugar plantations. Such, from well-known causes, is the extreme inequality of their returns, that, though the average is at all times loss, there are particular exceptions of splendid gain, and numerous ones, of great and speedy, though commonly short-lived, success. Lottery tickets, besides, are not sold upon credit ; but sugar estates almost

always in great measure are. A man who can pay down a small or moderate part of the purchase money, may easily obtain time for the rest on the security of the estate itself.

These temptations operate on the merchant who advances the capital, as well as the planter who borrows it; for when the crops are fortunately large, the benefits of the consignments and factorage form an enormous bonus on the loan, which is added to interest at five per cent, and that compounded annually, to entice the mercantile lender, with the further benefit of commissions on the shipments outward for the supply of the Estate. He too, like the planter, can game more deeply upon a given capital in this, than almost any other line of business out of the Stock Exchange; for it is usually by his own acceptances of bills of exchange at very long sights, for instalments of two, three, four, and five years, or more, that the sugar estate is to be paid for; the seller always taking care to have the further security of a mortgage on the property sold. The main bait to the merchant commonly is, that if good crops are made, and come to good markets, their proceeds in his own hands may suffice, or nearly so, to meet his acceptances. Meantime, he is thus enabled to trade extensively on the foundation of his own paper; and then, the notoriety of his consignments and shipments, and his purchases from manufacturers, who supply the goods generally on long credit, may contribute greatly to the facility of extending his bill credit in this country; especially if he takes the common course of establishing a firm or firms in the West Indies, which, though composed of his own agents or secret partners, can draw and re-draw from that country, and thereby, even in the performance of his own engagements there, supply him with further means of bill accommodation in England\*.

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\* It may illustrate these general views to state that an eminent West India merchant, who failed some years ago for an immense amount, was liable a short time before his failure for bills, in circulation in this country, amounting together to more than a million sterling; for which the holders had no security but his own, and that of houses in the West Indies that had been set up by himself, in the names of his clerks or dormant partners, with none but his own capital. He actually applied to Government on these grounds to sustain him by a loan of public money, because his stopping was likely to produce calamitous effects injurious to commercial credit. I knew

Here then is, on both sides, the strong temptation of deep gaming, not only in the magnitude of the chances, but the facility of finding the stakes.

Further explanations might be given of the false estimates and delusive expectations in question. The prizes in a state lottery are not over rated. Every man knows the amount of what is actually gained by them, and cannot mistake a blank for a prize: but the success of the sugar planter is often a gross delusion. He comes home for a season, with the proceeds of a lucky crop in the hands of his consignees; and, either from self-indulgence or policy, exhibits the appearances of great prosperity. Like a comet from a distant region, he eclipses the regular planets of our system by his temporary blaze. He mixes with our fashionable aristocracy, and perhaps forms family alliances among them. He obtains the credit of having rapidly acquired a large fortune in the West Indies; and others are fatally excited to embark their capital or credit in the same imaginary gold-mine. When his consignees are overdrawn, and will advance no more, he returns to take for the rest of his life the lot described by Mr. Tobin,—“to toil under a load of debt, like forty-nine out of fifty of his brethren,” consigned, according to Mr. Edwards, “to unremitting drudgery in the colonies, with a hope, which eternally mocks his grasp, of happier days and a release from his embarrassments.” But the comet is now out of sight; and the seducing effect of his short-lived splendour, is not counteracted by the knowledge of the sad reverse. All who know the West Indies will recognise, in many cases within their own experience, the truth of these characteristics.

It may perhaps be objected that some West India merchants

these facts from the first authority; and knew previously so much of his history and circumstances, that I can confidently assert he never possessed an actual capital equal to a fiftieth part of that debt.

The vast sums that are lost by failures in this branch of trade, are lost, not by the planters, who are almost always on the safe side of the books, but generally by our manufacturers and private persons in this country, or by merchants who had no share in the profits, and did not mean therefore to take the risks; of West Indian commerce.

at least, have been very successful, and have long maintained their credit and apparent opulence, though largely connected with the planters, and themselves owners of sugar estates. True; and *their* example also is fatally influential in the same way: but point out to me one West India house of this description, raised within the last fifty years, and I will name in return six at least, who during the same period have either become bankrupts, or assigned their effects in trust for their unfortunate creditors. The successful few have been chiefly men who had long resided in the islands they trade with; and who have therefore been able to play the prudent game of selecting the best connexions, advancing money only to those planters who were safe for the time, and turning them over to eager novices in the same line of business as soon as their securities became precarious. Such men are able often to reap the large benefits of Colonial consignments and factorage, without any of those risks which counterpoise them; because the few prosperous planters who stand in no need of loans from their correspondents in England naturally select for their consignees the safest and longest established houses, in a trade of which they well know the perils. They are also not rarely appointed, for the same reason, receivers and testamentary trustees; and in that way profit largely even by the most embarrassed and sinking estates, obtaining all the benefits of their consignments, without risking any part of their capital.

Should any of my readers not be satisfied with these explanations, and with the strong testimonies I have cited as to the general case, of the planters, and the loss of commercial capital in their hands, let them read the Report of a Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to consider the Commercial State of the West India Colonies, printed by order of the House 24th July 1807, and all doubts I am sure will be removed. They will find there, by a mass of concurrent evidence collected from the most authoritative sources, that a return of ten per cent on the capital of sugar planters is necessary to give them a living profit, after defraying their annual expenses, ordinary and extraordinary; and yet that in



a long series of years, taking good and bad times together, they had not averaged one-third of that amount \*.

It is, I am aware, a difficult thing to dislodge that prejudice long resident in the public mind, which represents the West Indies as mines of national wealth, instead of what they really are,—gulfs for the perpetual absorption of national treasure and blood, without any adequate returns. Reason and truth in such cases gain but a tardy and doubtful victory over ancient prepossessions. Witness the invincible attachment of Spain to her South American mines, and monopolies, and oppressions, the still fancied sources of her wealth and power, while all but Spanish eyes, have long seen in them the true causes of her decadency, poverty, and ruin.

It seems to be one of the appointed scourges of guilt, with nations as well as individuals, that long indulged immoral habits pervert the judgement, and give such a wrong direction

\* The full and exact statistical and æconomical details of Mr. Bryan Edwards in his History of the West Indies, book 5, chap. 3, may also be referred to. He demonstrates from them that in Jamaica, by far the most fortunate and productive of our old colonies, the clear annual profit averaged by the planter, is but seven per cent on his capital, “without charging a shilling for making good the decrease of the Negroes, or for the wear and tear of the buildings, or making any allowance for dead capital, or for hurricanes, fires, or other losses, which sometimes,” he says, “destroy in a few hours the labour of years.” He supposes also the comparatively rare advantages of the planter’s residing on his estate, and acting with all possible prudence; and what is not more common, on his employing a capital entirely his own, instead of his being in bondage to his consignees, or to other creditors, where the legal interest is six per cent. He speaks of ordinary times; and his data as to prices &c. are taken from the experience of ten years, from 1781 to 1791. Taking his facts, and those of the Committee together, it is manifest that the most prudent Jamaica planters, during a period of near forty years, cannot have made on an average so much as four per cent, instead of the ten which is necessary to save them from loss: and yet they generally use a capital borrowed at six per cent; or if borrowed at five from their consignees, are subjected to disadvantages that make the loan still dearer, and are charged compound interest on all arrears. If such is the average case, what must it be with the less fortunate and less prudent majority? and how can it be doubted, or wondered at, that insolvency and ruin are the ordinary perennial lot of the planters at large?

to self-love, as to make them mistake even temporal evil for good, and cling to their darling offences after the baits held out by temptation have proved to be delusive and worthless.

The miser who began to hoard and to extort, from a too anxious dread perhaps of the evils of poverty, continues to do so when sinking into his grave under loads of wealth that he cannot use, and imposes on himself by extreme penuriousness the very sufferings he feared to incur. The voluptuary persists in his intemperance, when his impaired health and debilitated organs refuse even the dear-bought gratifications he once derived from it, and give him nausea and pain in their stead. Nations, in like manner, have often been excited by ambition or avarice, or the pride of freedom, to trample on the rights of others, and have fancied the bad course advantageous, long after too extensive usurpations, and protracted wars, have exhausted their resources, enfeebled their power, and plunged them in domestic slavery and wretchedness.

An explanation I conceive is to be found in the inveterate association of ideas between the objects of temptation, and the bad means by which they are pursued: as a horse is caught by the sieve, though you have ceased to place in it the corn which was his compensation for the bridle, so men and nations who have been accustomed to find, in violations of the moral law, real or imaginary good, are prone to persist in their course when the supposed advantages have ceased, and the sin has become, to every man's conviction but their own, a clearly gratuitous evil. There arises a strong prejudice in their minds on the immoral side, which experience can hardly correct. Some measures, and systems of measures, would be plainly seen to be weak, if their wickedness did not serve to raise a false presumption of their wisdom.

The conduct of the powers of Europe in the New World presents a strong confirmation of these views. We see it in the past and present Colonial measures of Spain. What has she gained by the cruel depopulation of Hayti, Mexico, and Peru? We see it at the present crisis, when, amidst her last convulsions as a colonizing power, she is fondly cherishing her Slave-trade at Cuba, only to increase there the approaching revolutionary harvest of her revolted subjects.

Portugal and Brazil illustrate in the same way the same sin-born perversion of judgement; though it is not yet quite so conspicuous to a careless observer. Nor is the conduct of France in deluging her Windward Islands with the Slave-trade, while ratifying the independence of St. Domingo, less impressive on every considerate mind. The infatuation of our own West Indian policy, is only not so plain to us, because we view it, under the influence which I have described, with selfish and partial eyes. We have abolished the Slave-trade; yet we still dream that the Slavery of our Sugar Colonies, though guilty and opprobrious, is gainful, while the well-attested experience of more than half a century has proved it directly the reverse.

In what way, let us next inquire, is the public compensated not only for the costly sacrifices I have noticed, but for all the waste of capital that is thus invested, and all the consequent heavy losses that fall upon British creditors, and on the public purse? Not certainly by the finding employment for our industrious poor; and relieving our parishes from the charge of maintaining a surplus population. If the poorer lands in this country are cultivated at a loss to the proprietors, and had therefore better in a national view be thrown out of tillage, as some œconomists contend, there is this answer at least to their arguments,—that many hands are employed on such lands, which would otherwise be idle, and whose subsistence would augment parochial burthens. But in the West Indies, we have no such compensation: not one hard-handed man from this country finds employment in the culture of the sugar-cane. We send them a few emigrants it is true; but not of the agricultural, or even of the servile class; the employment of both being superseded by predial and domestic Slavery: but while these Colonies alone, among all our distant possessions, relieve us from none of our paupers, they contribute largely to the increase of that burthensome class. Hundreds and thousands of widows and children are cast upon our parishes by the privation of husbands and fathers who perish in that fatal climate, while serving there in our fleets and armies to make Slave-holders and their families safe.

Is the compensation we are in quest of then to be found in

revenue? If we really derived from the pockets of our planters, as is absurdly pretended, the duties paid here on the importation of their produce, it would I admit amount to some, though a very inadequate compensatory benefit. But that idle pretence is scarcely worth refutation. It is too gross to deceive even the most inconsiderate mind. It would be precisely the same thing in principle to say that we are indebted to China for our duties on tea, or for our duties on tobacco to Virginia. Nay, in the former instance, the absurdity would be less glaring; because, if China did not supply us with tea, I know not where else we could obtain that specific subject of taxation; whereas South America, the East Indies, and even the foreign West India Islands, would supply us amply with sugar. Yet to such preposterous arguments are the Colonial writers driven in defence of their ruinous system, that they never fail to exhibit with exultation accounts of the imports of sugar, and the duties received thereon in this country, assuming them as incontestable items in their estimates of the value of our Colonies, and as benefits too derived from Slavery, which we must lose by its termination. It was by the very same fallacies, and others of a kindred nature, that they deterred us for twenty years from renouncing the execrable Slave-trade.

The great amount of tonnage employed in West Indian voyages, has always been another of their favourite topics. With the loss of this benefit also, the country has been menaced; as if it depended not on our will to buy the tropical produce that we want to import, in the East Indies, or in such other countries only as permit its shipment in British bottoms; or as if an East Indian were less than a West Indian freight, or a given freight would be less beneficial to the ship-owner, because the cargo was not raised by Slave labour under a British Colonial Government. With a like perversion of the plainest commercial principles, they take credit for the whole of our exports to the West Indies (without deducting even that large part of them which, though they passed through their free ports, were destined for Spanish America); and they threaten us with the loss of this branch of our trade also, if we disturb their interior system; as if the costly sovereignty of islands peopled with Slaves, were a necessary mean of obtain-

ing, for the best and cheapest manufactures in the world, a preference from their purchasers and consumers. The flourishing state of our trade with the North American States since they ceased to be British, with the openings now made for our direct trade to every part of the Southern continent, might well suffice to refute such idle alarms if they ever had any foundation.

Perhaps, however, we shall now hear of such alarms no more; because, if they are well founded, Mr. Huskisson must recall the boons he has recently conferred on the Colonies. We have no longer any other security for a preference in their navigation and trade, than the inherent energies of our manufacturing industry and commerce.

Where then, I repeat, is the value of these Colonies to be found? or rather, what is the indemnity for all that we sacrifice, and all that we annually lose by them? One negative benefit, it may perhaps be replied, we certainly have by their defence. A large capital has been invested in them; and this will be lost, it may be said, if we abolish Slavery. But what is the capital worth to us if we *do not*? There is many a stately mansion in the building of which a large capital was spent, which the owner nevertheless finds it his interest to abandon or take down, because no rent can be obtained for it equal to the perpetual expense of its conservation and repairs. A capital so invested as to produce nothing on an average but loss, is in effect already sunk. The property of a Poyais stockholder would not be more completely annihilated, if the stock receipts and books were burnt.

I grant, indeed, that the bubble of sugar-planting by Slave-labour, has not yet lost all its credit; and therefore one individual who holds a plantation, or a mortgage on it, may still find another individual willing to purchase. So might the subscribers to a gaming-house perhaps. As between the private buyer and seller, the thing, I admit, is worth what it will sell for. But the question here is of a public, not of an individual interest; and consequently of a real, not an imaginary value; for the public has no interest in the price of the transfer from one subject to another, but only in the fructification to the national benefit of the property itself, by whatever British sub-

jects it may be held. When the Colonists put it as an argument of public policy, that a large capital is at stake in our islands, they speak, if the argument has any relevancy, of a national, not a private interest, in its conservation; and this interest I have shown to be a negative quantity. If my premises, derived from their own testimony, are sound, they might as well contend that it is for the public benefit to maintain the establishment at Crockfords; nay much better; for though that establishment produces no national wealth, it is not maintained, as those colonial gaming-tables are, at a vast expense to the country.

And now let us examine more particularly the other side of this account. How much does the conservation of this profitless capital cost to the Parent State?

I regret much that there are no authoritative public documents to show the true amount of the public expenditure in West India services from the year 1792 to the present period; or even to exhibit a fair and full account of it for any portion of that time. I am aware, at least, of no such document; and it is a desideratum which I hope some parliamentary friend of the Slaves will endeavour soon to supply, by moving for the necessary returns.

In the Preface to my *Delineation of Slavery* I noticed the defect of information on this important subject, which obliged me there to offer a conjectural estimate, that our Sugar Colonies had cost us, during the last thirty years, a hundred and fifty millions of national debt. A zealous champion of those Colonies, whose services they have publicly extolled, and richly rewarded, finds fault with this conjecture of mine as a great exaggeration, and says, "it ought to be divided by five," an estimate which, like my own, being unsupported by any data, stands consequently like that, solely on the credit which his readers may give to the guesses of its author; but surely the people of England ought to have better means of judging whether a hundred-and-fifty millions, or thirty millions only, is the nearest approach to the amount of debt charged upon them for the maintenance of West India Slavery.

Till that is obtained, I shall adhere to my own estimate in opposition to Mr. Macqueen's; and for this reason among

others, that my own is at least a sincere one, while it is impossible for me to read that strange work of his, or any five consecutive pages of it, without perceiving that the only standard of truth or probability with him, is the interest of his employers. Even when the fullest and clearest parliamentary returns on the subject shall be obtained, his pen will be as loose as ever; for if he dislikes, but cannot hope to invalidate such evidence, he will not scruple to get rid of it by dislocation and mutilation of the text. Nay, he will rail in good set terms against any opponent who presumes to cite it fairly\*.

I have not myself had an opportunity of examining with care the printed Parliamentary documents, which contain ac-

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\* To justify such a stricture on this author, whose extraordinary work has been adopted and accredited to the public by plausible resolutions of some of the Assemblies, and munificent rewards to boot, I will for once make an exception to my rule of leaving unnoticed all the personalities and effusions of controversial spite to which my labours in 'this cause might subject me, except they should be such as I may be bound to put into the hands of my attorney: for it may serve as a useful caution to uninformed readers of publications in defence of Slavery; and lead them to pause and inquire carefully, not only on what these Colonial champions assert, but what they affect, and appear perhaps, to prove. Mr. Macqueen, in the few paragraphs which he is pleased to bestow on my View of Slavery, ventures thus to attack its general character and credit.—“*It exhibits a distortion of facts, and MUTILATION OF OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS, such as the public have again and again seen, and again and again condemned and reprobated, in the publications put forth from the same quarter, and for the same object. Upon opening the volume at page 212, the following extract upon the subject of religious establishments in the Colonies first caught my eye: viz. ‘THE GOVERNOR OF TRINIDAD EXPRESSES HIS CONCERN THAT THERE IS NO CHURCH, OR CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT IN THAT ISLAND.’ Parliamentary Papers of 1818, p. 212. Astonishment,*” he adds, “*and indignation filled my mind. I had in my possession at the moment a communication from Sir Ralph Woodford, the Governor of Trinidad, to Earl Bathurst upon the same subject, and extracted from the same Parliamentary Papers, 212 and 214: and let the extracts speak for themselves.*”—(Macqueen, page 398.)

And how does Mr. Macqueen let this Parliamentary evidence speak for itself, or rather for himself? Surely the “*astonishment and indignation*” which he professes to have felt will be no factitious feeling in the minds of my readers, when I show them that it is by resorting to the very fraud which he injuriously imputes, that of “*mutilating official documents;*” by suppressing those parts of Sir Ralph Woodford’s letter which clearly support

counts of the public expenditure in our Slave Colonies upon the present peace establishment : but I am assured by a friend, who has taken pains to explore and throw together such information on this subject as can be found in those documents, that the annual expense, civil and military, on the present peace establishment, (including with the bills drawn on the Treasury expressly for this branch of service, the value of the naval, military, and ordnance stores sent from Europe, the expenses of the transport service, and the pay of the navy and army employed there), considerably exceeds one million five hundred thousand pounds; which in the thirty years in-

my proposition, and dexterously putting together distant paragraphs in it relative to different subjects, in order by a false context to mislead his readers as to the sense of the proposition itself.

Sir Ralph Woodford in the letter referred to, being an answer to a circular letter from Earl Bathurst to the Colonial Governors, with inquiries respecting the state of the *Established Church* in each island, in respect of clergymen, tithes, or stipends, writes thus :

“ I communicated to the protestant minister such parts of your Lordship’s letter as related to him more particularly, and herewith inclose a copy of Mr. Clapham’s reply.

“ *In complying with the remaining instructions of your Lordship’s signification of His Royal Highness’s commands, it is my painful duty to observe that there are no establishments for the Clergy in this island.* ”

Here the reader sees my quotation fully justified ; not in substance merely, but in terms. How then, he may exclaim, does Mr. Macqueen contrive to cite this very document in support of his “astonishment, his indignation,” and his foul imputation of fraud ? *I answer, by the very simple and honest expedient of LEAVING OUT THE SECOND PARAGRAPH, WHICH I HAVE PRINTED WITH ITALICS, ALTOGETHER !!!*

But my *virtuously indignant* antagonist did not think even this quite enough. He wished to represent me as having quoted Sir R. Woodford not only for what he had not said, but for the very reverse of what he had actually said in that letter ; and to this end a more elaborate contrivance was wanted.

Sir Ralph, after this return to that which *was* the subject of inquiry in the circular of Earl Bathurst, viz. the state of *our Church establishment* in that government, proceeded in subsequent paragraphs to notice what was *not* the subject of it, and still less of my proposition, the state of the *Spanish Roman Catholic Clergy*, who had remained there from the time of the conquest.

Immediately after the paragraph so boldly suppressed, he writes thus ;

“ *When the Cedula of 1783 was issued, the King of Spain declared his in-*



cluded in my estimate, would amount to forty-five millions sterling, supposing them even all years of peace; whereas twenty-one of them, with the exception of the brief peace of Amiens, were times of war; and during several of them, our operations in the West Indies were of a very extensive and costly nature; and the expenditure was aggravated by frauds and peculations, afterwards discovered, to a vast amount. If we assign to those years of war, taking them together,

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*tention of giving a fit salary to the Priests, and exempted his new subjects from tythe, which until now has never been paid; and the Priests have continued on the same salary of 400 dollars, which sum will not enable any person to live decently in this country: it is the wages of the poorest Negro mechanic," &c.*

"Having found the Rev. Don Joaquim de Aristimano at the head of the Catholic Church, I have only to bear testimony to his labours and to his disinterestedness, as to those of the friar José de Ricla," &c. "I have personally," he adds, "taken every opportunity in my power to countenance and support their laudable endeavours, but the erection of churches and chapels is as indispensable as the better payment of the Clergy."

How could these paragraphs be made to consist, the reader may demand, with the imputations of falsehood and calumny, even if the want of a Catholic priesthood had been alleged; for if the priests have neither churches nor chapels, nor tithes, nor stipends, beyond the wages of the poorest Negro workman, their would have been, if not perfect accuracy, at least nothing slanderous, in saying that there were no establishments even for the Catholic Church! But Mr. Macqueen's way of making "*his extracts speak for themselves*" is a cure for every difficulty. *He has actually left out these passages also!! All the words that I have printed in italics are suppressed by him; while he gives the subsequent encomium on the Spanish Clergy, as if the subject had there commenced!!!*

He could not resist the temptation of extracting from the inclosed letter of the Rev. Mr. Clapham much that is said by that gentleman against the Methodist Missionaries; though there were passages in it which, like the suppressed paragraphs in the Governor's letter, went clearly to confirm my statement; for Mr. Clapham complains of the want of *any church* in the Island since 1808, when the single one it possessed was burnt down, and ascribes to that defect his want of success among the Slaves. "*For some little time after the calamity of the fire,*" he says, "*I had no place for public worship; and the service of the church has since been removed to six different rooms, none of which could be rendered sufficiently commodious for the purpose.*" But this "indignant imputer of mutilations" suppresses these passages also!!

Having thus honestly made his "*extracts speak for themselves,*" he proceeds thus to triumph in the fancied success of his imposture.

"*Mr. Stephen may call his conduct in this instance DEALING FAIRLY*

only twice the amount of the present peace establishment, we shall have the further sum of thirty-one millions and a half, making, with the forty-five, seventy-six and a half millions of sterling money. But the reader will recollect that the estimate I made was a hundred and fifty millions of *public debt*, and that a large part of the money expended during the most expensive period of the war in the West Indies was borrowed when our funds were at the lowest points of depression.

There are also many very serious subjects of expense,

*WITH THE PUBLIC: to me it appears to be conduct such as was never before pursued by any one, to injure one country, or to mislead another. When the reader is informed that the volume in question is made up of similar MUTILATIONS AND MISREPRESENTATIONS, he will probably think he has heard enough of it."* And so he dismisses my work.

As the extremity of this assurance may inspire a doubt whether my exposition of it is quite correct, I hope any of my readers who are in possession of my antagonist's work and mine, and of the parliamentary document we both refer to, will take the trouble of collating them; viz. my *Delineation of Slavery*, p. 212, Macqueen's *West India Colonies*, 397 to 399, and the papers on Slavery printed by order of the House of Commons of the 10th June 1818, p. 211; and if I am found to do this writer any injustice let me be condemned as unworthy of any future confidence or credit.

After all, what is the gist of the imputation? Why, that I had untruly and calumniously represented the Colonies as neglectful of religious establishments. Now in the very part and page of my work that is the subject of the charge, I had stated as strongly in the same brief way the want of them in other Colonies acquired at or since the peace of 1763; and yet this champion of them all passes their cases unnoticed, selecting for the sole subject of his *candid* refutation, the single case of Trinidad, i.e. of a Colony where the Crown has retained the whole legislative power, and consequently is alone chargeable with the neglect. In fact, my purpose, as the reader who refers to the work will see, was to arraign, not the Assemblies, but rather the Ministry of the mother country in modern times, for having been less attentive to the interests of religion in the establishments of the new Colonies, than their predecessors had been in the old.

I ought however to have done them the justice to say that in this case of Trinidad, they had obtained many years ago a very large grant from Parliament for building a church or churches in that island. I think it was no less than 50,000*l.*; but the application of it was left to the Colonial authorities; and it appears from the mutilated letter of the Rev. Mr. Chapman that not a single church had been built. I hope when Mr. Macqueen next writes he will explain this awkward fact.

which, though fairly chargeable in this account with the Colonies, are not to be distinguished as Colonial expenditure in the public accounts my friend has examined.

Among them is that lamentable item, the great expense of restoring to our army and navy the multitudes of well-disciplined troops, and able seamen and marines, which perish in that fatal climate.

To treat this indeed as a mere economical consideration would be to wrong the feelings of my readers. It forms a pre-eminent substantive objection to that odious and impolitic system from which the necessity of sacrificing ingloriously and cruelly so many brave men, in peace as well as war, arises.

Here we have another desideratum that ought to be supplied by parliamentary investigation, viz. the number of British soldiers and seamen that have fallen victims to disease in West Indian service within the same period of thirty years; a true account of which would be impressive and appalling. If I mistake not, such an account as to the army was once moved for, and refused on the plea that it would dishearten the troops ordered on that dreadful service.

In the same paragraph of my late work, in which I gave as a conjectural estimate that the Sugar Colonies had cost us during the last thirty years at least a hundred and fifty millions in national debt incurred, I added, "and *fifty thousand lives*;" and Mr. Macqueen, I observe, while he represents the former as excessive by four fifths, finds no fault with the latter; but contents himself with saying, "that we may thank for the loss of lives in the Colonies my great predecessors in Negro emancipation, the Goddess of reason, liberty, and equality;" meaning, I presume, that French revolutionary principles produced the insurrection in St. Domingo; and that our vain attempt to suppress it and restore the cart-whip by British armies, was a proper and necessary consequence. He tacitly admits, then, my estimate of this dreadful loss; and admits also that it was incurred in the cause of Negro Slavery; a fact too notorious indeed to be disputed.

Now the far greater part of this shocking mortality fell upon troops raised during our first arduous war with the French republic, when it was a current and I believe mode-

rate computation that every effective soldier landed in the West Indies had cost the country in recruiting and bounty-money, training, and transport charges, and other incidental expenses, at least a hundred pounds sterling. Here then is an expense of five millions sterling, borrowed chiefly at times when our Stocks had sunk to their lowest depression; exclusive of all the charges after the arrival of the troops in that fatal field till they perished in loathsome hospitals.

Let this be added to the seventy-six and a half millions, and the amount will be eighty-one millions and a half in money, which, having regard to the terms it was raised upon, will go far, I apprehend, to support my general estimate, independently of the loss of seamen and marines, and all other subjects of unaccounted and incidental charge. The reader at least will find no difficulty in judging whether my proposition or that of my antagonist has the best title to his confidence.

My estimate of the numbers lost, however (avowedly, like the other, a mere guess, in the regretted absence of authentic information), was, I now believe, much too low; and it was therefore, no doubt, that my opponent left it unquestioned. It amounts only to about 1660 per annum, which is probably less than the average loss in the Sugar Colonies collectively, even on a peace establishment; and when the enormous destruction by disease of the large military and naval forces employed under Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jarvis, at the Windward Islands in 1793, and under General Abercromby and other commanders in succeeding years (all periods of a frightful mortality), are taken into the account, with the far greater and long continued waste of life in St. Domingo, it will appear not unlikely that my estimate for thirty years, including the two last wars, was less by many thousands than the truth. What the whole number of troops embarked for West Indian service in Great Britain and Ireland was from the time of the first rupture with the French Republic to the end of the last war, and how many of them returned, are facts of which the public ought to be officially informed.

The greatest embarkations by far were during the first three years of that period, from 1793 to 1796 both included; and I am not aware of any authority to which I can refer for their amount.

From that time to the Peace of Amiens, we had very few military operations in the West Indies; our contests with the French at the Windward Islands having ceased, and our ardour for conquest and counter-revolution in St. Domingo having been so well cooled by failure, calamity, and death, that we no longer aimed at more than the defence of the few positions there which we had fatally taken and retained. The official account of British troops actually mustered in the West Indies from April 1796 to 1802, which I shall presently cite, and of the mortality by disease among them, will, in respect of actual loss, show but a small amount when we shall be enabled to compare it with that of the three preceding years. The proportion, however, to the number of troops actually employed, will enable us in some measure to guess at that of the former period. The account I refer to is given by the late Sir William Young in his "West India Common Place Book," p. 218, being a collection of papers officially presented to Parliament while he sat in the House of Commons; and the document, I presume, was furnished by Government, to justify or recommend the employment of Black troops, to which during that period it had in some degree resorted; for the object of the paper was to show the comparative mortality among them, and the British soldiers respectively, in each of the seven years comprised in it.

The general result of this official account is, that the average loss by death in our European corps, exclusive of losses in action, during less than seven years, was no less than *twenty-one and a half per cent per annum*, while in the Black corps it was only five and three-quarters per cent. But this average, frightful though it is, appears by the same paper to give a very inadequate idea of the destruction made by disease among troops newly arrived from Europe, and the consequent mortality of preceding years, when our grand expeditions took place; for in the first year (1796), computing from April, when we mustered in the West Indies 19,676 European soldiers, we lost by sickness no less than 6484, *being forty and a half per cent*, calculated on the medium of the monthly returns, in twelve months, while the Black troops lost only three per cent; and by a more particular examination of the account itself, which I will print in an appendix, it will be found that the annual

loss was always in the greatest ratio when the numbers mustered were increased from those of the preceding year, which of course must have been by new arrivals from Europe.

I find little difficulty, therefore, in giving credit to the following statement of a cotemporary historian :—"From the month of October 1793, when they (the British troops) first landed in St. Domingo, to the month of *March following*, the loss in the several engagements, or rather skirmishes, did not exceed 100; but the victims of disease were upwards of 6000, including 180 officers."\* Or even this still more appalling statement on the same authority :—"The annual mortality was at least equal to the annual importation; in other words, the deaths were always equal to the arrivals."†

If we adopt the statement of a loss of 6000 in five months, and suppose it a fair proportion of the mortality during that fatal period of our war in St. Domingo which is not included in the parliamentary account, we shall have a loss in that island alone of no less than thirty-six thousand lives; and, if we add 17,173, the subsequent loss in West India service, comprised in that account to 1802, the total would be no less than 53,173 by disease alone, without including any part of the loss in Jamaica, and the Windward Islands, prior to April 1796, the amount of which was notoriously very great indeed; not less, I am persuaded, than 8000 men. To the whole is to be added the loss from 1802 to the present period or to 1823, to which my former estimate extended; and if we reduce the annual loss in those twenty-one years to 990 per annum, the last annual loss comprised in the parliamentary return, we shall have a further amount of 20,790, making in all 81,963. Should this estimate of the unaccounted loss in St. Domingo be thought excessive, let it be observed, on the other hand, that the returns I have cited contain only the loss by disease in our regular infantry regiments. The artillery, ordnance, and other descriptions of forces are not included, nor any part of the heavy losses among our seamen and marines, nor losses in action in either branch of service.

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\* New Annual Register for 1796.

† Ibid.

These dreadful effects of the climate were by no means peculiar to those wars of ours, which may justly be called wars against Negro freedom. West India service was always terribly destructive to our army and navy, though that pre-eminently fatal disease, the yellow fever, began to scourge us when we first fought against the liberty of the Negroes, and was an ally to their cause critically and decisively important. Nor have our devoted soldiers and seamen ceased to feel the scourge of that baneful climate since they ceased to have any other employment in it than that of guarding the masters in our Colonies in time of peace from the apprehended insurrections of their slaves. In 1819 two regiments (I think one of them was the 15th) went to Jamaica, said to contain together nearly or quite 1600 men. In two months after their arrival they had lost 600. My informant was a major in the army, a friend on whose veracity I could quite rely, and who had just received the account in a letter from his brother in that island, which brought down the sad progress of mortality to the month of September or October. I afterwards had a general confirmation of it from other channels, with the addition that the loss had been extended to about 800 within the same year.

I could quote much information to the like effect from other islands, and at various periods; but unless our periodical prints could be supposed to conspire together to invent facts of this kind, and forge letters from the West Indies to confirm them, no reader of the London newspapers can well doubt the general truth that I wish here to establish.\*

\*I will subjoin a few extracts from many of the same tendency in newspapers that I have preserved.

NEW TIMES, July 19, 1820.

*Extract of a letter from Portsmouth, July 17.*

"This morning arrived the Iphygenia of 66 guns from Jamaica. Since her absence from England she has lost 85 men, including the master, lieutenant of marines, and six midshipmen."

MORNING CHRONICLE, November 10, 1820.

*Extract of a letter from Tobago.*

"After mentioning an alarm from an apprehended insurrection, the writer

This most lamentable of all the evils entailed on us by our Sugar Colonies (the guilt and shame of maintaining their interior system excepted) is pre-eminently, I repeat, chargeable on that system, and on their bigoted adherence to it; because it is their consequent imbecility, together with their aversion to Black corps, the only troops fit for the climate, that alone make it necessary to maintain European garrisons for their defence; though that new scourge from Heaven, the yellow fever, most remarkably and universally spares the African race, while British soldiers and seamen are its chosen victims. The destroying angel made not a more entire and accurate distinction between the enslaved Israelites and their Egyptian masters.

It might have been hoped and expected that the Colonists, before whose eyes this striking peculiarity of the new disease and its dreadful ravages among their brave defenders had been

says, 'From the great loss of troops by the late fever our garrison was reduced from nearly 200 to 30 men.'"

NEW TIMES, January 19, 1822.

"Letters and papers have been received from the island of Dominica dated November 9. They contain the melancholy tidings of a dreadful fever, that in a few days cut off three officers, one sergeant, two corporals, and fifty-six privates, of His Majesty's 5th regiment of foot, out of 137 who landed there the month preceding. Only Colonel Emes, Captain Thysh, Ensign Wyatt, and eleven privates were free from the attack, all the rest being either dead or in the hospital."

TIMES, November 7, 1825.

"We have received letters from Jamaica, which we regret to state describe the visitation of that destructive disease the fever of that country, as being more fatal among the troops, and the crews of the ships, than it was in several preceding seasons. The following are extracts. 'The squadron has suffered much, particularly the Lively and Pylades; and the troops in consequence of their losses, particularly in Spanish Town, are to change their quarters. During the last eight months one regiment out of five (in numbers) have fallen victims to this destructive malady. The officers have fallen, out of all proportion: the 77th regiment on being embarked from Stoney Hill barracks for the north side of the island, had only one officer able to accompany them. Colonel Thornton, governor of Fort Charles, Port Royal, died on the 2nd instant, making the third victim who held that appointment in nineteen months. He had been only five weeks and three days on the island.'"



long exhibited, would from pity, if not from policy, have been disposed to relax their proud and jealous prejudices, so far as to favour the experiment of substituting in some degree Blacks for European soldiers. But in this, as in all other cases, their antipathy and contempt towards the African race were proof against the loudest pleadings of humanity. I might add, against the plainest suggestions of prudence also; if they had not been taught by experience to believe that there was no sacrifice, however dreadful and however needless, that they might not extort from the Mother Country, in compliance with their darling maxims, when stoutly maintained. They therefore persisted in opposing the resort to a soldiery exempt from that direful plague, till Government, impelled by the extremity of the case, overruled their opposition, and found, as it would do by firmness in the present controversy, that there is no difficulty and no danger in Colonial improvements, except when it drops the reins, and makes impotency contumacious, by proposing and entreating, where it ought to act and to command.

At a time when, from the dreadful ravages of the yellow fever, a British soldier's life among them was not worth six months' purchase, the Colonists inexorably objected to the expedient of raising corps of Black troops, by purchase in the different islands, to assist our sickly regiments in the more laborious duties of their defence. On an application by General Abercromby to the Assembly of Barbadoes, to which he first addressed himself for its concurrence in that plan, it gave him a positive refusal, and passed a resolution, moved in a committee of the whole House by its Speaker, declaring "that the measure would be more likely to prove destructive than advantageous to the defence of the island." If I mistake not, a like repulse was given by every Assembly to which the proposition was then made. Happily their aid, or their consent, was not necessary; for there was no law to prevent His Majesty from recruiting his army in that way if he pleased. Individual masters, therefore, were tempted by high prices to sell their slaves; and though those whom they commonly chose to part with were of course not the best and most orderly of their class, yet the Black corps thus raised (evasively

and unfairly called "the West India Regiments,") acted in both the wars in a way that did them honour as soldiers; and their services in "fatigue parties," as they were termed, saved perhaps more than ten times the number of our European troops. In no respect did their conduct afford any countenance to the fears, or rather the contemptuous prejudices, of the privileged class. Every plausible ground of objection, therefore, to this wise and happy expedient was removed. Nevertheless, Colonial influence finally prevailed so far as to obtain the reduction of these invaluable corps at the peace, and the cruel transportation of many, or most of them, to distant parts of the world. The dreadful waste to which the British army is subjected, to maintain the wretched interior system of the Sugar Colonies, is thus needlessly and wantonly enhanced, by our complaisance for the vain terrors and stubborn prejudices to which that system gives rise in the breasts of its administrators.

Whatever the feelings of the White Colonists may be on this painful subject, you, my countrymen, I am sure, will agree with me that such a perpetual drain of our bravest blood is a great public calamity; and one that strongly reinforces our other obligations to correct the grand moral evil of Slavery, from which alone it proceeds. Should we soon be called upon for great military exertions nearer home (and who that looks to the state of Ireland can deny the possibility of such an event?) during the present vastly increased extent of our distant possessions, we shall perhaps regret too late the waste of West India service. That waste indeed is not the only evil. The cruel hardships imposed on the officers and soldiers and their families, must tend in no small degree to check the honourable zeal by which our army is recruited or enlarged. To be sent on a forlorn hope or storming party, is a destination not so dangerous; and the danger is compensated by glory: but the brave men who are sent in times of peace to the West Indies, have no laurels to gain, or booty to expect. They have to use their arms, if at all, against a crowd of poor unarmed wretches, in an odious cause; and though almost sure, with few exceptions, to perish, it is not in the arms of victory, or on the turf of a well-fought field, but on the pallet

of enervating disease, or amidst the horrors of an hospital or a pest-house. For my part, who have intimately known their hapless lot, I never hear of regiments embarking for the West Indies, without sensations of sympathy as powerful as if I were sure the brave unfortunates would all perish by shipwreck on the voyage.

And here, my countrymen, let me press my appeal to those humane feelings by which you are most distinguished. The Colonists, by delusive representations and partial views, attempt to disarm them; or even to enlist them in their own bad cause. They invoke your compassion for their distress as planters, and for the total ruin with which they assert themselves to be menaced; though no thinking man among you who impartially weighs the admitted facts I have cited, can doubt that the reformation, not the support, of their pernicious system, alone can effectually help or save them. But were it otherwise, what benevolent mind could be reconciled to the support of that system, at such a terrible expense of the lives of our brave soldiers and seamen, as that by which alone, as we have seen, it is or can be maintained? They reason, in respect of the poor unpitied Africans, as if property were all, and the bodily sufferings and premature deaths of the much-oppressed Black labourers of no account. But could you adopt the same partial views, and eject from the pale of your humanity all who are not of your own complexion and lineage, still how can they hope to reconcile you to the cruel destruction of such multitudes of your European fellow-subjects as are annually doomed to perish in their hospitals, merely to save them from the dreaded consequences of extreme injustice and oppression? They alarm your feelings with affected apprehensions of danger to their own lives, and those of their wives and children, from the effects of parliamentary interposition on behalf of the Slaves; as if misery and despair were less likely to urge men into insurrection, than a mitigation of bondage, and a hope of future freedom. It is in vain that experience has universally attested the contrary, by showing that enfranchisement, when introduced by the arm of the law, has every where been safe, and disastrous only when obtained by insurgent violence. You are nevertheless desired to believe that

all the White inhabitants of our Sugar Colonies will be exterminated by the Blacks if you remove or relax their chains. But were we to meet them even on these extravagant premises, humanity would still have a larger interest on the side of justice than against it. From the facts that I have stated, it may be shown that our apprehensions for the safety of Jamaica probably cost us more British lives in a few years, during our late wars, than the entire amount of its whole White population, which its historian, Mr. Edwards, stated to be no more than 30,000; and it may with equal or great probability be affirmed, that during the last thirty-two years, one British soldier or seamen at the least, in the prime of life, has fallen a victim to the deathful service of the West Indies, for every White man, woman, and child that all our Sugar Colonies collectively contain. Their entire number, including the Colonies recently acquired, is but 67,055 by the last official returns, and the estimates of their advocates\*; and I have given reasons for believing that if like evidence could be procured of all the losses in our army and navy from West India service, the total amount since 1792 would be found at least equally, if not more than equally, large.

If it be said, in extenuation, that during this period our islands were exposed to unprecedented dangers, in consequence of the revolution in St. Domingo, and therefore required more than ordinary efforts, as well offensive as defensive, for their protection; I reply, let any reflecting reader consider the present attitude of Negro freedom in Hayti, and on the South American continent, with the known situation of Cuba; and then hope, if he can, that the next term of two-and-thirty years, compared with the last, will demand from us less numerous sacrifices of our brave troops and seamen for the security of our Slave-peopled Colonies. In one of the late manifestoes of the Assemblies, we are told that if we reform their Slavery as proposed by Government, it will require a hundred thousand British troops to defend our West India possessions; but the proposition might have been more justly reversed. It would cost us perhaps a hundred thousand men to with-

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\* Mr. Macqueen makes it 75,133; but 8078 is his estimate for the Mauritius, which is not included in any of these remarks.

hold that reformation; and the end, after all, would not be attained. Parliament would probably indeed be spared the trouble of abolishing Slavery; for after the most lavish waste of life and treasure that the country could afford to prevent it, the Slaves, aided probably by their enfranchised foreign brethren, would be their own deliverers.

Let the Colonists palliate these alarming views; and let it even be supposed if they will, that after all the late extension of our Sugar Colonies, and the portentous revolutions in their vicinage, we may possibly still sustain their wretched system in its present rigour by such garrisons as we now maintain there; and further, that no war will occur to augment the difficulty for a period of twenty years to come:—yet, unless they can change the physical effects of their climate, at least from thirty to forty thousand of their unfortunate defenders would be consigned within that period to untimely and inglorious graves. And when are such cruel sacrifices to end? On *their* views and principles, twenty, fifty, or even a hundred years, would leave the case, at best, as it now stands; for they do not disguise their claim of right to make Slavery perpetual. They exclaim loudly against the idea of providing for the freedom of infants yet unborn; and all their protests against the invasion of what they call a right of property (a property not only in existing but future generations) will remain to the full as valid at any given period, however distant, as they can be supposed to be at the present moment. Nor can any state of the world be imagined in which the work of melioration and progressive enfranchisement can be more safely attempted than now. Let them then deal frankly with us; and plainly declare, that whereas we have already in the present generation redeemed them from wilful, if not chimerical, dangers, by paying to save their property more than it would fairly sell for, and for their persons at least life for life, they expect us in every succeeding generation to renew that fearful price.

I have now examined both sides of the account between the Mother Country and the Sugar Colonies. I have shown that every supposable consideration of benefits received from them, that may be thought to justify or explain the extreme forbearance of Parliament at the expense of national dignity

and national duty, and the lavish sacrifices with which their contumacy has been rewarded, is unfounded in reason and truth. I have shown, on the other hand, that they are enormous insatiable drains on the treasure and the blood of the Mother Country; and what is far the worst of all, their present conduct and pretensions, if acquiesced in, must place us under the most ignominious and intolerable yoke that ever was imposed on the neck of any nation; by obliging us to be the abettors and sanguinary instruments of a system, the injustice and cruelty of which we have recognised, and which they deny our right to control. The *imperium in imperio* for which they contend is to cast upon this great country all that is burthensome, all that is harsh and odious in sovereignty, with an incapacity for all its moral duties, and a privation of all its beneficent rights. It is in effect to reduce us to the condition of their own drivers, except that we are implicitly to enforce their despotic behests, not with the cart-whip, but the sword. In other words, we are to be reduced to the situation defined by the title to this work—we are to be the SLAVES OF OUR OWN SLAVE-COLONIES.

From this degrading yoke, and from all the guilt attached to it, as well as the grievous public evils which we have been considering, it is my object to redeem you, by the only possible means; the calling forth, not in opposition to, but in aid of, the Government, your own zealous, determined, and persevering exertions.

At a late meeting in the county of Norfolk, convened for the purpose of petitioning Parliament on this great subject, the unanimity that ultimately prevailed, was for a while suspended; by the opposition of an honourable member, who, though he is a sincere and intelligent friend of the cause, entertained an apprehension that the proposed measure would be a virtual censure of the Government, and imply a suspicion of the sincerity of Ministers in the pledge they had given to us by the Resolutions of May 1823.

Though I have not the honour of any private acquaintance with that gentleman, I doubt not he will give me credit for the assertion, that in desiring to promote such meetings and a strong expression of the popular voice throughout the coun-

try, I am not actuated by any spirit hostile to the Administration: but the present is a case in which, to my firm conviction, the solicitations, and even the importunity, of the people at large, is necessary to enable Ministers to act up to their own professions and desires. This is no question, let us always remember, between Government and Opposition; nor could I be reasonably suspected of partiality to the latter if it were. I scruple not, indeed, to confess that our cause is, in my eyes, of such paramount importance, not only in a moral and religious, but in a political view, that if the party to which from personal predilections, as well as general political opinions, I was attached while in public life, were found more wanting in its duty in what related to Colonial Slavery than the party generally opposed to it, I should probably become an oppositionist, and a warm one. But though I certainly did see much to lament and condemn in the conduct of Ministers, in refusing their support to the bill for the registration of Slaves, and therefore felt it a painful duty to put an end to my parliamentary connexion with them, I have found nothing in the conduct of the Opposition, *as a body*, either in that instance, or during any stage of the subsequent controversies on these subjects, that entitles it to greater attachment or confidence from the friends of Colonial reform, than the party still in power. Nay, I must in justice go further, and avow that I think the Opposition in this respect more culpable than the Ministry; because if its conduct had not, from complaisance to some of its leading members connected with the Colonies, been very different from what might have been expected from Whigs, and friends of Mr. Fox, amounting, at best, to a chilling neutrality, the Government would have been better able to withstand and control that third party, powerful in its numbers and union, by which all effectual measures of Colonial reformation are sure to be perseveringly opposed.

Whether those are right who hold that a systematic opposition in Parliament on a principle of party attachment, is productive of more good than evil, I will not here inquire. But of this I am certain, that when powerful particular interests are opposed to public duty and public good, the neutrality of one of the two great contending parties, like the para-

lysis of an antagonist muscle, prevents a natural and healthful action on the opposite side; and that the distortion therefore may appear on the right hand, when the morbid cause is on the left.

In such cases however, difficult though they are, there is one possible remedy; and it is that of which, as a friend, not an enemy of the Government, and to strengthen, not to weaken its hands, I would earnestly recommend the adoption.

My countrymen, our Constitution is a most happy one, for which we all owe much gratitude to Heaven; and I am not one of those who think it can be safely and beneficially altered. But a most essential part of it is the influence of the popular voice; and never is that influence more proper or necessary than when potent particular interests are banded in Parliament, and on both sides of the two Houses, against the rights, the interests, and the duties of the public at large. The present I maintain is a case of that kind; and as urgent a one as ever called for popular interposition.

Few, I believe, but those who sit in Parliament, or who have anxiously watched over the interests of the oppressed African race, are fully aware of the formidable extent of that influence with which we have to contend. In a Jamaica newspaper, published since the present controversy commenced, much surprise and discontent was expressed at the inaction of the Colonial interest in the House of Commons; where it was asserted confidently, and I doubt not from good information, that the Sugar Colonies had "two hundred sure votes." Whether the computation was accurate I do not pretend to determine; but well-informed members of the House have assured me that there are at least ninety-six, whom they know to be either proprietors of those Colonies, or so intimately connected with them, commercially and otherwise, that their votes cannot, without private sacrifices which few men have the resolution to make, be severed from the cause of the planters. If so, it is highly probable that the Jamaica computation is not beyond the truth; for what with the personal influence that so many members must naturally have with other gentlemen sitting in the same assembly, and the widespread connexions of Colonial proprietors with the land-



holders and merchants of this country, by means of which many members may of course be influenced, it may be reasonably computed that at least twice the number of those who are known to be bound to the West Indian cause, are directly or indirectly, by particular interests, or personal feelings, attached to it.

The agent of Barbadoes, himself a respectable English landholder, boasted not long since at a public meeting of the West India planters and merchants, that they were extensively connected as individuals with the landed property of England; and it was an assertion too well founded in truth. He might have added that they comprised in their own body, many members of the Upper House of Parliament, several proprietors of boroughs, some men high in office, and others possessing the confidence and attachment of the most powerful men in the state.

It is not however by numbers only that the power of a party is to be estimated. The degree of zeal and of steadfastness with which the different members are attached to the common union, is of far greater importance than their numerical force. And it is here that the Colonial party in Parliament is truly formidable. It is a phalanx, which by its close and impenetrable union, its ardour, and its discipline, might bid defiance to a far more numerous host.

Men of experience in Parliament well know how to estimate the vast advantage of these qualities. It is a maxim among them, that a small part of the general representation, acting with determined concert and perseverance, would be capable of soon or late giving law to the House; except on questions to carry which the Government was obliged, in support of its own existence, to put forth all its force steadily against them. Where the two great conflicting parties are in contest, the case of course is different: full houses are convened, and effort on the one side is counterpoised by equal effort on the other. But when neither Government nor Opposition takes an active part as such, a particular party, firmly united by the private interest of its members, is sure, soon or late, to triumph; though if the entire representation were to be polled, it would be left, perhaps, in a small minority.

This is especially the case, I lament to say, in open questions, as they are called, of a moral kind, where there are particular interests on the one side, and a sense of conscientious obligation only on the other. Witness the twenty years of fruitless effort to abolish the now universally reprobated Slave-trade. That gross-national iniquity might have been adhered to till this hour, if Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, when they came into power, had not substituted, for the shameful neutrality of the Government, its determined support of the abolition. The present controversy turns on the same principles, and between the same parties. It is in a moral view nearly the same question; and the Government has strong temptations to act the same part with Lord Grenville's and Mr. Fox's predecessors, if not even actively to oppose the only effectual means of reform, parliamentary legislation.

Never was a particular faction more united, more zealous, and indefatigable than the Colonial party on this occasion. They concurred it is true, and with tacit unanimity, in Mr. Canning's resolutions; but so they did in Mr. Ellis's of 1797. They have no objection to refer any thing to the Assemblies. Even the Slave registration, though they stoutly and too effectually opposed Mr. Wilberforce's bill for it, they readily agreed should be recommended to those bodies, who first violently exclaimed against the plan, and afterwards took care effectually to defeat it by its ostensible but evasive adoption. But whenever any motion has been brought forward tending to induce Parliament to take the work of reformation into its own hands, the West Indian phalanx has always been fully arrayed and drawn into action, not merely to oppose the proposition, but to clamour down discussion.

Let me not be understood as imputing generally to these gentlemen a disinclination to all the beneficent measures which they apparently acquiesced in, and which some of them expressly approved. I believe that there are among them many who would be glad if they could induce the Assemblies to adopt effectually the principles and the practical means recommended by His Majesty's government; but in opposing the exercise of parliamentary authority, they are nearly una-

nimous; and the sincerity of their intentions can be of no avail to the unfortunate Slaves, while they resist pertinaciously the only means by which any thing really beneficial to them can possibly be accomplished.

There are indeed a few, a *very few* gentlemen, connected with the West Indies, who act a better part. I am far from overlooking the honourable distinction that is due to them, though to mention their names here might be inconvenient, or not grateful to themselves. But they do not belong to the banded party which the West India Committee directs; and therefore are not properly within the scope of these remarks.

I know well, my countrymen, that very many of you have expressed surprise and discontent, that after the intractable and contumacious spirit which the Assemblies had indulged during two years, no coercive measures were brought forward in the last sessions by the members who are still faithful to our cause in the House of Commons; and that no discussions even, except on incidental subjects, took place. We are continually assailed with inquiries and complaints from our friends on that account. They say, and truly say, that defeat is better than inaction; and that parliamentary discussions, at least, should frequently take place, as the best means of awakening, or keeping alive, the public attention to the irresistible merits of our cause. I hope and believe that our Parliamentary friends will act hereafter on that principle; and I congratulate you that one of the most faithful and the most powerful of them, Mr. BROUGHAM, has pledged himself to bring in a Bill for carrying the Resolutions of May 1823 into effect, at the opening of the next session.

But let me, in justice to our friends, show you the extraordinary difficulties and discouragements under which they labour, and from which the loud expression of your voice can alone relieve them. It does not suit the views of our opponents that their case should be discussed at all. They are conscious that neither the situation of the Slaves, nor the conduct of the Assemblies, will bear examination. They therefore gravely pretend that it is very dangerous to discuss in Parliament topics so interesting to the Slaves, lest they should

hear from our newspapers forsooth, what every Gazette of every Colony tells them freely, and in the most inflammatory manner, every week. The remote echo it seems is tremendous, though the direct voice may be heard through a speaking-trumpet without alarm. Noise and violence are their weapons in that country; but here *Hush* is their watchword; and every gentleman who presumes to stir these subjects in the House of Commons is usually treated, by crowded West India benches, with rude clamours, such as make it very difficult for him to be heard, and more difficult still for a man of sensibility to maintain the course of his arguments, and do justice to his subject; while his antagonists, on the other hand, though speaking avowedly for what they deem their own particular interests, are cheered loudly, and heard patiently through the longest speech.

You regret, I know, Mr. Wilberforce's retirement; and some of you perhaps may blame it. For my part, I confess that I was one of the friends who advised the measure; but I would not have done so, notwithstanding the alarming decline of his health and strength, if his voice, on the only subjects worth the pain and hazard of its exertion, could have been fairly heard. Even against *him*, amiable and venerable as he is, these Colonial tactics were sometimes employed so effectually, that, enfeebled as his once sonorous and still musical voice has long been by age and infirmities, he might almost as well have uttered it *in vacuo* as in the House of Commons. Some West India members have been noticed making disorderly noises at the bar, purposely to drown and perplex him, such as the Speaker's interposition could not easily or effectually suppress.

If such a man, so pre-eminently entitled to a patient hearing on these subjects, and to the general respect of a Senate which his virtues and talents had adorned for more than forty years, could not obtain attention, our remaining friends there, you will believe, must have a very unpleasant and difficult duty to perform. The great misfortune here, and the great calamity of our cause in general, is that our enemies are numerous enough and powerful enough, on both sides of the house, to prevent our having favour or protection from either.

Such, my countrymen, is our position among your Representatives in Parliament. Yet I wish it were only there that Colonial influence prevails. It is felt even in the Cabinet; it is potent in every department of the state; and no inconsiderable part of the aristocracy of the country is, by property or family connexion, placed under its guidance or control. As to the commercial body, a great part of it, in the principal seats of foreign commerce, London, Liverpool, Bristol, and Glasgow, is, directly or indirectly, chained by private interest to the Colonial cause. Thousands who are not themselves engaged in West India trade, are much connected in business with those who are; and derive from them profitable employment, which might be lost if they were to give offence by openly acting with us, or even by refusing to lend themselves, on certain occasions, to extend the ranks of our opponents. In other political controversies, gentlemen are commonly shy of interfering privately with the conduct or opinions of others; especially when they have the known bias of self-interest to direct their own; but the Colonists, and their connexions among us, rarely in the present case show any such scruples. They are as active and assiduous to make proselytes, as any zealot for a particular creed, and as intolerant also of opposition to their tenets; and instead of disguising, they generally bring forward as a persuasive topic, their own private interests in the question. "I shall be ruined or impoverished by these measures if adopted," is a common argument among them; and it naturally tends, if not to convince, at least to silence, those who are not enough attached to our cause to expose themselves to enmity or ill-will by supporting it. With public men especially, these and other means of influence are unsparingly employed. The case, in short, is the same in England, that it was in France in relation to St. Domingo, and that it still is there in regard to the Slave-trade: the Colonists are too powerful in the Mother Country, and too active by their solicitations and intrigues in private, as well as by their public clamours, to let the claims of justice and humanity, or the interests of the empire at large, have their fair and natural weight.

Under such circumstances, you ought not to be surprised

that we have not a more numerous party of active friends among our statesmen and legislators. You might deem it strange rather that there are yet a few generous men in both Houses of Parliament, who dare to make an open stand for national duty and honour, in defiance, not only of the frowns and clamours with which they are publicly assailed, but of the private reproaches and resentments of their West Indian connexions and friends. Much praise be to them for it ! and the far richer reward of a self-approving conscience.

There is a more convenient course for them to take. A great majority of those who, in their hearts, wish well to our cause, either absent themselves from their seats when these "*delicate questions*," as they are insidiously called, are to be brought forward ; or maintain a prudent silence, and steal out before the division.

I need not claim your gratitude for those who act a better part. Their names are well known, and dear to us. But I hope DR. LUSHINGTON will forgive me for pointing out an honourable pre-eminence to which he is well entitled. Though linked to West Indian Proprietors by the nearest private connexions, and though the prosperity of his respectable family is involved in that of the Sugar Colonies, we have not a more steady, zealous, or active friend ; and he is ever ready to sacrifice time precious to him as a very eminent professional man, when by so doing he sees any probability of rendering service to our cause.

Can I say this, and not be reminded of HENRY BROUGHAM ? or can I abstain from hazarding *his* censure also, by a public tribute to his merits ? I am the rather prompted to do so, because he and I, till I took leave of parliamentary life, and of all public controversy but this, were warm political opponents, who agreed on scarcely any other subjects than Slavery and the Slave-trade ? He too, I know, must have large personal sacrifices to make in maintaining his generous and manly course. The Colonists would do any thing to gain him ; or even to suppress a voice which, from his transcendent talents, and commanding influence with a powerful party, cannot be easily put down. He too has professional sacrifices to make ;

and which nothing short of his almost preternatural industry and energy of mind could enable him possibly to make, in the time that he liberally devotes to us. But there is one peculiar, and still more honourable sacrifice, for which I have long esteemed him, and which has hitherto, I think, not been publicly acknowledged by the friends of the Slaves, though his and their antagonists have often, with their usual personalities, made the occasion of it a subject of reproach to him. It is not, I admit, untrue, that Mr. Brougham when a very young man, and as yet known to the public only by the earliest labours of his masterly pen, had imbibed some of those erroneous views of the Colonial system, and the necessity of maintaining it, which thousands of specious but self-interested tongues and pens have long too successfully propagated in the parent state. In his able and profound work on Colonial Policy, he distinguished too strongly between the Slave-trade (of which he was ever a most determined enemy) and the Slavery that it had established in the Colonies; not certainly in the way of justifying the latter, but so as to extenuate its oppressive character, and to prejudice in some degree the efforts of those who attempted its parliamentary correction. He had never been in the West Indies; and had then had no communication with those who knew that Country, except perhaps with such men as, from regard to their own credit and interest, were sure to mislead and deceive him. Is it then strange, that he, like a large part of the most intelligent of European politicians, should have adopted erroneous views of the facts on which he reasoned?

While the Colonists object to him this short-lived error, let me derive from it an argument that should warn the impartial and uninformed against similar delusions. Gross and dangerous indeed to ordinary judgements must be those mists of falsehood and imposture which such a luminary could not, even with his rising beams, at once penetrate and disperse. But it was impossible that the pervading mind of Mr. *Brougham* should not, in the progress of its investigations, discover its own mistakes, and the truths from which it had diverged. Much more likely was it, from ordinary human infirmity, that opinions once given to the public should not, when changed, be willingly and

openly renounced. But here he has added to the fame of his talents far higher than intellectual honour. He has not only combated the false views with which he was once impressed, but it was from his own lips in the House of Commons that I first heard the public notice of what our enemies perhaps had then forgot. He gratuitously alluded in a speech, now several years old, to his early error, and confessed, with manly candour, that the truths he was then powerfully maintaining were contrary, in some points, to the opinions he had once entertained. When our opponents again think fit to quote Mr. Brougham's early, against his mature opinions, let them not withhold from him the honour, or from our cause the benefit, of this free and dignified avowal.

To return from this digression.—Let me intreat my readers to weigh well that disheartening condition in which the cause of the poor Slaves at present stands in Parliament; and to inquire fairly what means their associated friends can trust to for its future success, other than the powerful influence of the popular voice. As to the good intentions of our Government, I suspect them not; and if I did, would not prematurely deny or question them. *That* would not advance our hopes; and I am bound in justice to say that there seems no good reason for doubting that our Ministers in general, more especially the noble Earl at the head of the Colonial Department, and Mr. Secretary Canning, would be heartily glad if they could carry into effect the Resolutions of May 1823, to their full extent, by any means that may appear to themselves admissible. To the former I may be naturally partial; for in addition to a sense of his Lordship's claims on the respect and confidence of all who know his manly and amiable character, I feel for him the gratitude due from a father to the kind patron and generous protector of a deserving son: but as an advocate of this sacred cause, I know neither friend nor foe in what its interests demand from me. While therefore I sincerely admit the favourable disposition of both those Ministers, I will not scruple to add an opinion, equally sincere, that they, with most of their colleagues, have been led to entertain views of Colonial Slavery greatly inadequate to its actual guilt, and to the miseries and mischiefs which it involves; and that they hav



been led, on the other hand, to magnify, in their imaginations, the difficulties and inconveniences of parliamentary measures of reform, as well as to apprehend dangers from them which have no existence.

Nor are these errors wholly imputable to the distance of the circumstances that they have to deal with, and with which they have no personal acquaintance. The search for truth, when impartially pursued, is rarely unsuccessful; but what we wish, we too readily believe; and if the views that I have here given of the formidable extent of Colonial influence in and out of Parliament be at all correct, Ministers must be too desirous to avoid a collision with it, not to receive with willing credulity all such information as may lessen, and with chilling distrust all such evidence as may enhance, the conscientious duty of risking such a conflict. That they in fact listen with too much confidence to the representations of their West Indian friends and partisans, and are more ready to repel than invite information on behalf of the poor Slaves, who have no voice of their own, I have great reason to believe and lament. Yet it must be manifest to every reflecting mind, and more especially to Ministers themselves, that upon every ordinary rule by which human testimony is estimated, the credit due to evidence on the anti-slavery side of this controversy is much greater than can be reasonably claimed on the other. On that of the Planters, self-interest is notorious and avowed:—on ours, it has no existence, except in the wilful mis-statements or distempered imaginations of our opponents.

The Colonists indeed loudly but falsely assert that Government patronage is our excitement and our prize. “No one individual of ordinary talent,” says a late Address from the Council and Assembly of St. Vincent to the Governor, “who has fairly inlisted himself during the last twenty years against the West Indies, *has failed of acquiring either rank or honours, places of wealth and profit under Government, or mercantile advantages of immense amount* \*.”

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\* Address of the Council and Assembly of St. Vincent's to Governor Brisbane, September 6th, 1823, published here by the West Indian party.

These men are ever at the antipodes of truth. Let them point out a single instance to support this bold assertion—let them name one individual who owes rank, place, wealth, or profit of any kind to his labours in our cause—and I will make a very liberal concession indeed ; I will admit that there is one page in that extravagant document that contains some portion of fact. On the other hand, let them name one writer who has ventured to expose, from his own knowledge, their odious system of Slavery, that has not suffered for it in his private character, his interest, or his peace, by their inexorable vengeance ; and I will admit that we are all actuated like themselves by self-interested motives.

They affect to complain of malignity and vituperation on our side, though there is not to my knowledge a single passage in any of the anti-slavery publications that fairly supports the charge. When oppression, cruelty, and murder are to be exposed to public view (and this is what the controversy in its nature demands from us), the speaking of them with the reprobation they deserve, is not malice to the offenders, but necessary justice to the subject, and to the moral feelings of the reader. The guilty individuals no doubt may wince, and so may the apologists or partakers of their crimes, and even all who are engaged in a system by which such odious fruits are produced : but these are consequences of which they have no right to complain. To spare their feelings by abstaining from the moral censure that the subject calls for, would be to impair the just effect.

Very different is the case when the advocate of any cause resorts to needless personalities, and brings forward against the private character of his opponents offensive imputations, quite foreign to the merits of the question. But on which side of this controversy are such practices to be found ? Certainly not on ours, in any publication with which I am acquainted at least ; though few, if any of the works of my fellow-labourers, have wholly escaped my notice. I believe they have all too much confidence in the strength of their cause, if not also too much justice and generous sentiment, to use such unfair and poisonous weapons, even in their own defence against that

disgraceful warfare. For my own part, I challenge all my opponents, though some of them, seated in the judicial chair of literary criticism, have with an insidious air of candour affected to condemn me for "a too virulent and accusatory spirit\*," to cite a single passage in any of my numerous works on this subject, that is calculated to give needless pain to any man's feelings. I have avoided the fault so carefully as even to abstain from mentioning the names of individuals whose crimes, attested by public records, it has been necessary to notice in proof of my general strictures, whenever it could be done without making my references to such cases, and to the public evidence which had reported them imperfect or indistinct†.

But on the other side, these foul practices are resorted to with the most outrageous licence. Never in any other public controversy, was there such a malignant use of personal calumny and invective as that which the Colonial party has syste-

\* Quarterly Review, No. 64.

† In the Preface to the first volume of my *Delineation of Slavery*, p. 43 and 44, I noticed this forbearance, and appealed to the reader for the general plan and character of the work, as calculated not to excite the passions of the vulgar, but to convince the understandings and consciences of the intelligent and dispassionate, especially gentlemen of the legal profession. If the strictures of the reviewer were just, this appeal would have been very unwise, and would have exposed me to well-merited rebuke; but it would have called for and fairly deserved the citation of, or reference to, at least some single passage inconsistent with the boast. The critic, however, has not condescended to support his general censure by any such specification. He accuses me of using "in almost every page *galling epithets or insinuations*;" but I believe he will not venture to adduce a single epithet in conjunction with the subject of it, in proof of that charge, lest his readers should feel an indignation at the fact, that would make the epithet seem faulty only in being too languid and cold. In the citation of iniquitous and barbarous laws I have doubtless sometimes given them a right appellation, such as might be "galling" to their authors or apologists; but as to "*insinuations*," they are foreign to the general style and character of my work, and I know not what he means.

I nevertheless owe thanks and gratitude to this unknown opponent; for if unjust to the work, he is more than just in his obliging mention of its author.

matically employed against its opponents in this cause. I except only the parent controversy on the Slave-trade, in which the humane, virtuous, and pious Ramsay, was one of the first devoted victims of the same illiberal vengeance. From his time to the present, those base arts have been invariably resorted to on that side; and the libels have progressively increased in virulence against each successive combatant on the side of humanity and truth, outraging every private feeling, and violating common decency even, to such a degree, that one of our reverend friends, after long acquiescing in their impotent calumnies on himself, was obliged at last to resort to the law, to silence attacks in the public newspapers, on the spotless reputation of his wife!

To support these shameful practices, and other delusions on the British public, large sums have been contributed by the Assemblies, as well as individual Planters. Some of our periodical prints have been taken into standing pay; and our daily press has been widely influenced in a positive, but still more in a negative manner; so that while scandal and falsehood have been profusely propagated, it has been sometimes extremely difficult, or impossible, to obtain a like publicity for defence and refutation.

Such, my countrymen, have been the rewards, and such only,—bosom applause excepted,—of those who have dared to invoke your humanity on behalf of the unfortunate Slaves! Can it be doubted that many have been deterred by them from giving a like testimony? But the system, I trust, will lose its terrors; for iteration must have spoiled its effect. Men of any reflection will not easily believe that every gentleman who, having resided in the Colonies, is an enemy to Slavery, and ventures to raise his voice against it, at the expense of offending all the friends he has there, is a profligate, a hypocrite, and a liar.

But I have detained you too long, and must hasten to my practical conclusions.

Such being the alarming posture of the sacred cause which you lately thought triumphant, and the formidable difficulties under which its associated friends at present labour, the important question is, what can we do to sustain it?

The insidious enemies of the cause, and some of its sincere, but much-mistaken friends, exhort you to be inactive and silent; but I should be inexcusable, knowing what I do, if I should concur in that advice, or not avow my firm conviction that your adopting it would be fatal.

Already the Colonists openly, though I trust vainly, boast that the popularity of the Resolutions of May 1823 is on its wane in this country; and unless there shall be a renewed and strong expression of popular feeling at this crisis, to prove the contrary, the opinion will seem to be confirmed. Let those who are credulous enough to believe that the sincere concurrence of the Assemblies is not yet hopeless, ask themselves whether such a persuasion will not be likely to reverse what little disposition may yet remain among them to adopt principles and measures to which they avow their aversion. To assist your views on that question, I will state as a fact, which I have from direct and most satisfactory information, (though for the author's sake I dare not name the source of it,) the way in which a Bill for the partial adoption of some of the reforms recommended by His Majesty's Government was lately defeated in one of the insular Assemblies. There were in that body several very influential members, who from policy perhaps, if not from better motives, were well disposed towards such a partial compliance; at least in point of form. Others were won over by their persuasion, or by the influence of the Governor; and the Bill was carried at length into a committee with such favourable prospects, that the author of it anticipated with confidence and exultation its speedily passing into a law. I know this latter fact with certainty, having seen it in a letter from the gentleman himself (whose handwriting I know) to a friend in this country. I had little or no doubt therefore that such an Act was passed; and on the recent arrival of a friend from the spot, a late member of the same legislature, I was surprised to hear to the contrary. On my asking the cause of this disappointment, he told me that the Bill had long been delayed in the committee by differences on some of its details, till at length its enemies prevailed so far as to get rid of it, for the session at least, by a suggestion, founded on information from England, that the storm was blowing over

here, and that if they took time till another year they would have no more trouble with such an unpleasant business. On this ground the Bill was suffered to drop, without its express rejection, or any report from the committee.

It is not however in a view only, or chiefly, to such natural effects in the Colonies that I deprecate your inactivity at this juncture. Its consequences in Parliament, and as I believe in the Cabinet itself, would be far more adverse to our hopes. In the Colonial Assemblies we have not a possible chance of ever obtaining any substantial good; and to obtain it here by parliamentary authority, without the continued aid of the popular voice, is almost equally hopeless. Every where your supineness would animate the enemies of our cause, and enervate, if not dishearten, its friends. The Government itself, supposing even its members unanimously with us (and this is more than we can reasonably hope), stands in great need of your assistance. It is a support which none of our friends in the Administration can solicit or seem to desire; for that would spoil its effect; but if any one of them were known to me to be really adverse to your demonstrating, by petitions or other constitutional means, your feelings on this occasion, then I own his sincerity and right intentions would appear to me very doubtful.

Never was such an exercise of the rights of the British people called for on more unexceptionable grounds. It is a privilege often prostituted to factions or party-spirited purposes; and still oftener used, by particular classes of men, to promote their private interests, when distinct from, and perhaps opposed to, the good of the people at large. But in this case, we have no factious views to promote, no selfish dispositions to indulge: we have none but purely national, or still higher than national, objects. For what can Englishmen more justifiably and meritoriously solicit of their representatives in Parliament, than to maintain the moral character of their country, to deliver themselves from national guilt, and to release them from the dreadful necessity of maintaining a cruel oppression, by dipping their hands, upon every resistance of it, deep in innocent blood.

Our adversaries have furnished us with a further argument; and upon their principles, though certainly not on mine, a stronger one. They allege that they shall be entitled to indemnities, the amount of which they magnify beyond all rational bounds, out of the public purse; they demand to be indemnified not only for the enfranchisement of their Slaves, if that should be enacted by law, but for every alleviation of their bondage. We ought to indemnify them, they contend, for abolishing even those aggravations of Slavery which the Mother Country was so far from having sanctioned, that she knew not of their existence, and the reality of which their own Assemblies and public agents, upon her inquiries, stoutly denied.

I will not here examine the merits of this claim; but if it has any just foundation, surely your petitions are pre-eminently right and decorous on the part of the people; and useful, instead of embarrassing, to a well-intentioned Government. They are, in that case, virtual offers to bear the pecuniary burthen incident to the reformatations which your moral feelings lead you to desire; and what can be more acceptable to Ministers sincerely disposed to such a work? If we could do them such injustice as to suppose them not in earnest, their wishes would deserve from you no regard; but on the opposite, and I trust the right assumption, the petitions of the people cannot be too numerous or importunate for their satisfaction and their ease.

And here by the way, we have another argument, a decisive, though hitherto I think a neglected one, against the course that has been most unhappily taken. The Colonists contend (and if their claims for compensation are just, they rightly contend) that the damage and the indemnity should go hand in hand; and that it would be unjust to the Slaveowner to impair his property first, and leave it for subsequent consideration and enactment, when and how he shall be compensated. *But how can this possibly consist with referring the work to the Assemblies?* What! are the Assemblies of Barbadoes, St. Kitt's, or Jamaica to dip their hands into the purses of the people of England? Can it be left to *them* to annex compensatory provisions to the reformatations they are desired to enact?

This obvious consideration might suffice to prove, if it were not otherwise sufficiently manifest, that the cry for indemnities is a mere bugbear to frighten you from your righteous purpose. They must well know that this part of the case can be examined and disposed of by Parliament alone; and yet they tell you it must be incorporated with reforms, against the interposition of Parliament in which, even to the extent of discussions upon the subject, they vehemently protest.

The opposition raised to us on this ground, however, ought not to be noticed without stronger condemnation than its mere inconsistency and insincerity deserve. Familiar though it is to us, I have never been able to regard its countenance in Parliament without astonishment, or without feeling as an Englishman ought to do when his country is degraded and dishonoured.

Let it be supposed that, as between the Planter and the State, compensation ought to be a simultaneous measure with reform, or if you will, a previous one; still, what is the reference to the one, as an objection to the other, but a shameful appeal to the avarice or economical prudence of the country against its honour and its conscience? To the moral rights of the Slave, it is just as valid a bar, as a plea of associated robbers would be against making restitution to the injured party, that it would require a contribution from the gang. Even this illustration is inadequate; for the question here is, not merely whether we shall restore, but whether, as the alternative, we shall add wrong to wrong, inflicting the same calamities on generations yet unborn, enslaving the offspring, lest we should have to pay for the redemption of the parents, and subduing all resistance from either, by the effusion of innocent blood!

Nevertheless, this base and odious argument is boldly and perpetually brought forward against us; and greatly augments, perhaps, the difficulties of those who are not only the keepers of the national conscience, but the responsible stewards of the national purse. In this view then also, the case loudly calls for popular interposition; for however powerful any administration may be in comparison with the party systematically



opposed to it, a strong league of particular interests, potent enough on both sides of the House of Commons to control the influence of the Crown with many of its own adherents, and at the same time to neutralize the Opposition as a body, may be more than it can effectually resist; especially when it will be the effect of a just measure to entail a serious burthen on the country.

There are acknowledged cases in which a strong expression of the popular voice, aided by a right use of the elective franchise, is the only remedy for public evils that our Constitution affords. I may, without offence I hope to any truly national party, allude to the well known case of Mr. Fox's Indian Bill, as illustrating the remark. I speak not in censure of that measure, or disparagement of the great and now departed statesmen who supported it. They may have been right in their judgement;—as I doubt not they were in their intentions;—but a concert of men of opposite political principles was formed, upon what were supposed to be personal and particular interests, with a view to give law to the Crown and Parliament, in opposition to what was contended to be the duty and interest of the country at large. An appeal to the people therefore was strongly made, and cordially answered; and the result was, that a new spirit appeared in the House of Commons, and the coalition was defeated. It was alleged on that occasion, that a fourth estate was about to be created, dangerous to the Constitution; but in the present case it might be with greater reason alleged that a fourth estate actually exists; not indeed under the management of a permanent East India Board, but of a West Indian Committee, which, if not dangerous to the Constitution, is so at least in a high degree to the public morals, the honour, and the prosperity of this great empire. The same remedy is therefore urgently called for, in order that public principles may have fair play; and that the Government itself may be sustained in right measures against a too powerful faction.

I call upon you then solemnly, as fellow-countrymen and fellow-Christians, to exert yourselves to the utmost on this great and interesting occasion. If you would prevent further

sacrifices of your manufacturing, commercial, and maritime interests, of your revenues and military means, and of the security even of your Colonies themselves; if you would maintain the independence and dignity of your Parliament, and its constitutional supremacy over the distant dependencies of the empire, without which they are a degrading incumbrance and a nuisance; if you would redeem the sacred pledges you have given to the unfortunate Slaves, and prevent the perpetuation on them and their innocent offspring of a bondage disgraceful to the British and the Christian name; and if you would rescue yourselves from the abhorred necessity of imbruing your hands in their blood, when and as often as intolerable oppression urges them to a hopeless resistance,—now, *now*, is your time to be active.

The constitutional and effectual path is plain. You are or soon will be solicited for your votes by those who wish to be your representatives in the House of Commons. Let your first question to every candidate be, Are you a Proprietor of Slaves, or a West India merchant? If the answer is in the affirmative, I would recommend to you a positive refusal, unless he be one of the very few who have already proved themselves true friends to our cause; or who, being known to you as a man of probity and honour, will give you the security of his promise henceforth to support it in the House. But whoever the candidate may be, demand of him, as the condition of your support, that he will solemnly pledge himself to attend in his place whenever any measure is brought forward for the mitigation and progressive termination of Slavery by parliamentary enactments; and that he will give his vote for every measure of that kind, not inconsistent with the temperate and prudent spirit of the Resolutions of May, 1823, and the recommendations of His Majesty's Government founded on those resolutions. Unless such a pledge is given in these, or equivalent terms, and more especially so as to exclude the subterfuge of still committing the work to the Assemblies, the engagement will be of little value, or rather of none at all. Add to this right use of your own vote, the widest and most active influence you can employ with your brother electors, to engage

them to follow your example. Let Committees for the purpose be formed in every county, city, and borough in the United Kingdom, in which any independent suffrages are to be found; and let Public Meetings be called, and the exhortations of the Press be employed, to extend the same salutary work; and that work, let me add, alone; avoiding all political distinctions, and inviting men of both or all parties, to unite in promoting that single object.

But it is not by such means only that we solicit your assistance. The petitions of the people led to the Resolutions of May 1823. Let the same means be speedily employed again for carrying them into effect. I trust that the tables of Parliament soon after its first assembling will be covered deeper than ever with new and earnest petitions from every part of the United Kingdom. Let them be temperate and respectful, but firm; and if need be, reiterated also, till their object shall be effectually obtained; and let your representatives on every occasion be requested to present and support them.

I cannot promise, my countrymen, that by such means your generous wishes will be fully and certainly accomplished; but one end at least, and an inestimable one, you will be sure to obtain. You will deliver your own consciences from any participation in the guilt which you have used your best endeavours to restrain.

To this most important end, indeed, one ulterior effort may be necessary. The consumers of West India sugar are unquestionably abettors of the iniquitous means by which it is produced; and the only excuse for our consciences in not hitherto renouncing the use of it, has been the fear of prejudicing our cause by a premature resort to such a measure. My views on that subject being already before the public, I need not dwell upon them here; but the opinion which I now share with all the friends of our cause whose sentiments are known to me is, that should we not obtain some satisfactory measure from Parliament in the approaching session, it will become the clear duty of all who regard Colonial Slavery as cruel and unjust, to renounce without further delay the use of its produce themselves, and to recommend the same measure

to others. The failure of Mr. Brougham's motion, if unhappily it should fail, ought I think to be a signal throughout the country, to all the friends of reformation, that the moment is arrived for their adoption of this last resort.

Mean time, let not any man who fears God, or loves his country and his fellow-creatures, think that this is a case in which he can warrantably be neutral or passive. It might be so under an arbitrary form of Government; but every man in this free country who has a vote, or a voice that can influence the electors or elected, has in cases like the present a conscientious duty to perform, for the neglect of which he will be justly and seriously responsible. Every degree of such influence that we possess is not merely a privilege, but a trust; and the laws made or maintained by the representatives of a free people, are virtually of their own enactment.

Let me, in conclusion, address myself not only to my countrymen at large, but to such distinct descriptions among them, as may be influenced by particular considerations not felt by all.

To you, friends of universal freedom, who glory in the old appellation of *Whigs*, and regard all absolute authority, civil or political, with pre-eminent suspicion and dislike; to you in whose eyes even the liberties of Englishmen are not perfect, or require at least additional securities; to *you* my first invocation shall be made. What a reproach would it be to your principles, if you should not be among the foremost in endeavouring to relax the heavy and degrading yoke of private Slavery in our colonies? What, in comparison with *that*, is political thralldom, even to a foreign power; or what are civil and military despotisms, in the worst forms of them known in Europe? In what region, and in what age, was grosser violation ever done to the natural rights of man? or, to avoid terms that have been abused, where or when did the institutions of mankind so completely annihilate, for the sake of the despotic few, every benefit that the subjugated mass can be alleged to have derived from the civil union?

You are zealous in the cause of the oppressed Greeks; and the feeling does you honour. You reprobate strongly the illiberal despotism that presses down its yoke on the necks of

the unfortunate Spaniards; and it is a right and generous indignation. Can you then be insensible to the far more intolerable wrongs, to the far more goading oppression, which the poor Africans suffer under your own dominion? The Greeks have not yet been driven by the cart-whip; and many a tyrant, more illiberal and ungrateful than Ferdinand, is maintained by British bayonets, as he by French ones, on the petty thrones of the Plantations. Surely, also, it ought to be a heart-stirring distinction, that the Greeks and Spaniards have not to accuse us as the authors of their miseries; while there is scarcely a Slave in the British West Indies on whom, or his ancestors, we did not originally impose the cruel yoke he wears; and that by atrocious means, which we have ourselves since confessed to have been repugnant to humanity and justice.

Take the lead then, as it will well become you to do, in the present arduous and most righteous struggle. You have, I too well know, some inconsistent partisans and leaders who would warp you from your natural course for their own private interests; but they are unworthy of the appellation they assume. The name of Whig is a brand on the forehead of every man who is a defender of Colonial Slavery.

To you whom your opponents designate by the less popular name of *Tories*, I would next appeal. The Slave-masters strive to enlist your honest prepossessions on their side. They would persuade you that their cause is that of loyalty against disaffection, and established government against democratical innovation. Not so thought your Johnsons and your Humes, your Gibbons and your Horsleys; not so your Pitts and Grenvilles, nor your virtuous and lamented Percival. The very reverse is the truth. It is the nature of the Slave system to make the masters contentious, turbulent, and impatient of all authority but their own (as Burke, though in more softened language, has remarked). You found it to your cost in America; and you find it now in the West Indies. Ask your Ministers who have presided in the Colonial department, in what part of the empire His Majesty's subjects are the hardest to govern and to please; and where they have always been the most annoyed with turbulent opposition to the con-

stituted powers, conducted with factious violence; and I am sure the answer will be,—in the West Indies. Their distance, their impotence in a national view, and the general frivolity of their subjects of dispute with their governors, have kept them in general from much public notice in this country. But their feuds are a standing nuisance in the departments of state which have the difficult duty to examine and compose them. Slave questions are so far from being the sole causes of agitation, that by placing all the Whites at present in one party, or at least in the only one that dares utter a political voice, they have rather tended to lessen than increase their ordinary interior dissensions. At a time when no such questions were depending, I once heard the late Lord Castlereagh, then at the head of the Colonial department, complain that there was hardly a single Colony in which he had not some, ~~I think he said not one~~, very troublesome petty controversy between the governors and the governed on his hands.

The intemperance of their malcontent spirit is not less remarkable than its restlessness. To the most disrespectful and contumacious remonstrances, their Assemblies scruple not to add, on very slight occasions, threatenings to stop, and sometimes actually to stop, all supplies for the support of their public interior establishments; and even their trivial contributions of barracks, or other local provisions, for the accommodation of the troops which we maintain at such a fearful cost for their security. They have sometimes proceeded to suspend all legislative business till the governor at length has been compelled to dissolve them. Nor is that remedy often effectual: for resistance to the King's Government, however rude and intemperate, is almost sure to be popular among these men who punish all resistance of their own domestic government with death. The same factious representatives are re-elected; and the ultimate event too commonly is, that Ministers, wearied out with their pertinacity, and with the public inconveniences that ensue, make sacrifices to appease them, such as ill consist with a due regard to the maintenance of the royal authority, and the credit of its faithful delegates. A governor, for instance, is not rarely recalled, for a firmness of conduct that entitled him to applause; and when Ministers at the same time show that they approved

it, by appointing him immediately to the command of some other colony.

In the present case, I need not say how far they are from deserving your sympathies on the score of dutiful submission, or deference towards either the Parliament or the Crown. They set both at open defiance, and deal out menaces of forcible resistance, which, however absurd and ridiculous, do not the less manifest a turbulent and disloyal spirit.

And whose are the rights and interests that they thus violently oppose and trample on? A disaffected populace? No; but an unfortunate class, mocked with the names of His Majesty's subjects, who fondly look for protection and relief only to the King and his Government, and fain would, but cannot "fly from petty tyrants to the throne." Be not deceived then by the crafty pretences and idle clamours of these pseudo-loyalists; nor let your honourable principles be disgraced by a supposed affinity to theirs. As far as constitutional interests are concerned at all, their cause is the very opposite of yours. It is plainly derogatory to the constitutional power and glory of the Crown, that the mass of the Colonial population, like the vassals of the feudal barons, should have intermediate sovereigns, to whom, much more than to the King or his laws, their allegiance must be paid. In their degraded breasts the noble sentiment of loyalty can find no place. The master, to them is every thing, and the monarch an empty name. They find that they are subjects by the sword only, not the sceptre. They find it only when their blood is to be shed, either by judicial sentence, or military execution, in the name of the King, against whom they are preposterously said to have offended or rebelled, in most cases of insubordination to their masters.

Among other consequences of this odious system that ought to be offensive to every liberal and loyal heart, the authority of the Sovereign is so degraded as to be actually made subordinate and ministerial to that of the master; not only by enforcing obedience to him, but by the actual execution of his vindictory mandates directed to the King's officers; and that to an extent of punishment greater than is inflicted here for most felonious offences. By the master's order alone, without any examination of its justice, his Slaves are received into His

Majesty's prisons, and by his officers attached to a chain, and driven by cart-whips in a file of similar victims, and of convicts judicially condemned to that harsh punishment, to hard labour in the public streets or roads\*.

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\* See the most recent Act of Jamaica; and like Acts of other islands. See also my *Law of Slavery*, p. 251 to 354.

To show the reader how this punishment is administered by the Executive Government on the mere mandate of the master, I extract the following account of it by a Jamaica planter, and one of the public apologists of the system, the late Mr. Dallas.

"Negroes are often sent hither by their masters and mistresses as a punishment &c.; and according to the supposed heinousness of their guilt, the correction, that is, the torture of the cattle whip, is superadded."

"These unhappy wretches (I have reckoned near a hundred linked to the same chain) are employed to dig and carry stones, remove rubbish, and to perform all the most fatiguing offices of the public. The chain being fixed about the leader, is carried round the bodies of the followers, leaving a sufficient distance to walk without treading on each other's heels; and to each it is secured by a padlock. As soon as they are thus yoked, the gate is thrown open, and the poor animals are driven out by a Negro driver, attended by a White driver, both with cattle whips in their hands. Sometimes the White driver rides on a mule.

"You may imagine that in the great number of persons thus fastened to each other, without the least attention to the differences of age or of strength, it is not very probable that an equal pace among them can be kept up throughout the day as they move about. They are set upon a brisk walk almost approaching to a trot, and woe be to those whom fatigue first forces to flag. The never-ceasing sound of the cattle whip long keeps a regularity in the slight sinking curve of the intervening links of the chain; but nature will return; the feebler will begin to pull upon the stronger, the intervening links will lose their regular curve: here they become stretched to the utmost; there they sink nearly to the ground; the weak add the weight of their exhausted limbs to the strong, and the strong tread upon the heels of the weak. This the drivers remedy as much as possible by their cattle whips, till nature, quite worn out, is at last driven back to the work-house."—DALLAS'S SHORT JOURNEY IN THE WEST INDIES.

Even after a Slave has been prosecuted capitally in the King's court and acquitted, the prosecuting master has been known so far to show his contempt for the authority of the laws, as to send the injured man to be punished for an indefinite time in this cruel manner, on the same false imputation; and thus compel the Crown to be his minister of vengeance, after he has been tried at the King's suit and pronounced by his own judges to be innocent. (See a case cited in my *Law of Slavery*, p. 352.)

Can a greater degradation of royal authority than this be imagined?



The pedestals of the British throne are law, justice, and well-regulated freedom; all which this odious institution of private Slavery subverts. Its most glorious and darling prerogative is mercy; but of this the Slave is no object. No royal grace can absolve him from those harsh penalties which the master thinks fit to adjudge,—not even those which I have last mentioned, of which the Crown is the executioner. How, my loyal fellow subjects, can your feelings be expected to patronize a system like this?

Servants of God, of every description, my last and surest appeal is made to you. Of whatever faith you are, Churchmen, Dissenters, Catholics, Theists of every kind; if you believe that there is a God, the common Parent of the human race, who delights in justice and mercy, behold a cause that demands your strenuous support. The Slave-masters would craftily divide you. They would avail themselves of your theological differences; and especially would persuade you, if they could, that those who earnestly maintain this cause of God and man, are all fanatics and enthusiasts. But what creed will be found to countenance a system like theirs, when its true nature is developed? Even the Mahometan faith proscribes it, though in a much milder form, except as a scourge for unbelievers.

What then! is it pushing religious zeal too far to say that innocent fellow-creatures ought not to be left in a perpetual hereditary Slavery? that unoffending men, women, and children, ought not to be deprived of all civil and human rights, and condemned to toil for life, like cattle, under the whips of the drivers? Is it enthusiasm, to hold that a Slavery so rigorous as to have destroyed thousands and tens of thousands of its victims in our Sugar Colonies, and which is still so fatal that the most prolific of the human race cannot maintain their numbers in it, ought to be lenified by law? Is it fanaticism, to regard a bondage imposed by acknowledged crime, as one that cannot be rightfully protracted, and fastened on the progeny for ever? Then let religion and wrong, religion and cruelty, religion and murder, shake hands. The *Thurtels* and *Proberts* among us may claim to be rational religionists; and rail at their prosecutors as saints, enthusiasts, and fa-

natics. Perhaps indeed they do; for it seems to be the fashion to stigmatize by those terms every degree of moral sensibility that exceeds our own.

To such of you as are deeply impressed with the truth and importance of the doctrines peculiar to Christianity, and zealous for their propagation, and to such of you as are accustomed to observe and recognise the hand of Divine Providence in the government of the world, there is much more that I could wish to say. I might appeal to the principles you hold most sacred, for the duty of lending your aid to reform an impious system which shuts out the light of the Gospel, and violates in the grossest manner all its precepts; which keeps in a cruel thralldom the minds, as well as bodies, of its unfortunate victims; and adds to its other enormities antichristian persecution. I might show the inconsistency of the charitable efforts you are making to convert your fellow-creatures in the most distant and uncivilized regions of the globe, while you suffer your fellow-subjects to be kept in pagan darkness, and the vilest moral degradation, not by choice, but by compulsion, through a domestic tyranny which your own power, within your own territories, impiously upholds. I might prove to your entire conviction how hopeless it is that the poor Slaves in general should be made Christians, in more than name, by any means that have been adopted, or can be used, without raising their temporal condition.

Many of you also, I doubt not, might be strongly impressed by a clear and comprehensive view of that wonderful chain of events, which indicates, as plainly as events unexplained by Revelation can indicate, to human eyes, the hand of Divine Providence avenging the wrongs of the poor enslaved Africans, and favouring, I trust, our feeble efforts for their deliverance. The "signs of the times" are in this respect well worthy of the careful observation of every pious mind; and it is no presumption to deduce from them, not a new rule of conduct, but confirmation and encouragement in a purpose prescribed to us by the clearest principles of Christian duty.

But I think it best to abstain at present from these important and interesting topics. To do any justice to them here, would be to extend too far the length of this address. My

views on some of them are already, though partially, before the public; and I hope ere long to present to the religious friends of our cause, in a separate publication, a defence of the Bible against the foul charge of its countenancing Colonial Slavery; to which I propose to add a summary of those very extraordinary facts and coincidences that indicate, to my firm conviction, a purpose of Divine Providence to avenge, and I trust also to deliver, the long oppressed African race.

Mean time, enough I trust has been said to satisfy not only all who are actuated by Christian principles, but all who are friends to their species at large, or to their country, if unbiased by Colonial influence, that it is now our duty to be active.

Dismiss the idle hope that Slavery will ever be abolished, or materially alleviated, by the will of the masters, or by the laws of West Indian legislators. The often repeated, and often refuted pretence of actual improvements, believe me, is all delusion. The worst and most destructive branches of this oppression (excess of labour enforced by brutal means, and insufficiency of sustenance) are as prevalent as ever; and must be so from the necessary effects of the system, till controlled by parliamentary authority. I affirm it as a man who certainly knows the case; and who is preparing to adduce such evidence of its true nature as will satisfy the most incredulous.

Reject the insidious suggestions that your interference is needless; and that it implies distrust of our Ministers. I have shown that without the aid of the popular voice their good intentions must be fruitless. The Government, and the Parliament itself, are in thralldom to the dominating influence of our too powerful enemies. Examine fairly the facts I have adduced, and you will admit they can in no otherwise be explained. It is obvious, as I before remarked, that supposing the Cabinet unanimous in desiring petitions from the people, it is an interposition which they cannot solicit, or appear to approve. While the proper effect would be spoiled, the offence to the Colonial party would be not diminished, but enhanced. You must judge of the inclination of Ministers therefore on this occasion from the reason of the case, and from what you believe of their principles; and I ask of you only to believe them sin-

cere, in the views which some of them have strongly professed in Parliament, and all of them apparently adopted. To ascribe to them insincerity in such a case would be highly offensive, and, as I believe, unjust.

But should we suspect, or know, their wishes to be adverse to ours, our duties as men, as Englishmen, and as Christians, would remain the same. We should be unworthy of all those appellations, and deserve to forfeit the privileges that belong to them, if, knowing our country to be the abettor and upholder of gross injustice and oppression, we should from complaisance to any men, or any party, decline to exercise our constitutional rights on the side of the injured and oppressed.

Come forward then with your petitions; instruct your representatives; give or withhold your suffrages for the next Parliament; and use your personal influence throughout the country; all in such a manner as may best promote the success of this great and sacred cause.

If you succeed, you will give a new triumph to the British Constitution, you will exalt the glory of your country, in that best point, her moral elevation, and recommend her to the favour of Heaven. You may rescue also yourselves and your posterity from severe calamities, which I firmly believe are now impending over us notwithstanding our apparent prosperity, not only from the natural effects of our pernicious system in the Colonies, if longer persisted in, but from the just vengeance of a righteous and all-directing Providence.

If you fail, you will at least have the inestimable consolation that you have done what you could "to undo the heavy burden and to let the oppressed go free," and that the sins and calamities of your country, however pernicious in their consequences to yourselves or your children, were evils which you could not avert.

# APPENDIX.

EXTRACT from Sir W. YOUNG's West India Common Place Book, p. 218.

TABLES, showing the Mortality of Troops in the West Indies (exclusive of those who fell in action) during Seven Years, from 1796 to 1802 inclusive, compiled from Regimental Returns collected by JOHN SAYER, Esq. Commissary in the Windward and Leeward Islands during that period.

| European Soldiers. |                |                         |       | Negro Soldiers.  |        |       | Officers.       |
|--------------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------|------------------|--------|-------|-----------------|
|                    | Largest force. | Medium monthly returns. | Died. | Per Cent.        | Force. | Died. | Per Cent.       |
| 1796. April        | 19676          | 15881                   | 6484  | 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 2495   | 75    | 3               |
| 1797. April        | 13627          | 11503                   | 3766  | 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 3080   | 118   | 4               |
| 1798. April        | 9192           | 8416                    | 1602  | 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 3055   | 252   | 8               |
| 1799. February     | 7654           | 7202                    | 876   | 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 3354   | 258   | 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| 1800. February     | 8840           | 7890                    | 1221  | 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4320   | 286   | 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 1801. February     | 11745          | 10315                   | 2340  | 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4604   | 276   | 6               |
| 1802. February     | 10198          | 9038                    | 990   | 11               | 3840   | 199   | 5               |
| Original Army.     | 19676          |                         | 17173 |                  |        |       | 590             |

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**REVIEW**  
**OF THE**  
**QUARTERLY REVIEW;**

**OR,**  
**AN EXPOSURE**  
**OF THE**  
**ERRONEOUS OPINIONS PROMULGATED**  
**IN THAT WORK**

**ON THE SUBJECT OF**  
**Colonial Slavery:**

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**BEING THE SUBSTANCE OF**  
**A SERIES OF LETTERS WHICH APPEARED IN THE "NEW TIMES"**  
**OF SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER 1824.**

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**WITH**  
**NOTES AND AN APPENDIX.**

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**LONDON:**  
**PRINTED FOR J. HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY.**  
**1824.**



REVIEW  
OF THE  
QUARTERLY REVIEW,

8c. 8c.

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THE Sixtieth Number of *The Quarterly Review*, which has recently been published, contains an article entitled "West-India Colonies." In that article the Reviewer has given currency to some fallacious statements on the subject of SLAVERY, which it is the purpose of the present publication to examine and refute.

The Reviewer begins with referring his readers to a former discussion of the same topic, which appeared in the Fifty-eighth Number of his work, as containing "a detailed sketch"—and he means, of course, that it should be considered as an authentic sketch—"of the actual condition and treatment of the Slaves in our West-India Colonies." Whoever will take the trouble of turning to that article will find that it consists chiefly of assertions without a shadow of evidence. The Reviewer, who, it is plain, never visited the West Indies himself, instead of citing authentic documents, or adducing unimpeachable testimony in proof of his statements, supports them with extracts from anonymous letters, and with loose and unauthenticated details, obviously taken from the mouths of West-Indian planters



anxious to vindicate themselves in the eyes of the public. And these extracts and details he seems to expect will obtain implicit credit with the public, in consideration of the dispassionate tone in which they are communicated, and the kind of demi-official character which the work enjoys. At the same time, it would be difficult to select, from the immense mass of our periodical criticism, an article which has less claim to accuracy of statement, and more contemptuously sets at defiance those received maxims of political economy which, on other occasions, this journal has ably defended. It is not meant to accuse the Reviewer of any intention to mislead the public. Others doubtless have abused his confidence, and made him the unconscious instrument of misrepresentation.

In a similar strain of unfairness, an article entitled "Mexico" has been employed, in the following Number of the same work, to institute a comparison between the productions and trade of Mexico and those of Jamaica, in order to establish, what seems a favourite hypothesis with the Reviewer, That slave labour is more productive than free labour. The attempt, in the present era of light and knowledge, would be ridiculous enough from the pen of the meanest scribbler; but when it appears in the pages of *The Quarterly Review* it merits reprobation rather than ridicule. The Reviewer actually seems to perceive no cause for the superiority he assigns to Jamaica, except that cultivation is there conducted by slaves, and in Mexico by free men; just as if the miserable policy and oppressive institutions of Spain, its restrictive laws, its ruinous exactions, the absence of all encouragement to industry, the total want of security to property—as if all these were nothing in the scale! Nay, he even overlooks, in his estimate of the causes which have depressed the productive industry of Mexico, the civil war actually

raging there at the time ; and of which he admits, in other parts of *the Review*, the destructive effects.

But to come to the more recent article on this subject : The Reviewer professes there to give a true account of the reception which the recommendations of Earl Bathurst, on the means of improving the condition of the slaves, met with in the West Indies. Jamaica and Barbadoes, he admits, took the lead in protesting against them ; and much irritation and violence prevailed, especially in the former of those islands. He might have said, in both ; witness the destruction, in open day, at Barbadoes, of the Methodist Chapel, and the violent expulsion, at the hazard of their lives, of the missionary and his wife. "The impression," he goes on to remark, "produced in other colonies was various. In some, the discontinuance of the stimulus of the whip in the field, and of the punishment of female slaves under any circumstances by flogging, was protested against as a measure incompatible with a state of slavery and with the necessary authority of the masters over their slaves. In others, these innovations did not appear to create any alarm. In the Address of St. Vincent, it is observed, that these practices had been virtually discontinued, and the Government are reproached with their ignorance of the fact. In Demerara, the Court of Policy were particularly zealous in assenting to, and expressing their readiness to enforce, those two particular regulations. In Antigua, the draft of a bill was submitted to the Legislature for ameliorating the condition of the slaves ; but it was lost on the third reading." —Again ; "No legislative measure has hitherto passed any Assembly comprehending the whole of the improvements suggested" by Lord Bathurst.

But I would ask, has any legislative measure passed any one of the Assemblies since their receipt of Lord Bathurst's despatches, which comprehends, I will not say the whole, but any of his Lordship's suggested

improvements? • The Legislature of Antigua cannot deserve much credit for having *rejected* a bill for ameliorating the condition of the slaves, which is all they seem to have done; and whatever zeal the Court of Policy of Demerara may have shewn in *inditing* resolutions for the abolition of the driving whip and of the flogging of females, we have not heard that it has extended beyond the council table; and the general and violent hostility to improvement prevailing there is too notorious to be denied.

There is, however, the island of St. Vincent, which, the Reviewer tells us, had, by its own account, virtually discontinued the practice of flogging women, and of driving the slaves in the field by the stimulus of the whip; and the planters of that island, it seems, even reproach Government with their ignorance of the fact. The planters of St. Vincent's, I admit, do insinuate something of this kind; but the Reviewer ought not to have given his sanction to the insinuation, without reading the proof to which they refer, in support of it,—namely, the 18th

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• This is an error: it ought to have been noted, in justice to the Reviewer, that there was one exception—the small island of Tobago. In this island, containing 14,000 slaves, a law has been passed by which, in cases “ of wilful murder or mayem of, or cruelty to, any slave by any White or Free persons, it may be lawful, in case no White or Free person was present, or can be produced to prove the facts, to admit the evidence of two slaves to prove the facts and circumstances attending such imputed murder, mayem or cruelty, and the concurrent testimony of such two slaves, if unimpeached as to their credibility, shall have the same effect in point of law as if a White or Free person had proved the same facts and circumstances.” A clause is introduced to secure the personal property of slaves, and another to abolish Sunday markets, substituting Thursday, and allowing to the slaves thirty-five days in the year for their provision grounds. Arbitrary punishments are limited to twenty stripes and if more than twelve are given it must be in the presence of a free person, other than the person punishing. It is creditable to Tobago to have thus far preceded the other colonies in the march of improvement. Much, very much, however, is wanting even here, in order to fulfil the instructions of Lord Bathurst.

clause of their new Slave Law passed in 1820. Now this, very clause, on being examined, stands directly opposed to their statement. Indeed this clause, as well as every other part of the Act, is little more than a copy of the Slave Law passed in Jamaica in 1816. The St. Vincent's law on the subject is as follows :—

“ That in order to restrain arbitrary punishment, no slave on any plantation or estate shall receive more than ten stripes at one time, and for one offence, unless the owner, attorney, guardian, administrator, or manager of such estate or plantation, having such slave under his care, shall be present : and no such owner, attorney, guardian, administrator, or manager, shall, on any account, punish a slave with more than thirty-nine stripes at one time, and for one offence ; nor inflict, nor suffer to be inflicted, such last-mentioned punishment, nor any other number of stripes in the same week, nor until the delinquent has recovered from the effects of any former punishment, under a penalty of not less than 15*l.* (7*l.* 10*s.* sterling) or more than 30*l.* (15*l.* sterling) for every offence.”

It would not be very easy to shew how this clause (at this moment the law of St. Vincent) operates to prohibit the flogging of women, or the driving of the slaves in the field by the stimulus of the whip. On the contrary, it comprehends all slaves, male and female, and that under the insulting pretext of *restraining arbitrary punishment*, within the scope of the terrible power which it gives to *every* owner, attorney, guardian, administrator, and manager, to inflict upon them, at their discretion, and without the possibility of any *legal* remedy, thirty-nine lashes of the cart whip ; and it leaves to inferior agents the no less terrible power (considering who *they* are) of punishment, to the extent of ten stripes, without any limitation whatever as to the frequency of their infliction. The act moreover imposes no restraint on the power of whipping slaves not belonging

to plantations.—And this is the boasted law of St. Vincent, of which so much has been said, and the humanity of which the Government are reproached for not having recognised !!!

But the Reviewer appears to believe, that these practices, according to the St. Vincent's Address, have been "virtually discontinued." And what is the proof of this? —The assertion, at most, of the planters of St. Vincent: and not even their *assertion*—their *insinuation merely*; and this in the very teeth of their law. But in what one of the colonies has it not been asserted over and over again, in resolutions and addresses, that the slaves are better off than the peasantry of Great Britain? Has the St. Vincent's Address gone beyond this? And yet the Reviewer has virtually lent the sanction of his authority to the delusive statement, that the island of St. Vincent has discontinued the practice of flogging women and driving the Negroes in the field, although that statement is in direct contradiction to its own recent law ! \*

There is one passage in Mr. Canning's speech, quoted by the Reviewer, which will shew how liable even a mind so penetrating as Mr. Canning's is to be misled on this question. Mr. Canning observes, that "it is but just to state that, under certain qualifications, the evidence of slaves is already admitted in the Courts of Justice of Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincent's, and I believe St. Christopher's and Tobago." Now certainly in no law which has appeared from Grenada, St. Vincent's, and St. Christopher's, can any ground be discovered for this assertion. Indeed, with respect to St. Vincent's, the very contrary is

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\* The Reviewer intimates, that the innovations proposed by Lord Bathurst did not excite any alarm in St. Vincent's. The Address of that island, however, opens with a very opposite sentiment. Lord Bathurst's despatch, it says, "contains matter calculated by turns to excite alike our alarm, our astonishment, and our indignation."

the fact. The improved Slave Code of that island, passed in 1820, which has been vaunted as having anticipated all Lord Bathurst's suggested improvements, contains a clause (the 61st) which expressly enacts, "That the evidence of any slave or slaves, on oath, shall be taken for or against slaves, but *in no other case whatever* be admissible."

The slave law of Dominica admits, in certain cases, the evidence of slaves; but this admission is restricted and guarded with such excessive jealousy as to render it really of little or no use\*.

All must agree with the Reviewer in regarding the Order in Council for the regulation of Slavery in Trinidad as a most important and beneficial measure. At the same time, it appears, in some particulars, to deteriorate the state of the slaves in Trinidad, instead of improving it. To shew this, it will be sufficient to contrast some of the provisions of the Spanish Slave-Code, which was, or ought to have been, the law of Trinidad, with the corresponding provisions of the Order in Council.

1st. By the Spanish law, the slaves, besides Sunday are understood to be entitled to a day in each week, and to thirty holidays in the year, to be employed for their own benefit †.—By the Order in Council, no time, exclusive of

\* In a preceding note it will be seen, that Tobago has also admitted, under certain qualifications, slave evidence, in the case of murder, mayem or cruelty, perpetrated on a slave by a White or Free person; a regulation which forms a direct contrast to that enacted, on the same subject, by the Order in Council for Trinidad. (See below, p. 11.)

† This is also the case in Brazil. Mr. Koster, the author of *Travels in Brazil*, published a pamphlet in 1816, with his name affixed to it. It may be found in the sixteenth Number of the *Pamphleteer*. This valuable and accurate writer thus states the case of the Brazilian slave. Besides his food, which is "salt meat or salt fish, and the flour of the manioc," "the laws allow him to have the Sundays and holidays as his own," p. 313. "The Brazilian slaves who supply themselves with food,

Sunday, is allotted to the slaves. This defect must, of course, have arisen from a mere oversight in the framers of the Order; and they will doubtless be desirous of immediately remedying it.

Here, however, it is necessary to advert for one moment to a Minute of the Council of Trinidad on this subject, dated the 9th July, 1823. One of the propositions discussed by the Council is this: "That the Sunday should be devoted, by the slave, to repose and religious instruction; and that other time should be allotted for the cultivation of the provision ground." On this proposition the Council remarks—"No objection to this, under the guarantee, already pledged by his Majesty's Government, of allowing full compensation to the proprietor for the loss of the additional day."

The fair inference from this reply is, that hitherto the slaves in Trinidad have had no time but Sunday for cultivating their grounds, and providing for their subsistence and that of their families. But, if so, how is it that the authorities of the island have not enforced the provisions of the Spanish Law? \* Instead of indemnity to the planters,

have one day in every week for this purpose, but they are expected not to require any assistance from the master." They have also "in the course of the year, above *thirty* holidays besides Sunday." p. 327.

\* The Spanish Cedula of 31st May, 1789, says, that on holidays "the slaves shall not be obliged or permitted to work either for themselves or their masters, except at the time of crop, when it is customary to grant them liberty to work on holidays."

This is further confirmed, by a reference to a work published by Longman, in 1810, entitled "Present State of the Spanish Colonies, by W. Walton, Junior;" in which that gentleman remarks, that "A considerable impediment to the progress of culture in Spanish possessions, is the great number of Feast-days that interfere with the labours of the field;" and again, that though Spanish slaves are denied many "subordinate conveniences, they are allowed a much greater surplus of time to procure them, and enjoy more indulgences than the slaves of other nations."—Vol. ii. pp. 140 and 143.

He goes on to say, that "a slave has the right of redemption; and,

for appropriating a day in lieu of Sunday to the slaves, they ought to be punished for violating the law, by having

in any dispute with his master, has the privilege of choosing an arbitrator. If he be not contented to live in the servitude of a particular person, by whom he may be ill treated, and can produce sufficient motives and another purchaser; or if he has had sufficient industry and economy to have amassed the stipulated sum of 300 dollars, he can demand his freedom, by refunding his purchase-money." "The price affixed by law for the redemption of a female, is 250 dollars. An infant, unborn, ceases to be the property of the owner, by the deposit of 100 rials (about 42s.); and after birth, by that of twenty-five dollars."

This general statement is confirmed by a more recent writer, who, in letters from the Havannah, dedicated to Mr. Croker, of the Admiralty, and published by Miller, in 1821, speaks of "the festivals held every Sunday and Feast-day," when "numbers of free and enslaved assemble" for amusement; and he afterwards describes them as "festivizing on a *dias de dos cruces*, or a church holiday." He also recognizes the regulation which allows the slave "who is discontented with the treatment of his owner, to demand a *carta* or licence to be sold, or, in other words, to change his service," p. 42.

"There are many Coloured People," he adds, "whose freedom is the purchase of the extra earnings allowed them by law." "The number of free People of Colour in this island is nearly equal to the total amount of that class in all the islands together. This is attributable to the mildness of the Spanish Slave-Code, which softens the rigour of their hard destiny."—"Every slave under the Spanish colonial law, who tenders his master the sum he was bought at, is entitled to enfranchisement, nor can his master refuse it. It is equally permitted him to purchase a portion of his freedom by instalments, as his ability allows, being then said to be *coartado*, or *cut*; and such are, in consequence, entitled to a licence to work where and with whom they please, paying to their master a *rial* (5d.) per day, for every hundred dollars remaining of their value, beyond the instalment they have paid. Many who are not *coartado* are allowed by their owners to labour where they please, under similar conditions; by which means an industrious slave may, in a few years, procure sufficient to ransom himself. The excellence of such a regulation it is easy to appreciate. The permission to purchase freedom by portions, is both a wise and merciful policy. It satisfies the master with a high interest, during the period the slave is working out his freedom; and it imbues the latter with habits of cheerful industry, while he is, as it were, knocking off his chain link by link." pp. 40—42.

A farther confirmation of these statements is to be found in our own Privy Council Report of 1789, part VI, where the following provisions are represented as forming a part of the law of the Spanish Colonies, regarding slavery, viz.

"Any slave, on proof given to the Governor of bad treatment by the owner, may insist on being transferred to another master at such



withheld it from them. Or do they pretend to have a right, by any law Divine or human, to the labour of their slaves on the Sunday; that labour being, in fact, given to the master, which is appropriated to feeding the slave? Who would have believed it possible, prior to this Minute of the Council of Trinidad, that if any day besides Sunday should be allotted to the slave for raising food, to enable him to work for his master, the master would claim to be indemnified for so doing by the parent state? Without a doubt these gentlemen will find themselves mistaken in supposing that the Government has guaranteed to them any such indemnity. Nevertheless, it is to be regretted that the Order in Council should have overlooked this important part of the case; and, while it prohibits the Sunday to be employed in labouring for the master, should have omitted to allot any other time to the slave for his provision grounds.

2. By the Spanish law husband and wife cannot be separated by sale or transfer\*.—By the Order in Council the

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price as may be settled between the purchaser and the seller; and if the latter is exorbitant in his demand, the Governor is to name a third person as umpire.

"Any slave who by his industry and economy has raised a sufficiency to purchase his manumission, may demand his freedom from his master, on paying an equitable price; and if the master should prove unreasonable, the Governor, on the application of the slave, is to appoint two appraisers, who are to fix the price."

The Report adds, that "It is said there are nearly 20,000 free People of Colour in the city of Havannah alone."

\* This is clearly indicated in the provision of the Spanish Cedula, which enjoins it upon the master to prevent the unlawful intercourse of the sexes, and to encourage matrimony among his slaves. "Neither must he hinder them from marrying with slaves of other masters; in which case, if the estates are distant from one another, so that the new married couple cannot fulfil the object of marriage, the wife shall follow her husband, whose master shall buy her at a fair valuation, set upon her by skilful men, who shall be nominated by the two parties, and, in case of disagreement, a third shall be appointed by the Justice to fix the price. If the master of the husband does not agree to the purchase, the master of the wife shall have the same facility."—In the sameway, says Mr. Koster, "The Brazilian slave cannot be separated from his wife, for a Christian church has joined them in bonds of matrimony."

prohibition to separate them is restricted to judicial sales. A proprietor therefore, it would seem, may now sell them separately at his discretion, which by the Spanish law he could not have done. This defect in the Order is the more remarkable, as Mr. Canning, in his speech of the 15th March 1824, stated, that "in all future sales, families shall not be separated;" and yet, if the 23d clause of the Order be examined, it will be found that the prohibition applies to judicial sales exclusively.

3. By the Spanish law (see the Minute of the Council of Trinidad of the 9th July, 1823), the testimony of slaves is received in all cases *quantum valeat* \*.—By the Order in Council, this general admission of slave evidence is laid under several new and important restrictions. It cannot now be received unless the slave is certified by some clergyman or religious teacher to understand the nature of an oath. Neither can it be received in civil suits against the master, nor in any trial affecting the life of a *White man*. This last exception, wholly unknown to the Spanish law, makes a most unjustifiable distinction between the *White* and all other classes, although half of the slaves and other property in the island belongs to Free Persons of Colour. But, independently of this circumstance, it is impossible to use terms too strong in describing its hurtful tendency. If a *White* man, against whom, till now, slave evidence might have been legally adduced, should murder a slave, though a thousand slaves may have witnessed the fact, not one of them can be heard in evidence. It moreover holds out an actual premium to murder. If a *White* man should be twice convicted of cruelly treating a slave, he forfeits, according to the Order in Council, all the slaves he possesses. All therefore that is now necessary

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\* One of the propositions discussed by the Council is, "That the testimony of slaves be received *quantum valeat*;" on which the observation is, "A law to this effect is already in force."

for him to do, in order to protect himself from this calamitous result, is to kill the slave outright. No slave evidence can then be received against him. The following extract of a letter from Trinidad, dated the 17th of June, 1824, will be found to confirm this view of the clause in question. It is from a proprietor of Colour :—

“ The draft of the Order in Council of the 15th March has quite disheartened us, and has completely removed every doubt concerning the system which his Majesty's Ministers propose following with respect to us. I confine myself to the 36th clause, by which, in capital cases, the evidence of a slave is rejected against a White man, and received against a Coloured individual; and yet the Order is said to be for the melioration of slavery! It is quite the contrary. Under the Spanish law, the evidence of a slave was admitted against a White man; so that, instead of bettering his condition, it has deteriorated it. At this time, murder may be perpetrated by the privileged class with impunity, unless a free person be present\*.”

It is readily conceded to the Quarterly Reviewer, that the resistance of many of the West Indians, to the measures now pursuing for the mitigation and extinction of slavery,

\* Let it not be supposed that there is the slightest wish to impute blame to the framers of the Order, on account of this or other defects. They did what they believed to be best, under all the conflicting circumstances of a very difficult and delicate case. But it would be treachery, both to the Government and the Slaves, to shrink from representing in their true colours the effects likely to follow from such regulations as these. Government acted, doubtless, with the purest intentions. That, however, will not alter the tendency of this particular provision. It is remarkable, that the Assembly of Tobago have admitted slaves to give evidence in the very case which forms the exception in Trinidad.

The references made to the Order in Council are made to that draft of it which was laid on the table of the House of Commons, on the 15th March, 1824, and was afterwards printed along with Mr. Canning's speech on that occasion. The writer cannot find that any other edition has been published, or is to be obtained, in this country.

is produced more by their dread of the loss of property than by their abstract love of slavery; and that the crime of creating and upholding the slavery of the West Indies is a national crime, and not the crime of the slaveholders alone. For the loss, therefore, which individuals may incur by its abolition, they have a claim on the public. The Reviewer, however, admits, that nothing can be more absurd than the pretensions of the West Indians on this subject; and he instances the claim preferred by Trinidad (a claim also preferred by other colonies) of indemnity for the concession of Sunday to the slaves, and of a day in lieu of it for the cultivation of the food which is to sustain them in toiling for the benefit of their masters. Now the principle which has led the Reviewer to this just and reasonable conclusion with respect to Sunday, will be found to apply to many other usurpations, contrary to all law and all justice, to which the Mother Country has been no party; nay, which have been studiously concealed from her knowledge. Something may also be to be said hereafter on the claims of those mercantile speculators, who, within the last twenty or thirty years, have become the chief possessors of sugar estates in the West Indies. But, concurring with the Reviewer, that wherever a claim to indemnity can be *fairly* established, it ought to be *fairly* met, it is unnecessary now to enter on this wide field of discussion.

The hypothesis of the Reviewer, however, that the resistance of the West Indians to the proposed reforms of their system arises solely from a dread of the loss of property, certainly takes too narrow a view of the question. If it were just, would almost all the great West-Indian proprietors resident in this country have concurred in Mr. Canning's Resolutions? The clamour against these has proceeded chiefly from men of little or no property, many of whom are the salaried servants of those very proprietors:

The resident White inhabitants of the West Indies have been the chief opponents of Lord Bathurst and Mr. Canning; and they are described by Governor Elliott, in his despatch to Lord Liverpool of November 21, 1810, to consist of "attorneys, managers, overseers, self-created lawyers, self-educated physicians, and adventurous merchants, with little real capital and scanty credit."

But the Reviewer blames the Abolitionists for not having been more complimentary to the West Indians: it was very imprudent, to say no more, and unnecessarily offensive, to represent them as likely to perpetuate their resistance.—Certainly, if the leaders in the cause of Abolition had to deal only with the West-Indian proprietors resident in England, and acting under the influence of public opinion in this country, the complaint of the Reviewer might have been more just. But the decision of the question at issue, it is plain, lay not with those gentlemen. And as the experience of thirty-five years had left no doubt as to the reception which the proposal of reform would meet with in the West Indies, it was only fair to warn Government and Parliament of the hopelessness, and not of the hopelessness only, but of the danger also, of the course they were pursuing in referring the matter to colonial deliberation. Had the Abolitionists, considering the views which they entertained, been silent upon this point, they would have been as guilty, as the Reviewer deems the Missionary Smith to have been, of neglecting a plain and obvious duty.

In discussing the question of free labour, and the advantages to be derived from its substitution for slave labour, the Reviewer has confined his objections to a single point; namely, that "no example exists of free Negroes collectively performing the duties required in the cultivation of the sugar cane, the staple production of the

Tropics." The sugar cane, however, is not *the staple*, but only *one* of the *staple* productions of the Tropics; and it is no small concession on the part of the advocates of slave labour virtually to admit, in this early stage of the discussion, the practicability of cultivating the other staples by free labour, and to be driven, in their defence of slavery, to entrench themselves within the line of sugar planting.

The Reviewer seems to assume, that the cultivation of the sugar cane must of necessity be *collectively* performed in order to succeed. This assumption, however, is disproved by facts. The sugar cane is cultivated to a great extent in Asia. In most cases, its cultivation is pursued by the farmer, with the aid alone of his family, and occasionally of a few hired labourers. The Reviewer cannot think of sugar-making, except as it is practised in the West Indies, where the labour is performed by slaves, and where the cultivator of the cane is also the manufacturer of the sugar. But in the East Indies, where each individual husbandman plants a few acres of canes, he either sells the canes when ripe in the market, or their juice, when expressed and boiled into a thick syrup, to the adjacent manufacturer of sugar. In some parts of the East, however, in Java for example, large plantations of sugar belonging to Europeans are conducted entirely by means of hired labour. The proprietor contracts, perhaps, with an intelligent native of China to perform the requisite work at a fixed sum. The contractor procures the labourers, and pays them, ploughs the ground, &c.; and the work is both well and cheaply done.

That sugar then can be grown by free labourers, either collectively or otherwise, the Reviewer will not deny. Would he, or would the West Indians, be content to admit the free growers of sugar to a fair competition with the growers of it by gangs of slaves? If they would, why do they maintain with such pertinacity the protecting duty

against East-Indian sugar? Let our sugar market be but thrown open to the world at large, or even to our own possessions, and a short time will prove that neither whips, nor chains, nor collective cultivation by slaves, are necessary in order to supply us regularly with as fair and as cheap sugar as ever has been produced by such miserable expedients\*.

But the Reviewer, perhaps, intends to rest the strength of his argument on the word *Negroes*. Is there then, in reality, something in the nature of the *Negro*, which renders him incapable of being acted upon by the same motives which operate on the Hindoo, or on the natives of Siam, China, or Java? If the Reviewer's theory were true, that, because the climate of the West Indies supplies the wants of nature almost spontaneously, the free Negro will not work, it would be equally true of Hindostan, Java, or Siam: it would be equally true of the multitudes of Free Blacks and People of Colour scattered over the West-India Colonies, and the competition of whose aspiring industry the dominant White has hitherto found it necessary to keep down by harsh and oppressive restrictions. "It is the nature of the African to be indolent," says the Reviewer. His metaphysics on this particular subject seem as little entitled to respect as his political economy. Is it not then the *nature* of the European, the American, and the Asiatic to be indolent also? If the whip were the only stimulus applied to extract *their* labour, would they be less reluctantly incited to exertion than the slaves in the West Indies? Let those who have tried the compulsory labour of convicts in New South Wales, or of parish paupers in England, be consulted, and their report will uniformly be, that they would prefer paying high wages to the free labourer, to being

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\* See a pamphlet recently published by Hatchard, entitled *East-India Sugar*.

forced to employ, for his bare food and clothing, the convict or the pauper, who derives no benefit from his exertions. Now the Negro slave derives no benefit from *his* exertions in his master's service, beyond that of saving his skin from the lash : and why should he do more than is sufficient for this purpose ? As for food, and clothing, and shelter, and medicine, he must have some share of these, or he can do no work at all ; any more than a horse or a mule that is not fed. The Reviewer, therefore, seems bound to try the effect of higher motives—of wages, for instance—before he inflicts upon the Negro his metaphysical malediction, and excludes him from the brotherhood of humanity. If we look around the West Indies, shall we not find many thousands of emancipated slaves and their descendants, toiling industriously, accumulating property, acquiring knowledge, fulfilling the relative duties of life, rising into moral distinction, and struggling manfully and perseveringly, but submissively, against the civil and political evils which tend to crush their efforts ? “ Oh, but,” says the Reviewer, “ they will not cultivate sugar *collectively*.” Be it so ; and what then ? Shall we not be able to procure sugar for our tea and coffee, because the free Negroes of the West Indies may not choose to cultivate the cane in gangs ?

The Reviewer is aware that the Negro slaves in the West Indies even now voluntarily raise, in considerable quantities, for their own benefit, such articles as they *dare* to raise or cultivate, and as will bring a good price in the market—such as hogs, fish, poultry, firewood, grass, vegetable provisions, and fruit. As for “ sugar, cotton, coffee, cocoa, or other goods or merchandise of any sort,” (see St. Vincent's Law, clause 73), slaves are interdicted from selling them under severe penalties. But let us suppose that a sugar plantation in Jamaica were divided into little farms of five or ten acres each, and let to the



more industrious of the Negroes, and that the proprietor kept the sugar works in his own hands, assuring those who might continue to cultivate the sugar cane of a ready market for it at his manufactory. The same stimulus at least would exist in this case, which now exists for their raising, during the brief pittance of time granted them to provide food for themselves and their families, that superfluous quantity of yams and plantains, and those oranges and pine-apples, and pigs and poultry, with which they supply so abundantly all the markets of the islands. Can the Reviewer assign any good reason why they should not grow sugar cane to supply the neighbouring mill, as readily as they now grow other articles to supply the demand of distant markets; or does he fear that labourers could not be *hired* to assist in manufacturing sugar, if adequate wages were offered?

The advocates of slavery are very inconsistent in their reasonings. It has become the fashion among them of late, to represent in glowing and certainly exaggerated colours the property accumulated by slaves, the produce of their own voluntary labour during the fragment of time allowed them by their masters. Thus, Sir Ralph Woodford tells us how the slaves in Trinidad may amass much beyond the wants of the utmost ambition or profligacy. Thus, Mr. R. Hibbert's affidavit-men describe the slaves on Georgia estate as wallowing in abundance. Thus, a Dr. Stobo, with a parade of minute statistical research, has produced a flaming account of property accumulated by the slaves of Tortola. In short, we hear from all quarters of the West Indies, not only of the desire of the Negroes to acquire property, but of their efficiently employing the means within their power to that end. And under what circumstances is this effected? With a mere scantling of time at their own disposal,—and with every temptation to seek repose, in preference to active employment, which

can be supplied by natural indolence, or by the exhaustion of unremunerated labour under the lash, for five or six days of the week, for the benefit of another,—they nevertheless so diligently and skilfully appropriate that scantling, either in cultivating their grounds, or in working for hire, as to add greatly to their comforts, and even to amass wealth. Such is actually the statement, not only of many of the West-Indians, but of the Quarterly Reviewer himself, in his Fifty-eighth Number (pp. 491 and 492).

The Reviewer's difficult and perplexing problem is therefore already solved. He himself may be adduced to prove, that a stimulus has been already found of far greater potency than the whip. Why then should he leave it to be inferred that the whip is alone capable of rendering the labour of the Negro beneficial to the planter? He will find it hard, by the utmost exertion of his metaphysical skill, to convince reasoning men in this country, that if a Negro will work industriously, from *moral* motives, on a Sunday or Saturday, he will not also be influenced by the same motives to work industriously on the other five days of the week. The problem, then, is solved by the concurrent testimony of the West-Indians and the Reviewer. Their own statements and admissions, if followed out to all their consequences, would be sufficient to prove, not only that the Negroes are fit for freedom, but that their freedom would be a pecuniary benefit, no less to their masters than to themselves.

The Reviewer says he is anxious for a fair and temperate inquiry into this subject. So, unquestionably, are the Abolitionists. Twice has Mr. Whitmore attempted to obtain a Committee of the House of Commons to investigate it, and twice has he been foiled in the attempt by Mr. Huskisson and the West-Indians. To what, in fact, did Mr. Whitmore's motion respecting the Sugar Duties, to what indeed *could* it tend, but to a full and radical development of the

grand question of free and slave labour. It is therefore to be hoped, that in the next session of Parliament all whom the Reviewer can influence will support Mr. Whitmore, when he renews his motion on this subject.

With a very imposing gravity, the Reviewer next tells us, that "those who advance facts of the correctness of which they are not absolutely certain, allow themselves a latitude very nearly approaching to criminality." This is, without a doubt, a very just remark. He adds, however, "We are sometimes afraid that there are persons engaged in polemical controversy *upon this subject*, so hurried on by their detestation of slavery, so morbidly anxious for its extinction, that they are disposed to adopt the most dangerous of all human principles of action, that the end may occasionally sanctify the employment of means which, in themselves, and abstractedly taken, cannot be justified." Has the Reviewer no fear, then, with respect to those who take the opposite side in this controversy? Are there no criminal misrepresentations to be apprehended on the part of those who love, as well as on the part of those who detest slavery; no dishonourable means to be suspected among the partisans of the former, for attaining an end which they think important? And is it no indication of the partiality of the Reviewer, that he should deem it necessary to preach exclusively to the Abolitionists, as if they alone were capable of resorting to base and unworthy arts to promote their objects? But on what does the Reviewer found this severe censure to them? Instead of a sly insinuation against the honesty of their principles, would it not have been more manly to have denounced the detected delinquency on which he grounds his reproof? If he meant to direct it against the Anti-Slavery Society, he ought to have shewn that any thing has been either done or written by them, which, in this particular respect, will not bear his keenest scrutiny

And with respect to individual writers, though some of these may be ill informed, yet he would find it difficult to prove his charge even against them. At least I know of none who have given currency to representations half so inaccurate, or, being inaccurate, half so mischievous, as some which have been made by the Reviewer himself. And as for the Sunday-School Tract which seems to have excited his solemn rebuke, although several expressions in it certainly require qualification, yet it contains no very material inaccuracy of statement, and is well adapted to promote a distaste for colonial bondage in the rising generation.

But this system of diffusing a knowledge of the real nature of slavery through the land, the Reviewer tells us, he "decidedly reprobates." And why does he reprobate it? The reason is curious. "We do not object," he says, "in the slightest degree, to a deep-rooted hatred of slavery, or a thorough knowledge upon that or any other subject."—This is precisely the kind of preface to be expected when a man is about to defend slavery, or to plead *against* diffusing a knowledge of it. He therefore proceeds—"But we protest against this thorough knowledge or deep-rooted hatred being confounded with religious feeling, or employed for party purposes." There is really something ludicrous in this sort of protest. Does the Reviewer mean that we are not to decide the question of slavery on religious grounds? That in this case alone we are not to try our conduct by the immutable principles of right and wrong, which are laid down in the Word of God? That in this case alone we are not to appeal to the Christian maxim of doing to others as we would they should do unto us? That here alone we are not to bring into operation that Divine charity which seeks to relieve our fellow-creatures from temporal misery and oppression, from mental degradation, and from spiritual death? And what again does he mean by *party purposes*? Is it that the energies

which are enlisted in favour of the freedom and happiness of mankind, in favour of the oppressed against his oppressor, are to be likened to a scramble for place, or some paltry question of party politics? Who are the parties? On one side 800,000 colonial bondsmen, with nearly the entire British nation: on the other, less than 2000 proprietors of sugar estates (for the question, even as the Reviewer himself has put it, has now become a sugar question) in the West Indies, aided by those in this country whom their Parliamentary influence, or their good dinners, or their common hostility to Saintship, or the mere ties of blood or interest may attach to their cause. Party purposes! Yes, the purposes of truth and justice and humanity—the promotion of the universal freedom of man—the cause of morality and religion—the cause of their country—the cause of God! May the people of England, young and old, be ever found devoted to such purposes! the zealous, unswerving, unshrinking partizans of such a cause!

The Reviewer, however, still argues that we act immorally, nay, that we are guilty of a *breach of faith* in agitating this subject. He says, "Parliament having deliberately placed in the hands of the Executive Government the solution of this difficult and fearful question, we consider it a breach of public faith to thwart and impede their measures." It is certainly a begging of the question that we thwart and impede their measures. And as for the compact here spoken of, when was it made, and what are its conditions? Is it binding on one party only, like the Reviewer's admonition; or does it bind both? When was it ever heard before, that because Government or Parliament had entered on the consideration of a great public question, interesting to the feelings of every man in the community, that question was to be withdrawn from free, unrestrained, general discussion, and that those who should venture to discuss it would be guilty of a *breach of public*

*faith*? It seems, however, to be the Reviewer's object to silence those only who would advocate the cause of Negro freedom: he accuses them alone of breaking faith with the Government. In what light, then, does he view the whole host of colonial journalists, and of some journalists at home, and of colonial writers of different descriptions, who have been incessantly squirting out their filth and venom on this subject during the last year? Has he no monitory voice for them? These are secure from the Reviewer's castigation. He reserves his ire for the Abolitionists. They must be arraigned for breach of faith, if, in order to set their cause right, they do but exhibit a plain statement of facts, and expose the misrepresentations (for to their ribaldry and invective they reply not) of their opponents.

But what has the Quarterly Reviewer, whose high displeasure the Abolitionists have incurred, to say for himself upon this point? Is it no breach of faith in him to have marched into the field of battle, and to have mingled so vigorously and efficiently in the conflict? Mr. Canning's resolutions, according to him, ought to have shut every honest man's mouth on the subject. And yet, from the hour when these resolutions were passed to the present, who has been the most active, efficient, and quietly pertinacious controversialist on this interdicted question? Why, the Quarterly Reviewer himself. Already have three ponderous articles proceeded from his pen, in opposition to the Abolitionists; all, we presume, in perfect loyalty to the Government. But no sooner does some unlucky wight, who happens to think differently from him, attempt to parry the deadly blows which, under the guise of a specious but hollow neutrality, he, or others under his shield, have been aiming at the very vitals of the cause of Negro freedom, than our ears are dinned with exclamations of bad faith! Such conduct is very intelligible. But is it also candid

and impartial? It might be excused indeed in a West Indian, but is utterly reprehensible in the Quarterly Review.

The respectable character of *The Quarterly Review* makes it difficult to suppose, that, in order to maintain any argument, or to serve any cause, its conductors would wilfully pervert the sense of a writer, by mutilating a passage cited from his work, so as to make him seem to contradict himself, and to inculcate the very opinions which it is his main endeavour to refute. Such, nevertheless, is the effect of the way in which the Reviewer cites and reasons upon the language of Mr. Stephen in *The Crisis of the Sugar Colonies*.

In that pamphlet, written and published at the outset of Bonaparte's counter-revolutionary attempt on St. Domingo, and while his true objects were yet veiled with the deepest dissimulation, the author demonstrated that his design was the restitution of slavery, and pointed out the formidable difficulties which would oppose him in that perfidious project. Among the considerations which probably had determined the Chief Consul to make such an attempt, Mr. Stephen noticed the impatient wish he felt for the restitution of the agricultural and commercial interests of France in her colonies, to which Negro liberty *seemed to be* an insuperable obstacle; and reasoning, as he supposes Bonaparte to do, he puts strongly the contrast between the great productiveness of St. Domingo, when cultivated by slaves, and the then contracted state of its exports.

“ While the Negroes were in bondage, the colony was rich and flourishing by the effects of their labours; since their enfranchisement, it has become a comparatively neglected waste. All the solicitations of the officers of the Republic, all the influence and authority of their own favourite Chief, have failed to recal them to any tolerable degree of regular industry. What then remains, but either

to restore the rigid yoke of the private master, and renew the coercion of the cart-whip, or permanently to leave this fine island in its present unprofitable state?"

After citing this passage, the Reviewer adds, "And is this all that *remains*? We trust not:" just as if the dilemma propounded had been one that the author himself was disposed to maintain, and with reference to the present time; whereas his very next words, following the quoted paragraph, are—" *Thus it appears, at first sight, not unnatural for the Chief Consul to reason;*" and he proceeds to shew, in no small part of the work, the unsoundness of such reasoning, and the gross impolicy of the measures founded upon it.

It is freely admitted to be impossible that the Quarterly Reviewer could mean to produce the unfair and fallacious effect which is thus produced. But it is at the same time very unfortunate that it was not prevented, by adding to his extract those two important lines, especially as the pamphlet is not now to be bought, and as the whole object of the citation is to mark the opinions of Mr. Stephen, who is styled (unquestionably with perfect truth) one of the most able and indefatigable advocates in the cause of Abolition, as being incompatible with those he and his friends now entertain. Even if the Reviewer's intention was to cite this writer, not for opinions, the reverse from what he really held, but for the fact of the neglect of agriculture, at that time, in St. Domingo, it was still no small breach of candour to withhold the explanation of that fact which the author subjoins; an explanation which renders the authority neutral at least, if not directly hostile to the critic's purpose. Mr. Stephen ascribed the aversion from agricultural labour among the Haytians, not to any native fault in their character, such as the Reviewer wishes to establish, but to the effects of that odious system which it is his object to palliate. Mr. Stephen described the driving method



in use upon sugar estates, and pointed out, among its other pernicious consequences, that it precluded the influence of those moral and rational motives, by which a repugnance to regular industry is overcome in the minds of free persons ; while it rendered the particular species of labour formerly exacted by the lash, not only degrading, but odious in the eyes of the enfranchised Negroes. But the author shall speak for himself: and it is well that the Reviewer has afforded the opportunity of reproducing, at this juncture, before the public, the following powerful and striking statement:—

“ Man,” says Mr. Stephen, “ is naturally indolent and impatient of bodily restraint. Though spurred by his hopes and fears into activity, and often to the most ardent exertions, he is with difficulty bent to the yoke of uniform and persevering labour.

“ The suggestions of foresight, however, are very powerful impulses, especially when seconded by habit; and the great Author of our nature has conferred on them a mild as well as a rightful dominion. When we bow to the golden sceptre of reason, obedience has many facilities, and its pains many mitigations. Nature is not thwarted more rudely than the rational purpose demands; and the mind, while it urges on the material frame, cheers it, in return, with refreshing and invigorating cordials. Look at the most laborious peasant in Europe, and, if you please, the most oppressed: he is toiling, it is true, from painful necessity; but it is necessity of a moral kind, acting upon his rational nature; and from which brutal coercion differs as widely as a nauseous drench in the mouth of an infant from the medicinal milk of its mother.

“ Is the impelling motive fear of want, or dread of a master’s displeasure? yet he sees, on the other hand, the approbation and reward attainable by exertions, whereof the degree, at least, is for the moment spontaneous. Self-complacency alleviates his toil, and hope presents to his

view the hearty, well-earned meal, the evening fireside, and perhaps the gratifications of the husband and the father, in promoting the well-being of those dearest to his heart. Is his work fatiguing? He is at liberty, at least, to introduce some little varieties in the mode, or breaks in the continuity of it, which give him sensible relief. He can rest on his spade, or stay the plough a moment in the furrow; can gaze at a passing object, or stop a brother villager to spend a brief interval in talk.

“To the reflecting mind, these little privileges will not appear unimportant, when contrasted with the hard and cheerless lot of the field Negro. *He* is not at liberty to relax his tired muscles, or beguile his weariness, either by voluntary pauses in labour, or by varying its mode: he must work on with his fellow-slaves, let fatigue or satiety groan ever so much for a moment's respite, till the driver allows a halt.

“But far more deplorable is the want of all those animating hopes that sweeten the toil of the European peasant. To the Negro slave, driven to his work, his involuntary exertions, as they can plead no merit, can promise, in general, no reward. His meal will not be more plentiful, nor his cottage better furnished, by the fruits of his utmost toil, viz. in his master's service. As to his wife and children, they can hardly be called his own. Whether the property of the same or a different owner, it is upon the master, not on himself, that their subsistence and well-being depend. The Negro, therefore, casts his hoe from no impulse but that of fear, and fear brought so closely and continually into contact with its object, that we can hardly allow it to rise above brutal instinct, and call it rational foresight, without ascribing to the docility of the horse an equal elevation. The other great and pleasing spring of human action, hope, is entirely cut off.

“When these peculiar circumstances are duly consi-

dered, the rooted aversion of the free Negro to his former labours cannot excite surprise. It is unnecessary to suppose that they were excessive in degree, for, in their kind, they were too irksome to be, by the most patient of our race, contentedly endured, or remembered without abhorrence."

The whole of this passage (though requiring, in the last sentence of it, some qualification, which the author's further experience would doubtless incline him to admit), as well as the author's practical views in general, were certainly very unfit for the Reviewer's purpose: but he should therefore have abstained from quoting *The Crisis* at all. Besides, if the experiment of St. Domingo had afforded a fair test of the disposition and habits of the African race in an unsophisticated state, it is strange that the Reviewer should go back, for the result of it, to the very commencement of the present century; and, stranger still, that he should cite his facts from an author who sets out with carefully guarding himself from all responsibility as to his statements on this subject, on the score of the profound darkness which at that time prevailed in Europe, as to the interior state of that island. "From the interior of St. Domingo," says Mr. Stephen, "scarcely one distinct ray has reached our horizon, and its affairs are almost as unknown to Europe, as those of any nation in the centre of Africa:—

" ——— Res alta terra et caligine mersas."

But soon after this publication the darkness was in some degree dispelled. The French official accounts and an abundance of private information gave juster views of the effects of Toussaint's wise and beneficent policy; and it appeared that, notwithstanding all the waste, and all the disorders of revolution and of internal wars, agricultural industry had been in no small degree preserved. "The

cultivation of the colony," said General Leclerc, in his first official dispatches, "*is in a much higher state of prosperity than could have been imagined.*" And as to the Southern division of the island, where the Revolution had not been attended, as in the North, with the general destruction of the mills, boiling houses, and other works necessary for the manufacture of sugar, it was found in a very flourishing condition. These facts are stated at large by Mr. Stephen, in a work, published two years later than *The Crisis*, called *The Opportunity* (pp. 10—21, &c.), in which, as well as in his *Life of Toussaint*, published about the same time, he has fully vindicated the character of the Haytiens from the charge in question, and has shewn that St. Domingo, at the period of Leclerc's invasion, was illustrating the happy effects of its altered system. This makes it the more unfair in the Reviewer to cite this writer's first impressions of the case, avowedly the fruit of dubious rumour, without notice of their subsequent correction. The fact proved to be that at that period the whole island was in a rapid progress of improvement; and although Toussaint had possessed scarcely three years of peace, so much had been done by him to repair the effects of former anarchy and of seven years of destructive war, that had he been continued in the Government, and the devastations of a new counter-revolutionary war avoided, there is reason to believe that St. Domingo would by this time have been restored, even as a sugar colony, to all its former value.

Unhappily, Bonaparte, like the Quarterly Reviewer, was under private colonial influence, as he has since frankly acknowledged; and, like him too, he was deluded into the belief that slavery and the driving whip were necessary to the production of sugar. He lived not only to acknowledge, but to lament his error; and to confess that he had, in this instance, been the dupe of the ex-proprietors of the French colonies, with whom, through his wife Josephine,

he was connected, and whose prejudices he fatally imbibed. But the truth flashed on his mind too late. He had reduced St. Domingo nearly to a waste, and destroyed no small part of its scanty population, before a new war with England arrested his career.

After this addition to their former calamities, and when it had become evident that the restitution of the dreadful yoke of West-Indian slavery could permanently be averted only by force of arms, it would have been preposterous to expect, from the poor Haytians, any early and large advances in agricultural industry and wealth, even if new internal commotions and wars between the governments of Christophe in the North, and Petion in the South, had not soon again, and for a long time, called a large part of the cultivators into military service; and if the conduct of France, since her peace with this country, had not been such as to make the maintenance of large standing armies necessary to secure their freedom.

When all these considerations, and others that might be named, are taken into account, the case of Hayti repels instead of supporting the Reviewer's injurious imputations on the general character of Negroes. Among what people of the earth would industry have prevailed, in an equal degree, under the same adverse circumstances? To the destruction of the sugar works, and the want of capital to rebuild them, must be added that chilling sense of the insecurity of property, under which it would be utterly vain to expect that men should toil for its accumulation. Yet the Haytians have not only laboured sufficiently to procure for themselves, in the greatest abundance, all the necessaries, and some even of the elegances, of life, but to defray the whole expense of their establishments, civil and military, and to keep up copious magazines for the purposes of an arduous and ever impending war. If the enemies of their successive chiefs are to be believed, free labour in Hayti

has enabled them to amass great wealth for public and private uses, after providing for all the immediate services of the State. But, at least, they have maintained themselves, and sustained their own government, and defended their independence against all its foes. This cannot be denied: for, during the long term of nearly thirty years, they have clearly had no foreign protection or support. Which of the colonies, cultivated by slaves, can make an equal boast? Certainly not Jamaica, nor any other of the British islands. They all lean continually on the mother country, not only for military defence, and for the support of their own interior government, but for commercial privileges and premiums, in the shape of bounties to their own produce, and prohibitory impositions on the produce of other countries, in order to enable them to continue their boasted agriculture, by means of slave labour, without loss and ruin.

After all, if the most authentic public documents, and the reports of Parliamentary Committees, concurring with the representations of the Assemblies themselves, deserve any credit, the business of sugar planting, by slave labour, has been on a general average productive, not of profit, but loss, during the whole era of Haytian freedom. It is not very modest, then, in the planters and their apologists to arraign, as the Reviewer has done, their neighbours of Hayti, for not raising much of the same profitless commodity, though they have no mother country to give them for it a monopoly of her markets, and to pay them bounties on its exportation. Yet we are desired to infer, from the smallness of their sugar crops, that they are indolent, and make a bad use of their freedom. The Reviewer strongly applies the same argument to Sierra Leone, without even ascertaining whether its soil be fit for sugar. He regards the free labour in that colony as no proof that the Negroes will work without the driver's whip, merely because they do not raise sugar. The raising of sugar, it seems, is

this writer's only test of the capacity of the African for voluntary industry. If so, let the West-Indians bring in a bill for allowing sugar, the produce of Sierra Leone, to be imported into this country on the same terms with their own, merely that they may have the credit of this argument in some future defence of their predilection for slave labour. At present that article, if raised in the British colony of Sierra Leone, cannot be imported without paying a heavy additional duty, a duty altogether prohibitory, in order to protect the sugar of our West-Indian islands. If in the latter, therefore, it is raised at a loss, it seems no very clear indication of a want either of good sense or of industry, that it is not raised at all in the former.

After all, no one is disposed to contend, that free labourers, either at Sierra Leone or St. Domingo, will voluntarily work as hard as slaves may be compelled to work under the driver's lash. The comparative productiveness of the two species of labour does not depend on the degree of muscular exertion which each class of labourers may be incited for a time to yield, but on the more or less costliness of the article which each produces. What would it signify to Jamaica, that, by means of the whip, she could extract from her 340,000 bondsmen twice the quantity of sugar which would be grown by twice the number of labourers in some other part of the world, if, compelled to come into the same market on equal terms, she were obliged to sell her sugar for ten shillings per cwt. less than she had paid for raising it and bringing it to market?

It was doubtless with some such view of the subject that Mr. Stephen, in the pamphlet called *The Opportunity*, p. 21, remarked, (and thus far had it suited the Reviewer's purpose to cite the passage, might he have fairly referred to Mr. Stephen's authority,) " That the produce of St. Domingo will soon be as great as it was before the Revolu-

tion, is, I admit, more than can be reasonably expected. The number of adults fit for labour is unquestionably reduced in a very great proportion. Nor will free men and women ever be brought to work so intensely as slaves are compelled to do by the coercion of the whip. They will not labour more severely than consists with the preservation of health, with the ordinary duration of life, and with the maintenance and increase of native population;—points, unhappily, which have been but too much disregarded by our West-Indian economists\*.

Industry is a well chosen word, when used by the planters and their apologists in these discussions: but industrious labour, to deserve that honourable appellation, must be performed by choice, or, at least, without physical compulsion. It would be an utter mockery to praise a

\* It is obvious, that in the whole of his reasoning on this subject, Mr. Stephen had in view the mere quantity of labour which the compulsion of the cart-whip is capable of extracting, as compared with the quantity which will be voluntarily yielded by free labourers. This, however, is but a mere fragment of the question of free and slave labour. The problem to be solved is this: Will not any given portion of land yield a greater return for the capital employed upon it, when cultivated by free labour, than it would yield if cultivated by slave labour? This question has been set at rest, to the satisfaction of every sound political economist, by Mr. Cropper and Mr. Hodgson.

An attempt has been made to defend the conduct of the Quarterly Review, towards Mr. Stephen, by a quotation from his recent work, p. 90: but the attempt has been made in the same unfair and partial manner as that exposed above. Mr. Stephen had been shewing it to be the almost uniform statement of West-Indians, that the labour of a few days will furnish subsistence for a year; and then he exhibits them as affirming, that their Negroes must starve, if a higher price cannot be obtained for their sugar. But, if a few days will furnish food for the year, what a reproach to West-Indians, that their Negroes should be distressed for food under any circumstances! Such in substance is Mr. Stephen's argument; and a most powerful *argumentum ad hominem* it is, whether the West-Indian statement be true or false. Nor would it be at all invalidated by admitting, that the Negroes in the West Indies, like the peasantry in all other parts of the world, will, in general, do no more work than the subsistence of their families demands.



man for this virtue on his descent from the tread-mill; but to ascribe industry to the field Negro, with a driver behind him, would be an insult still more cruel. His excess in this species of industry is too often a curse instead of a blessing, and a premature grave is its natural reward. It would, without doubt, be better that the poor Africans were indolent than industrious at that expense, even if they should be as idle as the Whites in the West Indies are for the most part proverbially known to be.

The *Quarterly Reviewer's* main argument for slavery then is this; that without it sugar cannot continue to be cultivated as at present. Thus far he is right:—so severe is the labour which the cultivation of sugar, as it is now conducted in the West Indies, requires, that no *voluntary* labourers would encounter it: the terror of the cart-whip is indispensable, in order to prevail with them to grapple with it; just as men are propelled to the cannon's mouth by the danger which awaits their refusal. And this is precisely what the Abolitionists have all along affirmed respecting sugar-planting, as carried on in the West Indies. They have represented West-Indian sugar-planting as a cruel and deathful service; and have given it as their opinion, that if the cultivation of sugar must retain its present character, and continue to be followed by its present effects, no choice is left to us but to deliver ourselves from all participation in its guilt by abstaining entirely from the use of sugar. But there clearly exists no such painful necessity. No apprehension can now be entertained either of our not being able to procure sugar at all, or of our paying for it at a dearer rate, if slavery were suddenly swept from the face of the earth. So far, indeed, is such an apprehension from being well founded, that it is only because we choose to maintain slavery, that we pay for sugar at the present high rate. And as for St. Domingo, if in that island they should decline growing sugar at all,

either on account of the expensiveness of the works which its manufacture is supposed to require, or on account of its comparative unprofitableness, or on account of the prohibitory or protecting duties with which it is almost every where met, it would not affect in the slightest degree the question of free and slave labour.

With a view, however, to establish his own doctrine on that question, the Reviewer strives hard to prove, that the statement made by Mr. Whitmore in the House of Commons, on the 13th of May, 1824, of the extent of the trade of Hayti, on the authority of M. Inginac, the Secretary of the Haytian Government, is altogether fallacious. It may be so; and it is for M. Inginac to vindicate the truth of his official representations. But whether they are true or false, one thing is clear, and that is, that the Reviewer has not succeeded in disproving them. Does not the Reviewer know, that the American year is from September to September; and the Haytian year from January to January? Yet he takes it upon him to condemn the Haytian returns as fallacious, because they differ numerically from the American. He entirely overlooks, also, what is a well-known fact, and what is even recognized in the American statements for 1821; namely, that many vessels clear out from the United States for Cuba, as being the first island in their route, or for the West Indies generally, which, nevertheless, land their cargoes at Hayti. If this be so, it must follow of necessity, that the Haytian account of imports from the United States will greatly exceed the American account of exports to Hayti\*.

Let us consider, also, the slightrness of the grounds on which the Reviewer would throw discredit on the Haytian document. "In 1822," he says, "Great Britain imported

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\* The Reviewer's mistake as to the year, and as to the substitution of dollars for pounds, being stated to be merely typographical, is passed over.

from Hayti 41,623 cwt. or 4,662,784 lb. in weight of coffee, which the Haytian document gives as being 13,548,591 dollars in value—an obvious mistake, for both statements cannot be correct.” The Haytian document, however, does not state the export to be 13,548,591 *dollars in value*, but so many *pounds in weight* \*. In the next place, the Reviewer has altered the terms of the document. He represents it as saying, that this quantity was actually *imported into Great Britain* in 1822. Now the document only states, that in the year 1822 there were *exported from Hayti, in ships belonging to Great Britain*, 13,548,591 lb. weight of coffee. That quantity, it is obvious, might have been exported from Hayti in British ships, and yet not landed in Great Britain. What is to hinder a British ship from carrying Haytian coffee to its best market, the continent of Europe, instead of bringing it to this country, where it is loaded with prohibitory duties, and whence it must be re-exported before it can come into consumption? The same may be said of American ships: they are not bound to return laden with their coffee, or other articles, to the United States, but may seek for them the best market they can find.

After this statement, whatever the facts of the case may be found to be, is it too strong language to employ the words of the Reviewer himself to characterise his reasonings on this subject? “*We cannot too strongly reprobate,*” he says, “*this attempt to impose upon our credulity; and we are satisfied that it will meet the reprobation of all reasonable men, whatever their sentiments may be upon the general question; and we hope it may serve as a caution to all those who wish to form an accurate opinion upon this contested subject, to examine well the data on either side before they surrender their conviction.*”

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\* This is the typographical error adverted to in the last note.

In no part of this article does the Reviewer appear to have acted more unfairly, than in the representation he has professed to give of the provisions of the *Code Henri* for regulating Haytian labour. Suppose a Frenchman or an American were to profess to give a view to the world of the condition of the English labourer, and in the execution of his purpose were to quote only that part of our Statute Book which consigns vagrants to the workhouse, or which carts paupers home to their own parishes, or which fixes the hours of manufacturing labour; and then were to exclaim, Such is the boasted freedom of the English peasant, "a freedom not very far removed from the character of slavery;" would not the whole ire of *The Quarterly Review* be poured out on such a man? His vocabulary, rich as it is, would scarcely supply terms of vituperation strong enough to designate the combined ignorance and unfairness of such a description. And yet what has the Reviewer done on this occasion? He has realised this imaginary case. He has overlooked all the obligations imposed by the *Code Henri* on the proprietors of estates towards their labourers; he has omitted to state that the labourers were entitled to a fourth part of the gross revenue of the plantation; he has forgotten to point out that the labourer was no longer subject to the caprice of the owner or his agents, but that an appeal in every case of complaint must be made to the Magistrate, to whom proprietor and labourer were equally amenable, and without whose fiat not the slightest punishment could be inflicted. That a very strict police was necessary in Hayti on the sudden emancipation of all the slaves, and after all the disorders that had prevailed there, must be admitted. It would have been an impeachment of the wisdom and foresight of the Government, if they had not provided such a police. But surely there is nothing peculiarly harsh, as the Reviewer would intimate, or which indicates a very oppressive state of society, in

compelling labourers, each of whom is by law entitled to receive his share of a fourth of the gross produce of a plantation, to perform a fair and equal proportion of the labour of raising it; or in treating every vagrant as vagrants are liable to be treated in this country. The Reviewer, however, while he was giving a distorted view of the *Code Henri*, in order to support the cause of Negro slavery, must have known that that code, be it good or bad, was no longer in existence in any part of Hayti. It never had any operation beyond the northern division of the island, and it entirely ceased even there, in 1820, on the termination of the life of its author Christophe.

One great object of *The Quarterly Reviewer*, in treating the subject of colonial slavery, being to prove that sugar cannot possibly be cultivated by the labour of free Negroes, he is, therefore, naturally anxious to falsify Mr. Clarkson's statement of the success of a well-known experiment, made in Barbadoes, by a Mr. Steel, who conceived the dangerous project of substituting the stimulus of wages among his slaves for that of the cart-whip. "The failure of this system," we are told, "either as increasing the comforts of the Negroes, or as an experiment of profitable cultivation, is shewn in Mr. Macqueen's work." As it is upon the testimony of Mr. Macqueen that the Reviewer relies in this instance, without doubt or question, and upon whom he of course wishes the public, after his example, to place the same unhesitating reliance, it seems necessary to examine his title to be cited as an adequate authority by the Reviewer; who, while affecting great moderation himself, may thus contrive by a sort of side-wind to accredit the mistatements and exaggerations of others. A few particulars will shew that Mr. Macqueen is not always a safe guide to follow, even if we make no account of his being evidently a fierce partisan of the West-Indian system.

1. An instance had been mentioned, in the notes to the Debate on Mr. Buxton's Motion (p. 234, &c.) of twenty-six slaves, who in the year 1776 had been emancipated in Tortola by a Quaker of the name of Nottingham, and who in 1822 had increased to forty-three, and were then living in comfort, and conducting themselves respectably. Among other things, it was stated that they were free from debt, and had acquired some property; that many of them had joined the Methodist Society; and that not one of them had ever been tried for any crime, or had ever occasioned any burden to the community. No sooner had this statement appeared than the whole artillery of Mr. Macqueen was pointed at the poor Nottinghams; and pages of his book are employed to exhibit them as "an intolerable nuisance to people of all ranks"—an assertion which is sufficiently extraordinary, considering that none of them had ever been tried in a court of justice. By way of destroying at once all the credit due to the Nottinghams, from this or any other circumstance related of them, Mr. Macqueen published two anonymous letters, the subject of which is to represent these enfranchised Negroes in the most odious light possible. Some parts of these letters, however, are so obviously untrue as to deprive the whole of all title to authority. "The greater part of the females liberated by Mr. Nottingham," says Mr. Macqueen's correspondent, "died without issue. Most of the males connected themselves with female slaves, and were consequently relieved from the trouble of providing for and supporting their children." Now, does not Mr. Macqueen know enough of the West Indies to be aware, that, if the greater part of these females had died without issue, their number could not have increased from 26 to 43—now, indeed, to 44? The alleged connexion of the male Nottinghams with female slaves could not

have added to their number. Whence, then, has arisen the increase—which is not denied—an increase which is the more remarkable, because the surrounding slave population has decreased, in the same time, nearly in the same proportion in which the Nottinghams have increased?—But this is not all. “I remember,” says one of these veracious correspondents, “a few years since, seeing one of them (the Nottinghams) in the Court-house of Tortola, attending a prosecution of his against a gentleman of the neighbourhood for an assault and battery on his own person. The gentleman, having found him in the VERY ACT of committing some *depredation on his property*, was, from the fellow’s unbounded insolence, provoked to lay his whip, which he happened to have in his hand at the time, over him. In the course of the trial, when the defendant’s Counsel commenced his defence, he requested the plaintiff to come immediately opposite to him, for the purpose of cross-examining him, when, to his astonishment, and the astonishment of THE WHOLE COURT, the Counsel found adorning the shirt-collar of the plaintiff a gold sleeve-button of his own, which he immediately claimed, shewing the Court the fellow of it. The button had been STOLEN some time previous, by a female slave belonging to the Counsel, and wife to the plaintiff.” (p. 171.) Will the reader believe, that the whole of this circumstantial detail is a gross and wilful fabrication? And yet Mr. Macqueen adopts it as unquestionably true! No Nottingham ever prosecuted any gentleman in the courts of Tortola for an assault and battery on his own person! No such trial is to be found in the records of the courts of that island! The following trial, however, is to be found there:—“16th March 1821. The King versus John Lettsom, for an assault and battery on David Ham and Naomi Vanterpool: witnesses, Catherine Frazer,

Naomi Vanterpool, Cyrene Lake, Prince Vanterpool, Mary Frett. True Bill, D. J. Donovan, Foreman."—"Court adjourned to Thursday."—"John Lettsom was then called to the bar to plead to the indictments found against him on Monday last, when he pleaded not guilty to the one found against him for an assault and battery on D. Ham, as also to the one for an assault and battery on Naomi Vanterpool; but to the last mentioned indictment he afterwards withdrew his plea of not guilty, and pleaded guilty. Justices, W. G. Crabb, M. D. French, W. R. Isaacs, and R. King." Ham's cause came on, and Mr. Lettsom was found guilty. The facts proved were, that Mr. Lettsom, for some trifling cause, had seized David Ham and Naomi Vanterpool, two free persons, on their own land, had caused them both to be stripped to the skin and tied to trees, and had flogged them on their bare buttocks in a most cruel and shameful manner with tamarind whips, and also with a stick and rope. In the course of the trial Mr. Lloyd, the son-in-law of the defendant, and his Counsel on the occasion, saw in the collar, not of a Nottingham, but of David Ham, a gold button, which he challenged as his property, declaring it must have been stolen from him. David Ham affirmed that the button was his own property, honestly obtained; and there the matter ended. David Ham's wife also was Mary Frett, a free person, and not the female slave of Mr. Lloyd.—The above circumstance, it is pretty clear, has furnished the ground-work of the story which Mr. Macqueen's correspondent has fabricated, and Mr. Macqueen has circulated, with a view to injure the character of the Nottinghams. If this be not a fair deduction from the premises, Mr. Macqueen is at least bound to shew that the prosecution by a Nottingham, which is made the ground-work of his story, actually did take place.—The sentence of the Court on Mr. Lettsom was, that he should pay for



both assaults a fine of 150*l.* to the King, and that he should be committed until the fine and all fees attending the prosecution should be paid\*.

\* Mr. Macqueen has endeavoured to destroy the effect of the above statement, not by denying its truth, but by producing a long detail by a Mr. D. Frazer, of Tortola, to shew that the Nottinghams are an idle, profligate, pilfering set. All this proves nothing respecting the truth or falsehood of the particular fact related by Mr. Macqueen's former correspondent, and which was the point at issue on the present occasion. It would be easy to shew several palpable contradictions, even in this latest detail of Mr. Frazer. But, admitting the whole to be as true, as it evidently is untrue and exaggerated, it only makes the case of the Nottinghams a more remarkable proof of the beneficial effects of freedom, as compared with slavery. If they, though idle and profligate, immoral and vicious, have contrived to maintain themselves for nearly fifty years, without any burden on the community, without contracting debts, without being convicted, or even judicially accused, of any crime, and have in that time increased from 26 to 44, while the slave community around them has been rapidly decreasing; is it possible to mark more strongly than by these facts, the comparatively destructive nature of slavery? But the case, when all the circumstances of it are known, establishes this position still more strongly. Although Mr. Nottingham emancipated his slaves in 1776, he being then a resident in America, yet, owing to the war which intervened, it was at least eight years later before they were put in possession of their freedom. In 1790, their number had diminished from 26 to 20. From that time, however, they increased; and their number has since been more than doubled, notwithstanding all the harsh epithets bestowed on them by Mr. Macqueen's friend. How much more rapidly must they have multiplied, had they been sober, industrious, and moral! As for the charges of profligacy and vice, they are charges which affect not the Nottinghams only, but the Methodist Society, of which so many of them are members; and it behoves the Methodist Ministers at Tortola to explain how it is that such worthless characters continue to be connected with them. It now becomes their bounden duty to investigate these charges, and to report upon them.

One circumstance it would be improper to omit. The Governor of St. Kitts, who is also the Governor of Tortola, in his speech to the Legislature, in Dec. 1823, strongly recommended it to them "to weigh the justice and the policy of enlarging the privileges of the free population; amongst whom are individuals of worth and intelligence, in every respect competent to contribute support to the laws, and whose conduct, on all occasions, has afforded the best assurance of their ability to appreciate and maintain the rank of citizens. I venture to offer this topic to your consideration, under a firm conviction, that, by extending privileges to this class, you will promote their respectability in the

2. Mr. Macqueen affirms, that "the African Institution carry on a most terrific system of espionage against the West-Indian Colonies. Their spies in the colonies are numerous, and their character such as, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, renders them justly execrated and dreaded by every thing honourable and good in the community." "The instructions given to these informers or agents, whether local or imported, were to supply accusations, *quocunque modo* accusations. Such was the case of Mr. Middleton, engaged twenty-three years ago to take charge of the school at Walton, Jamaica. When that gentleman could no longer shut his eyes to facts every hour witnessed, and when he could obtain no accusations without violating truth, he transmitted his information accordingly; and the reply by return of packet to him was—'We have no further occasion for your correspondence; we are sorry to find you have been bitten by the rattle-snake; and we can believe nothing you may advance in future.' " (p. 241.)

To this statement Mr. Macqueen, by way of giving it authenticity, subjoins the following note:—" *Jamaica Royal Gazette*, July 19. The author states he had the information from Mr. Middleton himself."—On turning, however, to the *Jamaica Gazette* of 1823, it appears that the statement, thus given to the public by Mr. Macqueen as authentic, is taken from a furious attack on the Abolitionists by an anonymous writer who signs himself QUERCUS. Mr. Macqueen says nothing of this, but quotes as his authority the *Jamaica Royal Gazette*.

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community, and thereby strengthen, and at the same time reward, that devotion, which, it must be admitted, they have always evinced for the defence and welfare of the colony." Shortly before the Governor delivered this speech, he had visited Tortola, and, among other things, had examined the state and condition of the Nottinghams. It is in his power, therefore, to decide this controversy; and to say whether he found them a lawless, idle, profligate set, living by crime; or a peaceable, orderly, industrious body, supporting themselves by their own exertions.—See further, on this subject, the Appendix.

But although Mr. Macqueen may be disposed to receive as true, every charge against the African Institution which Quercus or any other nameless writer may prefer, however improbable in itself, or however unsupported by proof, yet it is surprising that he should adopt a tale which carries its refutation along with it. "Twenty-three years ago," that is to say, in the year 1800, the African Institution, which is stated to have numerous spies in the colonies, employed a Mr. Middleton as an informer or agent, to whom it gave instructions, and with whom it corresponded. Now, it so happens that the African Institution had no existence in 1800, nor until seven years after that time. It was first formed in May 1807. Is it necessary, after this, to give a flat denial to every other part of the story, and to affirm, that no individual of the name of Middleton, residing in Jamaica, was ever known to the African Institution, or ever wrote to it, or ever received the slightest communication from it? The whole story, from first to last, is a false and calumnious invention, without a single fact, or the distant semblance of a single fact, on which to rest. It is, in short, a malignant fabrication, for which its circulators can produce no more proof than for a similar fabrication, also first communicated to the British public by the Glasgow Courier,—namely, that Mr. Stephen had been the proprietor of a plantation and slaves in the West Indies, which, on quitting that part of the world, he had sold to a purchaser; which purchaser, it was fairly enough argued, he was now endeavouring fraudulently to strip of his property, by promoting the emancipation of the slaves without returning the purchase-money.—Mr. Stephen never was the owner of a plantation, or even of a single slave in the West Indies\*.

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\* Mr. Macqueen has very manfully retracted much of what he had said against Mr. Stephen, on former occasions. His information, however, is still incorrect. The correspondent, on whose testimony he relies, still makes Mr. Stephen to have been the owner of several

But "the spies of the African Institution in the colonies are numerous." This is just as untrue as that, in the year 1800, they had a spy in Jamaica of the name of Middleton. These spies, Mr. Macqueen, in the largeness of his faith, is disposed to reckon by hundreds: for ninety-nine out of an hundred of them, he tells us, are "justly execrated and dreaded" by that pure and honourable West-Indian community among whom they exercise their vocation. But how has it happened that none of them have been detected in the exercise of their vile calling, except this solitary renegade Mr. Middleton? Or is it supposed that, if they had been detected, they would have been treated with peculiar lenity and forbearance; with more, for example, than Mr. Smith, or Mr. Austin, or Mr. Shrewsbury? The whole body of colonial journalists and partisans are called upon to prove one tittle of all that they have so hardily asserted on this subject.

In the same spirit, and for the same purpose, and with the same truth, have the *Glasgow Courier* (of which Mr. Macqueen is the editor) and other journals, charged the Abolitionists with disseminating inflammatory publications in the West Indies; and this calumny has been echoed from mouth to mouth, until men have begun to believe their own fabrication. And yet, what object could the Abolitionists have in disseminating tracts or pamphlets in the West Indies? The slaves do not require to be told that they are *driven* to their work, and cartwhipped by their managers; nor the planters that they drive and cartwhip their slaves. It is the British public, and not the population in our colonies, which requires to be enlightened on these points; and it is to the purpose of enlightening the *British* public that the efforts of the Society are directed.

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domestic slaves. This, however, is altogether untrue, and the undoubted fact is, that Mr. Stephen never was the owner of a single slave.  
 --See his *Delineation of West-India Slavery*, preface, p. lii.

3. “ *No Creole slaves*,” says Mr. Macqueen (p. 255), “ or those who could fluently speak languages, generally understood, were so marked,” that is, branded by means of a heated iron ; “ and NONE, either Creole or African, have been so branded since the Abolition.”

But let us only look at one of the latest *Royal Gazettes* of Jamaica, that for example of the 19th to the 26th June 1824, and very abundant proof will there be found of the incorrectness of Mr. Macqueen. The following are notices of slaves advertised, either for sale or as runaways :—

“ Elizabeth Francis, a *Creole*, marked G F, G F below, not plain, on the right shoulder.”

“ William Bullock, a *Creole*, marked T S, heart on top, on left shoulder.”

“ Fin, a YOUNG *Creole* Negro boy, marked S on right shoulder.”

“ Edward Frazer, a MULATTO *Creole* man, marked R S on shoulder.”

“ William, *alias* Harry, a *Creole*, marked apparently I A on right shoulder.”

“ William Slater, a *Creole* BOY, has blister marks on the left, and marked A S on the right shoulder.”

“ Frank, a YOUNG *Creole* SAMBO man, mark not plain on right shoulder.”

“ Robert Henry, a YOUNG *Creole* man, marked M R. *about* the shoulders.”

“ Sam, a YOUNG *Creole* Negro man, marked G J. on right shoulder.”

“ Robert, a YOUNG *Creole* Negro man, marked apparently T. R. P. on left shoulder,” &c. &c.

4. Mr. Macqueen, professing to quote from a publication of the Anti-Slavery Society, entitled *A Brief View of the Nature and Effects of Negro Slavery*, thus states one of the propositions (p. 263) :—

“ Next we are told, that the Negroes are driven to their

work, and compelled to labour *under the lash on Sunday*, in order to procure a maintenance for themselves."

Now the following is the passage *literatim* which Mr. Macqueen, affects to quote:—

" Besides being *generally* made to work under the lash, without wages, the slaves are further obliged to labour for their own maintenance on that day which ought to be devoted to repose and religious instruction."

It is unnecessary to follow Mr. Macqueen into his elaborate vindication of the Slave Trade, because it comes just eighteen years too late\*; or into his argument against the possibility of obtaining sugar from Bengal, because he has only to procure the abolition of the protecting duty, in order to establish his position beyond all controversy; or into his attack on Hayti and Sierra Leone, because the Negro inhabitants of those colonies are already free, and in no danger of being deprived of their liberty by any misrepresentations; nor into the slanders against Mr. Cooper and Mr. Meabry, two of the witnesses brought forward in " Negro Slavery," because they have themselves abundantly refuted those slanders. Only one other point shall be noticed.

Mr. Macqueen, speaking of the charges of gross immo-

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\* Mr. Macqueen professes himself " an enemy to slavery in the *abstract*." (p. 9.) He makes ample amends for this heterodoxy, however, by his defence of it in detail. Thus he tells us, without adducing even the slightest shadow of authority for his assertion, that the emancipation of the serfs or villeins in Russian Poland had produced utter ruin both to master and slave, and an open revolt which it required 500,000 bayonets to keep down. (p. 15.) " These facts," says Mr. Macqueen, " may be ascertained by any one who will take the trouble to inquire." But where are the traces to be found, of the formidable ruin and revolt here spoken of as arising from the emancipation of the serfs in Russian Poland? In other provinces, namely Esthonia, Livonia, and Finland, the happiest results have followed from a similar measure. Mr. Macqueen will, perhaps, favour the world hereafter with his authorities.

rality brought against the Colonists, observes, that "the *shameless writer* of the Notes on the Debate on Mr. Buxton's Motion, aggravates the bitter libel thus:—'The married man in Jamaica, who keeps his brown or black mistress, in the very face of his wife and family, and of the community, has generally as much outward respect shewn him, and is as much countenanced, visited, and received into company, especially if he be a man of some influence in the community, as if he had been guilty of no breach of decency, or dereliction of moral duty.'" Mr. Macqueen charges the writer of the Notes with being guilty of "a most atrocious falsehood" in uttering these words; and yet, as he refers to the very page of the Debate (p. 152) which contains them, he must have been aware that they are not the words of the annotator, but the words of Mr. Stewart, the author of *The Past and Present State of Jamaica*, who had resided twenty years in that island, and whom Mr. Macqueen himself quotes as a credible witness (p. 305). The words, therefore, which he stigmatises as "a most atrocious falsehood" of that "shameless writer," the annotator, are the words of Mr. Stewart. I would only observe, that Mr. Stewart is borne out in his statements, "*shameless*" as they may be, by Dr. Williamson, another friend of the West-Indian cause, who resided fourteen years in Jamaica. And here it is impossible not to remark, that, supposing Mr. Macqueen and his West-Indian friends had succeeded in discrediting the testimony of Mr. Cooper and Mr. Meabry, what would they have gained by their success, so long as the unimpeached testimony of Dr. Williamson and Mr. Stewart remain to prove the very same points which Mr. Cooper and Mr. Meabry are violently assailed for asserting? There is something very unaccountable in the fact, that while Mr. Cooper and Mr. Meabry are traduced as liars and calumniators, on account of the representations they

have made of West-Indian manners and morals, a most guarded silence has been maintained with respect to the still stronger representations of Dr. Williamson and Mr. Stewart.

But, it may be said, "what is all this to the point in hand? It proves nothing as to the accuracy or inaccuracy of Mr. Macqueen's statements with respect to the experiment of Mr. Steele, of Barbadoes. In this particular instance Mr. Macqueen may be right, and Mr. Clarkson wrong." Doubtless this is possible; but then, as some of Mr. Macqueen's statements on this subject are drawn from sources to which there is no access, it is natural, after all that has been stated above, to feel some distrust respecting them. The witness to whom he chiefly refers, Mr. Sealy, is described as the manager of a neighbouring estate to that of Mr. Steele. Now, even if he were not himself one of the persons displaced by Mr. Steele when he got rid of all White managers and overseers, and abolished the whip, he is obviously of that very class of men who were the most likely to view his plan with prejudice and aversion\*.

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\* This remark applies also in its full force to a witness produced by Mr. Gladstone, of Liverpool (see his Correspondence with Mr. Cropper, p. 64), and who deprives himself of all title to confidence by the very first sentence of his statement. Speaking of Mr. Steele's slaves, he says, that from 1780 to 1797 they "decreased from 262 to 240, whilst there was a general increase going on upon the neighbouring estates." From the Privy Council Report it appears that, in 1788, the Council of the island declared, that "it is certain that Negroes do in general decrease in this island." And in proof of this declaration the Tables annexed state, that the Negro population, which in 1770 was 76,334, was in 1780 68,370, and in 1786 only 62,115, although about 15,000 slaves were imported from 1770 to 1786. It further appears, from Bryan Edwards, vol. i. p. 350, that the numbers in 1792 were only 64,330, although 3970 had been imported during the preceding six years. In the face of this overwhelming evidence, Mr. Gladstone's witness has the temerity to assert, for what purpose he can best explain, that from 1780 to 1797 a general increase was going on in Barbadoes. Is it possible to confide in such testimony?



The Reviewer speaks of Mr. Steele's experiment as having been carried on for *thirty* years. Of the experiment, however, detailed by Mr. Clarkson, nothing is known from any authentic source, except during a period of *seven* years—namely, from 1783, when it first commenced, to 1790. It is very possible, therefore, that the experiment may have completely succeeded during those seven years, but that, from causes yet unexplained, it may have failed afterwards. The only knowledge we have of this plan is from the letters of Mr. Steele himself, contained in Dr. Dickson's volume on the "*Mitigation of Slavery*," published by Longman in 1814. Mr. Steele's last letter on the subject is dated 30th Sept. 1790. He was then, according to Dr. Dickson's account, ninety years of age; and, as from that day all further correspondence ceased on his part, we are left wholly in the dark as to what changes may have subsequently taken place in his plans, even during his lifetime. We do not even know whether he continued capable of superintending the business of his plantation; or whether his growing age and infirmities obliged him to delegate that task to another. In the latter case, which is the most probable, it could hardly be expected that the plan should not fail; and we know for a certainty, Mr. Beckles, the Attorney-General of Barbadoes, having himself told us so, that "at his death," if not before, "they reverted to the old system." (Macqueen, p. 427.)—The plan must needs have failed under such circumstances. But the question is, did it succeed during the seven years in which alone we know that Mr. Steele himself conducted the experiment? This does not appear to have been denied by any of the witnesses. Mr. Steele's own evidence is decisive of its success; and no contradictory evidence has yet been brought forward which can invalidate his.

On examining Dr. Dickson's work, which contains the only authentic record of this experiment, it appears that

Mr. Steele arrived at Barbadoes in March 1780. He had suffered much, he says, from "evil and unfaithful agents," particularly in the destruction of his Negroes. The evil appeared to him to proceed from the barbarous laws and customs prevailing in the island. He specifies particularly, the Law No. 82, Hall's edition, clause 19, as giving "encouragement to irascible and illiterate men to commit murder with impunity," and as accounting for "the continual decrease;" and "the unfeeling and unnoticed destruction of slaves;" and to the Law No. 148, clause 8, which disqualifies all Negro evidence, whether Free or Slave, from being received against White criminals. Mr. Steele laboured hard to procure an alteration in these and other Colonial Laws, and established a society, by means of which he had hoped to effect that object; but having failed in this hope, and finding that the Colonial Legislature was indisposed to any improvement, he turned his thoughts to the trial of some experiments on his own Negroes, "*in order to find out whether rewards might not have some better effect upon their senses, than by trusting to punishments alone.*" (Dickson, p. 9.) This, be it remembered, was the specific object at which he aimed.

As "a *beginning*" of his general plan, Mr. Steele tells us, that, "towards the *end* of 1783," he took the whip and all power of arbitrary punishment from all his White servants, which produced their resignation, as they "could not bear the loss of their whips." He then formed a magistracy among the Negroes themselves, and accepted the offer of a near neighbour (who consented to abide by his rules) to superintend his estate; but this man proved of "the old stamp," and Mr. Steele, having satisfied himself of his infidelity, dismissed him also. He now resolved to try whether he could not obtain the labour of his Negroes "by voluntary means, instead of the old method of violence;" and he soon found that "for a small pecuniary

reward, over and above the usual allowances," the feeblest Negroes, and those deemed the most indolent, cheerfully performed even the holing of land for canes, the most laborious work of an estate, for less than a fourth part of the stated price paid to jobbers. He repeated the like experiment the following year, with equal success; and "on the 18th of November 1780, I gave all my slaves," he says, "tenements of land, and pecuniary wages by the hour, the day, or the week, for their labour and services," according to a plan which he fully details. Speaking of the effect of this plan in one of his letters (p. 112), he observes, that from the year 1773 to 1779 (a period of seven years), through bad management, the annual average profit had been only one and a quarter per cent.; in the next four years, notwithstanding the great hurricane of 1780, a little above 2 per cent.; but in the years 1784, 5, and 6, after his new plan was in operation, besides increasing the stock, it cleared  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. He states in another place (p. 157), that in forty years, his plantation stock had decreased one half; that in three years and three months, from June 1780, in a population of two hundred and eighty-eight slaves, fifteen had been born, and fifty-seven had died. "An alteration," he says, "was then made in the mode of governing the slaves: the whips were taken from all the White servants, all arbitrary punishments were abolished, and all offences were tried and sentence passed by a Negro Court. In four years and three months, under this change of government, there were forty-four births, and only forty-one deaths." "But in the same interval, the annual neat clearance of the estate was above three times more than it had been for ten years before." The unfairness of Mr. Macqueen and the Reviewer, on this subject, is conclusively established by a reference to p. 582 of *The Review*, where they assert, that "at the commencement of his (Mr. Steele's) system, in 1780, there

were on that estate two hundred and eighty-eight Negroes, and at the close in 1797, only two hundred and forty (a decrease of forty-eight), while the surrounding properties had a general natural increase." The incorrectness of this last assertion has been already proved. (See the last note.) But it is at least equally incorrect to say that Mr. Steele's system *commenced* in 1780, when Mr. Steele himself affirms that it did not commence till 1783. In the three years which preceded its commencement, he states the decrease of his slaves to have been forty-two, or at the rate of fourteen in each year. But the whole decrease from 1780 to 1797, was, the Reviewer admits, only forty-eight. The decrease, therefore, from 1783 to 1797, could only have been six, that is, a decrease at the rate of one Negro in each twenty-eight *months* of the time, instead of one in every twenty-six *days*, which was the rate of decrease during the former period. What a remarkable contrast! And what an incontestible proof, on the statement of the Reviewer himself, of the admirable efficacy of Mr. Steele's system!

Such is the statement of Mr. Steele himself; and certainly it furnishes no proof of failure. We have proof that his plan was *abandoned*, at his death at least, if not sooner; but no proof that it *failed*. If the Quarterly Reviewer can produce any evidence to shew that the details which Mr. Steele has given under his own hand, are untrue, that will be a good reason for rejecting his experiment as a proof of what he alone intended to demonstrate by it; namely, that rewards might have a better effect in inducing the Negro to work than punishments. But surely it is no evidence of the converse of that proposition that the plan was discontinued; and no authority has been produced to shew that it was continued beyond the year 1790.

Without attempting to press this experiment into the service of the Anti-Slavery cause, beyond its fair and obvious

bearing, it is at least evident, that after an experiment of seven years, Mr. Steele satisfied himself that it was possible to turn the labour of his slaves to much more profit by the application of the stimulus of wages than by the application of the stimulus of the cart-whip.

The Reviewer is very angry with the Abolitionists for thwarting and impeding the measures of Government. One of those measures is to abolish the cart-whip as a stimulus to labour in the field. Is it possible for any writer to do more to thwart and impede this most important part of the plan of Government than the Quarterly Reviewer has done, by the present and his two former articles on Slavery?

In the progress of our Review of *The Quarterly Review*, we have now come to that part of the article on the West-Indian Colonies which respects the Anti-Slavery Society; and here we meet with the same ill-disguised hostility, and the same wantonness of assertion, which have already been so largely remarked upon. The Reviewer's first observation is a misrepresentation of the fact. According to him, the Report of the Committee, which was read at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society on the 25th of June, stated, "that the insurrection at Demerara was proved to have originated solely in the concealment by the Governor of the instructions sent from the Government at home." (p. 583.) Now even if the word *solely* had been excluded from the sentence, the statement would still have been untrue. But the best exposition of its inaccuracy will be found in the following extract from the Report itself, which has since been published:—

"As the Resolutions proposed by Mr. Canning, with the declared sanction of his Majesty's Government, and with the acquiescence also of the whole body of West-Indians in Parliament, recognised explicitly the very principles on

which your Committee proceeded, and pointed unambiguously to the very consummation at which they aimed; it was thought right by the mover, and those who acted with him, to concur in adopting them; more especially as his Majesty's Ministers, in proposing to take the work of reform into their own hands, signified their intention of carrying into early effect many of the specific measures of improvement which had been contemplated by your Committee.

"In their Circular Address of August 1823, giving a detailed account of these proceedings, your Committee, while they expressed their satisfaction that the Government and Parliament should have so clearly recognised the principles embodied in these Resolutions, could not refrain at the same time from expressing their regret, that the proposed plans of reform, instead of being made the subject of parliamentary enactment, should have been referred to the deliberation and decision of the Colonial Authorities. This circumstance tended greatly to damp the hopes which the favourable disposition of his Majesty Ministers was calculated to inspire. Past experience seemed to discourage the hope of effectual co-operation, on the part of the Colonists, in any plan which had in view the termination of slavery.

"The Committee therefore, as well as the advocates of their cause in Parliament, distinctly stated their apprehensions that this mode of proceeding would lead only to delay and disappointment. They were of opinion, indeed, that in no way were the alarms on the subject of insurrection, which had been so industriously raised, more likely to be realised, than by submitting the meditated mitigations of the slave system to discussion within the colonies, instead of transmitting them thither in the shape of laws to be obeyed. And even if such a reference should produce no

positive evil, they feared that it would at least be fruitless of any substantial good.

“ The event has seemed to justify these apprehensions. The instructions of his Majesty’s Government on this subject to the Colonial Authorities, as contained in Lord Bathurst’s circular letters of the 28th May and 9th July 1823, were framed in an unexceptionable spirit of moderation; and were directed to objects of the very highest importance; and, had they been carried into effect, would have produced a most beneficial effect on the condition of the slaves. These instructions however, honourable as they were to the Government, were met in some cases by refusal, and in others by menaces of resistance. In a few of the smaller colonies, they have been treated with less of outward disrespect; and a disposition has even been professed to comply with his Lordship’s suggestions; but your Committee have not heard that any legislative measures have yet been adopted for carrying them into effect. It is to be presumed, that had such laws been enacted, they would have been laid before Parliament without delay. The Slave Law of St. Vincent, passed in 1820, has been represented indeed as containing great improvements, and as having even anticipated most of Lord Bathurst’s suggestions; but on examining it, this statement will be found to be altogether erroneous: it proves to be nearly a transcript of the last consolidated Slave Law of Jamaica; and, like that law, it leaves the great evils of the colonial system untouched\*.

“ Even in those colonies where the power of making laws is vested immediately and wholly in the Crown, the reforms proposed by his Majesty’s Government, having

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\* See, for an account of the Consolidated Slave Law of Jamaica, the Appendix to the Debate of May 15, 1823, p. 148, &c.

been submitted to the previous consideration of the local authorities, experienced the same opposition and delay as in the colonies possessing legislative assemblies of their own.

“ It was no more than might have been expected, that while a chance remained of dissuading or deterring the Government from perseverance in its purposes of reform, the proprietors of slaves filling offices in the colonies would not be sparing of their objections, nor the White population in general of their clamours and alarms. And even if governors or public bodies, acting in the Colonies, were perfectly well disposed to carry those reforms into effect, they would still find that the delegation of legislative power on topics so delicate was a burden hard to be sustained. An imperative order would relieve them from embarrassment; whilst a discretionary authority could not be exercised, in opposition to local prejudices and passions, without sacrifices of a very painful kind.

“ The proceedings of popular meetings in some of the colonies, and the calamitous events in Demerara, too clearly illustrate the danger of such a mode of proceeding.

“ And while this danger was obvious, it seemed no less obvious, that if the supreme power of the state had at once authoritatively prescribed the course to be pursued, there would have been no ground to apprehend any inconvenient results. To suppose that the slaves would rebel against the Government, because it had taken measures for alleviating the rigours of their condition, would be absurd and irrational. Was there any thing, for instance, in the gift of Sunday as a day of rest; or in the mitigation of corporal punishment; or in the removal of restraints on manumission; or in the admission of their evidence in courts of justice, which could have a tendency to promote discontent and insurrection among the slaves?

“ Had the mode of authoritative enactment, therefore,



been adopted, instead of that of mere recommendation the probability appears to be, that the effect would have been submission on the part of the planters, and gratitude on the part of the slaves. The cause of the mischief which actually occurred in Demerara, though grossly misrepresented at first, is now clearly ascertained. The evidence on the trial of Mr. Smith the Missionary, and on that of the slaves implicated in the insurrection, shews that the proximate cause of that unhappy event was the delay of the Colonial Authorities in giving publicity and effect to the measures of grace recommended by his Majesty's Government. The slaves learned that the supreme authority of the state had transmitted certain regulations for their protection and comfort, the benefit of which they were led to apprehend was withheld from them by the opposition of their masters. The expected good was also, it may be presumed, magnified by the mist of secrecy in which it was enveloped. It was supposed by some to be a gift of freedom, and the unfortunate men imagined that the oppression under which they groaned was no longer warranted by law.

"On the whole, little doubt can now be entertained that not only has much evil arisen from having submitted the proposed reforms in the slave system to colonial deliberation, but that no substantial good could reasonably have been expected, or is to be looked for in future, from such a course. In the mother country alone can laws on this subject be effectually, and at the same time safely made." (Anti-Slavery Report, pp. 3—7.)

Again—"One conspiracy, indeed, though of a most shallow and inartificial texture, appears to have been actually formed, and one insurrection has most calamitously taken place; namely, that of which the public has heard so much,—the revolt of the slaves in Demerara. In that colony there were some peculiar predisposing causes to such an event, arising from the pre-eminent harshness of the

slave system prevailing there, and from the religious persecutions to which, in addition to all their other sufferings, many of the slaves were subjected in the course of the last year. While the irritation produced by this state of things was at its height, the Negroes learnt that his Majesty had instructed the Colonial Government to adopt certain measures for alleviating the rigours of their condition. Instead of experiencing, however, the expected alleviations, there is reason to fear that they found the hardship of their state rather increased than diminished. However this may have been, it was natural that they should be anxious to obtain clearer information on a subject which to them was of extreme importance. It seems to have been chiefly with this view that, on the 18th of August 1823, the slaves of a particular district agreed to strike work; and, in order to secure themselves against the rigorous measures of repression which they reasonably anticipated, they forcibly seized such arms as they could procure on the plantations, and confined in the stocks several managers and overseers. The arms, however, appear to have been seized chiefly to prevent their being turned against themselves; and it is the testimony of Governor Murray himself, writing on the 26th of August 1823, when affairs had already assumed a 'peaceable aspect,' that he had 'not heard of any Whites having been deliberately murdered by the misguided slaves.' On one plantation where the Whites resisted, two of them were killed. But it does not appear that, except in this instance, the insurgents took the life of a single individual, or that they demolished a single house, or set fire to a single cane-piece.

"And even in the excepted case which has been mentioned, the Committee are credibly informed, that several of the insurgents were killed by shots from the house, before they returned the fire; and that when they had succeeded in entering the house, they spared the lives of the master

and mistress, who fell into their hands (the latter of whom had been slightly wounded), and did not afterwards inflict on them the slightest personal hurt.

“Here, then, we have a servile insurrection, divested of almost all those acts of rapine and bloodshed, by which such events have usually been characterised; an insurrection much more analogous to those tumults which occasionally occur among workmen in this country, when they conceive themselves to have been aggrieved by their employers, than to a traitorous conspiracy or rebellion of slaves.

“The case, however, was otherwise viewed in Demerara. Notwithstanding the moderation and forbearance, previously unexampled, with which the refractory slaves conducted themselves, seeking neither to take away life, nor to destroy property, their insubordination was visited with a tremendous vengeance. How many hundreds were slaughtered without resistance in the field, or hunted down by the Indians, who were called in to pursue them in their flight into the woods and swamps; how many, on being taken, were shot without the ceremony of a trial, or have since been executed by the sentence of courts martial; and how many more have had the flesh torn from their quivering limbs by cruel whippings, to the extent even of a thousand lashes, we have not accurately heard. But if the irregular proceedings and refractory conduct of the slaves in this instance—if their impatience to know what were those alleviations of their condition, which the reported benevolence of their Sovereign really designed for them, could only have been expiated by such a prodigality of blood, what can we imagine would have been the nature and extent of the punishments to which they would have been subjected, had they added to the crime of insubordination those of conflagration and massacre?

“The limits of a Report will not allow the Committee

to dwell on the circumstances attending the trials of those unhappy persons: they appear to them to have been conducted with an extraordinary disregard of the customary forms of judicial proceeding. The public, however, has a fair opportunity of appreciating the spirit in which justice was likely to be administered to these slaves, by the ample details published respecting another trial, that of Mr. Smith, the Missionary, upon which such a flood of light has been thrown by the recent discussions in the House of Commons. In the case of that deeply injured individual, who, as a White man, came within the pale of colonial privilege, every recognised principle of law and justice was grossly and openly violated. And if in his case, which it must have been known would attract considerable notice, as well as excite deep interest in this country; and in which a man of talents and information, aided for a part at least of his trial by Counsel, had to defend himself from charges utterly groundless; if, in such a case, all those principles have been so palpably and flagrantly outraged; what measure of fairness and impartiality was to be expected in the case of wretched and ignorant slaves, standing pinioned before their judges, unacquainted with the English language, uninformed of the specific charges against them until they were placed at the bar, and wholly unaided by legal advice? This is indeed a most affecting consideration."—(Ib. pp. 14—16.)

Let any one, after having read the above extracts, recur to the Reviewer's charge against the Anti-Slavery Society, whom he represents as having stated, "that the insurrection at Demerara was proved to have originated SOLELY in the CONCEALMENT by the Governor of the instructions sent from the Government at home;" and say whether it is too strong language to speak of it as a "misrepresentation of the fact," and as "untrue."

The Quarterly Reviewer attacks Lord Calthorpe and Mr Stephen, for having dared, at the general meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, to express an opinion of the innocence of the Missionary Smith, and of the gross violation of law and justice exhibited in his trial at Demerara. "Mr. Smith, in our judgment," says the Reviewer, "was guilty of the fact of concealing a traitorous conspiracy; and that concealment was calculated to produce, and did produce, consequences which were most injurious, and which might have been fatal to the whole community." He further impugns the opinion of Dr. Lushington, avowed at the same meeting, that "Mr. Smith's conduct had, throughout his mission, been marked with the most *circumspect prudence*;" and then asks, "Could it be wondered if the fears of the Colonists should be roused, on learning that the men now exercising the functions of Missionaries in the West-Indies had been sent out by persons who entertain such sentiments?" He concludes with expressing his conscientious belief that, "whatever may have been the defects of the proceeding which the court martial adopted, the intention of its members was pure, and that they had no desire but to do justice in that crisis of prejudice and passion to which they were on all sides exposed."

It is not easy to make out what the Reviewer means by being "exposed to a crisis of prejudice and passion," and that "on all sides," there having been only one side at Demerara; but it will be easy to shew that in the above extracts there are at least as many misrepresentations as there are sentences.

1. That there may have been honourable men, whose intentions were pure, on the court martial which tried Mr. Smith, it never was meant to question. We have only to do with the conduct of the majority; and whoever can calmly read the whole of these proceedings, and say that

they indicate "no desire but to do justice," must either have formed his notions of justice in some other school than that of England, or must be prepared to admit that at least there was gross ignorance on the part of the judges. But it is not on the trial of Mr. Smith alone, that the conduct of Demerara courts-martial, though graced, all of them, by the association of Mr. Chief Justice Wray, in his capacity of Lieutenant-Colonel, seems to demand a strict scrutiny. A most important document has recently made its appearance from the Demerara press ; a duodecimo volume, drawn up, it is said, by Mr. Herbert, (the present Fiscal, and the framer\* of the greater part of Jack's famous defence,) aided by the notes of Mr. Wray. It is entitled, "Report of the Trials of the insurgent Negroes;" and will be found to furnish a very fit subject for the review of the grand inquest of the nation.

2. The Reviewer seems to wish to have it understood that Dr. Lushington and his associates in the Anti-Slavery Society have been concerned in sending out the Missionaries who are now labouring in the West Indies, though he must have known that there was not the slightest ground for the insinuation. He must have known that neither among the Directors of the London Missionary Society, nor among those of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, is the name of Dr. Lushington, or indeed of any individual who spoke at the Anti-Slavery meeting, to be found. Not that it would have been any just reproach to them to have

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\* The use of this word has been vehemently condemned; and the fact, that Mr. Herbert was the *framer* of Jack's defence, positively denied. But what is Mr. Herbert's own testimony? "Every thing was suggested to me by Jack ; and I was very particular in taking down his meaning, and in *one* instance, *used his own words*. I have endeavoured to *form* a connected narrative from the story he told." The defender of Mr. Herbert affirms, that Mr. H. *occasionally* used Jack's own words. Mr. Herbert, himself, swears he did it in *one* instance. It were well if we had Jack's own words, from first to last.

been found there: but still the insinuation shews the Reviewer's unfairness; and would even seem to justify the throwing back upon him the charge of invidiously attempting to "thwart and impede the measures of his Majesty's Government," by exciting the prejudices of the planters against Missionaries, as if these had been sent out by Dr. Lushington and his friends of the Anti-Slavery Society.

3. It is deemed by the Reviewer a cause of mortal offence, that Dr. Lushington should have lauded the *prudence and circumspection* of the Missionary Smith. Dr. Lushington is by no means singular in this sentiment. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how any man (not a Demerara planter) can read the Journal and other writings of Mr. Smith, without being astonished at his forbearance in not giving vent to those indignant emotions excited in him, by the scenes he daily witnessed. He had hardly set his foot in the colony before he had to encounter the frown of authority, and to experience the extent of a planter's prejudice. "On my arrival in the colony," says Mr. Smith, in that part of his defence which was most strangely suppressed by the court martial (see the Society's copy of the trial, p. 76), "I was introduced to his Excellency, by Mr. Elliott. His Excellency, being informed of the object of my coming to the colony, asked in what way I proposed to instruct the Negroes. I answered, By preaching, catechising, and teaching them to read. His Excellency sharply replied, *If I ever know you to teach the slaves to read, I will banish you from the colony.*" And this speech was uttered by a British Governor, in the year 1817! Was it then to be wondered at that Mr. Smith should view, as he appears from his Journal to have done, the measures of General Murray, with respect to missionary efforts and the religious instruction of the slaves, with distrust and suspicion? And then with respect to the treatment of the

Negroes, he tells us, "The Negroes of Success complained to me of excessive labour and very severe treatment." "I thought they would work the people to death." "While I am writing this, the driver is flogging the people, neither manager nor overseer fear." Again; "while writing this, my very heart flutters at hearing the almost incessant cracking of the whip." "The people have scarcely any time to eat their food; they have none to cook it, eating for the most part raw yellow plantains." Added to this severity of corporal suffering, he had also to lament "the various arts employed to keep the slaves from the house of God, and to punish them for their religion." And in the sight of all this complication of misery, what marks of impatience does he betray? What imprudent speeches or actions do these monstrous outrages excite? He pours his griefs only into the ears of his Heavenly Father, or records them in his secret journal, unread by any eye but his own, until it was dragged from its concealment and exposed to the public view of the Whites of Demerara; serving, at least, the purpose of rousing still further their ferocious rage against him. In short, the Reviewer may be challenged to specify a single circumstance in the conduct of Mr. Smith, during the six or seven years he had resided in Demerara, down to the 17th of August 1823, (of which day, more hereafter) which can be shewn to detract from the merited eulogium pronounced by Dr. Lushington on his prudence and circumspection.

But it will be said, that sufficient proof of his guilt is to be found in the single circumstance, that, according to the evidence of Jack Gladstone, "the deepest concerned in the revolt were the Negroes most in Parson Smith's confidence." On this subject much light has been thrown in the Preface to a work just published by Hatchard, entitled the "Substance of the Debate in the House of Commons" respecting the Missionary Smith. In the Preface



to that work (pp. xviii.—xxiv.) it appears, that, by a reference to facts, of 2000 persons belonging to his church, not more than five or six who had been baptised, none of them of any note in the congregation, and only one of them, Telemachus, a communicant, were tried and convicted. Twelve of the ringleaders, who were executed, belonged to estates where not one slave had been baptised by Mr. Smith or his predecessor; and on the estates where Mr. Smith had been most successful, the slaves did not join the revolt, but stood by their masters. Mr. Baillie's estate of Hope is an instance of this: there the Negroes not only did not join the insurgents, but continued quietly at their work, and carefully preserved the property of their master, manager, and overseers, until the return of the Whites from militia service. What makes this the more remarkable is, that another estate of Mr. Baillie's, Nonpareil, from which, being under a different attorney, religious instruction had been excluded, was deeply engaged in the revolt. On the very next estate to the Hope, Mr. Smith had baptised one hundred and ninety slaves, and they all stood by their master. On the plantation Brothers, the Negroes defended the Whites even at the risk of their lives, and there was not one absentee. Religion had been here greatly encouraged. Other instances of the same kind might be adduced; while it might be proved that almost all who suffered death, or flogging, belonged to estates where religion had made either little or no progress. Even with respect to Mr. Gladstone's estate of Success, the focus of the disturbance, the Negroes belonging to it who were executed were heathens, who had never been baptised; namely, Richard, Buffany, and Hamilton. Even Jack Gladstone, who was the chief ringleader of the mutiny, though he had been baptised, was no regular attendant on Mr. Smith, and was not considered as a member of the Church. He was, neverthe-

less, proved to have been particularly active in restraining all disposition to violence, on the part of his confederates, towards the Whites.

Of the few baptised persons who were executed, two were among those who were to be sold the ensuing week, and separated perhaps for ever from their dearest connections.

In fine, not a single circumstance appears previously to the 17th of August, which can be alleged, with the slightest colour of truth, against the prudence and propriety of Mr. Smith's conduct.

4. But Mr. Smith, the Reviewer affirms, "was guilty of the fact of concealing a traitorous conspiracy." This must refer either to the circumstance of his overhearing a conversation, on the afternoon of the 17th of August, of some slaves belonging to his congregation, from which it is said he might have inferred their intention to rebel; or to that of his receiving from Jacky Reed, on the evening of the 18th, a letter which apprised him of the existence of a conspiracy among the slaves, neither of which circumstances he communicated to the local government.

Now, with respect to the letter from Jacky Reed, it may be put entirely out of the question. He received it after six in the evening, only fifteen or twenty minutes before the revolt broke out on Le Resouvenir. But three hours before that time, Jack and his father Quamina had already been seized, on the estate adjoining Le Resouvenir, as conspirators, and had also been rescued by their fellow-slaves from those who were carrying them to George Town. This, however, is not all. The "Report of the Trials of the Insurgents," already alluded to as the joint production of Mr. Fiscal Herbert and Mr. Chief Justice Wray, brings another most important fact to our knowledge. It there appears that some time before Mr. Smith received Jacky Reed's communication, the Governor himself, already

apprised of the intended revolt, had actually visited the estate of Le Resouvenir, on which Mr. Smith resided, whence, after ascertaining the existence of the evil, he had returned to town, in order to take the necessary measures for repressing it. At the 9th page of this important document, now for the first time made known to the British public, stands the following statement, the authenticity of which cannot be questioned :—

“ EARLY on Monday the 18th, a servant of A. Simpson, Esq. of Plantation le Reduit, reported to his master an intended revolt on the part of the Negroes, and that the evening of that day was fixed for its commencement. Mr. Simpson repaired to town, which he reached about TEN o'clock, and *communicated the same to his Excellency the Governor*. The cavalry was immediately ordered out; and about four in the afternoon, his Excellency proceeded up the country, accompanied by Captain Campbell, his Brigade Major, Lieut. Hammill, his Aide-de-Camp, Mr. Heyliger, the Fiscal, and Mr. Murray, his Secretary, and arrived at Le Reduit” (about three miles from Le Resouvenir), “ where he examined Mr. Simpson’s servant, and ascertained, from other circumstances, that the information was but too correct. He accordingly proceeded to Mr. Van Cooten’s,” (about a mile from Le Resouvenir,) “ where he secured the Negro man, Mars, and set off for Le Resouvenir, intending to seize some of the head people, having been joined by Lieutenant Forrester and three of the cavalry. When his Excellency reached Plantation Montrose, a flame was seen at La Bonne Intention; the shells were distinctly heard blowing in various directions; the cheering of the Negroes was also distinguished. At the bridge between Plantation Felicity and Le Resouvenir, the Governor met a party of about seventy or eighty Negroes, armed with cutlasses and spears, and one or two muskets. They attempted to prevent his Excellency passing

the bridge, but without effect."—He here parleyed with them.

How is it possible, after these details, given to the British public by such high authority, to impute the slightest blame to Mr. Smith for his having taken no step, in consequence of Jacky Reed's letter, to inform the government of a revolt which was already notorious? Before Mr. Smith received it, the Governor himself had been actually at the plantation *Le Resouvenir*, and in possession of much more full and precise information respecting the revolt than this letter, when it arrived, could have communicated. How perfectly absurd, therefore, how worse than absurd, is it to represent Mr. Smith as a traitor, for not riding to town with Jacky Reed's letter, which did not reach him till after the Governor, who had previously been at this very plantation, and satisfied himself there of the existence of the revolt, had actually returned to town, in order to prepare the means of suppressing it!

These new circumstances, made known in the publication attributed to Mr. Herbert and Mr. Wray, must dissipate every remaining doubt, if any existed, as to the perfect innocuousness of Mr. Smith's conduct in the matter of Jacky Reed's letter, on which so much stress was laid in the Parliamentary Debate.

The single point remains to be considered of the guilty concealment with which Mr. Smith is charged, with respect to the conversation he overheard on the 17th.

The Quarterly Reviewer's charge against the Missionary Smith is this: "Mr. Smith, in our judgment, was guilty of the fact of concealing a traitorous conspiracy; and that concealment was calculated to produce, and *did produce*, consequences which were most injurious, and which might have been fatal to the whole community."—This was substantially one of the charges preferred against him by

General Murray—"For that he, the said John Smith, on the 17th of August last, and for a certain period of time thereto preceding, having come to the knowledge of a certain revolt and rebellion intended to take place within this colony, did not make known the same to the proper authorities; which revolt and rebellion did subsequently take place, to wit, on or about the 18th of August now last past."

It has been already shewn, that no blame could attach to Mr. Smith for his not having communicated to the Government, the letter received by him on the evening of the 18th, from Jacky Reed; and that no evil consequences whatever could possibly follow from the withholding of it. There appears still less ground, if possible, for charging him with a guilty concealment of any knowledge of an intended conspiracy, which he may have acquired on the 17th, or on any preceding day.

It stands on the evidence of Mr. Stewart, the Manager of Success, that, some days prior to the revolt, Mr. Smith had twice communicated to him, that the Negroes had an idea that their freedom had come out, and that they had been addressing questions to him on the subject; that, in consequence of this communication, he (Mr. Stewart) and Mr. Cort, the Attorney of Success, waited upon Mr. Smith, in order to inquire further into the matter, when Mr. Smith repeated his former statement, saying to Mr. Cort, at the same time, "that he was thinking of telling the Negroes from the pulpit, that the idea of freedom was erroneous," but that Mr. Cort dissuaded him from doing any thing of the kind. Now, in the charges against Mr. Smith, the revolt and rebellion are said to have been against "the authority of their lawful masters, managers, and overseers." Here, however, we find Mr. Smith taking an early opportunity of informing those "masters and managers" of the disturbed state of the minds of the Negroes,

with a view, doubtless, for it could be with no other, of putting them on their guard. He even offered to be himself the instrument of undeceiving the Negroes, with respect to the erroneous conceptions they had formed, by a public declaration from the pulpit; which offer these "lawful masters and managers" declined. Still the whole of the evidence shews, that he took all pains, in his private intercourse with the slaves, to correct their unfounded views, and to discourage all disposition to turbulence.

But Mr. Smith, it is said, ought to have gone to the Governor, and apprised him of the state of things. Mr. Smith had had abundant proof of the unfavourable reception which any thing coming from him would meet with on the part of the Governor. He adopted, therefore, the wise and prudent method of communicating his observations to those who, while they had a deeper interest in the matter, would, at the same time, be more likely than himself to be listened to at head-quarters. The Governor, however, had not been unapprised of the state of the Negroes' minds. The Rev. W. C. Austin gave it in evidence on the trial of Mr. Smith, that a short time before the revolt, he had discovered that much dissatisfaction existed among the slaves, a considerable number of whom came to state their grievances to him. He applied first to the Fiscal, who declined to interfere. "Their complaints," however, having been "uttered in a very extraordinary style and tone," Mr. Austin thought it necessary to report the circumstance to the Governor himself; to whom also he stated, that he felt "serious apprehensions" respecting the result. Their grievances appear to have been—the severity of their treatment; the lawless exercise of authority; persecution on account of their religion; preventing them from attending chapel, and holding evening meetings for religious purposes; taking from them their Bibles, &c.; and lastly, the neglect of their complaints by the local

authorities. The Governor treated the apprehensions of Mr. Austin very lightly, and wholly disregarded the warning given to him by that gentleman. What would have been the Governor's conduct towards Mr. Smith, had he dared to come to him on a similar errand? He admits himself to have been aware (see his official letter of the 24th of August) of "the existing susceptibility" among the slaves; and yet he distinctly says he attached "*no credit*" to the rumours of intended insurrection. Mr. Smith, however, must be punished with death, because he felt precisely as the Governor felt on this subject. He was aware, with the Governor, of "the existing susceptibility," and yet did not believe there would be any insurrection. Whatever guilt therefore may have attached to Mr. Smith on this score, attached in a far greater degree to the Governor. He, who alone could take precautions, was inexcusable for not having done so; and, after this neglect, he was infinitely more inexcusable for having prosecuted to the death, as a traitor, an individual whose guilt, if guilt there were, was inferior to his own.

Thus did the Governor judge in the case of another individual, the burgher officer, Capt. Spencer, who, when distinctly charged by Mr. Hopkinson, with having been informed of the intended plan of revolt, and yet having made no communication on the subject to the Government, and having taken no precautions as a Magistrate to frustrate it, *was acquitted by the Governor of all blame*; not because the statement of Mr. Hopkinson was untrue, but for reasons, every one of which apply with increased force to the entire exculpation of Mr. Smith. The Governor's judgment is, that "the revolt was so unexpected, and the information so little believed, that it was not deemed expedient to alarm the colony by any military movement; and as it clearly appears that Captain Spencer, who lived in the centre of the part in which it broke out, knew no

cause to believe the rumour of the day, *he could not have avoided both ridicule and censure should it have proved unfounded, if he had needlessly thrown the district into confusion and alarm by calling out the militia. And the moment which convinced him of the reality of the evil existing, deprived him of all power beyond a hasty and precarious attempt at concealment of his person.*"

The evidence of Captain Spencer himself on the trial of two Negroes, Ellick and Sam William, as given in what is called Mr. Herbert's Report of the Trials of the Insurgents, proves incontestibly the truth of Mr. Hopkinson's charges. He admits having heard of the intended rising in town; he came to his estate, quietly took his dinner, and after an hour and an half spent in this manner, sent for his drivers, to ask them if there was any truth in the report he had heard? In half an hour his house was attacked by the insurgents, and although his own slaves to a man (261 in number) appear to have offered to stand by him, and protect him at the risk of their lives, he went off on the first approach of danger, and hid himself in the cotton pieces. What would have been said of such conduct had Captain Spencer been the Missionary Smith?

But then it is alleged, that Mr. Smith heard certain words spoken on the evening of the 17th which ought to have alarmed him. The impression, however, made by the words in question, it is obvious, would be very different when uttered before an improbable event had taken place, or when re-examined after its occurrence. The words spoken to Mr. Austin by a body of Negroes, and reported by him to the Governor, were infinitely stronger and more alarming than any thing which Mr. Smith is alleged to have overheard; and yet they produced no apprehension of revolt in his mind, nor led him to adopt any measures of precaution. Captain Spencer was actually told early on the 18th, that there was to be a rising that evening. He



treats the matter as a fable. He calls out neither the civil nor the military power of his district, of which, as a magistrate and a militia officer, he had the command. He indulges for an hour and a half in the pleasures of the table, before he even begins to institute any inquiry into the truth of the rumoured revolt; and when the fact at length bursts upon him, he retreats from the danger. Captain Spencer, however, all this notwithstanding, is blameless in the estimation of Governor Murray. It would have been ridiculous, nay censurable in him, the Governor says, to have acted otherwise; and yet Mr. Smith, the Missionary, must be hanged by the neck till he is dead, for having overheard some loose conversation which, by a most strained inference, is construed to mean revolt, but upon which he did not immediately act.

And what is the sole evidence on which even this strained inference rests, on which Mr. Smith is charged with misprision of treason? It is on the evidence of two slaves, Bristol and Seaton, who disagree in their statements and were contradicted by other witnesses;—who themselves had a halter around their necks, from which they seem to have conceived that they had no chance of escaping, but by inculpating Mr. Smith;—and who are altogether discredited by the colonial Authorities in other parts of their testimony, which do not go to establish the guilt of this proscribed Missionary. Both these men bear still stronger testimony against Mr. Hamilton, the manager of *Le Resouvenir*, than they do against Mr. Smith. (See *Demerara Papers*, II. pp. 27, 28, 40, 42.) And their testimony is confirmed by Mr. Hamilton's concubine, who charges him, in the most explicit terms, with having been privy to the revolt, and with having counselled and controlled the measures of the insurgents. And yet this very Mr. Hamilton, so accused by the very same witnesses whose evidence condemns Mr. Smith to death, is not arrested; is not arraigned; is not

even called to account by the colonial Authorities. Nay, he appears as a witness on Mr. Smith's trial, along with his concubine Szeannah, wholly unaffected by the mass of Negro testimony that had been adduced to prove him an accomplice in the revolt. Mr. Hamilton, fortunately for him, was no Missionary.

But, says the Reviewer, "Mr. Smith, in our judgment, was guilty of the fact of concealing a traitorous conspiracy; and that concealment was calculated to produce, and *did produce*, consequences which were most injurious." Now, the details given above must satisfy every unprejudiced mind that Mr. Smith was not cognisant of the existence of any traitorous conspiracy, and therefore that he could not have been guilty of concealing it; moreover that his concealment, even had he been guilty of it, could not have produced, in the circumstances of the case, any injurious consequences; and that whatever blame, on any view of the case, may have attached to him, attached in a much higher degree to many others,—to Captain Spencer, for example, and even to the Governor himself. The real solution of all the injustice and oppression of which Mr. Smith was the innocent victim, is to be found, there is too much ground to fear, in the fact of his having been a faithful and zealous Minister of the Gospel of Christ.

The Quarterly Reviewer cites as an instance of "the headlong impetuosity" with which some men "hurry on towards a favourite point," a Resolution proposed at the meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, to the following effect:—

"That in the opinion of this meeting, the bondage in which 800,000 of their fellow-subjects are held, is repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, contrary to the soundest maxims of policy, and a gross violation of the principles of humanity and justice," &c.

In reply to the propositions announced in this Resolution, the Reviewer quotes a passage from Mr. Canning's speech of the 15th of May 1823, on Mr. Buxton's motion. This speech, however, does not contain one syllable which goes to deny that slavery is contrary to good policy, and a violation of humanity and justice. Mr. Canning would be wholly incapable of any such denial. He does, indeed, deny the propriety of assenting to Mr. Buxton's Resolution, that "the state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British Constitution and the Christian Religion." But in the same breath he affirms, and the Reviewer quotes him as affirming, that "assuredly no Christian will deny that the *spirit* of the Christian religion is *hostile* to slavery." Now, the Resolution of the Anti-Slavery meeting is still more moderate than this proposition of Mr. Canning. It does not go so far as to affirm, with him, "that the spirit of Christianity is hostile to *slavery*"—though that is a demonstrable truth. It only affirms that "THE bondage," the particular species of slavery existing in our colonies, "is repugnant to the spirit of Christianity." If the major proposition affirmed by Mr. Canning be true, that "the spirit of the Christian religion is hostile to slavery," to slavery in the abstract, to slavery in all its modes; then, *à fortiori*, may the Anti-Slavery Society be allowed, without rebuke, to affirm the minor, that that worst species of slavery which has ever afflicted humanity, the colonial bondage imposed by enlightened and Christian states on the wretched sons of Africa, is *repugnant* to the *spirit* of our pure and holy and beneficent Religion. Does the Reviewer mean to dispute the truth of the proposition? Then is he directly at issue with Mr. Canning. Or, admitting its truth, does he mean to deny that it follows as a corollary, that we are bound to labour "with zeal, activity, and perseverance," in putting a period to this state of oppression and suffering, and

wiping out this foul reproach to the British name and character?" What is it in this declaration to which the Reviewer objects? He may object, and doubtless he does object, to the institution of an Anti-Slavery Society at all. But such a Society being instituted, does he mean to say that it ought not plainly and unequivocally to avow its principles and its objects? Even if we could suppose that these were not at the present moment in strict accordance with the sentiments of the majority in Parliament, is that a reason for disguising them? Would the abolition of the Slave Trade ever have been accomplished, if those who conducted that great conflict had not continued to proclaim, in opposition to repeated decisions of Parliament, that that trade was a shameless outrage on the laws of God, and a monstrous violation of every principle of humanity and justice? Let the champions in the present conflict follow that bright example, and not be deterred from occupying the same lofty and unassailable ground, by the sneers of the Quarterly Reviewer, or by the bitterest sarcasms of parliamentary debaters.

But the Reviewer, lending himself to the views of the West-Indian party, invidiously assumes, without the slightest pretence to any authority for so doing, nay, in direct opposition to all their declarations both in and out of Parliament, that the members of the Anti-Slavery Society are disposed to remove the evil of colonial bondage, "without the necessary precautions;" and he implores them not "to blend their passions and their prejudices with their benevolence;" but to listen to the warning voice which would urge them to proceed "gradually and cautiously."

The best reply to this truly West-Indian tirade will be found in the following extracts from two publications of the Anti-Slavery Society, which are recommended to the candid consideration of the Reviewer.

The first extract is taken from the Report of the Anti-Slavery Society, recently published, pp. 21—23, and is as follows :—

“What measures his Majesty’s Government will adopt in case of that continued resistance which your Committee anticipate on the part of the Colonists, it remains to be seen. In the mean time, their language implies that they mean to wait in the expectation of soon finding in the Assemblies a more respectful and complying disposition.

“The Committee will most sincerely rejoice should this expectation be realised. The condemnation, however, of the benevolent purposes of Government, continues to be too loud and indignant to justify the hope of the early and effectual co-operation of the Colonial Assemblies. And let it not be forgotten, that the delay thus produced, to the length of which there is no express limit, is of itself a great evil. Beside the dangers to be apprehended from suspense and agitation, the nation contracts additional guilt by the unnecessary postponement of those reforms, the moral obligation of which has been unequivocally admitted. The delay is also a real calamity to the great mass of the slave population. Your Committee can discover no good reason for withholding from the slaves in the other islands the same alleviations, at the least, which have been granted to those in Trinidad. They can see no good reason, for instance, why women should still continue liable to be shamelessly exposed and flogged in Jamaica, Barbadoes, &c. ; why the driving whip should be still employed *there* ; why marriage should still be without any legal sanction in *these* colonies ; why facilities should not be given *there* also to manumissions ; and why the exclusion of the evidence of slaves should continue to be upheld *there* in all its rigour, making it confessedly impossible to give to apparently protecting laws their just effect.

“The friends of Colonial Reform are accused of impa-

gence and precipitation. They are told that an evil which is the growth of ages, cannot be cured in an hour; and that the termination of slavery, in order to be safe, must be very slowly progressive.

" But admitting this proposition, the duty is so much the more urgent to commence the necessary work without delay; and it has not even been pretended that what may be safely done in Trinidad or Barbice, is altogether unsafe in St. Vincent's, Barbadoes, or Jamaica.

" The argument for delay, which has been drawn from the alleged inveteracy and antiquity of the evil to be cured, appears, however, to your Committee to have no force whatever when applied to the case of infant or unborn slaves, or even to colonies of recent formation. What, indeed, in the oldest colonies constitutes the obstacle to emancipation, but the effects produced by the habits of slavery on the character of the individual who has been long subjected to it? To prepare the slaves for the proper use of freedom, is not more difficult because slavery has existed for ages, than if it had first begun at their birth. It is idle, therefore, to talk of slavery being an ancient institution, or of its having been known in all ages and countries, as if these circumstances augmented the difficulties or the necessary delays of its termination in the colonies of Great Britain. So to reason against those who chiefly aim at the freedom of the rising generation, and of children yet unborn, is altogether irrelevant and misplaced. If there really exist any evils for the cure of which a single generation is not sufficient, let them be pointed out; and in the mean time be it recollected, that the difficulty of curing a moral malady, when inveterate, is clearly the strongest argument, not for delay, but for speed in checking its further progression."

The remaining extract is from the Appendix to the

"Substance of the Debate" on Mr. Buxton's motion, pp. 141—145.

"We freely admit," says the Committee, "that the progress has usually been slow by which a whole people have been raised from barbarism to civilization, or from a state of slavery to the enjoyment of liberty. But the great cause of this has been, that the Government, as well as the superior classes, have been, in their degree, as barbarous and uncivilized as the mass of the people. In the dark ages, all classes were sunk in one common abyss of barbarism: there are, therefore, no points of resemblance between the state of Europe at that time, and the situation of the colonies of Great Britain at the present moment, on which to found any fair analogy. The governors were then altogether indisposed, and to the full as incapable as the governed to promote the progress either of civil freedom or religious light. In the present day, at least in this country, the governors are in widely different circumstances. Living in the full blaze of light themselves, they have the means of reflecting the rays of that light on their dependents. Enjoying and appreciating themselves the blessings of freedom, they fully admit also the right which every British subject possesses to protection from injury, and to a participation in their own civil and religious advantages. What, then, has hitherto withheld them from imparting these blessings to the Negro population in our colonies? It will be said in reply, that the slaves were so unprepared for liberty that to have given it to them would have tended to their injury, and not to their benefit. Be it so. But still was it necessary that they should be chattels; that they should continue to be bought and sold; that they should have no rights of property, no marriage, no Sabbath, no moral culture, no education; that they should remain in the class of mere

animals; that they should, like them, be driven by the lash, and bereft of all motive for exertion but the base and servile one of bodily fear? Slow, indeed, must have been their progress while such a state of things was prolonged.

“ The progress of civilization and of freedom, it is alleged, must necessarily be slow in order to be safe. Certainly we are not anxious to precipitate matters, so as to endanger the public safety. But what will be said by those who look to the middle ages for the analogies which are to defend the slow progress of West-Indian improvement, to that more apposite exemplification of what may be safely and beneficially effected for the advancement of the Negro race, which is furnished by the colony of Sierra Leone? There, 15,000 individuals have been raised from the lowest conceivable state of degradation and wretchedness—from the chains, and nakedness, and brutality; the filth, and ordure, and stench of a slave-ship—to the state of men, of free citizens, of voluntary agents, living by their own exertions, and as fully protected by law in their rights of person and property, as the inhabitants of Great Britain itself. Are not these the very men of whom West-Indian slaves are made?

“ Now the slaves in the West Indies are either more or less advanced towards civilization than the wretched beings thus drawn from the holds of slave-ships. If they are *more* advanced, then why the comparatively slow progress in civilization and freedom which they are fated to make on the western side of the Atlantic? If *less* advanced, what does this prove, but the baleful influence of our whole system of colonial bondage?

“ The progress (say the West-Indians) is necessarily slow from barbarism to civilization. If this be so, it surely is the worst plea in the world for perpetuating institutions directly tending to barbarise, or for imposing barbarism needlessly and gratuitously on any individual. Even if,



for the sake of argument, we should allow it to be a valid reason for leaving the existing race of slaves, until death come to their relief, in the state of barbarism which our cruel institutions have entailed upon them, still it can be no reason for reducing more of them to the same state. It can be no reason for subjecting the yet unborn infant, when born, to the same deleterious process of first barbarising and brutifying him by slavery, and then trying to train him and his posterity for a freedom to be given them at some undefined period, when they shall be pronounced fit for it. Surely the more rational and Christian-like plan would be, to begin to fit them to be the free subjects of a free state from their very birth. Why, then, this preposterous reference to the middle ages, in order to supply a plausible pretext for divesting ourselves of the solemn obligations we are under to every infant born within the British Colonies, to educate him to be a member of a free and Christian community?"

The numerous instances of misrepresentation detected in the Sixtieth Number of the Quarterly Review, have led to a closer view of the article on the same subject which appeared in the Fifty-eighth Number, and in which the Reviewer opened his formidable attack on the advocates of the African race. Fully to expose the fallacy of the statements contained in that article, would occupy too much space. A very few observations upon it must suffice.

1. The unfairness of the Reviewer is remarkably manifested in the observations which he makes on Mr. Wilberforce's *Appeal in behalf of the Negro Slaves*. This work, he observes, "is made up in a great measure of general allegation, and must, in plain terms, be pronounced almost equally defective in correctness of reasoning and moderation of language." "What other opinion can be expressed on such assertions as (page 31), that the 'Negroes in our

*colonies are inferior to the savages of Africa!* or (p. 42) that '*it is a rule with the colonial Legislature to discourage manumission by exorbitant fines.*' West-Indian planters are in the habit of maintaining that their Negroes enjoy even a larger share of comfort than the labouring class in Europe; an assertion which is in part correct, in part otherwise; but Mr. Wilberforce, instead of treating it in that qualified manner, and shewing in a few plain sentences that no enjoyment of physical comfort can counterbalance the absence of civil rights, declares abruptly 'that the proposition is monstrous, and implies a total insensibility to the native feelings and moral dignity of man.'—Q. R. No. 58, p. 479.

The Reviewer in the above passage professes, by his inverted commas, to give us three quotations from Mr. Wilberforce's pamphlet. The two first are not to be found in it; the last is unfairly perverted from its object. The Reviewer charges Mr. Wilberforce with incorrectness and intemperance, for stating at his 31st page (corresponding with the 23d of subsequent editions) that the "*Negroes in our colonies are inferior to the savages of Africa.*" The words are not to be found in the pamphlet; nor do they even fairly express Mr. Wilberforce's meaning. What he actually says is this: "*However humiliating the statement must be to that Legislature which exercises its superintendency over every part of the British Empire, it is nevertheless true, that low in point of morals as the Africans may have been in their own country, their descendants, who have never seen the continent of Africa, but who are sprung from those who, for several successive generations, have been resident in the Christian colonies of Great Britain, are still lower.*" Mr. Wilberforce, it will be observed, confines his remark entirely to the *moral* condition of the slaves. And what is the statement of the Reviewer himself on this subject? He calls it (p. 505)

"the weak side of the question as regards the West-Indian planters;" and adds, "the religious instruction of the Negroes, has hitherto made very little progress, or, to speak plainly, has been *wholly overlooked* until of late years." And yet, all this notwithstanding, Mr. Wilberforce is, according to him, incorrect and intemperate, for asserting what is substantially his own statement, and although that gentleman supports his assertion by the very best authorities, whom the Reviewer, in the eagerness of his censure, entirely overlooks.

2. The next instance of unfairness is, if possible, still more palpable. Mr. Wilberforce is represented as incorrectly and intemperately asserting (p. 42, corresponding with p. 81 of subsequent editions), that "it is *a rule* with the Colonial Legislature to discourage manumissions by exorbitant fines." What the Reviewer may mean by the Colonial *Legislature* is not very clear. He may intend the word to be read in the plural; for otherwise, in the very letter as well as the spirit of the passage, there lurks a fallacy. Mr. Wilberforce uses no such words, nor any words resembling them, either in sound or sense. What he does say is as follows:—"But the case (with respect to meliorating laws) *in several* of the islands is still more opprobrious. New laws have been passed, which, so far from even exhibiting any shew of a wish to alleviate the pressure of the yoke of slavery, have rendered it more dreadfully galling, and less tolerable, because even more than before hopeless. The individual manumission of slaves by their masters, which has been provided for with so much sound policy as well as true humanity, by the laws in force, in the Spanish colonies, and has there been found productive of such happy effects—those individual manumissions which, while slavery prevailed here, the English law assiduously encouraged and promoted, have been cruelly restrained. They were long since, *in one or two*

of our islands, subjected to discouraging regulations; but were, in most of our colonies, wholly unrestrained till within the last thirty years. Can it be conceived possible, that, even since the mitigation of slavery was recommended from the Throne, in consequence of addresses from Parliament, *several* of the Colonial Legislatures have, for the first time, imposed, and others have greatly augmented, the fines to be paid into their treasuries on the enfranchising of slaves, so that in some colonies they amount nearly to an entire prohibition? Such acts may be truly said to be more unjust in their principle, and more cruel and dangerous in their effects, than almost any other part of the dreadful code of West-India legislation."

For a proof of the accuracy of Mr. Wilberforce's representations on this point, at the time they were written, the reader, and particularly the Reviewer, may be referred to the Appendix to the Debate on Mr. Buxton's Motion, pp. 184—193.

3. Mr. Wilberforce had expressed himself shocked that the West-Indians should have asserted, that "the Negro slaves are as well or better off than our British peasantry"—"a proposition," he adds, "so monstrous, that nothing can possibly exhibit in a stronger light the extreme force of the prejudices which must exist in the minds of its assertors. A Briton to compare the state of a West-Indian slave with that of an English freeman, and to give the former the preference! It is to imply an utter insensibility to the native feelings and moral dignity of man, no less than of the rights of Englishmen!! I will not condescend to argue this question, *as I might*, on the ground of comparative feeding, and clothing, and lodging, and medical attendance. Are these the only claims, are these the chief privileges, of a rational and immortal being?"—And so on, for two pages more, in a strain of eloquence peculiarly his own. And what says the Reviewer to all this? He first

mis-states the proposition of his author, and then blames him for not doing what he actually has done; that is to say, for not shewing "that no enjoyment of physical comfort can counterbalance the absence of civil rights;" whereas, what Mr. Wilberforce actually does shew is, that even if the physical comforts of the slave were superior, *which he denies*, to that of the freeman, he falls so far below him in civil, moral, domestic, and religious advantages, as to take away all ground of comparison. As for the insinuation of the Reviewer, that the whip-galled, branded chattel, called a slave in the West Indies, possesses a superiority of physical comfort to the British peasant, it is in harmony with many other insinuations equally fallacious and unfounded. He must needs even accuse Mr. Wilberforce of "abruptness," although in his small work he gives three pages to this single point!

4. But Mr. Wilberforce is charged with being incorrect in his reasoning, and also, it is insinuated, in his assertions. It will be difficult, however, for the Reviewer to point out one material proposition in Mr. Wilberforce's pamphlet, which is not capable of the most satisfactory proof. But the declared object of that pamphlet was not to reason out the case, or to prove it; but to make known to the world the author's settled convictions on the subject. After having been engaged for thirty-six years in investigating the subject of Colonial Slavery, he might fairly consider himself entitled to state to the public the general result of his long and painful inquiries, so as to leave with them, before he quitted the stage of life, and after the most full and dispassionate review and comparison of all the testimony, whether favourable or adverse, which it was in his power to make, his solemn, deliberate, and as it were his dying testimony respecting the nature and effects of that most vicious institution. No one now questions that the opinions promulgated by Mr. Wilberforce thirty-five years

ago on the subject of the Slave Trade, were correct, and in the strictest agreement with the voluminous evidence which had been collected on that subject. The truth of those opinions was at first, however, disputed. He was assailed on account of them with far more fierceness by the Reviewers of that day, than he has been assailed for his opinions on slavery by the Reviewers of the present. He was, moreover, opposed in Parliament far more generally and effectually in his attempt to abolish the Slave Trade, than in that he is now making to abolish Slavery. Falsehood, exaggeration, intemperance, fanaticism, were all then charged upon him in terms far more unmeasured than are now thought decorous, at least on this side of the Atlantic. Journals raged, Pamphleteers abused, Government frowned, and Senators sneered, or coughed, and refused to listen. But every fact which from the first he had asserted, and every principle which from the first he had maintained, were at length recognised by Parliament, as they had long before been by the bulk of the people; and the doom of that accursed traffic was for ever sealed. Is there not then a presumption, a strong presumption—nay, a presumption amounting almost to proof—that his conclusions on the kindred subject of slavery, formed early in life, and matured by successive discussions, and by the growing experience and testimony of upwards of thirty added years, cannot be very erroneous? Is it not probable that they have the same solid basis of fact and principle on which to rest, which had previously secured the final triumph of his conflict with the Slave Trade? And when he comes forward and tells the country, on the faith of an honest man, that he has examined, investigated, and compared the facts of the case, and carefully weighed the conflicting evidence, neglecting no means within his reach, of ascertaining the truth, will he not be considered as having a strong title to be heard with respect, and reverence, and attention? This

is what Mr. Wilberforce has done, and what the Reviewer ~~seems~~ to condemn him for having done. But what has been the conduct of the Reviewer himself? He, a nameless writer, very respectable without doubt, but having no knowledge of the subject himself, and deriving his information from interested parties, thus concludes a long exposition respecting the treatment of the slaves (p. 494): "After this enumeration of facts and argument, is it too much to ask, whether the statements given to the public and to Parliament, by the advocates of abolition, are not *fundamentally erroneous?*" It certainly is a little too much; for what are the facts and arguments on which the Reviewer builds his claim to credit, and his sweeping anathema on the statements of his opponents? First, a scrap of a letter from Sir R. Woodford, and from two nameless clergymen; who, in fact, prove nothing by attempting to prove too much—Sir R. Woodford stating, what it is most certain he cannot prove, that he has known "Negroes continue slaves, rather than, with ample means, to purchase their freedom, or even to accept it;" and the clergymen telling us that they view the temporal state of the Negroes "*with complete satisfaction.*"—Complete satisfaction!!! Who are these clergymen? Are they slaveholders themselves? For all that the Reviewer says besides, on the subject of the treatment of the slaves, what proof does he adduce beyond his own *ipse dixit*? Not one. For no one will say that the scrap of a letter from an "*intelligent planter,*" or from an "*experienced planter,*" or a reference to the report of three or four planters of Jamaica, formed into a Committee; or of two or three Tobago slaveholders (and these are literally the whole of the witnesses he adduces to support what he calls his facts and argument); no one will say that this is proof, or any thing approaching to proof. It is absolute fudge! The Reviewer has been most grossly imposed upon

There is scarcely one perfectly correct statement from the beginning to the end of his delineation. He has confidently affirmed what he cannot himself have known to be true, and what he most certainly has not proved to be true.

It would be a mere waste of time to dwell on the Reviewer's extraordinary discovery, that the only difference (a difference very slight, it would appear, in his estimation) between slavery in Jamaica and freedom in England, is, that in the former the labourer is paid by "*maintenance*," and in the latter by "*wages*." In one sense this is true; and it is undoubtedly one of the circumstances which degrade the Negro to the level of the brute. What is the difference, it may be asked, between the farmer's cart-horse and his labourer? It is only that the one is remunerated by *maintenance*, and the other by *wages*. And it is the *Quarterly Review*, our grand instructor in sound views of political economy, who propounds this absurdity in favour of Negro slavery, with all the confidence with which he would advance the most undisputed political axiom!—But it is time to conclude. The object of these pages will be accomplished, if they should tend to weaken the authority of the *Quarterly Review* on colonial questions; and especially if they should shew how materially it differs on such questions from the Government. And this seems the more necessary, because it has been generally supposed that that journal was set on foot, and has been conducted, by men politically connected with his Majesty's Ministers, and who may, therefore, be considered as speaking their sentiments on subjects of foreign or domestic policy.





## APPENDIX.

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THIS Appendix is intended to contain a few memoranda, which could not be conveniently introduced into the notes, on the subject both of the free Black and Coloured, and of the Slave population of the West Indies.

I. And, first, a few words more respecting the Nottinghams. Samuel Nottingham's original deed of manumission is dated in June 1776. He then lived at Long Island, in the province of New York. Owing, probably, to the war which existed at that time between Great Britain and her Colonies, eight years passed before the deed was transmitted to Tortola. It was enrolled in the Roll-office of the state of Pennsylvania, on the 28th of April, 1784; and it was not recorded at Tortola until the 15th of July, 1784. The deed itself is thus superscribed:

“Tortola, July the 15th, 1784, Recorded in the Registrar's office, to and for the Virgin islands, in lib. B, folio 76, 77, 78, 79, and examined by  
George Leonard, Registrar.”

It does not clearly appear how soon after the transmission of the above deed to Tortola, the slaves of Mr. Nottingham were put in possession of their freedom. A farther deed, however, appears to have been necessary, to give validity to the former. This deed bears date at Wellingborough, in Northamptonshire, on the 3d of October 1789, and purports to be that of Hannah Abbott, the sister, and residuary legatee of Samuel Nottingham, and the executrix (in conjunction with Henry Gandy, of Bristol) of his last will and testament; in which deed she conveys and confirms “to the late servants” of her deceased brother a plantation called Longlook. This deed is superscribed as follows:—

"Tortola, 16th June, 1790. Recorded in the Register-office of and for the Virgin Islands, in lib F, folios 109, 110, and 111 and examined by Mark Dyer, Deputy Registrar."

In both these deeds, the number and names of the Negroes who were the objects of them, are specified. In that which was executed in 1776, but not enrolled till 1784, the number is twenty-six; but in that which was enrolled in 1790, fourteen years later than the date of the manumission, the number is stated as only twenty. In the interval, therefore, between 1776 and 1790, during at least eight or nine years of which the Nottinghams continued in a state of slavery in the hands of agents, their number appears to have been reduced from twenty-six to twenty, being above the average rate of decrease among the slaves of Tortola at that period. But from whatever cause this decrease may have proceeded, it would seem, from the deed of Hannah Abbott, that in 1790 the Nottinghams were only twenty in number—viz. eight males, and twelve females. In 1823, however, the number which had sprung from these twelve females, including such of the original stock as were yet alive, amounted to forty-four. The increase, therefore, had been at the rate of 120 per cent. in thirty-three years.

II. With this statement, let us contrast what has taken place among the slave population of Tortola in the same time.

In 1788 the slave population of that island amounted, according to the Privy-Council Report, to 9000. From the returns made to the House of Commons in subsequent years\*, it appears, that from 1790 to 1806, 1009 slaves had been imported into that island from Africa, and retained in it. The imports from 1790 to 1796 are wanting. Taking, however, the number imported to be no more than the returns actually made specify, namely, 1009, the whole number to be accounted for will be 10,009. But in 1822, when the last census was taken, the slave population amounted only to 6478, being a decrease, in 34 years, of 3531, from which the manumissions which have taken place in that time, amounting to 304, are to be deducted †. And let it not be imagined, that this ratio of decrease is a diminishing ratio. On the contrary, the decrease in the four

\* See papers ordered to be printed on 18th March 1790, 19th May 1802, and 2d and 16th July 1806.

† See papers ordered to be printed 4th March 1823. p. 114.

years from 1818 to 1822, has been in full as high a proportion; as will appear on a reference to the returns of the registry of slaves in that island, made by Mr. Richard King, the Registrar. According to these returns the slave population in 1818 amounted to 6815. But the slaves belonging to two estates—namely, those of the deceased Arthur Hodge, amounting in 1822 to thirty-nine, and those of Mrs. Simpson, amounting to forty-seven, having been omitted, the number ought to have been 6901.

In 1822 the total number in the island proved to be only 6478, leaving a deficiency in four years of 423. The number of manumissions, however, in these four years having amounted to 101, the real deficiency is so much less—namely, 322; making a decrease of upwards of four and a half per cent. in that time.

This, however, is only the average decrease. If the returns of particular estates are examined, the mortality will be found to be much greater. To take a few instances—

1. On the estates of the late Mrs. Ruth Lettsom, on which, in 1796, there is said to have been 1120 slaves, the number is stated in the Registry of 1818 to be 708, but in that of 1822 only 641. Here we have a decrease in four years (one slave having been manumitted) of sixty-six; being nearly nine and a half per cent. in that time, or two three-eighths per cent. per annum.

2. In 1818 Richard Hetherington possessed 458 slaves. This number in 1822 had been reduced to 404, being a decrease in four years (one having been manumitted) of fifty-three slaves, or upwards of eleven and a half per cent. in that time, or nearly three per cent. per annum.

3. In 1818 Thomasson and Thornton possessed 145 slaves. These in 1822 were reduced to 125; a decrease of twenty, or nearly fourteen per cent. in four years, or three and a half per cent. per annum.

4. On the estate of Archdeacon Wynne in 1818 there were 121 slaves, the remains, it is said, of a gang much more numerous: but in 1822 they had decreased to eighty-nine; a decrease of thirty-two, or of nearly twenty-seven per cent. in that time, being at the rate of six and three-quarters per cent. per annum.

As the result in this last case is particularly disastrous, it

may be useful to examine it. The venerable Archdeacon who is the owner of these slaves, resides in Ireland, and has never visited the West Indies. His estate, therefore, has been managed by agents, to whom he is said to have uniformly conveyed the most anxious instructions, to consult the well-being and comfort of his slaves. At the same time he is said to have derived little or no profit, for many years, from this distant possession. How happens it that the mortality on this gentleman's estate should have been proceeding at so frightful a rate? One cause is, he has been non-resident. He has been under the necessity of seeing and hearing through the eyes and ears of others; who may have been either wholly neglecting his injunctions, or abusing his delegated authority. This, at least, seems no unfair inference to be drawn from the facts of the case, as they appear on record. And if such are the effects of the slave system, even in Tortola, where, according to certain statistical returns, the slaves actually wallow in the abundance of all that can contribute to render them both the happiest and the richest peasantry in the world, what must the case be in other less favoured colonies? What security can any non-resident proprietor obtain that his affairs shall be more uprightly and humanely administered than those of Archdeacon Wynne have been? It is impossible to conceive an object of greater commiseration than this venerable clergyman. Is he not bound, however, by every consideration of justice and humanity, either to repair himself to Tortola, or to send some one thither in whom he can confide, to stay this waste of life among his slaves? How infinitely better would it have been in every point of view, if, twenty or thirty years ago, when his slaves were far more numerous than at present, he had acted, with respect to them, as Samuel Nottingham did with respect to his slaves! Had he even parcelled his estate among them, only requiring of them in return a trifling rent, he might have been deriving some income from his property (now yielding little but misery and death); while the wretched slaves, instead of being reduced to perhaps one half their number, might by this time have doubled it; and might be now living in comfort, and drawing wealth from the fields which have proved an untimely grave to so many of them. Their benevolent proprietor, it is confidently believed, will feel, that in proportion to the delay which

has occurred in adopting some such course, is the strength of the obligation which now lies upon him, to take instant measures for averting the further progress of this deathful system among those over whom his power is supreme and uncontrolled.

III. The following facts, deduced from the Registry of Tortola, will afford some proof of the growing prosperity of the free Black and Coloured population of that island, notwithstanding the unjust and degrading disabilities to which they are yet subject, and all the abuse poured out upon them.

In 1818 the number of free Black and Coloured persons who possessed slaves was eighty-one; the number of slaves owned by them being 546.

In 1822 the number of free Black and Coloured persons possessing slaves had increased to 120; while the slaves belonging to them, in consequence of some large bequests of this species of property, had more than trebled their number. In that year (1822) they amounted to 1766, being more than a fourth; indeed, now—since the deportation to Trinidad of a large body of Creole slaves, long rooted in the island, which has recently taken place—to nearly a third of the whole slave population.

IV. It has proved difficult to obtain a satisfactory account of the progress of population in Demerara. Partial statements have been published by the Registrar, accompanied by elaborate comments. But neither the statements nor the comments have served any useful purpose, beyond that of obscuring the facts of the case. The final result of the last census, as far as it is possible to deduce it from the confusion in which the subject has been involved, appears to be this.

In July 1821 the slave population of Demerara, according to the Registry, amounted to 77,376. A second census was completed in May 1823, three months prior to the insurrection, when the amount of the slave population proved to be only 74,418, exhibiting a decrease, in twenty-two months, of 2958. But this is not the whole decrease. Under the operation of that monstrous Act of Parliament, the fruit of private jobbing, passed in 1817, but now happily repealed, by which the planters of the Bahamas and Dominica were allowed to transport their slaves to the pestilential swamps and aggravated rigours

of Guiana, 1293 victims of that cruel policy appear to have been imported into Demerara in those twenty-two months. Adding these to 2958, the whole decrease will be 4251. What manumissions may have taken place in the interval does not appear. In fourteen years, from 1808 to 1821, the number of manumissions was 384, or twenty-seven and a half per annum. The number in these twenty-two months, if in the same proportion, would be fifty-one. The decrease, therefore, may be taken at 4200 in twenty-two months, being nearly five and a half per cent. in that time, or at the rate of nearly three per cent. per annum. So much for Demerara\*. Let us now turn to a still more important colony, Jamaica.

V. In 1749, according to Mr. Long, the Maroons of Jamaica, amounted by actual census to 660. In 1770, it appears by the Privy-Council Report, that they had increased to 885, an increase of one-third in twenty-one years. In 1782, Sir Archibald Campbell, then Governor of Jamaica, found them to be about 1200, having nearly doubled since 1749. In 1796 the Maroon war broke out, on the close of which upwards of 600 Maroons were transported to Nova Scotia, and thence to Sierra Leone; yet in 1810 the number remaining in the island amounted to 893. In 1816 they had increased, according to Mr. Stewart, to 1055; being an increase of eighteen per cent. in six years; and in 1821 the same gentleman computes their number at 1200, being an increase of fourteen per cent. in five years.

Now, it is frankly admitted by Mr. Bryan Edwards, and no change has taken place in that respect since his time, that no attempt whatever had been made by the legislature of Jamaica to civilize or to christianize these people. Neither a chapel nor a school has yet been erected for their benefit. Polygamy still prevails among them. They are the same ignorant, vicious, idolatrous, and brutal people their parents were when first brought from Africa. Such is the picture drawn of the Maroons by Mr. Edwards, himself a planter residing in Jamaica;

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\* In Demerara there is an excess of male slaves, over females, which would account for an inferior rate of increase in that colony than in the others; but will not account for the very great decrease which occurs there. There is, however, no such palliation in the case of Jamaica, Tortola, or any of the other colonies.

and yet the Maroons, because they are free, as we have seen, increase rapidly.

The slave codes of several of the North-American states, and particularly of Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana, are still more harsh and revolting than our own; and the prejudices there entertained against the African colour are, if possible, still more deep-rooted and inveterate than those of our own colonists; and yet, if we compare the *practical* results of the treatment of the slaves in the two cases, we shall be astonished at the difference.

In 1790 the slave population of the United States amounted, by the census, to 676,696. In 1820 it had risen to 1,531,431, being an increase of nearly 130 per cent. in thirty years.

We have already seen what a contrast the progress of the slave population in Tortola and Demerara forms to its progress in the United States. An actual decrease, indeed, is exhibited in all our colonies, excepting the Bahamas and Barbadoes. The decrease in our other West-India colonies during the years 1818, 1819, and 1820, appears to have exceeded 18,000.

The case of Jamaica, however, will supply a still more marked contrast.

In 1790 the slave population of Jamaica was above 250,000. Without any importations, this population, proceeding at the American rate of increase, ought in 1820 to have grown to 575,000. The actual population, however, in 1820 was only 340,000; exhibiting a deficiency, as compared with the United States, of 235,000 slaves in thirty years. But during these thirty years, or rather during the first eighteen of them, 189,000 slaves were imported into Jamaica from the coast of Africa, and retained in it. Without counting, therefore, on any natural increase from these importations, the number in the island in 1820 ought to have been 764,000, being 424,000 more than were actually to be found there in that year. Without calculating on any increase at all, either from the stock of 1790, or the subsequent importations, the number of slaves ought to be 439,000. The actual population in 1820 was 100,000 less. What a bill of mortality is here to be accounted for!

But let us take another view of the subject.

When Jamaica was captured in 1654, it contained 40,000 slaves. Had these been allowed to increase since that time,



at the rate of the slaves in the United States since 1790, they would now have amounted to upwards of four millions; or even if they had increased at the rate at which the Maroons, a part of their own body, have, when undisturbed, been increasing, they would now amount to three millions. But, besides this original stock of 40,000 slaves, there have been imported into and retained in Jamaica upwards of 800,000 Africans. Had these 840,000 slaves merely maintained their numbers, the slave population of Jamaica would be from two to three times as numerous as it is. But had they gone on increasing at the rate of slaves in the United States, or even at that of the Maroons in Jamaica itself, the population would now have been quite immense.

But if we comprehend in our estimate, not only Jamaica but the whole of our slave colonies, and review the progress of population in them all, since their first formation, how appalling would be the amount of human life, in fact of human sacrifice, which they have cost us, and which they are still costing us! And what have been the proximate causes of all this frightful accumulation of misery and death? Without all question, they have been, *severity of treatment, excess of labour, and scantiness of food*. No other causes can be assigned which are at all adequate to the production of such effects as we have been contemplating.

But can it be, many will doubtless exclaim, that the mortality which has so long been depopulating the West Indies, and which is still continuing its ravages, should have been caused in whole, or in part, by *scantiness of food*? Has not the Assembly of Jamaica declared, that one day's labour in that island will produce more food than twenty-five days could raise in Europe?\*. Has not Mr. Ellis assured us, that the means of subsistence in the West Indies, are abundantly sufficient for the wants of the slaves?† Has not Mr. Barham also told us ‡, that "the labour of a few days," "of a week," "supplies the Negro with food for the year?" And has not the

\* In other words, twelve days' labour in Jamaica is equal to three hundred in Europe. See Report of the Jamaica Assembly in 1815.

† See his speech on the 15th May, 1823.

‡ See his pamphlet, pp. 16, 17.

Rev. Mr. Bridges, going beyond even these authorities, affirmed, that "want is unknown to the slaves" in the West-Indies; nay that the numerous free Black and Coloured population of Jamaica live, "without labour or means, upon the spontaneous productions of a grateful soil *alone*?" How then is it possible that the slaves can have suffered from scantiness of food?

It certainly seems scarcely possible, allowing these statements to be true, that such should have been the case; and yet such has most unquestionably been the case, as may be shewn by evidence that is incontestable.

1. In a report of the Assembly of Jamaica, dated November 12, 1788, and laid before Parliament, it is affirmed, that between the years 1780 and 1787, 15,000 slaves actually perished from want in Jamaica alone. And if so many actually perished, starved to death, what must have been the sufferings of the rest! The cause assigned for this dreadful mortality and wretchedness, was the destruction of the plantain trees by hurricanes. But after the first hurricane in 1780, how came the planters to trust to plantain trees, and not to plant yams, and eddoes, and cassada, and corn, articles which a few months would bring to maturity? Twelve days' labour in the year, at most, according to the same Assembly, would have secured abundance to the slaves. Why were these not bestowed, to prevent the recurrence of the same distress during the six succeeding years? And where, in the mean time, were all those spontaneous productions of a grateful soil which are now so abundant, according to Mr. Bridges, as to prove the sole dependence of the free Black and Coloured population?—It is a remarkable circumstance, that during the seven years of inanition and death, which pressed so heavily on the slaves of Jamaica, as actually to destroy 15,000 of them, we are not told that a single White or free person or Maroon perished, or even suffered greatly from hunger.

2. Again; we have in 1811, a petition of the Assembly of Jamaica, in which they allege, that from the low prices of their produce, though their crops of sugar are abundant, they are unable to afford their slaves the usual and necessary comforts in return for their toil. But could this have been the case, had they given them the brief time necessary to provide for their own subsistence? Nay, if we look at the petition of the same Assembly to his Majesty, at so recent a period as December

1822, we shall find the same language still more explicitly maintained. "It is to save," they say, "our labourers from *absolute want*, that we solicit the interposition of our sovereign?" But how was it possible, on their own shewing, that their slaves could be reduced to absolute want in a country where the labour of twelve days in the year would abundantly provide for their subsistence, unless their owners were to deprive them even of that scanty allowance of time? It is for the Assembly of Jamaica to reconcile these contradictions.

3. But let us look at the meliorating laws of the Leeward Islands, in confirmation of the fact that a want of food is often experienced by the slaves, notwithstanding the extraordinary facility of raising provisions admitted to exist there. The act of 1798 affirms in its preamble, that many persons had been prevented from supplying their slaves with food by the encumbered state of their property. But how could this possibly have been the case, had not the planters been so determinately bent on directing the whole labour of their slaves to sugar planting, that they would not subtract from that pursuit even the twelve days' labour in the year which the Assembly of Jamaica declare to be sufficient to provide food for their slaves? And besides this, let us look to the weekly allowances ordered to be given to the slaves, by this very meliorating act, (avowedly an improvement of the existing system),—viz. nine pints (about seven pounds) of corn or beans or oatmeal, or eight pints of peas or wheat, or rye flour, or Indian corn-meal, or seven pints of rice, or twenty pounds of yams. At the same time the weekly allowances given by law to the slaves in the Bahamas, where, there being no sugar estates, the labour is infinitely lighter than in the Leeward Islands, were as follows; sixteen pints of corn, or twenty-one pints of flour, or fourteen pints of rice or fifty-six pounds of yams, being about double those of the Leeward Islands. It will sufficiently shew the miserable deficiency of these last, to state, that they are only about half the allowances given to prisoners in the jails of England, and less than half of what the law of Jamaica allows, not to labourers in the field, but to persons confined in the prisons and work-houses of that island. The allowance to the prisoner in Jamaica is twenty-one pints of wheat flour a week; to the plantation slave in the Leeward Islands, it is eight pints a week.

4. The exclusive attention paid by the planters of the Leeward Islands to the cultivation of sugar, while provisions have been neglected, has produced, even recently, the most disastrous consequences. Absolute famine among the slaves was only averted two years ago, by drawing bills on the treasury to buy food for them. And yet, according to concurrent West-Indian evidence, the application of twelve days' labour in the year to the culture of provisions would have completely averted that calamity, and would have secured abundance to the starving slaves.

Let us now contemplate the facts detailed above. Let us consider the unexampled waste of human life, which the slavery of our colonies continues to produce; together with all the pain and wretchedness and anguish which such waste must necessarily occasion; and then say, whether on any view, not merely of common humanity and morality, but of the most selfish and sordid expediency, it is a system which ought to be tolerated by this country. And this consideration will press more forcibly on every mind not warped by a feeling of personal interest, when he recollects, that, putting the wholesale devastation of the system, with all the anguish and agonies it involves, wholly out of the question, it actually costs us more to maintain it than it would to extinguish it. The fee simple of all our slave colonies, fairly valued, would not require a larger annuity to purchase it than we now pay in the bounties and protecting duties which alone uphold slavery, and in the means of defence we furnish to the planters against the consequences of their own system. Will, then, the parliament and people of Great Britain suffer this system to continue? It is quite impossible. They will demand that the nuisance should be forthwith abated; and that it shall be finally, and at no very distant period, removed.

It has become the fashion to extol the abolition of the Slave Trade as an act of distinguished magnanimity on the part of Great Britain. Its horrors had made a deep impression on the public mind. All who pretend to a single spark of humanity, or a single feeling of justice, now concur in reprobating it. Even the West-Indians have of late been as loud as their neighbours in applauding the measure. And yet, what was there in the Slave Trade, that consummation of wickedness,

which has rendered it at length the common execration of mankind, that on a close inspection, may not be found to characterise the Negro Slavery of our European colonies? There were, doubtless, humane slave-traders residing in London, Liverpool, and Bristol, who would have shrunk from any deed of blood; who gave the strictest orders for the humane treatment of their living cargoes; and who pleaded those orders in defence and justification of their traffic. So we have now humane and benevolent planters residing in England, who issue admirable instructions to their agents, but who cannot by such powerless instruments stay the hand of brutal oppression, or arrest the tide of death which sweeps over their plantations. The evil is not to be cured by such means. The Parliament of England gave the word, and its African Slave-Trade was at once extinguished. The Parliament of Great Britain has only again to cause its voice to be decisively heard, and the guilty system of colonial bondage which pollutes the national character, and converts some of the fairest portions of the empire into a charnel house, will also cease ere long universally and for ever, and with perfect safety to all concerned.

It is plain, from the colonial journals, that by the resident planters, at least, the stir which has been made on the subject of Slavery, in this country, is regarded but as a periodical effervescence of ill-directed zeal, which will shortly subside and leave them, if they are but firm in their resistance, in the undisturbed possession of all their tremendous attributes. They conceive it to be the work of a few individuals, whom, if death should remove, or calumny should succeed in discrediting, the mass of the public would again sink into total apathy on the subject. They are woefully mistaken. They will find that from year to year, nay, from month to month, will the detestation of slavery, and the rooted resolve to extirpate it, become more intense and universal; and that the progress of this feeling will only be accelerated by colonial resistance, or even by undue procrastination. And as for the notion that the cause lives only in the life, or that it depends only on the estimation, of a few individuals, it is an utter delusion. If those who have hitherto mingled as leaders in the conflict were to be removed, it would be but the signal for numbers who have hitherto taken no prominent part, to press forward with new energy and ardour to

fight the battles and achieve the victory of humanity. No man who regards the signs of the times can doubt that the final doom of British Slavery must at length be sealed; and that the time is approaching, when not only every slave in his Majesty's colonies shall be free, but every freeman residing in them, whatever be his colour, shall be admitted to "a participation in those civil rights and privileges\*" which are enjoyed by the *White* class of his Majesty's subjects.

But the proposal to repeal those bounties and protecting duties on West-Indian produce, by means of which colonial slavery is upheld, does not proceed from any hostility to the planters. It is to their system, and not to themselves, that hostility is felt. That the downfall of that system, and of the restrictive laws which alone maintain it, would prove beneficial even to the planters themselves, no one can doubt who believes that there is any truth in history, or any certainty in political science. "One obvious benefit," we use the words of a recent writer†; "One obvious benefit which would immediately accrue to the West-Indian cultivator would be, that he would be induced to withdraw his poor soil from sugar cultivation, and to retain in it only those of superior fertility. Inferior soils would be employed in the growth of other articles for which they were adapted, and only the best in that of sugar. The remunerating price of Sugar would thus be lowered. A forced cultivation must always be a hazardous and expensive process; and it can only be supported by a monopoly price both high and permanent.

"Again; the use of the plough has such obvious advantages, that, to a cursory observer, it is wonderful that it has not been generally adopted in West-Indian cultivation. If an English farmer was obliged to keep, during the whole year, all the hands that he required in harvest, he too might employ them with the spade and the hoe in turning up the soil, and might find less advantage from the plough. If the plough were brought into general use, and cattle were therefore more generally employed, the fertility of the soil, by means of a change of crops, of manuring, and good management, would be gradually improved instead of being, as now, continually deteriorated.

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\* See Mr. Canning's resolutions.

† See "Inquiry respecting the Means of reducing the Cost of Sugar raised by free Labour," published by Hatchard, pp. 17, 18.

"Various other suggestions present themselves. If, for example, the cultivation of provisions were made universally a first and paramount object;—if the women were relieved from the constant and oppressive drudgery of field labour, and allowed to give an adequate share of attention to their domestic concerns, as might easily be done were the plough in general use;—and if various other economical improvements which are obviously practicable were adopted; there can be no doubt that the state of things in the West Indies would rapidly and very greatly improve. The population would increase\*, and their condition would gradually approach that of free labourers. The property of the planter would be no longer estimated by the number of his slaves, who would sink in value; but by his land, which would proportionably rise in value. His income would eventually be derived from a land-rent paid by Black or White farmers managing their own concerns; and he would then be able to compete in the sale of his produce with any other country in the world."

"On the whole, therefore, it is gratifying to reflect," adds this writer, that "the West-Indian planter would thus find the improvement of his own finances to arise from reforms, which would, at the same time, most effectually promote the happiness, and exalt the moral and social condition of his unhappy bondsmen."

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\* As this sheet was going to press, the Author's general reasoning received a remarkable confirmation from the official returns of the population of Hayti, transmitted to this country by the Secretary of its Government, and published in the *New Times* of the 29th November, 1824. While the West-Indians have affirmed that that population has been diminishing, the fact turns out to be, that, notwithstanding a succession of sanguinary wars, from 1791 to 1807, it has undergone an astonishing increase. The census of 1824 gives 935,335 as the actual population. The regular troops are stated to be 45,620; and the national guards, 113,328.

**THE COLONY**  
**OF**  
**SIERRA LEONE**  
**VINDICATED**  
**FROM THE**  
**MISREPRESENTATIONS OF MR. MACQUEEN**  
*OF GLASGOW.*

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**BY**  
**KENNETH MACAULAY, ESQ.,**  
**MEMBER OF COUNCIL AT SIERRA LEONE.**

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**1827.**





## PREFACE.

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THE following sheets contain the substance of a letter, addressed, about six weeks ago, to a Member of Parliament, who expressed a desire to know my opinion respecting the charges which had been preferred against the Colony of Sierra Leone, by Mr. Macqueen of Glasgow, in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine for December last. This circumstance will account for the epistolary style which the work occasionally betrays.

Since this communication was made, Mr. Macqueen has put forth, in Blackwood's Magazine for this month, another long tirade against Sierra Leone and those connected with it; containing little more than a reiteration of the accusations brought forward in his former article. To answer these in detail, would be merely to go over again my former ground. And this is also the less necessary, as his Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry have returned from the colony, and their report will, probably, be soon laid before Parliament. The very great unhealthiness of the colony appears, however, to be so generally believed, and Mr. Macqueen is so bold, and yet so unfounded, in his assertions on that head, that I cannot allow his new statements to go altogether unexposed.

Mr. Macqueen, with his usual hardihood, publishes, in a note at page 324, a list of twenty-nine officers, who, he would wish the world to believe, died at Sierra Leone, between October 1824 and March 1826. He appears to have ample means of access to any infor-

Regan ; nor Assistant-surgeon Creighton ; nor (I believe) Assistant-surgeon M. Stewart. Who the nameless seventh is, I know not.

Other instances are equally unfounded. Lieutenant Waring was, and I hope is, alive on the Gold Coast. Mrs. Morgan is alive in England. — But enough has been stated to prove, that, however bold are Mr. Macqueen's assertions, he is either deceived himself, or he wishes to deceive others. He is at liberty to choose the alternative, as either supposition will shew how unworthy of credit he is in the accusations he thinks proper, for valuable reasons no doubt, to bring forward against Sierra Leone, and the system of African civilization carrying on in that colony.

At page 76 Mr. Hamilton is mentioned as still at Sierra Leone. I am sorry to say he died there, after a residence of twenty-five years, in January last.

In stating, at page 115, my belief that Lieutenant Poingdestre was "the only officer" of the Navy who had died on the windward coast, I ought to have said, "the only *commanding* officer."

To the list of naval captains, who, in the same page, are referred to as being acquainted with Fernando Po, I ought to have added the names of Commodore Bullen, and Captains Grace, Hagan, Kelly, and Owen.

I am sorry to be obliged to call the attention of the reader to a long list of errata, chiefly in common names, caused by my absence from town while the sheets were passing through the press.

March 28, 1827.

## ERRATA.

Page 42, line 24: *for* census of 1825, *read* census of 1822.

71, — 3: *for* W. Miller, *read* W. Hutton.

— 14: *for* F. Cole, *read* T. Cole.

73, — 5: *for* M. Fillager, *read* M. Tilley.

— 13: *for* J. Mentga, *read* J. Martyr.

— 16: *for* Superintendant R. Cole, *read* Clerk C. Cole.

75, last line: *for* MacGonne, *read* MacGoune.

77, — 2: *for* Kendall, *read* Rendall.

— 3: *for* Spencer, *read* Shower.

89, — 9 from bottom: *for* Kenghary, *read* Kang Kang.

— 7 from bottom: *for* Soombra, *read* Soombia.

96, — 5: *for* Esparillo, *read* Espaniola.

110, — 27: *for* land, *read* seed.

115, — 29: *for* Willis, *read* Willes.

117, — 7: *for* Boove, *read* Bouree.



# THE COLONY OF SIERRA LEONE,

8c. 8c.

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**A** SYSTEMATIC and persevering attack has been carried on against Sierra Leone from its first foundation. All persons interested in upholding the Slave Trade, or Slavery, have considered that colony as an object of hostility, and have endeavoured, by maligning and misrepresenting the system carried on there, and the effects of that system, to divert the attention of the people of England from the abuses of their own. The friends of Sierra Leone have for some years ceased to notice, with any degree of seriousness, these often refuted calumnies; but the unwearied hostility of its enemies has not, on that account, abated. Their unfounded and disproved charges have been repeated again and again; they have been transferred from newspaper to magazine, and from magazine to newspaper, until the country has been made to resound with tales of Sierra-Leone enormities, and Sierra-Leone calamities; and a very general, but I trust to shew a very unjust, idea has prevailed that, for every purpose of civilization and improvement, this colony has entirely failed; that the experiment there made has not only been enormously expensive, but that it has been grossly mismanaged, and has proved abortive. It is confidently affirmed, that Great Britain has obtained nothing but disappointment by all her exertions and all her expenditure; and that a consideration of the nature of the place concurs with the experience of the past, in proving, that there can be no hope of any better results for the time to come. At length Mr. Macqueen, one of the

distinguished persons in the different walks of public life, ministers of the Gospel, officers of his Majesty's military, naval, and civil service, and also of foreign powers—men of rank and character, and of unimpeachable integrity; the value of whose testimony it would be an insult on the understanding of the people of England, on the feelings of the living, and the memory of the dead, to compare with the assertions, however bold, of a man like Mr. Macqueen, whom I shall prove to be unworthy of confidence, he having stated as facts what he knew to be untrue, and having quoted, as genuine, extracts which he knew to be garbled.

This is a strong accusation, but not more strong than just; and, if proved, I leave you, sir, to judge of the merits of that cause, to support which such conduct is necessary.

Mr. Macqueen charges all the blame of the pretended failure of Sierra Leone on certain plans and arrangements of the African Institution, which he asserts to have influenced and guided the Government in all their measures relative to that settlement.

Now whatever might have been the wishes and the objects of the African Institution, they could only carry them into effect by suggestions either to his Majesty's Ministers, or to those who had the immediate management of the colony; over neither of whom had they any authority whatever. The administration of the colony was in the hands of men appointed by the Crown, and responsible to it; and though, in many instances, the views of the Governors may have coincided with those of the African Institution, and though some of them may have entertained great personal consideration for the individuals composing that body, yet it is notorious that this was not always the case. Indeed the very first Governor sent out, after the transfer of the colony to the Crown, made it his object to overturn all the previous arrangements of the Sierra Leone Company, and to pursue a perfectly opposite system. His successors, it is true, did not adhere to his schemes; but in following a different line of conduct they were wholly guided either by the instructions of his Majesty's

Directors till they quitted London; and the Hon. Edward James Eliot till his death. They were succeeded by Lord Teignmouth, Thomas Babington, Esq., M. P., and Edward Parry, Esq.

Government, or by their own views of what the state of the colony required. Subsequently to the year 1808, the year in which the colony was transferred to the Crown, not one of the successive Governors or Judges received his appointment through the influence of the African Institution, or of any of its members. Not one of them was even previously known to the members of that body; and, being all men looking forward to promotion in his majesty's service, there can be no doubt but that to the Government alone did they look up for approbation and reward\*.

My object, however, is not to defend the African Institution, but to shew that they did not form, or guide, or controul in any way, the government of the colony; that its good or bad management, since 1808, belongs to the individuals composing at different times that government, or to the Colonial Department, under whose instructions alone they acted. So far from one uniform system having been pursued in any one point—not to say in the whole system of management, as Mr. Macqueen would have us to believe—the colony has been grievously injured by the want of any systematic plan or rule of conduct having been laid down for its government, by which its prosperity might have been promoted, or the experiment of African civilization fairly tried. Every Governor has been left to follow his own plans, however crude and undigested; and no two succeeding Governors have ever pursued the same course. This remark applies more particularly to the management of the liberated Africans. Mr. Ludlam pursued the system of apprenticing them. Mr. Thompson set that aside, and turned them loose in the colony, without any other superintendence than its general police. Captain Columbine employed them on the public works, or apprenticed them. Colonel Maxwell, after delivering over, to the persons appointed to receive them, all the men fit for his Majesty's service, apprenticed a part of the remainder, and then commenced forming villages with those who could not be so dis-

\* Captain Columbine, Colonel Maxwell, Sir Charles MacCarthy, General Turner, and Sir Neil Campbell, were all men utterly unknown to the Directors of the African Institution, previous to their appointment as Governor of Sierra Leone. The successive Judges, Dr. Thorpe, Dr. Hagan, and Mr. Fitzgerald, &c. &c., were equally unknown to them.



posed of. Sir Charles MacCarthy gave up apprenticing, except in particular cases, and adopted the plan of forming them into villages, under such civil superintendence and religious instruction as he could command, keeping the youths and children in schools, or making mechanics of them; neglecting perhaps too much, in his successful attempt to make them orderly and quiet citizens, the equally desirable object of making them industrious agriculturists and growers of exportable produce. General Turner dissolved, in a great measure, the schools, and the institutions for mechanics, and threw the people more on their own resources; but did not afford, indeed he did not possess, the means of duly superintending their settlement and progress, or directing their energies.

Mr. Macqueen commences his attack on the colony by what he is pleased to term its immense expense, and which, by a mode of calculation peculiarly his own, he raises to upwards of 16,000,000*l*. He may have supposed that this extraordinary array of figures would alarm that large portion of the nation who never think for themselves, and who will believe assertions, however false and absurd, merely because they are in print, and are there boldly hazarded. He could not, however, for one moment, have expected to gain the belief of any one whose opinion is worth having; much less that Government or Parliament were to be imposed upon by such a tissue of falsehood and unmeasured exaggeration. It would be ridiculous to enter into a regular refutation of every item of this long account, even if I had access (which I have not) to all the necessary public documents; I must therefore be contented with calling your attention to a few of its more glaring absurdities.

A writer in the Quarterly Review, for September 1826, is pleased to "imagine," upon what data he says not, that "the expense of keeping a squadron constantly employed for the suppression of the Slave Trade, the bounty of ten pounds per head paid for every Slave captured; and all the salaries and other expenses of the Mixed Commission, fall not far short of half a million a year" (p. 605). The loose and erroneous assumption of this writer is eagerly caught at by Mr. Macqueen; and he exhibits it in his statement No. I.

as the amount of expense incurred, under the "two heads" of Bounties and Salaries, to the enormous extent of 9,500,000*l.* Nay, though the Mixed Commission Court was only established in 1819, he carries the annual expense attending it back to 1807, and states the whole as one small item of the expense of Sierra Leone; just as if it had any thing more to do with Sierra Leone than the expense of the military asylum and college (great national objects) have to do with the parochial expenditure of Chelsea. But fearful, even here, of not charging enough, we find him, in No. VIII. a little farther, adding, 40,000*l.* for the salaries of the Judges of that very Commission Court, and in No. XII. 665,211*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* for those very bounties which he had already charged so sweepingly against this poor colony in No. I.

What connexion not only these but some other charges can have with Sierra Leone, to which they are obviously quite extraneous, it would be difficult to discover:—for example,—Expense of Gold Coast and Ashantee War, £ 239,465 2 5½ Recruiting service 1812 and 1814, and Black

|                                                                                                   |           |   |   |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|---|---|
| Troops 1793 *                                                                                     | 20,108    | 0 | 0 |
| Liberated Africans in the <i>West Indies</i> . No. X.                                             | 274,370   | 0 | 0 |
| Pensions to disbanded African Soldiers †.                                                         |           |   |   |
| No. XI.                                                                                           | 250,966   | 0 | 0 |
| <i>United States</i> , for slaves carried away and value awarded by the Emperor of Russia.        |           |   |   |
| No. XII.                                                                                          | 380,329   | 0 | 0 |
| Paid for captures ‡. No. XIII.                                                                    | 861,904   | 0 | 0 |
| Loans remitted to Portugal and money paid to Spain for the treaties to abolish the Slave Trade §. | 1,001,774 | 7 | 9 |
| Expense of moving and subsisting Maroons   .                                                      |           |   |   |
| No. VIII.                                                                                         | 80,378    | 2 | 1 |

\* These were entirely for West-Indian service.

† These had been chiefly employed in defending the West Indies.

‡ The blame of this item obviously attaches in no degree to Sierra Leone, but to the British Government, their cruisers and judges.

§ Why not add the unpaid loan to Austria? It was as much a Sierra-Leone object as the payments to Spain and Portugal.

|| Oppression and injustice drove these Jamaica Maroons into resistance. After that resistance had ceased, and they had delivered up their arms on

Mr. Macqueen, in short, seems to have spared no exertion, no research. He has hunted out every farthing of money paid by the public, or claimed of them, on account of Sierra Leone; but not content with this, whenever he finds an expense incurred which has to do with a Negro or a Slave, in any part of the world, it is put to the charge of Sierra Leone. Nay, whenever he finds an item charged, if it be but for one or two years, he charges it for the whole term of the colony, or for as many years as he deems convenient. For example, he says the expense of Sierra Leone to Government was, in 1804, 14,000*l.* : *ergo* its expense from 1791 to 1800, was 10,000*l.* annually, making an item (in No. II.) of 90,000*l.*, when in fact the public did not, during that time, pay one farthing. The first payment was in 1800.

Again : because a small ordnance establishment has existed at Sierra Leone since 1818, and because new barracks have been building in 1825 and 1826, he assumes that the annual expense of Sierra Leone on these accounts for nineteen years has been 9328*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.*—or in all, 175,523*l.* 8*s.* 2½*d.*

Again : because that part of the annual Parliamentary grant for public buildings drawn for by Sir Charles MacCarthy, between 1st Dec. 1821 and 16th April 1824, is mentioned in a finance report, therefore the annual expense at Sierra Leone, for public buildings, has been 11,459*l.*, or, in the period of nineteen years, 217,711*l.*

Again : when, by adding together the amount of expenditure at Sierra Leone for liberated Africans, in several expensive years\*, he is enabled to make the average of those

the faith of a solemn treaty, the breach of that treaty by the legislature of Jamaica drove them from their native country, and sent them ultimately to "this pestilential swamp." But how is this expense fairly chargeable to Sierra Leone, rather than to Jamaica ?

\* To shew the utter disregard even to appearances with which this falsification is effected, he charges the sum of 45,000*l.* for the year 1825, when he knew, because he quotes the document (Par. Pap. No. 389, 1826), that it was only 17,671*l.* 0*s.* 3½*d.* Again, in a note at page 878, he states, "By Par. Pap. No. 389, of 1826, the expense which each of the liberated Africans cost (including the supplies sent from England), was 10*l.* sterling." This document however says no such thing; it makes no calculation of the expense. It is General Turner's letter to Earl Bathurst,

years 37,711*l.*, 11*s.* 3*d.*, he assumes this to be the annual expense for the whole time: and then, by taking the average of two votes for supplies sent from England for their use, he makes a further annual addition to this sum of 11,000*l.*; thus making the total annual expense of liberated Africans in that colony, since 1807, to be 48,111*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* or 925,509*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* in all. Whereas, in fact, the real expense has not been half that sum, as may be seen below, p. 15.

There are many other equally incorrect statements, scarcely worth mentioning amid such enormous profusion. For example: in No. VIII. he supposes the church to have cost 50,000*l.* He supposes also Government to have paid the Sierra Leone Company for the subsistence of the Maroons 50,000*l.*; when the whole sum was about 7000*l.* He supposes Government to have paid them for the Nova Scotians, the sums of 20,000*l.* and 33,432*l.*\*, when no such sums were paid. He charges damages for Governor Maxwell, 20,000*l.* although not a third of that sum was paid on that score.— But it would be useless to go through all his imaginations and suppositions.

Equally deceptive are his statements when he pretends to give the items of expense which may fairly be charged to the colony, or to the liberated Africans settled there.

which only incidentally gives the sums expended for certain years; which, in the most expensive year, is just two fifths of what Mr. Macqueen states it to be. The most expensive of these years was 1823, when the colonial part of the expenditure amounted to . . . £ 40,907 4 9

The supplies from England, assuming them to

|                              |              |
|------------------------------|--------------|
| be the same as in 1825 ..... | 11,700 0 0   |
|                              | £ 52,697 4 4 |

The number of the liberated Africans in that year was 13,000, making the expense of each 4*l.*, and not 10*l.* as Mr. Macqueen asserts.

|                                   |              |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| In 1825 the expenditure was ..... | £ 17,651 0 3 |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|

|                                                 |            |
|-------------------------------------------------|------------|
| The supplies (see Par. Paper. No. 212, of 1826) | 11,700 0 0 |
|-------------------------------------------------|------------|

|  |              |
|--|--------------|
|  | £ 29,351 0 3 |
|--|--------------|

The liberated Africans in that year amounted to at least 16,000, so that the expense of each was only 1*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

\* Mr. Macqueen quotes in proof of the payment of these two sums, a letter of Mr. Macaulay, p. 39. The precision of this reference would lead any one to suppose that he must have quoted exactly. But in truth no such payment is stated to have been made in any letter of Mr. Macaulay, and the fact itself is untrue.

He gives, in No. II. from a parliamentary return, No. 503 of 1825, the annual estimates for the civil establishment of the colony from 1807 to 1825 (eighteen years), as 316,074*l.* 19*s.* which is nearly correct (being an average of 17,559*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* per annum); but this includes, in addition to the salaries of the civil officers, the sums annually voted for public buildings, which he, however, ingeniously forms into a separate charge, as has been already remarked, of 217,711*l.* under his head No. VII.

Under the head No. III, he charges upwards of one million for "Military Establishment—Army Extraordinaries," when the above parliamentary return distinctly states this to be the "total amount of bills of exchange paid for the service of Sierra Leone." From 1808 to 1815, and for the year 1822, the sums he gives us and those of that Return are precisely the same. For the years 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, and 1823, he makes the military expenditure more by 13,858*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* than the Treasury return states to have been paid. He does this, although he must have known that the whole military expenditure—be it regimental or staff pay, be it incurred under the head of commissariat, ordnance, or army extraordinaries,—is all paid for by bills on the Treasury, and therefore must be included in the above return. He is also equally aware, that as Sierra Leone is the head-quarters of the whole western coast of Africa, the sums here returned, as drawn for, must include the military expenditure not only of Sierra Leone, but of the *Coast*, and of a large and expensive recruiting establishment for the *West Indies*.

Mr. Macqueen concludes his farrago of figures by the assertion, that "nearly the whole of these enormous sums pass, in one way or another, through the hands of one merchant in London."

The individual here intended is Mr. Zachary Macaulay. That his exertions for the benefit of the African race, should draw upon him the obloquy and hatred of Mr. Macqueen and his employers, was to be expected. They have accordingly unsparingly poured upon him every species of abuse, however unfounded, and of scurrility, however

vulgar; and they have stuck at no falsehood, however gross, in their attempts to misrepresent his views and blacken his character.

No person can know better than yourself, or Earl Bathurst, the utter groundlessness, the absolute falsehood, of the malignant assertion here made by Mr. Macqueen. You know, sir, that with the expenditure of Sierra Leone, since its transfer to the Crown in 1807, be it great or small, Mr. Macaulay has had no concern directly or indirectly. No part of it has passed through his hands, either "in one way or another." He did indeed, as agent for some of the officers engaged on the coast of Africa in carrying the Abolition Acts into effect, receive the bounties due to them; but those transactions, which had nothing to do with expenditure of the colony of Sierra Leone, have been closed for many years. A well-paid mercenary, like Mr. Macqueen\*, may be unable to appreciate that disinterestedness which will toil and labour for the mere sake of a good cause: but there are others who can. And all, who are acquainted with Mr. Macaulay, know that he has not been backward in sacrificing his time, his talents, his ease, his health, and his private interests, in order to vindicate for the African race those rights to which they are entitled by the laws of nature and of God.

The real expenditure of Sierra Leone, when compared with these exaggerated statements of Mr. Macqueen, will prove a mere trifle. Nay, even when compared with the opinion which may exist on the subject among many well-informed persons, it will appear, I doubt not, to be small. I will endeavour to class it under its various heads; and though, from not having access to some official documents, I may not be *literally* correct, my statement will be found very near the truth. In doing so I shall confine myself to the expenditure since the transfer of the colony to the Crown in 1808. Any sums voted previously to that event, were voted after a long and

\* It is computed that Mr. Macqueen must have received, at least, 15,000*l.* from votes of the West-Indian legislatures, and from public subscriptions in the colonies, for his services since 1823. It is equal to an annuity on his life of 1000*l.* per annum. This is, without doubt, the secret spring of all his violence and exaggerations.

patient parliamentary investigation, when this much-abused colony was labouring under the slanders of the Macqueens of other days; and have been satisfactorily accounted for by the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company.

1. The first and most important item is the Military Expenditure—an expense, however, which ought scarcely to be charged to the colony at all. The colony has never required, since 1808, any military force for its internal peace; and it has never had occasion for the effective service of 100 men for its external defence. A considerable force was at times kept up on the coast, but only a small part of it was stationed at Sierra Leone. I feel confident, that, up to the year 1816, when Senegal and Goree were delivered to the French, there never were at any one time in the colony 150 serviceable soldiers, exclusive of recruits intended chiefly for the West Indies; and that, from the years 1817 and 1818, when the greater part of these troops were sent to the Cape of Good Hope, to the year 1825, there never were above 200 men, with the exception of the recruits above mentioned, and of the West-India regiments sent there, not to serve, but to be disbanded. In the amount charged for the military expenditure of Sierra Leone, are also included large sums drawn on account of its dependencies in the Gambia and on the Gold Coast;—the expense of the recruiting depôts from 1812 to 1824;—the expense of the whole force on the coast, when removed to the colony for distribution, after the cession of Senegal and Goree;—the expense of the West-India regiments sent there to be disbanded;—and, subsequently, the amount of pensions paid to these disbanded soldiers for services rendered to this country chiefly in her slave colonies.

In proof that this view of the case is correct, allow me to state a few facts. In 1810, the system of recruiting for the garrison on the spot, instead of sending convicts from England, commenced; and the military expenditure of Sierra Leone rose in one year from \* 25,853*l.* 4*s.* 3½*d.* to 36,291*l.* 13*s.* 3½*d.* In 1812, the system of recruiting for the *West Indies* commenced, and another rise took place, in one year, of from 41,540*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.* to 55,330*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* As the

\* See Parl. Pap. 503, of 1825.

West-Indian recruiting depôts increased, so did the expense attending them. But in 1816 the whole force upon the coast was removed to Sierra Leone, and the expense, as might be expected, underwent a further increase, of from 58,951*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.* to 89,919*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* This force, however, was after a time disposed of: some were disbanded, the rest sent to the Cape of Good Hope: and the expenditure was reduced, in 1819, to 41,219*l.* 16*s.* 0½*d.* In 1820 and 1821 the West-India regiments arrived at Sierra Leone, and were disbanded there, and the expenditure rose in the first year to 56,340*l.* 11*s.* 6½*d.* and in 1821 to 69,394*l.* 0*s.* 9½*d.* But the disbanded men having been located in the colony, the expenditure was reduced even below its former level: in 1822 it was 34,291*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.*; and in 1823, 35,826*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.*, although the Ashantee war had begun, and recruiting depôts for the coast and the West Indies were in full activity. In 1824, White troops were unhappily again sent to the coast; while in the West Indies there arose a fresh anxiety to obtain again that protection of Black soldiers, against which they had before made the most clamorous remonstrances, until they had got them disbanded, at a heavy expense to the public. In consequence, probably, of the dreadful mortality of some of our finest regiments stationed in those colonies, Black regiments were again ordered to be raised; and an experiment was at the same time commenced of forming an African Colonial Corps out of the refuse of White regiments. That such an experiment proved expensive, and that the mortality consequent upon it was great, is undeniable; but let both these evils be charged to the projectors of so fatal a scheme, and not to the colony of Sierra Leone, or to the African Institution, who deeply lamented it.

The military expense incurred on account of the colony cannot, it is true, easily be distinguished from the total amount of that branch of expenditure; but when we see that in 1808 it was only 12,568*l.* 9*s.* 1½*d.*, and in 1809, 25,853*l.* 4*s.* 3½*d.*; and that in 1822 it did not amount to more than 34,291*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.*, and in 1823 to 35,826*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.* though burdened with the Ashantee war and with recruiting depôts for the West Indies, we shall not be estimating it too low in placing it at 25,000*l.* per annum for the seventeen years,



from 1808 to 1824 inclusive; or in all, 425,000*l*. The expense of White regiments for 1825 and 1826 must have been great; but is no fair charge against the colony, for whose defence they were not required. There, they were a nuisance and a burden, instead of a benefit. They were sent out indeed, not with a view to Sierra Leone, which had not the slightest occasion for them, but with a view exclusively to the Gold Coast.

2. The Civil Establishment of the colony, from the year 1808 to 1823 inclusive, appears, by the Parl. Paper, No. 503, of 1825, to have cost 275,267*l*. Mr. Macqueen adds for the next three years, 56,269*l*., which, probably, is correct; making 331,536*l*. in nineteen years, being an average of nearly 17,500*l*. per annum. This includes all sums granted for public buildings, though Mr. Macqueen, as usual, charges separately for these. No other sums were ever granted or paid by the public, on account of the civil establishment of the colony, except some deficiencies of Governor Thompson, in 1809 and 1810.

3. The next item of expenditure is for liberated Africans, an expense which does not belong to the colony. Place these people where you will, they must prove a source of expense; and the only fair question is, Can you support them, and carry the intentions of the Government and Parliament respecting them into effect, any where else, at a less expense? If so, let it be done.

The amount expended on this account, from the 12th February 1810, to the 31st December 1813, was (see the Parliamentary Paper, No. 354, of 1814) .....£11,528 0 5  
I can find no account of the expense previous to the 11th February 1810; but as the number of liberated Africans was then small, and they were nearly all apprenticed out, or working for wages, it could not exceed... 1,500 0 0

£13,028 0 5

No supplies whatever were sent from England during this period. According to the Parliamentary Return, No. 389, of 1826, the expense subsequently was as follows, viz.

|                              |     |         |    |     |
|------------------------------|-----|---------|----|-----|
| From Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1814 | ... | £ 8,088 | 6  | 4   |
| ditto ditto 1815             | ... | 10,825  | 15 | 3   |
| ditto ditto 1816             | ... | 13,254  | 0  | 11½ |
| ditto ditto 1817             | ... | 21,954  | 9  | 4½  |
| ditto ditto 1818             | ... | 21,400  | 6  | 2½  |
| ditto ditto 1819             | ... | 24,234  | 2  | 4½  |
| ditto ditto 1820*            | ... | 36,188  | 17 | 0½  |
| ditto ditto 1821             | ... | 34,214  | 5  | 1½  |
| ditto ditto 1822             | ... | 35,250  | 1  | 9½  |
| ditto ditto 1823             | ... | 40,907  | 4  | 9½  |
| ditto ditto 1824             | ... | 31,065  | 1  | 0   |
| ditto ditto 1825             | ... | 17,671  | 0  | 3½  |

The expense of 1826 will be less, but

I will take the preceding sum ..... 17,671 0 0

To this I add, for supplies sent from

England during the last eight years,  
an estimated annual sum of 12,000/.,  
being unquestionably above the real

amount ..... 96,000 0 0

£ 421,752 10 11½

4. The only other expense incurred at Sierra Leone, and paid by England, is for Contingencies ; that is, expenses incurred, not in the colony itself, but in missions and presents to native chiefs, and other charges of that nature; the average amount of which I think must be highly estimated at 800/. Taking it at this sum, for nineteen years, it will make 15,200/.

As to the Colonial Revenue and Expenditure, which Mr. Macqueen brings into his account, it is raised in the colony, by colonial authority, and for colonial purposes: it is not levied under any authority of the Government or Parliament of this country ; nor can it possibly concern the British nation what proportion of their property the people of Sierra Leone choose to apply to objects of their own of a public nature.

The other charges scattered through Mr. Macqueen's letter may be classed under two or three heads. This I will proceed to

\* In this year the West-India regiments were disbanded, and the expense of locating them among the liberated Africans commenced.

do ; and endeavour at the same time to compare the very unsatisfactory nature of the proofs he professes to bring forward in support of them, with the testimony of a contrary kind, which has been given by men above all suspicion. Though aware how unable I am to do full justice to this subject, yet, relying on the truth of my case, I hope to convince you, that Sierra Leone, far from being a source of disappointment, has improved as rapidly, considering the circumstances in which it has been placed, as any man could reasonably expect.

To estimate justly the degree of progress in civilization, improvement, and prosperity which might reasonably be expected, it seems necessary to call your attention to the heterogeneous mass of which its population is composed. For this purpose I will take the official census of 1822 (the last that has been published); and this, though not in my opinion perfectly accurate as to numbers, will yet shew the nature and proportion of the various classes of its inhabitants. It must also be borne in mind, that since that time a large increase of the newly liberated Africans has taken place by importation, whilst there has not been a proportionate increase of the other classes. The population then in 1822, (exclusive of the factories and other settlements up the river) consisted of the following classes—viz.

1. Europeans including the members of the government and of the civil, judicial, and religious establishments of the colony; the missionaries, merchants, mechanics, and adventurers of every description, (exclusive of the garrison)..... 128
2. The Maroons, who were sent from Jamaica, and their descendants, of whom many are now persons of consequence and property..... 601
3. The Nova-Scotians, being the original settlers brought from America in 1791, and their descendants, several of whom are also persons of property and respectability..... 722
4. Exiles from Barbadoes, in consequence of the insurrection of 1816, together with a few North-American Blacks who have settled in the colony ..... 85
5. Natives of Africa, who have voluntarily taken up

- their abode in the colony. Of these a small part are natives of the peninsula of Sierra Leone; the remainder are natives of the surrounding and interior countries, who have, of their own accord, either settled permanently in the colony, or made it their temporary residence. Of this class the largest part are adults, and are either Mohammedans or Pagans, who adhere to the rites and customs of their own respective religions, and are quite indifferent to Christianity 3526
6. Liberated Africans, comparatively few of whom, it must be recollected, have been long in the colony; and of whom there is imported, every year, a large additional number in the lowest state of ignorance and degradation ..... 7969
7. Discharged soldiers, principally liberated Africans, the rest having originally been purchased as slaves in the West Indies, and who were disbanded in 1820 and 1821 ..... 1103
8. Kroomen, a body of labourers who, though the total number is generally the same, are, individually, constantly changing. Strongly attached to their own country and its customs, though they will migrate freely for a time, no inducement can prevail with them to remain long absent from it, or to relinquish their native superstitions ..... 947

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15,081

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Of the population of the colony, there is thus a fourth part for whose improvement in moral conduct, or for whose conversion to Christianity (beyond the enforcement of obedience to the laws of the colony), no regular provision has been made: they neither profess to be Christians nor to follow the precepts of Christianity. Now one of Mr. Macqueen's charges is, that the representations made of the morality, religion, and good example of the colony are false; and he affects, in several instances, to prove that they are so. This attempt at proof he commences with professed extracts from the work of "that intelligent traveller, Major Laing." Now, although I have no objection to Major Laing's

authority on general subjects, yet there are some circumstances in his case which render it necessary to inquire whether his work may be regarded as conclusive authority on the points at issue. He was brought up in the West Indies, and may therefore not unreasonably be supposed to have had prejudices against the colony; and yet it can be proved, that, when he finally quitted Sierra Leone, in November 1822, even down to the time of his quitting the coast, which was in June or July 1824, the opinion he had formed and expressed of Sierra Leone was favourable. In the preface to his work, we are told that it was during the above period that the first five chapters of it were written, nearly as they are now printed. In the August of that year, however, he went to Glasgow, and there, as I have been informed, became acquainted with Mr. Macqueen. How far that acquaintance may have affected the tone given to the latter part of his book I know not; but, still, to its general bearing I have no material objection to offer. Mr. Macqueen, however, has given as continuous extracts what are not so. He has, in some cases, joined sentences which occur in distant pages of the work; and he has, in other instances, given half sentences, leaving out the context, and inserting adjuncts of his own, in order to fix a meaning on the passages which they do not bear in the original.

There is, however, one serious charge, made against some missionaries by Major Laing, which requires full investigation, because it has been repeatedly brought forward by Mr. Macqueen, and because the truth or falsehood of particular facts, where the means of ascertaining the truth were accessible, must have great weight in determining the credit due to the assertions of the same parties in other cases. I do not, however, for one moment, allow that, even if the criminality of these individual missionaries had been fully established, it would furnish any fair ground of accusation either against the Church Missionary Society or against the colony at large. Individual cases of misconduct will occur in every situation; and, in my opinion, it redounds to the honour of that society, that, out of seventy-seven persons sent to the colony previous to the close of 1824, an acute and inveterate enemy,

like Mr. Macqueen, who spares no means of research, could only discover three acts of delinquency.—Mr. Laing says, “It has happened to myself to have seen *one* missionary lying drunk in the streets; to have known a *second* living with a Negress, one of his own parishioners; and a *third* tried for the murder of a little boy, whom he had flogged to death.” Now Major Laing must have known that the person *first* alluded to was a *discarded* schoolmaster of the Society—discarded for his misconduct—and that he was made drunk, as a frolic, by some young men, at a large dinner on his late Majesty’s birth-day. Who the individual is against whom the *second* charge is pointed, I have not the slightest conception; and though the matter has been frequently discussed in the colony, I never heard any one make even a probable conjecture of the individual to whom the imputation attached. The *third* refers to a person who was not sent out as a missionary by the Society, though he happened to be in their employment when the circumstance happened for which he was tried. He was a labouring mechanic in the colony, whose fair and steady conduct had induced the missionaries, in a great want of other assistants, to employ him at a newly formed settlement in the capacity of a teacher, the Governor having given him the civil charge of the village. The trial of this man is detailed at length in the Sierra Leone Gazette of the 31st March and the 7th April, 1821. It will there be seen, that considerable doubts existed whether the boy’s death was really caused by the flogging which this man gave him or not. It also appeared, that the accused was a labouring mechanic, and not a missionary, and that his previous good character, and humane conduct, were testified to on oath, by the Rev. W. Johnson, superintendant and rector of Regent; James Johnstone, Esq. superintendant of York; George Pilkington, Esq. civil engineer; and the Honourable Joseph Reffell, member of council, and chief superintendant of liberated Africans.

Major Laing was in the colony at the time when these transactions took place; he knew them perfectly, and could not be mistaken as to the facts; but he had been in Scotland before he wrote this accusation. At the same time, it is to

be remembered, on Major Laing's behalf, that the charge, so quoted by Mr. Macqueen, is only part of a sentence, introduced by him in a disquisition entered into to prove that an ecclesiastical and elementary establishment under Government, would be preferable to the efforts of a private society; and that, so far is Major Laing from alleging that the Missionary Society have not done good, he allows they have done much; and he only labours to shew that an ecclesiastical establishment, subject to the Governor, would have done more. This disquisition, which bears a very different sense from that Mr. Macqueen would wish to attach to it, by means of his insulated extract, may be found at page 386 to 389 of Major Laing's work.

A quotation is made from the latter part of this disquisition, which Mr. Macqueen brings forward as a charge against the colony:—"Considering," says Major Laing, "the special purpose for which Sierra Leone was originally formed, the length of time since its formation, and the *influence it has acquired among the nations of Western Africa*, it is a remarkable fact, that not a single missionary is to be found beyond the precincts of the colony; and that, even within the peninsula itself, on which Freetown is built, are several native villages in a peculiarly deplorable state of barbarism, which have never had the advantage of even beholding a missionary." Now attempts were formerly made, by the Church Missionary Society, to extend their labours among the native tribes; but of late years, since the accumulation within the colony of liberated Africans, and others, has become so great, the means of education and instruction have never been adequate even for their wants. That there are villages in the colony which have never seen a missionary, I cannot believe; and that there are any in a "peculiarly deplorable state of barbarism," I deny. That several cannot enjoy the benefit of a resident religious instructor, I allow; but that fact should be a stimulus to further exertions, not a reason for abandoning them altogether.

In what follows, I beg to call your attention to the manner in which Mr. Macqueen has made his quotations, and how, by subtractions, additions, and remote conjunctions, he has

endeavoured to give to the words of the author a meaning they were never intended to bear.

He says, "At Toma, a distance of only *forty-five miles* from Freetown, Major Laing was the first White man ever seen." This certainly is not given as a quotation: it may be only a misrepresentation. What says Major Laing, at page 49? "We arrived at Toma a little after four P. M., where (although not more than *sixty miles* from Sierra Leone) I learned that no White man had ever been before."

Mr. Macqueen goes on: "As Major Laing advanced into the Timmanee country, which almost borders upon the *gardens* of Freetown, 'he could not avoid expressing the greatest surprise on observing that it had gained so little by its vicinity to Sierra Leone. At Yeba, situated in the western part of the Timmanee country, where we stopped a night, the people appeared to be hardly a remove from the brute creation, and even called forth the pity of the companions (Negroes) of my journey.'"—This is given as one continuous quotation from Major Laing's Travels, and is marked as such. Now, what is the real case? It is taken from two different parts of the book, and dovetailed together, as I will shew below.—

*Macqueen*, p. 883.

*Laing*, p. 103.

"He could not avoid expressing the greatest surprise, on observing it had gained so little by its vicinity to Sierra Leone."

"Their agricultural instruments are certainly the simplest, as well as rudest, that I have ever beheld, and I could not avoid expressing the greatest surprise on observing, during my first visit to this country, that it had gained so little by its vicinity to Sierra Leone." "The hoe, &c." [and so on, to shew that hoes, flails, rakes, shovels, &c. would be acceptable and beneficial].

"At Yeba, situated in the *western* part of the Timmanee country, where we stopped a night, the people ap-

This part of Mr. Macqueen's continuous quotation comes from page 438, and is as follows.—



*Macqueen.*

peared to be hardly a remove from the brute creation, and even called forth the pity of the companions (Negroes) of my journey."

*Laing.*

"At Yeba, where we stopped a night, the people appeared to be hardly a remove from the brute creation, and even called forth the pity of the companions of my journey."

You will here see, that the words "*situated in the western part of the Timmanee country*," given as an extract from Major Laing, are a pure invention of Mr. Macqueen, to make these people *close neighbours* of the colony, when they were, in fact, a mixture of Korankos and Limbas, living one hundred and fifty miles from its borders, and quite in the *eastern* parts of the Timmanee country.

Mr. Macqueen goes on to say: "And he (Major L.) sums up the Sierra-Leone character (pp. 388, 389) when he says of Soolima, where he was the first White man ever seen, 'that it is at present higher than it is likely to be after they have had much intercourse with Sierra Leone;'" intending, of course, to convey the impression, that Soolima would suffer by its intercourse with Sierra Leone. Now, Major Laing says no such thing. He says, in page 388: "The respect in which *the character of a White man* is held among the Soolimas is general, and borders almost on veneration. I may hope that my residence among them did not in any respect diminish it; but it is at present higher than it is likely to be after they have had much intercourse with Sierra Leone." An acquaintance with many of the Whites of Sierra Leone—the convict soldiers, for example—will most assuredly not raise the European character in the eyes of the natives.

The remainder of the extract is followed, in Major Laing's book, by reasons why the opinion there put forth is correct, which Mr. Macqueen has omitted.

Mr. Macqueen's next extract from Major Laing is: "'The natives of Kissy,'" a country situated round the sources of the Niger, are so extremely barbarous and ignorant, that, 'without the least compunction, they will dispose of their relations, wives, and even children.'" How the wretched state

of the natives of Kissy, near the source of the Niger, can bear on the question of civilization at Sierra Leone, may not at first be very evident ; but when I supply *the note appended by Major Laing*, and which Mr. Macqueen has chosen to omit, it may become more clear, and, as far as Sierra Leone is concerned, very satisfactory. "Several hundred natives," says Major Laing, in the note at page 281, "of this savage country, who have been liberated from slave-ships by the humane exertions of Great Britain, are established in a beautiful village named after their own country (Kissy), about four miles from Freetown, Sierra Leone ; where, at the expense of the British Government, they have been clothed and fed, *until able to support themselves by their own industry ; and where they are now settled in the enjoyment of full security of person and of property. Under the same protecting influence, and by means of missionaries supplied by the Church Missionary Society, they have been educated as Christians ; and all are instructed in reading and writing.* These are benefits conferred on Africa, by British interference and protection, of which an Englishman may well be proud ; and *which are rapidly obtaining for Great Britain an influence, in this vast continent, of a far deeper character than that which arises from temporary convenience or subjection.* When the capabilities of Western Africa are duly considered, for producing, by its native population, the articles of immense consumption which are at present supplied from other countries, under the far greater cost of forced labour, such measures will appear as politically wise as they are humane and beneficent."

I may have to compare a few more of Mr. Macqueen's quotations from Major Laing with the original, in a future part of this letter ; but I will now proceed to shew, that, to the time of his leaving the coast, Major Laing's opinion of the colony was favourable ; and that to the very last, when he had no inducement, but that of truth, to speak in commendation of it, he could not avoid bearing his testimony to that effect.

*Extracts of Letters from Major Laing.*

"Yancoomassie Camp, Sept. 30, 1823.

"I expect, before I return, to have secured the independence of these nations, and a lasting as well as honourable peace to his Majesty's subjects on the Gold Coast; after which I shall endeavour, and, I trust, not without a good claim, to get to England, *via my favourite colony Sierra Leone.*"

London, Jan. 24, 1824.

"I regret much that time is so precious that I cannot write you at length, or enter as I wish to do, at present, into my feelings and views with regard to the trade of Sierra Leone, which by a little management may become highly important, and there is no period at which it would be more desirable, at a moment while she is beset with so many malicious enemies."

"Broomhill, Sept. 10, 1824:

"—— thinks highly of the plan I have in view of proceeding from Benin to Haoussa and Timbuctoo, to endeavour, if possible, to induce the natives of those rich countries to visit Sierra Leone, to which place I am inclined to think they would eagerly resort, as soon as they saw with how much less risk they could travel thither than across the desert to the Mediterranean."

"London, Oct. 17, 1824.

"*I am glad to see you are getting on so well in Sierra Leone.* I have not time to enter at length into my feelings on the subject, but shall by next opportunity, which may most likely be per the Governor."

The next witness produced by Mr. Macqueen, is Mr. Raban, a missionary of the Church Missionary Society, the parochial pastor of Freetown, to whose opinions and assertions I am willing to allow as much credit as Mr. Macqueen can possibly do. Mr. Raban's report, from which Mr. Macqueen professes to draw his extracts, is so full, explicit, and satisfactory, and his character and respectability are so firmly established, that I should be willing almost to rest the cause of the colony on his evidence alone. Indeed, I consider his statement,

recent as is its date, so important, that, after quoting some parts of it, to shew the incorrectness of Mr. Macqueen's pretended extracts, I shall take the liberty of referring you to the report itself, for farther information.

This is one of the cases in which I have particularly to complain of the misquotations, misconstructions, subtractions, interpolations, and misrepresentations of Mr. Macqueen; and I have again to beg your attention to the manner in which he grossly misstates his evidence. He gives the following (Blackwood, page 883), as a continuous quotation, and it is marked as such.

“ ‘ It must,’ says Mr. Raban, ‘ be a matter of lamentation, to all who know the value of a place of public worship, that a suitable place has not been prepared for this purpose, capable of containing a number somewhat more answerable to the increasing population of the parish. At some of the stations; a degree of indifference to the public means of grace, which was manifested for a time, could not be observed without pain. The instances of decided piety which had been brought to light during this period, are comparatively few: those who publicly and solemnly profess themselves the disciples of Christ, are but few, compared with the mass of the people. —At Kissy town, a considerable portion of them live as without God in the world. In fact,’ continues Mr. Raban, ‘ of the lamented cases of irreligion and immorality which at present prevail amongst the Black population, probably not a little may be ascribed to the unchristian lives of too many of the Europeans resident in the colony, whose example, were they Christians indeed, would have an influence on the minds of the natives, which might be incalculably beneficial.’ ”

How far this is a fair extract; and in what manner he collects and joins words and sentences, which have no connexion in themselves, in order to make out his case, without any regard to the meaning of the original, we shall now see.

The first sentence comes from the second column of p. 261 of the *Missionary Register* for May 1826.—

*Macqueen*, p. 883.

“ ‘It must be matter of lamentation, to all who know the value of a place of public worship, that a suitable place has not been prepared for this purpose, capable of containing a number somewhat more answerable to the increasing population of the parish.’ ” (Free-town).

The next sentence of his extract is from the second column of page 256 of the *Register*; as follows.

*Macqueen*.

“ ‘At some of the stations, a degree of indifference to the public means of grace, which was manifested for a time, could not be observed without pain.’ ”

*Miss. Register*, p. 261.

“ ‘It must be matter of lamentation, to all who know the value of public worship, that a suitable place has not been prepared for this purpose, capable of accommodating a number somewhat answerable to the increasing population of the parish. Till this be done, it seems in vain to expect that the Europeans will attend in any considerable number.’ ”

*Register*.

“ ‘At some of the stations, a degree of indifference toward the public means of grace was manifested for a time, which could not be observed without pain by those entrusted with the care of the people residing there. In more than one instance, however, an improvement in this respect has subsequently taken place, which is truly gratifying; and it may be safely affirmed, that, at several stations, the congregations would in all probability be larger, were more ample accommodation provided. Cases are not wanting in which an eager desire is shewn to hear the word of God. And the crowded state of the people, in time of service, is such as considerably to interfere with the personal comfort of those who are called to address them. When the hearing ear is thus

*Register.*

given, it may be regarded as a token for good; and surely it affords ground for hope, as well as prayer, that the heart may also be opened to receive the truth."

The first part of the next sentence is picked out of the first paragraph of the first column in page 257, applying *solely* to the schools for children.

*Macqueen.*

"The instances of decided piety which have been brought to light during this period are comparatively few."

*Register, p. 257.*

"It is more than probable that the schools will frequently experience some fluctuation. Many of the children, as they grow up, are allowed to leave, in order to learn some trade; others, to marry and settle in life, which here, as in all warm climates, it is customary to do at a very early age; and many also are removed by death, principally in consequence of disease, the foundation of which was laid while in a state of slavery.

"The decrease mentioned above does not, therefore, necessarily prove that the people in general are indisposed to send their children to receive instruction; still less does it afford any ground of discouragement to those who labour for the benefit of the rising generation. The instances of decided piety which may have been brought to light during this period, are comparatively few; but were there only one well-attested instance of this kind, it ought surely to be hailed with gratitude, as a token of the Divine approbation, and to operate as a stimulus to further exertions."

The remaining half is part of the next paragraph in the same page, and applies solely to communicants.

*Macqueen.*

“Those who\*publicly and solemnly profess themselves the disciples of Christ, are but few, compared with the mass of the people.”

*Register.*

“On the other hand, the attention paid to the ordinance of the Lord’s Supper may furnish a tolerably safe criterion for judging of the degree in which the Gospel has found its way to the hearts of the adult population. Those who *thus* publicly and solemnly profess themselves the disciples of Christ are but few, compared with the mass of the people †; but, though we may justly regret that these are not more numerous, yet perhaps their fewness may afford satisfaction in one view, as indicating a commendable care, on the part of their instructors, to bring forward those only whom, in the judgment of charity, they conceive to be prepared for that sacred ordinance, by a due acquaintance with its nature and design, by the profession of faith in Christ, and by a desire to serve and glorify him.”

The next quotation is of much the same description.

*Macqueen.*

“At Kissy Town a considerable portion of them live as without God in the world.”

*Register, p. 257.*

“Kissy.—380 attend on Sundays; 190 on week-days; 30 communicants. With the exception of the communicants, the people do not seem to pay that attention to the means of grace which it is so desirable to witness. A considerable proportion of them live as without God

\* The word “*thus*” is here omitted by Mr. Macqueen; why, is very evident.

† Is not this the case in England, as well as at Sierra Leone?

*Register.*

in the world; *many know too little of the English language* to be much benefited by preaching.

"The parents do not seem to be properly sensible of the value of instruction to their children. Some of the children appear to value the instruction afforded them; others require the eye of the master to keep them attentive to their lessons.

"Generally speaking, there is a tolerable measure of outward decency to be seen among the people. In some of them, evidences of a Christian spirit are to be discovered, in their diligent and serious attention to the means of grace, in their conversation, and in their lives, which testify more or less that they are Christians indeed."

Again:—

*Macqueen.*

"'In fact,' continues Mr. Rabau, 'of the lamentable cases of irreligion and immorality which at present prevail amongst the Black population, probably not a little may be ascribed to the unchristian lives of too many of the Europeans resident in the colony, whose example, were they Christians indeed, would have an influence on

*Register, p. 262.*

"Nor let it for a moment be doubted, that many pleasing proofs have already been exhibited, on these very shores, of the blessed tendency of our holy religion."

"Even here it has been seen, that now, as well as in the primitive age, the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, however distinguished by colour, clime, or language. It is hoped and believed, that, in many instances, such as have made an open profession of religion have, in a good measure, lived in a manner consistent with



*Macqueen.*

the minds of the natives which might be incalculably beneficial."

*Register.*

it, and have exhibited satisfactory proofs of the efficacy of Divine grace in raising, enlightening, and transforming the most degraded and oppressed. In some lamented cases, indeed, it has been otherwise; but even here much is undoubtedly to be attributed to the peculiarly afflictive dispensations by which it has pleased God, for some wise purpose though to us unknown, to deprive the people of their beloved teachers, and thus for a time to abridge the spiritual advantages previously afforded them. Probably also not a little may be ascribed to the unchristian lives of too many of the Europeans resident in the colony, whose example, were they Christians indeed, would have an influence on the minds of the natives which might be incalculably beneficial."

The words, "*in fact, of the lamentable cases of irreligion and immorality which at present prevail amongst the Black population,*" are a gratuitous insertion of Macqueen's, not to be found in the original.

Between Sierra Leone and the Rio Pongas there has been a long and decided conflict of principle. We have succeeded in destroying nearly all the Slave Trade in that river; but some of the spawn are still left. Of that place I shall say more hereafter; but at present I shall content myself with placing in contrast to what takes place in the Rio Pongas—a place still the occasional resort of the Slave Trade, out of the direct influence of Sierra Leone, and entirely governed by Whites and Mulattoes, calling themselves educated and moral—the proceedings which took place, according to

Major Laing, in nearly a similar case, among mere African savages and barbarians, whose conduct has been influenced only by living *in the vicinity* of the colony: I mean, at Mabung, a town fifty miles farther from it than Toma, where Major Laing (page 49) says a White man had never *been*; or, as Mr. Macqueen gives the reading, was never *seen*.

*Blackwood*, p. 883.

*Laing*, p. 85.

Rio Pongas.

Mabung.

“‘It appears,’ Mr. Macqueen quotes the Register, ‘by late letters received from the Rio Pongas, that the miseries under which the inhabitants of that fine river have so long suffered, are increasing, instead of diminishing. It is stated that Yande Conee has burned, alive, a man belonging to Ormond, that he might make a grisgris, or charm, of his ashes; and that William Lawrence threw a man, with a stone tied to his neck, into a part of the river dedicated to the devil\*.’”

“Had the Slave Trade existed, some unfortunate individual might have been accused, and sold into captivity; but its suppression in this country, from its vicinity to Sierra Leone, permitted the magi, after a tedious consultation of three days, to decide that the death had been caused by the agency of the devil.”

Taking Mr. Macqueen’s charges as they occur, the next is, that the accounts of the progress of the Schools and of Education at Sierra Leone, which have been transmitted home, are “a delusion, and a wilful deception played off upon this country.” The following passage will be found in *Blackwood’s Magazine*, p. 884:—

“Some of the liberated Africans are taught, not to read, but to repeat by rote, like a parrot, particular pages of a book. But this is the extent of their education—this is the extent of their acquirements. Beyond this, they know nothing. If they are turned to another page, they know not a single word,

\* What would Mr. Macqueen say to the cruel and barbarous practices still subsisting within British jurisdiction in India, and even in the suburbs of Calcutta—the burning of women, for example?

or a letter; nor do they know whether they have the right end or the wrong end of the book to them, or which is the inside or which is the outside of it. Such exhibitions have been witnessed at Sierra Leone. Such exhibitions, if I am not misinformed, were lately put to the proof by the Parliamentary Commissioners; and such exhibitions and acquirements have been, year succeeding year, palmed upon the credulous and the deluded people of this country as education, and advance in education."

Now the whole of this is the mere assertion of Mr. Macqueen—a man who has never been at Sierra Leone—unsupported by one iota of proof, or even an attempt at it. We have seen how he garbles and perverts the testimony of others to suit his purposes. What credit, then, can be due to a mere assertion of his own? Men of character, respectability, and rank, have frequently visited the colony and inspected the schools; and the testimony borne by some of them is to the following effect.

Sir George Collier, in his report on the settlements on the coast of Africa (Parliamentary Paper of 2d April 1821, No. 366, p. 52), states, that "the manner in which the public schools are here conducted reflects the greatest credit upon those concerned in their prosperity; and the improvement made by the scholars proves the aptitude of the African, if moderate pains be taken to instruct him."

The Rev. S. J. Mills, one of the commissioners sent from America to examine and report on various parts of the African coast, with a view to the formation of an American colony for free Blacks, reports thus of the schools of Sierra Leone. (See Appendix to Second Annual Report of the American Colonization Society.)

"*Sierra Leone, March 26, 1818.*—We visited the schools in Freetown. In the male school were about two hundred neat, active, intelligent boys, divided into eight classes, under the superintendence of Mr. Horton, whose perseverance and fidelity are entitled to high commendation. We saw the writing of the boys, and heard them read and spell. In the female school were about a hundred neatly dressed little girls,

many of whom could read and sew. These schools would do no dishonour to an English or American village. There was not a White child in either of them. I believe schools of White children seldom give fairer proofs of good improvement." p. 23.

Again: "Regent's Town lies in a valley, with a fine brook running through it. Some hundreds of acres are cleared by the people. It has the appearance of a new and flourishing settlement. The wilderness buds and blossoms like the rose. Here we saw two hundred children in the schools. On the Sabbath more than a thousand of the children and people were present in the church, neatly dressed, sober, attentive to the reading of the word of God, and uniting their voices to sing his praise." p. 25.

And again: "May 18, 1818.—I have now visited most of the villages in the colony. The population of the colony is nearly twelve thousand. The schools are in a flourishing state, accommodating nearly two thousand children. Each village has a superintendant, who is a clergyman or school-master. Each village has a place of worship, where prayers are made, morning and evening, in the presence of the people. The Sabbath is observed through the colony." p. 66.

Mr. Mills thus sums up the result of his observations:—

"The schools are very flourishing. Nearly 2000, including some adults, enjoy daily instruction. The children, who have been born in the colony, are active, intelligent, and healthy. Those who passed their first five or ten years without instruction, and then endured a period of confinement, famine, and disease, on board of slave ships, need some months or years to acquire the health, animation, and intelligence which they might otherwise have possessed. They are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, and some of them the rudiments of English grammar and geography." p. 72.

William Singleton, a Quaker, sent out as a missionary to examine the state of the coast, thus notices the schools of Sierra Leone (see his pamphlet, published by Darton and Harvey, Gracechurch Street):—

"26th 3d Month.—This morning visited the school in Free-

town: present, one hundred boys, fifty girls. Several of the first class read very well in the Bible and the Testament. The mode of teaching them is the Bellerian or Madras system. All the children are clothed and clean; most of them neat; some fine."

The following are his observations at Regent Town:

"We visited the schools together. The girls behaved with seriousness, and appeared under good care. There was an agreeable solidity in their countenances, which I hope indicated something good within. The boys being taught on the Bellerian system, it left not so favourable an opportunity of observation; but they were attentive, and the monitors active, as was the case too at Gloucester and Kissy. In the seminary, where a number of boys are training for missionaries, they answered well the questions put to them, by the superintendant, from Lindley Murray's Grammar, and, tolerably, promiscuous questions from the Bible. Several of them read very well."

It would be tedious and unnecessary to quote the reports and letters of the late Sir Charles MacCarthy, or of the various Missionaries, as to the state of education in the colony. Mr. Macqueen appears inclined to allow that they reported favourably enough. I leave you, sir, to judge of the reasonableness of the solution he would give of this powerful testimony. It is, that a man of Sir Charles's high rank and unimpeachable character, and the whole body of the missionaries, who went out, at the risk of life, to preach the Gospel to their ignorant fellow-creatures, and who lived in the daily expectation of being called to appear at the bar of God, should wilfully and deliberately unite in a wicked conspiracy to create and uphold a system of delusion and imposture, in order to deceive the Government and people of this country.

Official returns have been made to his Majesty's Government, by their own officers in the colony; the correctness of which Mr. Macqueen will hardly attempt to dispute. By these (see Parliamentary Paper of 5th of July 1825, No. 520) it appears there were under education, on the 1st of January

1819, 2104 individuals; on the 1st of January 1821, 1959; and on the 31st of December 1823, 2460.

To the subsequent official returns I have at present no access. Such as were in my possession have been left among the other official documents of the colony, in the Government-house, when I was superseded in the government; but it appears from a statement drawn up by Mr. Raban, and sanctioned by the collective body of Missionaries, that, at the commencement and end of the year 1825, the number of scholars was as follows: Lady-day, 1861; Christmas, 1681; and in reference to the decrease here exhibited it is, that Mr. Raban makes the remark previously noticed, and which was mutilated by Mr. Macqueen. See above, page 27.

Mr. Macqueen makes a sort of appeal to the experience of the Parliamentary Commissioners on this point; and he exultingly asks, "Where is the African youth that is to be found in Sierra Leone, or that has issued from it, qualified to teach another?" Their opinions on the result of their investigations (especially those of the one now in Africa\*) are studiously kept secret; and in their examination of the village schools they had no companions. How Mr. Macqueen became acquainted with their opinions, or whether the whole is a fabrication of his own, I know not. What their report on this subject really is, his Majesty's Government probably know already; and in stating the progress of the scholars, their report, I doubt not, will not fail to specify the length of time they have been in the colony, and at school; and how long also they had understood the English language, of which, of course, previously to their being landed in the colony, they could have known nothing.

It has been a subject of regret, to all who were acquainted with the colony, and who have reflected seriously on the subject, that the extent of the education given to these people should have been generally so narrow and limited; and that their instruction should have been confined (as indeed is too much the case with the lower classes in this country, where they have any education at all) to mere reading and writing;

• He has since arrived.

and that no vigorous and effectual attempts should have been made to instruct a portion at least of the liberated Africans, and other inhabitants of the colony, in the higher branches of learning. In consequence of this ill-judged system, numbers left the schools every year with the merest elements of knowledge; and, from the influx of new cargoes, numbers were annually placed at school in their stead, who, from their almost brutish state of depression, contracted in the holds of slave ships, and from their utter ignorance of the English language, could not possibly for a long time make any visible progress. It is also to be considered, that, in consequence of the measures taken by General Turner — measures in themselves perfectly proper—for reducing the number of the liberated captives receiving rations, a great number of the youth of both sexes were necessarily withdrawn from school. In the year 1825, 2,400 were landed in the colony, from the slave ships condemned by the Mixed Commission Court. They were landed, of course, in a state of utter nakedness and destitution, and had no means of subsistence but what they received from rations issued by Government; and yet, on the 1st of January 1826, the whole number receiving rations was only 2737, that is to say, only 337 beyond the number imported into the colony during the preceding year; and when it is recollected how large is usually the proportion of children on board of slave ships, this reduction will appear surprising. One effect of it, however, would obviously be to fill the schools chiefly with newly imported and ignorant children, and to send the others out to seek the means of subsistence. Still, under all these disadvantages, I have no fear as to the result of an investigation into the state of the schools in the past year.

I am by no means disposed to deny that the contracted education, to which I have objected, was all that, combined with religious instruction, could reasonably be expected to be given to persons whose future lot in life was to be that of labouring agriculturists or mechanics; yet I think that it is greatly to be lamented, that the Missionary Society should have delayed so long to educate a certain portion of the liberated Africans, or other Negro inhabitants, with a

view to becoming teachers and ministers themselves. They are now beginning to attend to this essential, this vital object; and not a doubt can be entertained of their success, by those who know, as I do, and can affirm, that, with all their disadvantages, many of the liberated Africans are now carrying on business, of various kinds, on their own account; while some are employed as clerks by the merchants, and some by the government; and while one schoolmaster, two schoolmistresses, three teachers, and seventeen assistants, selected from this class, are actually now labouring usefully in the service of the Church Missionary Society. Of their unquestionable capacity for such employments, the following testimony of the Rev. W. Johnson may be produced. (See Sixteenth Report of the African Institution, pp. 352—354.)

“ William Davis (a native African, and a liberated captive,) has kept Divine service with the soldiers at Hastings every Sunday regularly. The soldiers have voluntarily come forward to build a place of worship. Mr. Reffell has offered them every assistance to forward that object. Mr. Reffell also states, that the morals of the soldiers have much improved.”

Again: “ William Tamba (also a native African, and a liberated captive) has been placed at Bathurst, where the people under his care improve. He keeps Divine service with them morning and evening; also, day and evening school; and on Sundays all attend Divine service.”

Captain Tanner, who had visited the villages, says:

“ At Bathurst, a captured Negro, converted to Christianity by Mr. Johnson’s ministry, labours among the people with much success. He has been propagating the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ in about forty-seven villages on the coast. He has excited the attention of his countrymen, who are desirous to hear him again. He is a bold, decided champion of our Lord, qualified for eminent usefulness.”

Mr. Macqueen, returning to the want of religion and the neglect of the Sabbath, says (p. 884):

“ With regard to religion, the state of things is equally



gloomy. The only appearance of it is to be found amongst the Maroons from Jamaica, and the Nova-Scotia Blacks, who brought with them, and have retained, though I can scarcely say improved, the civilization which they had learned from their acquaintance and connection with civilized life in those quarters of the world alluded to. These attend sermon on Sabbath with some degree of attention and decency; but the conduct of the liberated Africans is wild, and giddy, and thoughtless, and irreverent in the extreme. They are totally ignorant of the real meaning and duties of religion; and to hear them haranguing in the streets on coming from the church on Sabbath, to which they are compelled to go, jeering and accosting each other, as is quite common, thus, 'me de catch God Almighty, me de hold him fast,' is positively frightful, and sufficient to make the reasonable mind tremble."

So much for Mr. Macqueen: what say others?

Sir George Collier, in his report, quoted above (Parliamentary Paper, April 1821, No. 366, page 52), says:

"I have attended places of public worship in every quarter of the globe, and I do most conscientiously declare, never did I witness the ceremonies of religion more piously performed, or more devoutly attended to, than in Sierra Leone."

The late Mr. Fitzgerald, Chief Justice of the colony, and his Majesty's Commissioner of Arbitration, writes, after an acquaintance of several years with the colony, as follows: (See African Institution Report, Appendix, p. 344.)

"In a general view, the observances which have been noticed will probably be thought sufficient to create a favourable impression of the state of religious feeling and demeanour in the settlement of Freetown. The Lord's-day is more decorously kept than it is in most other places. The shops are all shut: there is no such thing as buying and selling. The Christian part of the people attend worship at the places which they have respectively chosen; and all the congregations are alike remarkable for uniform and respectful attention. Throughout the streets, corresponding propriety is noticed. Intoxication, in the gross and disgusting form in which it is so commonly seen on the Lord's-day in England,

is of very rare occurrence here, with the painful exception of European seamen, whose conduct and language in their frequent inebriations, on that day especially, are of most depraving example. It is not to be understood that the day passes in perfect sobriety among the inhabitants in general: it is the decency, and not the abstinence, that makes the distinction. Excesses are committed, and are generally brought under the animadversion of the magistrates on the Monday, in consequence of the quarrels occasioned by them; but these quarrels are almost universally of a trifling nature. There is not any thing in the circumstances collectively to detract from the credit that has been taken."

William Singleton, the Quaker, says:

"In the morning, as we passed through Freetown, in our way to Gloucester, about half past five, I remarked a considerable number of Black people walking steadily, and for the most part singly, different ways, and am informed that they were going to religious meetings."

The Rev. S. J. Mills, the American Commissioner, as quoted in the Report of the American Colonization Society, already referred to, writes as follows:

"*Sierra Leone*, Sabbath, May 10, 1818.—There is a great degree of regularity among the people of this place. There does not seem to be any labour on this day, and a large proportion are regular attendants on the worship of God. The untractable Kroomen will indeed indulge in their wrestlings and other sports on the beach, notwithstanding past attempts to check them." p. 65.

Captain Tanner, above referred to, also observes (Sixteenth Report of African Institution, page 353):

"Regent's Town now wears the aspect of a well-peopled village in our happy land; its inhabitants civilized, industrious, honest, and neatly clothed. The ground allotted to each family is cultivated; each lot being distinctly marked out. I have frequently ascended an eminence near the town to behold the pleasing scene on the Sabbath-day—hundreds pressing on to the house of God, at the sound of the bell, hungering after the bread of life."

It appears by the Parliamentary Returns (No. 520, July 5,

1825), that there were in the colony twenty-four places of religious worship; and that, out of a population of about 20,000, in which is included a large number who profess Mohammedism and Paganism, 5818 are regular attendants on Christian worship, 1340 of whom attend in Freetown. Mr. Raban's statement at the end of 1825, as regards the village settlements connected with the Missionary Society, is as follows (Missionary Register, May 1826, pp. 257—259):

|                    | Attend on<br>Sundays. | On week-<br>days. | Communi-<br>cants. |
|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| Kissey.....        | 380                   | 190               | 30                 |
| Leicester .....    | 50                    | 25                | 9                  |
| Gloucester.....    | 400                   | 170               | 138                |
| Regent .....       | 256                   | 76                | 160                |
| Leopold & Bathurst | 800                   | 250               | 9                  |
| Charlotte .....    | 140                   | 114               | 4                  |
| Wellington .....   | 350                   | 250               | 103                |
| Waterloo .....     | 250                   | 190               | 20                 |
| Kent .....         | 375                   | 240               | 10                 |
| Bananas .....      | 100                   | 76                | ...                |
|                    | <hr/> 3101            | <hr/> 1581        | <hr/> 483          |

This would be deemed a large attendance even in Great Britain; but how much more in this case when, not only the very inadequate means of religious instruction which these villages have lately enjoyed are considered, but when the large proportion of Mohammedans, Pagans, and newly imported captives is taken into the account. Mr. Macqueen, indeed, states that the liberated Africans are *compelled* to attend church; but this is altogether untrue. That the missionaries exert their best influence for that end, I believe; but, as for force or coercion, they have not the means, if they had the inclination, to employ it; and in many places, in Freetown for instance (except in the parish church), they cannot have any influence whatever, as the people in general do not frequent their ministry, but that of their own teachers.

That strong, and too ardent, and even fanatical expressions, not sanctioned by the sobriety of the Christian religion, are occasionally to be heard at Sierra Leone, from some

individuals of the numerous religious sects which are to be found there, I freely admit; but the kind of phraseology imputed (most incorrectly) to the liberated Africans, is an importation from America, and not of colonial growth; and similar extravagances of expression, the fruit of zeal without knowledge, may be found in other places, and in other ministrations, not very remote from London, or from Glasgow, where they are less susceptible of a fair apology.

Mr. Macqueen next charges the colony with the immoral lives of the White residents, who, "more especially those of the higher ranks, generally march off on the Saturday evening, and spend their Sabbaths at a station up the river, or on the Bullom shore, amid seraglios of Black females there established and maintained. And," he continues, "I know where, in more instances than one, *godly* men, of consideration in that settlement, have purchased, from the surrounding nations, Black females, to keep as concubines."

That some of the European residents are irreligious and immoral, may be true; and to them, individually, great blame may attach. But in what part of the world (in Glasgow itself?) are not immoral and irreligious men to be found? That any of them keep seraglios up the river, or on the Bullom shore, or purchase Black females for purposes of prostitution, I do not believe. But if all this were true, how can it reasonably be made a charge against Sierra Leone, or adduced as a proof that the attempts made to civilize, and to afford instruction to, the liberated Africans and others in that colony, have failed? Does Mr. Macqueen expect that the mere circumstance of a residence in Sierra Leone is to make a man religious? Or does he bring it forward as an argument, that because White men, educated in England, who neglect the opportunities of religious worship in the colony, have not become religious and moral, therefore the Black population, who have regularly attended such worship, can have derived no benefit from that attendance? To me the fact, if true, affords a very different inference, and furnishes a strong proof of the beneficial effects of the efforts made at Sierra Leone for the education and religious in-

struction of the liberated Africans; for it appears, that, notwithstanding the evil example set them by their superiors in rank and education, they have attained, as we have seen, a comparatively high state of moral and religious improvement.

The concluding sentence of this paragraph is a personal attack on myself: "General Turner was scarcely, I may say, in the dust, when the house he had inhabited swarmed with inmates of this description." To this accusation I give a most unqualified denial. It is an infamous falsehood; and in proof of this I appeal to the whole colony.

Mr. Macqueen's next accusation against the colony is on account of the prevailing disregard of the marriage tie, and the promiscuous and illicit intercourse of the sexes, which, he says, exists there; but, instead of adducing the slightest proof in confirmation of his charge, he gives us another paragraph of bold assertions. How false this accusation is, may be easily shewn. The number of women in the colony, on the 1st of January 1822, appears to have been 3346. The number of women married previous to the 1st of January 1817, I have no means of ascertaining; but it appears, from the official returns (Parliamentary Papers, July 6, 1825, No. 520), that, in the five years previous to the date of the census of 1825, the number of marriages was as follows:

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| 1817 . . . . . | 237 |
| 1818 . . . . . | 257 |
| 1819 . . . . . | 281 |
| 1820 . . . . . | 317 |
| 1821 . . . . . | 200 |

—1292;

and that, subsequently, when—although the population had increased, yet, from the nature of that increase, the marriages must have taken place chiefly amongst those who were in the colony in 1822—the number was as follows:

1822...429;—1823...386;—total...815.

It further appears, from Mr. Raban's statement, as quoted above, that, in the villages under the care of the Missionary Society (excluding Freetown and several of the villages of

which no return is given), the number of marriages, in 1825, was 293.

It is also to be remembered that the Mohammedan and Pagan inhabitants do not marry according to the rites of the Church of England, but by a ceremony of their own—to them as binding, and quite as formal, as that which is frequently practised in Mr. Macqueen's own country. That chastity is not sufficiently prized in general is, unfortunately, true; and the female of that country, I admit, has little pretension to the delicacy and purity of feeling which form the ornament and charm of our own countrywomen. Yet, on the other hand, the woman who there lives with one man, in unauthorised intercourse, does not thereby lose "caste" so completely, nor sink so deep in depravity as one similarly circumstanced in this country. This species of concubinage does not cause that total renunciation of moral feeling and conduct which, too often, follows it here; and many who are living in such a state look upon themselves as virtually married, and would consider unfaithfulness to their keeper as great a crime as if it were committed against a lawful husband.

In Freetown, as in all other sea-ports, there is a number of licentious women; but I do not believe there is any port, of equal size, where there are fewer persons who live by the practice of common and promiscuous prostitution. Some of Mr. Macqueen's naval correspondents may be able to inform him, that women of that description are not more rare in a British sea-port than in Sierra Leone.

His sneer at the end of this paragraph is scarcely worthy of notice. If he had inquired, he might have ascertained that several Europeans, and those of respectability, have intermarried with Coloured women—for example, Messrs. Nicol, Campbell, Nylander, Wenzell, Pierce, Anguin, Reynoldson, &c.

The next charge against the colony is this: "With regard to the trade, industry, and agriculture of the settlement, every thing that is said about them is a mere delusion," &c.; and in proof of this, Mr. M. continues either to make his own bold assertions, or to give professed quotations from the books of others, or from public documents. His assertions I leave to their

own-weight, with the simple denial of their truth : his quotations or proofs I will examine. He says (Blackwood, p. 885),

“ From the fertile and well-cultivated district of Formare, the indolent inhabitants of Sierra Leone, says Major Laing, are principally supplied with rice and other provisions ; and it is they, adds he (pp. 76, 77), ‘ who undertake the laborious and fatiguing work of cutting, squaring, and floating to the trading stations, the immense bodies of heavy teak timber exported from Sierra Leone.’ And in like manner, the natives on the banks of the Kooranko cut and float down that river, and the Rokelle, camwood exported from Freetown. The migratory Kroomen put these woods on board the ships : the gentlemen Blacks, in Sierra Leone, being above touching a log of it even with their little finger.”

Now as regards the first part of this alleged extract, it is a misrepresentation of what Major Laing says on the subject, as may be seen by the following comparison.

*Macqueen.*

“ From the fertile and well-cultivated district of Formare, the indolent inhabitants of Sierra Leone, says Major Laing, are principally supplied with rice and other provisions.”

*Laing, p. 72.*

“ This district (Formare) is particularly fertile in rice, and supplies more for the Sierra Leone market than the other districts of greater magnitude.”

The next part of the sentence is given as a quotation, with a similar regard to truth.

*Macqueen.*

“ And it is they, adds he (pp. 76, 77), ‘ who undertake the laborious and fatiguing work of cutting, squaring, and floating to the trading stations, the immense bodies of heavy teak timber exported from Sierra Leone.’ ”

*Laing*

says, in a note, at pp. 77, 78—

“ The eagerness with which the Timmanees entered into the laborious and fatiguing work of cutting, squaring, and floating to the trading stations, the immense bodies of heavy teak timber, exported from Sierra Leone, is a convincing proof of their readiness to engage in any employment where they can get a reward, however small, for their labour. It

*Laing.*

is well known that, during the time that the timber trade was in activity, several native towns were formed on the banks of the river, and many natives came from a distance in the country to engage in it. Timber was cut at the termination of the largest creeks, at Port Logo, and even as far as Rokon, and floated down to Tombo, Bance Island, and Tasso."

The closing part of the paragraph about the Koranko and camwood, is the same; Mr. Laing only saying (p. 202)—  
 "The staple article of trade is camwood; for which, on this side of the country, Seemera is the general place of barter; it is carried from thence to Ma Bung, and so to the Rokelle, down the stream of which it is floated to Rokon, where various articles, but principally salt, are procured in exchange."

The fact, however, that the natives, on the banks of the Koranko, keep in their own hands the cutting and selling of a valuable dyewood, the produce of their own country, is, after all, no very serious charge against Sierra Leone. Nor do I conceive that it is any discredit to the "gentlemen Blacks" of that settlement, who have more lucrative employments, that they should not engage in the work of floating or shipping timber, any more than it is any discredit to the editor of the Glasgow Courier that he does not work as a bricklayer's labourer.

Mr. Macqueen may sneer at the agriculture of Sierra Leone, as being confined, in a great degree, to the cultivation of provisions: and it is undoubtedly matter of regret that the raising of produce, having exchangeable value in Europe, has not been more attended to. Yet all must allow that it is no small matter if the colony produces an ample supply of food for its own population. In that respect, at least, it is better off than many of our other colonies. Of this more hereafter. But even this fact Mr. Macqueen denies. "The greater part of this population," he says, "do nothing. They are fed and clothed, at a vast annual expense, by the



British Government, and the supplies of provisions necessary to do so are either imported from Great Britain, or from other parts of the African coast belonging to native powers, where the labouring population are all slaves."—Let us examine the correctness of this statement.

In 1822 the population, as given in the census, and which falls below the real amount, was 15,081. The number supported by Government (see the Parliamentary Paper, No. 389, May 18, 1826) was 3775; and on the 1st of January, 1826, when the population had increased to upwards of 20,000 (2,400 of whom had been landed within the year immediately preceding, 1825,) the number fed, according to the above parliamentary return, was only 2737.

That rice is imported into the colony, both for consumption and exportation, is true; but Mr. Raban, to whom Mr. Macqueen appeals, shews, what every man in the colony can testify, that the liberated Africans grow more provisions than they can sell; but here again Mr. Macqueen is, as usual, unfair in his quotation.

*Macqueen*, p. 885.

" 'From want of a further acquaintance with agriculture, the more intelligent of the African population of Sierra Leone\*,' says Mr. Raban, 'confine themselves to the growth of a few articles, the supply of which becomes superabundant;' consequently 'they do little more than obtain a subsistence.'"

*Raban*.

Mr. Raban, by way of accounting for the falling off of the subscriptions of the liberated Africans to the Auxiliary Missionary Society, stated, that not having employment on the public works as usual, many of them had turned their attention to agriculture; and then he goes on to remark (page 256) as follows:

" In this way, as (for want of further acquaintance with agriculture) they confine themselves to the growth of a few articles, the supply of which becomes superabundant, they do little more than obtain a subsistence. Their resources being thus materially

\* The words, "The more intelligent of the African population of Sierra Leone," which Mr. Macqueen here gives as a quotation from Mr. Raban, is an interpolation of his own—for what purpose is apparent.

abridged, it can scarcely be matter of surprise that their contributions to the funds of the society should be abridged also."

Mr. Macqueen then proceeds to support his assertions by the authority of Messrs. Gregory and Molloy (Hamilton), whose testimony he gives in his usual correct and satisfactory manner.

*Macqueen* (p. 885)

says, the " Slave Commissioners, May 5th, 1824, write Mr. Can-ning thus: ' The timber trade is the only trade which can give sufficient employment to the nations in the upper part of the river. Rice, cattle, poultry, vegetables, and also COPPER, which is said to be of an excellent quality,' are brought from the Rio Pongas. ' We confess we think that, to commerce only with the neighbouring African nations, and the nations more distantly situated, must the colony look for the means of acquiring wealth for years to come. Agriculture does not afford, within the limits of the colony, any article which may be given for exportation to the merchant,

*Par. Papers.*

If you turn to their Report (Parliamentary Paper, Class A. 1824-1825) you will find what Mr. Macqueen gives as a continuous extract thus stated :

" The timber trade is the only trade which can at present give sufficient employment to the natives of the upper part of the river. It is of the utmost consequence, therefore, that every possible encouragement should be given to the trade, that, by the pursuit of it, the natives may have effaced from their minds every remembrance of the Slave Trade." pp. 8, 9.

" Along the coast from the Rio Pongos to Sierra Leone, the Foreign Slave-Trade has ceased. The natives of *this coast* are in constant intercourse with the colony of Sierra Leone. This intercourse is highly beneficial to the natives and to the colony. The natives bring hither supplies of rice, cattle, poultry, and vegetables, for the colonial market. They also bring some coffee, which is said to be of an excellent quality. Some ivory is also at times brought by them, which

*Macquēen.*

in exchange for his European commodities.' ”

*Par. Papers.*

they procure from the interior. European goods are taken in return by these traders. We wish we could add that the visits of these natives to Sierra Leone made a visible improvement in their moral condition\* ; but they are so wedded to their own particular customs that time only can effect a change in their condition ; but that change, we are sure, must be sooner or later effected through the influence of the colony of Sierra Leone.” p. 6.

The two concluding sentences of the above apparently continuous extract are taken from a paragraph in page 8 ; and they prove no more than that at present the settler of Sierra Leone thinks he can more profitably employ his labour in collecting and rendering fit for a foreign market, the produce of the surrounding countries, than if he were employed in growing tropical produce within the peninsula ;—and the succeeding extracts, from the returns furnished to government by the Collector of the Customs at Sierra Leone, is only another proof of the well-known fact, that the capital and industry of Sierra Leone have been principally directed towards commercial and not to agricultural pursuits. He finishes the paragraph thus : “ And, adds the document, ‘ there is no means of ascertaining’ the number ‘ of persons of the colony’ who support themselves by voluntary labour.” Some of these words are curiously brought together from various parts of different returns, made to a separate order of the House of Commons, which is as follows (see Returns, p. 41, No. 520 of 1825) :—

“ There is no means of ascertaining this ” (the number of persons subsisting on the produce of their own labour at Sierra Leone, distinguishing their occupations,) “ as regards the

\* What has our vicinity, for ages, done to change the moral condition of the Indians of North America, or of the natives of Hindostan ?

persons of the colony generally ; liberated Africans, settled under superintendants in the several villages, being the only persons under the immediate view of the colonial government ; accounts of whose state, in December 1823 and September 1824, have a few weeks since been forwarded home by the late acting Governor."

Mr. Macqueen, in the beginning of the above extract, mentions *coffee*, as if all of it was an import from the Rio Pongas to Sierra Leone. The latter is the chief place of export on the windward coast ; and the assertion, if true, would be no discredit to it. We have seen however that this was a misrepresentation of his own, as regards the Rio Pongas ; and if he had chosen to speak the truth, he might have shewn that the slave-abolition Commissioners, in all their reports, state that Sierra-Leone influence, and Sierra-Leone exertion, had been used, and, as they suppose, with some success, to induce the slave traders and slave owners of the Rio Pongas to employ their people in cultivation, instead of selling them for the West-India market ; and that, in addition to large quantities of coffee plants forwarded from Sierra Leone to the Rio Pongas in the years 1821 and 1822 (Par. Pap. class B. 1822, 1823, p. 8, and class B. 1823, 1824, p. 3), the number of ten thousand plants was forwarded by one individual in 1824 (Par. Pap. class A. 1825, 1826, p. 7).

Mr. Macqueen next enlists into his service the dispatch of General Turner to Earl Bathurst, dated 25th January, 1826 ; but even this cannot escape his mutilating hand.

For General Turner's talents and character I have the highest respect: his views were wise, liberal, and comprehensive ; his firmness and unwearied personal exertions to carry them into effect were unremitting. If there was any man well qualified to bring the latent energies of Sierra Leone into action,—to give the Negro population a fair and ample opportunity for exertion,—to raise the colony to a distinguished eminence,—to throw over the surrounding tribes the paternal shield of Great Britain, and to substitute her manners and her institutions for the barbarous customs

which prevail among them,—to render them, for hundreds of miles round Sierra Leone, a labouring and agricultural, instead of a slave-making and slave-supplying, population,—and to open the way for improvement and civilization into the vast interior of Africa,—it was General Turner. And I am only speaking the sentiments of every man acquainted with him and with Africa, when I say that his death was a national loss,—an almost irreparable blow to the colony, and to Africa generally.

Mr. Macqueen has the hardihood to insinuate that General Turner was unpopular, and to state, that he, “before his death, began to feel that he should ultimately be compelled to yield to the system, or renounce his situation. He would, I doubt not, have done the latter. The retrenchments which he made in the liberated African establishment, which is really the government of the place, dissatisfied Blacks, and curtailed and cut off the emoluments of Whites; the consequences of which were that the former were instigated to transmit a complaint against him to the colonial office: but this was rendered unnecessary by his lamented death.” p. 890.

Never was there a more unfounded, and, I may add, malignant, misrepresentation than this. General Turner had to commence his government with the ungracious task of retrenchment, and many without doubt had their emoluments reduced. He was perhaps too vehement in his manner of finding fault with those under him; but the warmth was momentary—soon over, and then it was forgotten for ever. Besides this, there may have been one or two officers, whose negligent performance of their official duty he may have thought it necessary to make the ground of complaint. But it is not true that General Turner was unpopular. He was very popular. No man in the colony, I may venture to say, knew more of the feelings of the Black population than myself; and I can safely affirm, that among *them* he was popular. And whom then does Mr. Macqueen accuse of having instigated them—“to transmit a complaint against him to the colonial office?” Was it the civil and military officers of the colony? The assertion is a libel on an honourable body of men. Was it the merchants, the European inhabitants, the men of money and influence?

No sir—it is with the sincerest gratification I can say, that the merchants and traders of the colony, White and Black, embraced an opportunity, before the Governor's lamented death, of testifying their feelings of satisfaction with his government; and it is with additional pleasure that I am able to state that I was one of them. Their testimony was put upon record during the General's life; and his answer to their address is as full and complete an answer to Mr. Macqueen's infamous accusation as could be desired, as may be seen by the following extract from the Sierra Leone Gazette.—

“At a general Meeting of the Merchants and Traders of Sierra Leone, held at the house of Messrs. Macaulay and Babington, on the 17th December, 1825;

“Honourable Kenneth Macaulay in the chair.

“This meeting, viewing with heart-felt gratitude the eminent services rendered to the mercantile interests, and to the colony generally, by the great exertions of his Excellency Major-General Turner, C. B. Captain General and Commander in Chief, &c. &c. &c., in extending our commercial resources; and considering his Excellency's return from the river as a good opportunity of expressing a public testimonial of the same,—Resolve unanimously,

“First. That the measures by which his Excellency has so happily extended the protection of the British Government to the Sherbro Bulloms, will not only destroy for ever the illicit Slave-Trade which has for several years been desolating those fine countries, and give peace to its unfortunate inhabitants, but will restore to this colony that extensive, valuable, and exclusive trade in the natural productions of the soil, which existed in so flourishing a state, from our first connexion with Africa, to the period when it was destroyed by illicit slave-traders (chiefly under the French flag), carrying war and desolation into a river never before frequented by them or their flags: That when we consider how much we were suffering; that our intercourse with York Island in the Sherbro (which has belonged to England for centuries), was daily interrupted; that our craft were seized, and our factories destroyed; we are inadequate to express the grati-

tude we feel to his Excellency for seizing the first opportunity which offered itself (regardless of the inclement season of the year, and his own personal safety,) to restore to us those advantages and rights, of which we had been so audaciously deprived by those miscreant dealers in human blood.

“Second. That, considering the interruption which our valuable intercourse with the interior has been continually receiving from the petty chiefs at the heads of this river, and the vexatious restrictions capriciously exercised over the timber cutters by them, we cannot too highly estimate the advantages which must accrue to the colony, and to commerce in general, through the arrangements so wisely and completely effected by his Excellency during his late visits to those places.

“Third. That the late accessions of territory and jurisdiction, have placed the colony upon such a footing as will enable it to surmount with facility those obstacles which, whilst confined to the narrow limits of this peninsula, it never could have effected.

“Fourth. That the meeting cannot conclude without expressing admiration of the local administration of justice, which has been so firmly carried on by his Excellency, and which, during the short period he has been amongst us, has reduced the calendar below what it was known at any former period, and consequently added security to the persons and property of the community.

“Fifth. That the following gentlemen be deputed to wait on his Excellency with the unreserved thanks of the meeting, inadequate as they are to express the sense they entertain of his Excellency's exertions; and to present him with a copy of these Resolutions, signed by the parties composing the same:—Honourable Kenneth Macaulay, Thomas Hunt Barber, Henry Williams, and Robert Dougan, Esqrs.”

Answer of General Turner.

“Gentlemen, As I believe that it is not unknown to you how little I court public favour, so will you give me credit for sincerity when I declare, that this public expression of your opinion of my services, is to me valuable in proportion as it was unexpected; and you may rest assured that, as long as his Ma-

jesty may be graciously pleased to continue me in this command; and the blessing of health and strength be enjoyed by me, so long shall I use my best endeavours to forward your interests, in every manner in which it may be compatible with my public duties as a servant of the Crown. I am not ashamed to own, that I do not possess abilities equal to the satisfactory discharge of the various and difficult duties of this extraordinary establishment; but it is most consoling and encouraging to me to hear from you, who are so capable of forming a correct estimate of these difficulties, that my exertions have not been, in your opinion at least, altogether useless.

“ Permit me, Gentlemen, to return you, collectively, my sincere thanks for this kind expression of your opinion of my public conduct, and to assure you that I shall long preserve a grateful remembrance of it; and to the gentlemen composing the deputation, I take the opportunity, which their kindness has afforded me, to relieve myself thus publicly, from part of the obligation under which their warm and friendly support has placed me. And that you may all enjoy health, to avail yourselves of the favourable prospects which, you are pleased to say, have recently been opened to you, is my very sincere wish.”

I must apologise for this digression; but the memory of a gallant and lamented officer and the character of living individuals are not to be made, with impunity, the sport of a mercenary and malignant libeller.

The opinions of General Turner, deliberately given, after a residence of twelve months in the colony, are worthy of the greatest attention; and plans proposed by him are deserving of the greatest support. His general view of the policy previously pursued, and its results; his conceptions of a better policy to be pursued in future, and of the prospects which that held out, shew his powerful mind. Yet I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that General Turner's overwhelming duties, in the distant dependencies of his government, had left him, at that date, unacquainted with many of the details connected with the actual state of the liberated Africans; and that, in consequence of this want of knowledge, he made one or two assertions which would otherwise have been



somewhat modified. I give, as an instance, his statement, that "under the arrangements hitherto prevailing, they (the liberated Africans) have been distributed amongst the villages, where they have been, for years, supported in idleness by the Government." This statement is, undoubtedly, incorrect; and also far too general; for it appears, by this same letter, that, on the 1st of January, 1825, the number receiving rations from Government (including infants, children at school, aged and sick) was only 4,273; whilst, during the previous three years, the number imported was—

|                                                  |       |
|--------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 1822. (Parl. Paper No. 362, 30th May, 1825)..... | 2848  |
| 1823. .... ditto .....                           | 616   |
| 1824. (Parliamentary Paper, Class A, 1825-26)    |       |
| per Mixed Commission Court .....                 | 1245  |
| per Admiralty Court (about) .....                | 120   |
|                                                  | —4829 |

And, at the same time, it is to be remembered that all those fed by the Government were not living in idleness; and of those so fed, multitudes were mere children, without parent or relation, brought from the holds of slave ships, and having no resource whatever but in the food given them by the Government.—His fear also that these liberated Africans might, in consequence of the bad situation in which some of their villages were formed, retrograde in the woods, and relapse into a state of barbarism, was, in my opinion (after many years' experience) wholly unfounded. Neither do I think that his assertion, that those who had been located in the villages, and had previously been rationed, could, with difficulty, be induced to give a day's labour, even for good wages, is by any means to be received and relied upon as generally correct. The labour alluded to by General Turner, and in the supply of which, from the liberated African villages, he was partially disappointed, was the carrying of bricks, sand, lime, &c. upon their heads, all day, up hill, from the wharf to the site of the new barracks; a species of work not to be expected from men who have other means of supplying their wants. And yet (a proof these Africans will work for wages) there were numbers of them who walked from their villages, every morning, to be present on the wharf, at six

o'clock; and who continued all day at this laborious employment, under a tropical sun, for the wages of sevenpence to tenpence currency per day, a proportionate deduction being made for any part of the day during which they were absent.

But, notwithstanding these petty defects, General Turner's letter is a most valuable document, shewing the causes why the cultivation of exportable produce had not been a greater object with the liberated Africans; how easily that evil may be remedied in future; and how solid is the foundation of future prosperity which has been laid in the colony. Such must be the case when he, with all his discernment, and with all the results of the defects and errors of the previous system before him, would venture, deliberately, to stake the well-earned reputation of a long life, on the success of future arrangements, which should not cost more than the savings which he had made in one year, by throwing the liberated Africans more on their own resources than had previously been the case.

I beg to refer you to the letter itself, where you will soon perceive how, by leaving out some sentences; transposing the position of several; and joining others, which, in the original, have no connexion; Mr. Macqueen endeavours to give to his compounded extracts a sense which General Turner never thought of. I must be content with exhibiting two insulated examples of his manner of mangling that gallant officer's statements.

*Macqueen*, p. 886.

“ In cases where they have been located in the villages, and received gratuitous maintenance, they can, with difficulty be induced to give a day's labour even for good wages.”

*Parl. Papers*, No. 389, 1826, p. 4.

“ And it is found that, under this system of putting them to easy and regular labour, such as they have been used to on their landing from the slave ships, that they become very orderly and good labourers; but, in the cases where they have been located in the villages, and have received gratuitous maintenance, they can, with difficulty, be induced to give a day's labour even for good wages.”

*Macqueen*, p. 886.

*Parliamentary Papers*, p. 5.

“It would but lead to disappointment to imagine that a large mass of poor ignorant people, without capital, skill, or industry, could be brought to maintain themselves, and to raise articles of export without the assistance of labour, &c.”

“It would but lead to disappointment to imagine that a large mass of poor ignorant people, without capital, skill, or industry, could be brought to maintain themselves, and to raise articles of export, without the assistance of labour-wages. Could such a system succeed even in England, the poor-rates might soon be abolished.”

Mr. Macqueen thus finishes his pretended extract with a comma after “labour,”—“labour, &c.,” whilst General Turner wrote “labour-wages,” adding an important sentence explanatory of his meaning.

A little further on, Mr. M. pretends to give two examples of failure in the attempt to cultivate tropical produce by the free labour of Africans; as a proof, I suppose, that such cultivation could not be carried on in the colony, even if capital was invested for that purpose. The first is that of General Turner; and he could not have cited a less applicable example, or one telling more against his own cause.

General Turner bought land, which he intended to cultivate as an experimental farm. It was not the best land in the colony, but it was near Freetown. It was some of that “narrow belt of land”—that “thin stratum of soil”—“that thin unproductive dust upon rock,” which Mr. Macqueen so energetically describes. General Turner lost his first superintendant (a hard-drinking intemperate Scotchman, and not a man acquainted with tropical culture, or with the West Indies, as Mr. Macqueen untruly asserts,) and he soon ascertained that the multifarious duties of his own extensive command left him no time for personal attention to cultivation. Yet he was not “disappointed;”—he did not give up the object as “hopeless.” He continued the farm to the day of his death; and one of his last projects was the formation of a coffee farm, in conjunction with myself, at Kent. We have, however, General Turner’s own testimony. He distinctly shews, in his letter to Lord Bathurst, that he believed the

liberated Africans would work for wages, and that no difficulty would occur, on that account, in forming plantations. And he further states, that the merchants of the colony (persons supposed to be alive to their own interests, and who must have known whether the people would labour or not,) were all ready to establish plantations if overseers could be found.

Mr. Macqueen's other example, Mr. Giles, is equally conclusive. This individual was nearly three months in the colony, at the very height of the dry season; and in that short time, he landed his "nine tons of agricultural implements;" examined the colony to ascertain the best situation for his experiment; got appointed superintendant of Kissy; took over that responsible charge; got acquainted with, and performed all its duties; made his experiment; completely failed, and died of a broken heart. After this, let the inventors of "Arabian Nights, and Eastern Tales, hide their diminished heads. What are the deeds of their heroes, compared to this?" But in fact, Mr. Giles was well satisfied with his prospects, when he died of a fever, brought on by unnecessary exposure.

Upon the subject of Agriculture, his Majesty's Commissioners, in their Reports for 1825, state as follows (see the Parliamentary Papers, Class A, page 8, 1825-26):—

"The agriculture of the colony has also greatly increased, and in some respects improved; and it is now gratifying to know, that the produce grown in the peninsula is fully sufficient to feed its population, instead of, as formerly, having recourse to the neighbouring natives, for the necessary supplies to support the liberated Africans, and lower classes of the community."

Mr. Macqueen again says (Blackwood, p. 886):—

"The way that the expenditure was for the moment reduced was, the General compelled the liberated Africans to labour, in order to support themselves. Without compulsion, they would not labour. Indeed, any labour which ever was performed in the place, was compulsory. The whip is used upon the gangs of liberated Africans with unsparing hands, and hundreds of these miserable beings have been seen chained together by the necks, ten in a chain. And the

devastation which disease occasions amongst them, during the rainy season, huddled together in buildings, without much attention being paid to their health, or their comfort under such circumstances, (though accounts may be swelled, as to the attention said to be bestowed,) is most distressing and most horrible.

“ Except in government employment, but very few liberated Africans are engaged in voluntary labour ; nor can those engaged in the government service be accounted voluntary labourers, as, of late, they have been compelled to work. The migratory Kroomen also do all the work about the town and shipping.”

As Mr. Macqueen has here embodied a heavy charge of ill treatment, cruelty, and oppression, towards the liberated Africans, I will examine it in detail ; though fully aware that the conduct of the officers belonging to that department, and especially of Mr. Reffell, who has so long filled the office of Chief Superintendant, is so well known, and has been so honourably distinguished by the testimony of men of high rank and character, as to require no defence of mine.

That General Turner employed some of the adult liberated Africans, landed during his government, on the public works, without asking their consent, is true : but no particular force was used to compel them to give their labour ; nor were any serious measures adopted to prevent them leaving the works, and joining their countrymen in the villages, if they had chosen so to do. The whole number, thus employed, never amounted to any thing like a thousand. The labour of the others was as voluntary as it is possible for labour to be. No compulsion whatever was used towards them. If blame attaches to the management of the liberated Africans, on this point, it is, that too little attention was paid to instruct them in the value and duty of labour, and too little restraint applied to accustom them all, on their first landing, to its regular continuity ; and that those whose subsistence was to be derived from labour alone, were not placed under sufficiently qualified instructors, armed with competent authority, in order to learn the art of cultivating articles, having exchangeable value in Europe.—The asser-

tion that, except in government employment, but very few liberated Africans are engaged in voluntary labour, is equally untrue. Government, in fact, have lately employed very few, except at the new barracks, as has already been mentioned. The remainder subsist by voluntary labour on their farms, or in occupations of their own, or in the employ, for hire, of private individuals. The quantity of labour supplied by the Kroomen is a small proportion of that which is required for the commercial business alone, of the colony.

The assertion, that "the whip is used upon the gangs of liberated Africans, with unsparing hands," is absolutely false. The law of England extends its protection to every individual within the colony; and corporal punishment can be inflicted on no one, however low his station may be, unless by the sentence of a competent tribunal. And so averse are the authorities to the exercise of it, that whipping, even as a punishment, is almost exclusively confined to cases where the highest criminal court in the colony, by its sentence, inflicts it. I believe it to be true, that some of the newly imported Africans, employed to overlook their countrymen in carrying bricks, &c. had made for themselves small whips, about two feet long, which they carried about, and may have occasionally used; though I myself never saw them do so: but this was done entirely without any authority; and the moment it became known to the government, the whips were taken away, and the people using them reprimanded or dismissed. So impartial, indeed, are the laws, not in theory only, but in practice, that I have known a respectable European prosecuted to conviction, at the sessions, for horse-whipping his servant in a passion.

Equally false is it, that "hundreds of these miserable beings have been seen chained together by the necks, ten in a chain together."

It has been the custom of the Colonial Government to avoid the infliction of capital punishment, wherever it is possible; and having no means of banishing criminals, except by turning them adrift among the natives, where they would soon be made slaves, it became necessary to find some other adequate means of inflicting a secondary punishment: and

for this purpose, hard labour, in chains, on the public works, has been resorted to, in a manner similar to that in which convicts are employed in the dock-yards in this country. This punishment, however, can only be inflicted by a competent tribunal, for the same crimes only as in England ; and, when requisite, it is so inflicted without any respect to the "caste" of the criminal. I have myself seen a Maroon, a Nova-Scotia settler, the son of a native chief, a Grumetta, a Krooman, and a liberated African, working in the same gang. They are confined by a chain passing round the middle ; and generally two, sometimes three, but I believe seldom if ever more, are fastened to the same chain. I do not believe that the number so confined and worked, ever, at any one time, exceeded fifty ; and this, when the amount and nature of the population, and the fact that some have been sentenced to this labour for five years, are taken into account, must be considered as speaking strongly in favour of the character of the colony.

Allow me to state here the opinion of that "intelligent traveller," Major Laing, on the subject of Sierra-Leone freedom or slavery ; an authority Macqueen will not dispute.

"It was their intention," he says (p. 179), "to have slain me, and to have made prisoners and slaves of my party ; but they would have found the attempt attended with more difficulty and hazard than they had expected ; for men, such as those who were with me, long habituated to freedom, which they enjoy as purely at Sierra Leone as if they breathed a British atmosphere, would have shed the last drop of their blood before they would have suffered themselves to have been made slaves."

The charge of inattention and cruelty towards the liberated Africans, the representation of the mortality caused among them by the rainy season, and the account of their being huddled together in buildings, are totally without foundation. Every man who has been in the colony can testify to the care and humanity bestowed upon these poor creatures, when landed from the holds of the slave ships. The sick and emaciated are instantly sent to the hospitals ; and in two days, seldom more, the whole, whose state of health will admit of it, are

distributed agreeably to their intended destination. How this is done, and to what degree the kindness bestowed on these occasions upon them, when landed from the slave ships, has excited, in their bosoms, a feeling of grateful recollection to their benefactors, and of charity and sympathy for their fellow-sufferers on the recurrence of similar landings, will be seen by the following extracts:—

The Rev. Mr. Johnson says (see Sixteenth Report of African Institution),—"I cannot describe the scene which occurred when we arrived at Regent Town. I have seen many Negroes landed, but never beheld such an affecting sight. As soon as we came in sight, all the people came out of their houses towards the road to meet us, with the greatest acclamations. When they beheld the new people weak and faint, they carried and led them up towards my house. After they had laid themselves on the ground, being quite exhausted, many of our people recognized their friends and relatives; and there was a general cry of O! master! my sister! my brother! my countryman! he lived in the same town; my countrywoman! &c. The poor creatures being faint, just taken out of the hold of a slave vessel, and unconscious of what had befallen them, did not know whether they should laugh or cry when they beheld the countenances of those whom they had supposed long dead, but now saw clothed and clean, and perhaps with healthy children in their arms. In short, I cannot describe the scene: it was too affecting! No one refrained from shedding tears, and lifting up the heart in prayer and praise to the wonder-working God, whose ways are in the deep. The school boys and girls brought the victuals which they had prepared; and all the people, following their example, ran to their houses, and brought what they had got ready; and in a short time, their unfortunate countrymen were overpowered with messes of every description, and they made a good dinner, such as they had not been accustomed to for a long time. Pine-apples, ground nuts, and oranges, were also brought in great abundance.

"After all had been gratified, it getting late, I begged the people to withdraw, in order that their weary country-people might have rest; which being done, I lodged the men and



boys in the boys' school, and the women and girls in the girls' school. The two permanent school-houses, which we have built, I now find of great service; as each of them being seventy-three feet by thirty, and having two floors, will contain a great number."

Mr. Düring's narrative of a similar scene (Sixteenth Report, p.347,) is to the following effect:—"In the month of May, a considerable number of unfortunate victims to the cruel traffic in human blood, were happily captured by the British cruisers on the coast, and brought into the harbour of Free-town. I received orders to come to town to receive them; but, at the time, had little idea of the state they were in, having no particular notice. It was past four o'clock when I received them; and when I had got them all out of town, I viewed them, and soon found that I had not brought men enough with me to help them up the hill, which caused a great anxiety to me; but what could I do? I must take them home. Fortunately for me and these poor people, a man, while they were passing through the Court of the Mixed Commission, had run up to fetch more people to carry the sick home. Ignorant of what the man had done, I went on slowly with them, almost despairing of getting them up. But I had not gone far from the foot of the hill, when I was met by great numbers, who, as they came up, took those who were unable to walk, on their backs; and when I was half way up, I saw almost the whole carried by those met with on the road. This struck me very much, particularly when I compared this affecting scene with former ones."

"When I came home, I ordered victuals to be prepared for the new people: but while they were preparing, food came in from every quarter; and the women, and part of the school girls, who cooked it, asked not for their country-people alone, but those that were nearest to them were refreshed."

"Among the rest, a woman a member of the church, had taken a woman under her care. When I took her name, she was asked by Mrs. Düring, what she wanted to do with the woman: she said, 'Ma'am, it is now almost two years since I come to this country.' My country-woman then took me, and did me good, and told me of the Lord Jesus

Christ: and that same thing she did to me at that time, I want to do to this woman now."

Again (Sixteenth Report, p. 348): "This spirit of humanity towards the unfortunate, has not subsided. At first, the new comers are generally subject to much sickness, which is the case at present; but the evidence I have daily of the care for them every where, makes my heart rejoice; because it is an irresistible argument on our side, and shews the powerful effect of the Gospel, even upon the heart of the rudest barbarian upon this continent. But this is not all. The anxiety for temporal welfare is, with many, connected with spiritual also. Before I was sufficiently enabled to clothe the new people, I saw them brought to church, morning and evening, clad in the clothes of the old ones.

"The work of religion among the people here is still going on. The schools are also going on well; and the number of scholars is increased by five children, born here since 1817, and ten adults. The first class of adults are able to read any book of simple language; and are considerably advanced in arithmetic.

"Thus I have been enabled to give you an account of things, as they are at present. My heart's desire is still to see the afflicted tribes of Africa gladdened by the blessed Gospel of Jesus Christ."

A distinct and separate charge is made against the colony itself, and its power of production (Blackwood, p. 886).

"There is, in fact," says Mr. Macqueen, "neither soil nor cultivation in the place. The thin stratum of mould on the surface of the ground, on the lower part of the hills, becomes worn out almost as soon as the woods and brushwood on its surface are cleared away, when a perfect caput mortuum only remains. In the narrow belt of low land that lies along the margin of the sea, the thin stratum of soil, which had been formed by the remains of putrid vegetation, becomes, soon after it is cleared, dried up by the sun, leaving only a thin unproductive dust upon the rock."

Again (Blackwood, p. 886): "Nature, as a commissioner

justly and forcibly observed, has been a step-mother to the place."

There are round Freetown several small plains of hard indurated claystone, covered with grass, which no man would ever think of attempting to cultivate; and the granite mountains of Sierra Leone are, I presume, not more adapted to cultivation, than similar mountains in other tropical countries. Yet we find they produce most excellent coffee, and the liberated Africans have managed to raise food, more than sufficient for themselves, and for the demand in the market of Freetown. But in the valleys, in the plains up the river Sierra Leone, and below the river Kates; in the islands, and towards the Sherbro; the land is as good and as fertile as in any part of the world; and there is also excellent water carriage. Of soils I do not pretend to be a judge: my attention has been directed to other objects, and my opinion rests chiefly upon the authority of others, and especially of General Turner, who was a good judge. When Mr. Macqueen can shew a country without any unproductive land, he may rail at Sierra Leone for having some.

How he became so well acquainted with the opinions and sayings of one of the gentlemen appointed to report to Earl Bathurst on the state of the colony, he can perhaps explain. To me it does not argue any favourable feeling on the part of that Commissioner towards the colony, that he should have made Mr. Macqueen his confidant: and I have no doubt that, if he did utter such an opinion as Mr. Macqueen attributes to him, he will give in his official report the grounds on which he formed it, and will specify the particular parts of the colony which he actually visited and inspected; for of the rest of it he can be no adequate judge.

The next subject of Mr. Macqueen's attack is the unhealthiness of the colony: and if the people of England do not believe, that, of all unhealthy climates, that of Sierra Leone is the worst; that there "the demon of pestilence and mourning," to use his own words, "has fixed his abode," as firmly as they believe in the existence of moral evil; it is not the fault of Mr. Macqueen, of John Bull, and other West-

Indian advocates. There is no oblivion even in the grave of that ill-fated place: men, never heard of before, become, by dying in that colony, immortalized; their names are placed on imperishable record; their untimely fate is rung with mournful knell from shore to shore of the Atlantic; and their memory is celebrated from one end of the earth to the other. But what becomes of the thousands who annually fall victims to the climate in other tropical colonies? Their names, alas! are left to die;—and their memorial perishes with them. To commemorate their fate, no John Bull is bribed;—to record their untimely end, no Macqueen is remunerated with thousands.

Mr. Macqueen's eloquence may be very affecting; but his statements and assertions are certainly of little value. Sierra Leone is not low nor swampy, but high and mountainous. The Bullom shore does not lie on the west of the river or estuary (for there is no lagoon there); it is not low, or covered with swamps and mangrove. It lies on the north-east side of the river, which is here ten miles broad, and is high and sandy. The burying ground too has many grave-stones. The dead British soldier is not buried in his blanket for want of boards to make a coffin. Twenty-five officers and five or six of the medical staff did not die at Sierra Leone in eighteen months. There are White females in the place above the rank of soldiers' wives; although I regret, with every gentleman in the colony, that they are so few. Except in child-bearing, they do not suffer much from the climate; and I am sorry to add, that it did not require the immoral habits of Sierra Leone to degrade the generality of those women who have gone out thither as soldiers' wives, or to teach them the use of ardent spirits, or to bring them to a state of vice and misery.

That Sierra Leone, like all other tropical countries, is unhealthy for Europeans, is true: that it is more so than tropical countries in general, I doubt. I am fully aware that a different opinion is entertained in very high and respectable quarters, where no unfair bias can be suspected. But is not this the effect of such mendacious representations, perseveringly and unceasingly reiterated, as those of Mr. Macqueen?

Inadequate as I feel myself for the task, I will nevertheless endeavour to destroy what I cannot but consider to be a mere delusion. It is difficult, I admit, in cases of this kind to come at facts. Yet, however difficult it may be, it is by facts alone that the question can be fairly decided. Flying reports, vague rumours, or even general impressions, however fixed, prove little more than the assiduity and pertinacity of those who think themselves interested in discrediting the colony. They may, by their falsehoods or exaggerations, render it more difficult to ascertain the real state of the case, but by these they make but little way in proving the truth of their accusations. In examining this question, I must beg leave to separate Sierra Leone from its dependencies, the Gambia, Cape Coast, &c., because there is no more relation between the healthiness of these places and Sierra Leone at any given time, than there is between that of Barbadoes and Berbice. It is of Sierra Leone itself I mean now to speak: to its healthiness or unhealthiness alone, my remarks are intended to apply.

The European population may be divided into the officers of the civil establishment; the military; the missionaries; the merchants and other residents of respectability; and the Europeans of low rank, seeking a bare subsistence as mechanics, sailors, &c.;—and among these various classes a very different rate of mortality has usually prevailed.

In considering the mortality among the military, the description of soldiers sent out, and their manner of life, are of the utmost importance. When the Ashantee war attracted the attention of Government, it was thought proper to raise a regiment of White troops for the coast. This was done by turning over to it the worst subjects of other regiments—the “commuted men,” as they are technically called; and all who volunteered were accepted, without much regard to age or character. Upwards of a thousand of these men were sent to Sierra Leone, before the ground was fixed upon where their future barracks were to be built; although, by extraordinary exertions on the part of General Turner and his staff, one barrack was roofed in before the succeeding rainy season. A portion of the men were sent to the Gold

Coast, the Gambia, and the Isles de Loss ; some were kept on ship board ; and the remainder were housed as well as could be managed in the colony. Every thing was done by General Turner to guard against the climate ; but the barracks, and houses occupied as such, not being enclosed, there was no possibility of preventing the soldiers from wandering where they pleased. In many of these men all hope of reprieve was extinct. Their sentence was banishment for life ;—their pass-word, “ A merry life and a short one.” The remainder consisted generally of new Irish recruits ; or of men of abandoned character, who had enlisted, as a last resource. Where spirituous liquors were to be procured, such men would not go without them ; and both by night and day were they to be found lying drunk in the streets. I have myself met, and I have known others to meet them, near midnight, stretched on the roads in a state of perfect insensibility from intoxication ; and that, in the height of the rainy season. I have also seen them early in the morning, lying in running streams of water, where, doubtless, they had passed the night, regardless of the heavy tropical rain which had been falling. This mode of life continued till I left the colony. Can it be wondered at, that the mortality was great ? Or could any thing else be expected ? White troops, even of the best character, cannot be sent to tropical countries with impunity. The best regiments sent to the West Indies would, I fear, shew returns of mortality equal, if not superior, to those at Sierra Leone\*. Many of the regiments sent there have returned mere skeletons. And was less mortality to be expected in the case of a condemned regiment ? This is, however, an evil which cannot occur again :—orders have been given to revert to Black troops ; and the deaths of the White soldiers will no longer furnish a handle to the calumniators of the colony.

During the last year (in opposition to the advice of the Medical Staff, and of my directions, whilst I acted as Governor), officers were lodged in barracks which had been

\* Sir H. Hardinge stated, in the House of Commons, that, during the year 1826, of 2700 men stationed in Jamaica, 900 had died.

covered in after the rains began. Their walls were dripping with moisture; their doors and windows were not properly fastened; and, being in an exposed situation, the wind, loaded with moisture and with drifting rain, blew through and through their apartments. Several young officers, just arrived on the coast, quartered in these barracks, fell victims to fever; but their death was attributable to the above accidental cause, which is not very likely to occur a second time. The barracks are now finished, and, I understand, will vie, in comfort, with any in his Majesty's dominions. The question, moreover, is one of *comparative* mortality; and I feel satisfied that, if the returns from all our different tropical possessions were fairly analyzed, it would be found that the deaths at Sierra Leone were fewer, in proportion, than at either the Gold Coast or Gambia; and, probably, not greater than in many of our West-India Islands, or at Arracan.

The return printed by order of the House of Commons, No. 7, 28th November, 1826, is a return of mortality for *the coast generally*. I have endeavoured to obtain a list of the names of the persons so returned "*dead*," with a view of shewing how small a proportion died at Sierra Leone, but have not been successful; and I can therefore only renew the assurance of my firm conviction, that if the investigation were made, the result would be much in favour of Sierra Leone, as compared with our other African settlements; and, as it regards the mortality of the whole coast, it were but an act of justice to publish similar lists for the civil and military establishments of our western colonies. Even western Africa might not, in this case, prove to be the most sickly of all tropical countries. In this, at least, I am borne out by Sir George Collier, who says, in his report to the Admiralty—"Indeed I believe, and, from the observations I have made in other tropical climates, from the same cause, there are years when, on a comparison with respect to relative numbers, a greater proportionate mortality will be found to have occurred at some of our oldest established tropical colonies than at our very infant one of Sierra Leone, with all its disadvantages." Neither have I been able to obtain re-

turns of the names of the persons belonging to the civil establishment of Sierra Leone, at different periods; but I have procured a copy of the "estimate" for the year 1821, from which I have formed the following table as correctly as my memory will enable me to do. I have marked those cases of which I am doubtful; and it is possible I may have, through forgetfulness, omitted one or two, who, temporarily, held civil situations.

In looking at this table you will perceive that considerable mortality took place in 1823. In that year a contagious disease was carried to the colony from the Mediterranean, in the ship *Caroline* (as is supposed), which raged for some time with great violence. That the mere climate of Sierra Leone was not the cause of these deaths is evident, from the fact, that the otherwise healthy island of Ascension, to which the same fever was carried, suffered more in proportion than Sierra Leone did.



*TABLE of the Civil Establishment of Sierra Leone in the year 1820, with the Alterations which have taken place in the different Situations since;—distinguishing the Deaths which happened in Sierra Leone, from the other Causes of Change; and, also, the Number still in the Colony.*

*Persons holding Offices in 1820.*

|                     |                    |                       |                                                               |
|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| Governor .....      | Sir C. MacCarthy   | Arrived in 1814 ..... | Killed in action with the Ashantees, January 1824.            |
| Chief Justice.....  | E. Fitzgerald ...  | ditto 1817            | Died at S.L. Of the imported contagious disease of 1823.      |
| Council .....       | K. Macaulay.....   | ditto 1808 .....      | In England; left Sierra Leone in 1826.                        |
| Ditto .....         | T. S. Buckle.....  | ditto 1816 .....      | Killed in action with the Ashantees, in Jan. 1824.            |
| Acting Secretary    | J. O. N. Walsh...  | .....                 | See below, in Council since 1820.                             |
| Collector of Duties | Jos. Refell .....  | .....                 | See ditto                                                     |
| Chaplain .....      | W. Garnsey .....   | Arrived in 1820 ..... | In England; left Sierra Leone in 1822.                        |
| Ditto .....         | W. Flood .....     | ditto 1820 .....      | Left Sierra Leone in 1823, and died on the passage.           |
| Engineer .....      | T. S. Buckle ..... | ditto 1816 .....      | See above, in Council.                                        |
| Assistant ditto ..  | J. Morgan .....    | A Sierra Leone man.   |                                                               |
| First Surgeon ...   | C. Stormonth ..    | Arrived in 1817 ..... | (Situation abolished). In England; left Sierra Leone in 1821. |
| Second ditto ....   | J. Shower .....    | about 1817 .....      | In England; returned in 1825.                                 |
| Assist. Apothecary  | W. Brown .....     | A Sierra Leone man.   |                                                               |
| Mason .....         | A. Mason .....     | A Coloured man.       |                                                               |

|                     |                   |                                               |                                                    |
|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| Carpenter .....     | I. Grant.....     | Arrived in 1817 .....                         | Left the colony in 1825.                           |
| Surveyor of Lands   | T. S. Buckle..... | .....                                         | See above, in Council.                             |
| Printer .....       | W. Miller .....   | Died at S.L. of the contagious fever of 1823. |                                                    |
| Assistant ditto ... | Abm. Hasely ...   | A Sierra Leone man.                           |                                                    |
| King's Advocate     | D. M. Hamilton    | Arrived in 1802 .....                         | See below, as Chief Justice.                       |
| Clk. Recorder's Ct. | Jos. Woods .....  | ditto 1817 .....                              | Left the colony for England in 1822.               |
| Writer .....        | T. O'Meara .....  | .....                                         | See below, in Council since 1820.                  |
| Ditto .....         | J. W. Wetherell   | Arrived in 1817 .....                         | Killed in action with the Ashantees, 1824.         |
| Ditto .....         | S. Castle .....   | about 1818 .....                              | On the coast still—in the Commissariat Department. |
| Ditto .....         | J. McDonnell ...  | ditto 1818 .....                              | On the coast still—in the army.                    |
| Ditto .....         | R. Fitzgerald ... | ditto 1818 .....                              | In India.                                          |

*In the Liberated Africans' Department.*

|                     |                   |                       |                                   |
|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Chf. Superintendnt. | J. Reffell .....  | .....                 | See below, in Council since 1820. |
| Superintendent ...  | F. Cole .....     | Arrived in 1818 ..... | In the colony.                    |
| Ditto .....         | W. B. Pratt ..... | ditto 1819 .....      | .....                             |

*Persons appointed to Office since 1820.*

|                    |                  |                 |                                                                            |
|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Governor .....     | Maj.-Gen. Turner | Arrived in 1825 | Died at S.L. Of excessive fatigue and exposure in the Sherbro, March 1826. |
| Ditto .....        | Sir N. Campbell  | ditto 1826      | ..... In the colony.                                                       |
| Chief Justice..... | D. M. Hamilton   | ditto 1802      | ..... In the colony.                                                       |

|                     |                    |                 |       |                                                                                                             |
|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Council .....       | Alexander Grant    | Arrived in 1820 | ..... | Now in Scotland; had been on the coast since 1806; left it in 1825.                                         |
| Ditto .....         | J. Reffell .....   | ditto           | 1814  | ..... In the colony now.                                                                                    |
| Ditto .....         | J. O. N. Walsh...  | about           | 1818  | Died at S.L. of the contagious fever of 1823.                                                               |
| Ditto .....         | T. O'Meara .....   | ditto           | 1817  | ditto                                                                                                       |
| Ditto .....         | Andrew Nicholl     | ditto           | 1817  | Died on the Gold Coast in 1823.                                                                             |
| Ditto .....         | W. Barry .....     | Arrived in      | 1823  | ..... In the colony now.                                                                                    |
| Ditto .....         | John Rendall.....  | ditto           | 1813  | ..... In England; left the coast in 1825.                                                                   |
| Ditto ..            | Edward Gregory     | ditto           | 1819  | Died at S.L. In 1825, of fever.                                                                             |
| Ditto .....         | J. A. Schetky ...  | ditto           | 1823  | ..... Died at Cape Coast in 1824.                                                                           |
| Ditto .....         | S. Smart .....     | ditto           | 1823  | ..... In the colony now.                                                                                    |
| Ditto .....         | George Rendall...  | about           | 1817  | ..... Ditto.                                                                                                |
| Ditto .....         | J. W. Ramsey ...   | Arrived in      | 1825  | ..... In England; left the colony in 1826.                                                                  |
| Ditto .....         | J. T. Williams ... | ditto           | 1825  | Died at S.L. In 1826; was labouring under a liver complaint, and consumption when he arrived in the colony. |
| Ditto .....         | Col. Lumley .....  | ditto           | 1826  | ..... In the colony now.                                                                                    |
| Ditto .....         | J. MacCormack...   | ditto           | 1814  | ..... Ditto.                                                                                                |
| Secretary .....     | J. Reffell .....   | .....           | ..... | See above, in Council.                                                                                      |
| Collector of Duties | A. W. F. Percival  | Arrived in      | 1824  | Died at S.L. Of fever, March 1826; brought on by running three races in one day.                            |
| Chaplain .....      | I. G. R. Nylander  | ditto           | 1805  | Died at S.L. Of old age, in 1825.                                                                           |
| Ditto .....         | J. Raban .....     | ditto           | 1824  | ..... In the colony now.                                                                                    |

|                                               |                  |       |                     |              |                               |
|-----------------------------------------------|------------------|-------|---------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|
| Engineer ... ..                               | M. Hafner        | ..... | Arrived in 1820     | .....        | In the colony now.            |
| Carpenter .....                               | J. Clack.....    |       | ditto 1825          | .....        | Ditto.                        |
| Surveyor of Lands                             | W. Grey          | ..... | ditto 1825          | .....        | Left the colony in 1825.      |
| Ditto .....                                   | W. Pine.....     |       | ditto 1826          | .....        | In the colony now.            |
| Printer .....                                 | M. Fillager      | ..... | A Sierra Leone man. |              |                               |
| King's Advocate                               | S. Smart         | ..... | Arrived in 1823     | .....        | See above, in Council.        |
| Writer .....                                  | — Horton         | ..... | ditto 1821          | Died at S.L. | Of fever, in 1821.            |
| Ditto .....                                   | James Sharp..... |       | ditto 1823          | .....        | In the colony now.            |
| Ditto .....                                   | W. W. Lewis      | ..    | ditto 1824          | .....        | Ditto.                        |
| Ditto .....                                   | — Smith          | ..... | ditto 1824          | Died at S.L. | Of fever, in 1825.            |
| Ditto .....                                   | — Oxley          | ..... | ditto 1824          | .....        | In the colony now.            |
| Ditto .....                                   | P. Turner        | ..... | ditto 1825          | Died at S.L. | In 1825.                      |
| Ditto .....                                   | J. Mentga        | ..... | ditto 1824          | .....        | In the colony now.            |
| Ditto .....                                   | — Dennis.....    |       | ditto 1825          | .....        | Ditto.                        |
| <i>In the Liberated Africans' Department.</i> |                  |       |                     |              |                               |
| Superintendent ...                            | R. Cole          | ..... | ditto 1822          | .....        | In England; returned in 1826. |
| Ditto .....                                   | M. Lewis         | ..... | ditto 1824          | .....        | In the colony now.            |
| Ditto .....                                   | C. Jones         | ..... | ditto 1825          | .....        | Ditto.                        |

The number of deaths, or rate of mortality among the merchants and residents of respectability, is universally supposed in the colony to be less than in any other class. During the year 1826 there was but one death among them up to the end of September, as far as my recollection serves me; and in the preceding year there were but two or three. During eleven years' management of an extensive mercantile concern, with a number of clerks, several of whom lived with me for many years, I have lost but one; and others I believe have been equally fortunate. So far from the merchants finding any difficulty in procuring clerks, young men who go out on speculation have the greatest difficulty in obtaining employment at very low salaries. Many, both of the merchants and other residents, have been in the colony for many years.

The greatest rate of mortality appears to have been amongst the missionaries and their assistants; the society having lost, during twenty-two years, thirty-two men, (including five who died from accidents, not chargeable to the climate,) out of fifty-one. It is however to be remarked, that none died during the first four years, 1805 to 1808; that only two men died during the first eight years, to 1812; and that, as the unhealthiness of Sierra Leone has become a topic of discussion, and held out as an object of dread, the proportion of deaths in the latter years has much increased. I cannot help attributing much of the more recent mortality among the missionaries, in the first two years of their residence in the colony, to a morbid state of mind. Other men go out filled with the hope of realizing a little property and returning home: that object occupies all their thoughts; sickness is never feared till it comes, and then the natural buoyancy of youth, and the ardent expectation of the individual, do more towards recovery than all the medicine or doctors in the colony. Very different are the feelings of the missionary;—his mind is strongly impressed with a dread of the colony; he looks on himself as sent on a forlorn hope; he considers sickness and death in a few years as a certainty; by brooding on the subject he often brings on slight indisposition, which his imagination exaggerates into a serious illness, when a man

of a more ardent temperament, and a more elastic turn of mind, would throw it off with facility. When to this desponding state of mind are added the enervating and enfeebling effects, both mental and bodily, of severe fever, I have no doubt that many of the sufferers secretly wish the struggle was over, and their course was run; and instead of the least attempt to rally their fainting spirits, they quietly resign themselves to the arms of death. I have seen this feeling in others as well as among the missionaries; but from the impressions they receive before they leave this country, together with the serious nature of their usual meditations, *they* are individually the greatest sufferers. I am the more confirmed in this opinion when I see that nearly all the missionaries sent out at first lived for many years; and that those, in after years, who had once overcome the dread with which they arrived in the colony, enjoyed as good health as other residents.

One of the missionaries died at a good old age, after twenty years' continued residence; one after nineteen years; one after eighteen years; two after eleven years; one after nine years; three after eight years. One of the present missionaries has been there sixteen years, his wife fourteen years; another has been there nine years; two others, seven years; two, six; one, five; and one four years; while several of those who left the colony had resided there from five to seven years.

The lower classes of European adventurers are seldom men of good character. Intemperance is their besetting vice, and it is not to be wondered at if many of them die; still many live and remain in the colony for years.

In the absence of more formal returns, I will take the liberty to state one circumstance, and give the length of residence of several Europeans. In the year 1808 seven gentlemen\* went at the same time with myself to the colony. In the year 1814 we were all alive, and all in the colony but one. In 1814 one was lost at sea. In 1815 one died in

\* Messrs. D. M. Hamilton, Vanneck, Craig, F. Hopkins, C. Hopkins, MacGonne, Becket.

England, and one at Sierra Leone, supposed to have been poisoned. In 1816 one died in close arrest at Elmina Castle, on the Gold Coast. The remaining four are still alive; three in Britain (including myself), and one at Sierra Leone.

The following is the length, as nearly as I can ascertain it, of the residence of some gentlemen whose names occur to me, including in that time a few temporary and short visits to this country.

| Names.            | Years of Residence.  | Remarks.                                           |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| Carr .....        | 28 .....             | Returned to Europe, since dead.                    |
| Fothergill .....  | 23 .....             | { Died after nearly constant residence.            |
| Hamilton .....    | 25 .....             | Still there.                                       |
| Nicoll .....      | 23 .....             | { Died an old man after nearly constant residence. |
| Nylander .....    | 21 .....             | Do. after constant residence.                      |
| Macaulay .....    | 18 .....             | Now in England.                                    |
| Kennedy .....     | 17 .....             | There still, constant residence.                   |
| Wilhelm .....     | 16 .....             | Ditto ditto.                                       |
| Mrs. Wilhelm ...  | 14 .....             | Ditto ditto.                                       |
| Mrs Lemon .....   | 33 .....             | Died after constant residence.                     |
| Williams .....    | 37 .....             | There still.                                       |
| Reffell .....     | 13 .....             | { Ditto 11 years resident at one time.             |
| Macormack .....   | 14 .....             | Ditto.                                             |
| MacCarthy, Gov.   | 10 .....             | Killed in action.                                  |
| Buckle .....      | 8 .....              | Ditto ditto.                                       |
| Wetherill .....   | 8 .....              | Ditto ditto.                                       |
| Atkins .....      | 10 .....             | There still.                                       |
| Barber .....      | 7, & on the coast 13 | Ditto.                                             |
| Mrs. Taylor ..... | 9 .....              | Ditto.                                             |
| Macdonnell .....  | 10 .....             | Ditto.                                             |
| Two Coles .....   | 10 .....             | Ditto.                                             |
| Weston .....      | 10 .....             | Ditto.                                             |
| Easton .....      | 8 .....              | Drowned.                                           |
| Williams .....    | 10 .....             | Returned.                                          |
| Hopkins .....     | 10 .....             | Ditto.                                             |
| Craig .....       | 20 .....             | Ditto, absent about 7 years.                       |

| Names.        | Years of Residence. |       |  | Remarks.                       |
|---------------|---------------------|-------|--|--------------------------------|
| Kendall ..... | 10                  | ..... |  | There still.                   |
| Spencer ..... | 10                  | ..... |  | Returned.                      |
| Reyner .....  | 19                  | ..... |  | Died after constant residence. |
| Wenzell ..... | 14                  | ..... |  | Ditto ditto.                   |
| Butcher ..... | 12                  | ..... |  | Ditto.                         |

Many more might be adduced.

A great outcry has been raised against the colony on account of General Turner's death: it is said, that of a family of seven all died but two, and that within one year.

General Turner took out two nieces, two nephews, and two aides-de-camp; of these the two nieces and one aide-de-camp returned. The circumstances attending the death of the others were these:—The two nephews were labouring under consumption (one in the last stage) on their arrival in the colony, and both died of that disease. Captain Ross, one of the aides-de-camp, caught the fever, which caused his death, after a long, arduous, and fatiguing expedition to the head of the Port Logo river, at, perhaps, the worst season of the year, when the heat of the dry season was evaporating the damp and moisture of the preceding rains, and when the heat of a tropical sun could not disperse the dense fog floating on the surface of the river and its banks till eleven o'clock in the day. General Turner himself did not die of the fever caught at Sierra Leone, nor from the effects of the climate: his death was caused by unparalleled and unremitting exertion and exposure, day and night, up the river Sherbro, which no constitution could have stood in any tropical climate.

General Turner undertook the conduct of an expedition (consisting of troops, vessels, boats, and canoes,) to the Sherbro, with a sailing master for only two of the vessels, and only one military officer besides himself. He sailed on the 7th February; and, after two days' and one nights' expedition, in boats, arrived at Bendo on the 13th. On the 14th the brig got aground, and General Turner was out in his boat, sounding, for several hours, and performed the whole duties of master himself. On the 15th he spent half the day sounding the mouth of the Boom. On the 16th the



expedition, with numbers of boats and canoes, entered that river. Our pilots were of no use: a line of boats sounded a-head of the vessels; but, with even that precaution, they were continually grounding. Though the General was now assisted by the active professional skill of Captain Mudge, R. N., yet so anxious was he that he watched over every thing himself—standing nearly all day on the bowsprit, or sounding in his boat. On the 17th, in the morning, he took the stockade of Bulm, and, after a busy and fatiguing day, exposed to the sun, he burnt it late at night. Next day he proceeded up the river, exposed as before. On the 19th he fought the action at Macaba, where he was exposed, afloat and on shore, for hours, to a burning sun—surrounded, part of the time, by grass twelve feet high, where not a breath of wind could reach him, or exposed to the heat of a burning town. He was also exposed to the night air and dews till twelve o'clock. On the 20th, he proceeded up another branch of the river. On the 21st, he fought another trifling action at night; and on the 23d returned to Shebar. During this time I found the sun more oppressive than I had ever felt it before: accustomed as I had been to it, I was obliged, more than once, to get under shelter when the General refused to do so. He was obliged to hang his cot on the deck of the small vessel, and the dew actually rained through the sails he had spread for an awning. Sleep was out of the question: it was one continued buz, buz, bite, bite, all night long: such mosquitoes I never saw or heard of elsewhere. His exertions, and his exposure to the climate did not end here. On the 24th he attended a grand palaver of the native chiefs; on the 25th another laborious day was spent with the vessel aground for several hours; and it was only on the 27th that the vessels, after much anxiety, cleared the river. At this time he was complaining of illness, but could not be prevailed on to take rest or medicine. He sat at table with us, but ate nothing. He occupied himself drawing up the proclamation for blockading the Gallinas, and was besides engaged in other writings, which, I suppose, were the notes or sketch of his letter to Lord Bathurst. When he arrived at Freetown, instead of taking rest, he caused a vessel to be

detained till that letter and another were written, in finishing which last, the pen, I understand, dropped from his hand. In five days more, he was a corpse. Is this unfortunate event to be charged to Sierra Leone? Where is the tropical country where such fatigue and exposure would not prove equally fatal?

There is, however, one question connected with the health of the colony which has not, in my opinion, been sufficiently considered or attended to. I believe it was never intended to colonize Sierra Leone with Whites, or, as the colony extends, that the various increasing duties of the government departments should for ever be confined to Europeans; or that the regularity of the necessary details, or the prosperity of the colony, should depend upon an extraneous supply of civil officers from England. If I understand the matter properly, the object is to establish a colony of Free Blacks, and to open a fair field for the exertion and improvement of the African race; and, in doing this, why should not Coloured persons, of sufficient abilities, be employed much more extensively than has hitherto been done? It is undeniable, indeed, that a perfect equality, in all the rights and privileges of British subjects, is enjoyed by both Black and White at Sierra Leone; and also, that Earl Bathurst has, in more than one instance, appointed Coloured persons to situations under Government. Yet I conceive that sufficient attention has not been paid, either to prepare young men, in the colony itself, for the higher walks of life, or to procure them from other places. To what walks in the service Government might choose to restrict their promotion, I know not; but I, for my part, see no reason why colour alone should prevent any man from rising to the highest; and I am quite sure that, if the general details of the colonial administration were in the hands of such men (assuming, of course, that they are men sufficiently qualified for the situations they fill), the inconvenience and injury which the colony has suffered from irregularity in accounts, documents, &c. would no longer occur; and the death of an officer, even high in the service, would no longer entail that confusion, and those delays, in every department, which have been too often experienced.

Mr. Macqueen's next attack is on the TRADE of the colony; and he complains that separate returns of its imports and exports have not been produced. If he means the proportion which the trade of Sierra Leone bears to the declared and official values of the exports and imports to and from the settlements on the coast generally, I cordially concur in the wish that these returns had been kept distinct; for, in that case, I am sure that those for Sierra Leone would have proved perfectly satisfactory. If he means, however, merely to complain that the account of the merchandize imported into, and exported from, the colony has not been distinctly given, he complains without reason: he has the information in his possession. The returns of the collector of the customs at Sierra Leone have always been published, by authority, in the Colonial Gazette. It appears, by this document (see Gazette, 11th February 1826), that the original cost in England, of the merchandize imported into the colony in 1825, on which the collector returned that he had received duties, was ----- £ 81,918 7 8

But a judicial investigation having taken place into his accounts (the result of which was forwarded to Earl Bathurst), it appeared that he had embezzled the duties on, at least, -----

20,000 0 0

The duty in the colony is collected on the mere cost of the article in the English warehouse, without freight, insurance, shipping expenses, commission, &c.; and without any of those charges for packages, pressing, calendering, &c., which are, in fact, part of the cost of the article. I have taken an average of many invoices, in order to ascertain the rate of these last charges—namely, for packages, pressing, &c.,—and I find it to amount to four and a half per cent., which makes, on the above sum, -----

4,589 0 6

£ 106,567 8 2

By the Parliamentary Paper No. 54, of 1826, it appears that the official value of the whole of the exports to the coast of Africa, in 1825, was 348,514*l.*, the declared value of which is stated to be 332,838*l.*, being a difference of not quite five per cent., by which the official exceeds the declared value. On referring however to the Parliamentary Paper No. 385, of 1826, which contains an account of the rates at which both foreign and colonial produce, and British and Irish produce and manufactures, are valued, when exported, it appears that the official valuation of the principal articles of export to Africa is much higher than their actual cost. For example, tobacco is twelve per cent.; East-Indian piece-goods from thirty-three to one hundred per cent.; rum two hundred to three hundred per cent.; sugar sixty per cent.; printed cottons twenty-five per cent. higher; a few immaterial articles being officially valued at a lower rate; than their real cost. It is therefore a very moderate calculation to suppose that the real cost is, on the whole, twenty-five per cent. less than the official valuation. This would raise the declared value of the exports to Sierra Leone, alone, to the sum of upwards of 126,000*l.*, and the official value to upwards of 133,000*l.*, in 1825, (being nearly two-fifths of the whole export to Africa, from the Senegal to Benguela,) even if nothing should be allowed for the temptation to which the importers of goods paying a duty are liable, to understate the value of their imports, with a view of diminishing the charge of duty; or, if they can, to evade the entry entirely, and thus pay no duty at all. This large export is confined to the river Sierra Leone, and whatever Mr. Macqueen may think, to me it seems matter of satisfaction that, to this *one port*, which he would describe as perfectly unfitted for commerce, and destitute of it, there is exported nearly two-fifths as much as to all the rest of Africa, from "Cape Nun to the Cape of Good Hope," its islands included.

I need hardly contradict another assertion of Mr. Macqueen's, by adding, that this amount is exclusive of government stores of every description; such not being entered at the Custom-house either in England or at Sierra Leone.

The supplies for the liberated Africans, in one year (1825), for clothing, tools, &c., were, according to the Parliamentary Paper No. 212, of 1826, upwards of 12,000*l*.

Sierra Leone, it must be remembered, is a new colony. Its population is a heterogeneous mass, collected chiefly, within a recent period, from the holds of slave ships; all previously in the most uncivilized and brutalized state, and unaccustomed to regular or assiduous labour. Many of them are also either old, or infirm from disease; many of them are the bad subjects of barbarous countries, enslaved for crimes; and a large proportion of them are children. Whatever labour exists is free; induced, beyond the mere necessity of subsistence, solely by advice and conciliation, and by the certainty that the labourer will securely possess the fruits of his industry. Yet Sierra Leone need not be afraid of a comparison, even as regards its trade, with the long established colonies of the West Indies, notwithstanding all the advantages derived from wealth and art; from long practical experience; from a comparatively numerous resident White population; from the forced labour of nearly 800,000 slaves; and from protecting duties, injuriously affecting Sierra Leone in common with all the other tropical possessions of his Majesty.

If it be said that part of the goods exported to Sierra Leone is employed in trade with the neighbouring countries of Africa, so a very large proportion of the goods sent to the West Indies is re-exported, and employed in trade with the continent of South America, the foreign islands, and even with Africa.

Taking the year 1825\* then as my guide, I will proceed to compare the exports to Sierra Leone with the declared value of those to the West Indies, the details of which last I have taken from the Parliamentary Paper No. 54, February 1826, p. 11.

\* The amount on which duties were actually paid at Sierra Leone, in 1821, was 105,060*l*.; and in 1823, 121,442*l*.; either of which would give a larger proportion in favour of Sierra Leone than the year 1825, which I am using for the comparison; and that comparison also is instituted, not as it ought to be, taking the sum of 126,000*l*. as its basis, but the smaller sum of 106,567*l*.

|                          | POPULATION. | EXPORTS.   |                                                 |                                   |                                 |
|--------------------------|-------------|------------|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
|                          | ABOUT       | £          | £                                               | Proportion<br>as to<br>Population | Proportion<br>as to<br>Exports. |
| Sierra Leone ...         | 18,000      | 106,567    |                                                 |                                   |                                 |
| The West Indies, 865,000 |             | 4,151,163  | INSTEAD OF<br>(the due proportion)<br>5,121,136 | 1 to 48.0                         | 1 to 38.9                       |
| Jamaica .....            | 402,000     | 2,162,479* | 2,379,996                                       | 1 to 22.3                         | 1 to 20.2                       |
| Antigua .....            | 37,000      | 133,452    | 219,054                                         | 1 to 2.0                          | 1 to 1.2                        |
| Barbadoes .....          | 100,000     | 339,060    | 592,039                                         | 1 to 5.5                          | 1 to 3.1                        |
| Dominica .....           | 21,000      | 51,931     | 124,328                                         | 1 to 1.1                          | 1 to 0.5                        |
| St. Vincent's ...        | 29,000      | 133,496    | 171,691                                         | 1 to 1.6                          | 1 to 1.2                        |
| Grenada .....            | 30,000      | 92,013     | 177,611                                         | 1 to 1.7                          | 1 to 0.8                        |
| Nevis .....              | 12,000      | 13,298     | 71,044                                          | 1 to 0.6                          | 1 to 0.1                        |
| Demerara .....           | 81,000      | 401,581    | 479,551                                         | 1 to 4.5                          | 1 to 3.7                        |
| Berbice .....            | 25,000      | 65,449     | 148,009                                         | 1 to 1.4                          | 1 to 0.6                        |
| Montserrat ...           | 7,000       | 10,123     | 41,442                                          | 1 to 0.4                          | 1 to 0.09                       |

As regards the Import Trade, there is one circumstance which must not be lost sight of, and which shews at once how inadequate a criterion the official value of imports from the two countries, is of their real importance. The import of teake from Africa †, in 1825, (Par. Paper, No. 225, 6th April, 1826) was 18,984 loads, and this (according to the Par. Pap. No. 385, 18th May, 1826, being timber not described,) is valued at the official rate of only 10s. 6d. per load, whereas its real value was upwards of 7l. per load (without duty), or in the whole 132,888l. The official value of the whole is thus only 9,492l., being one-fourteenth part of the real value of the article. So with respect to many other articles: elephants' teeth, for example, are valued at 6l. instead of from 16l. to 20l. per cwt.; bees' wax at 4l. 15s. instead of 8l. 15s. per cwt., &c.; whilst coffee from the West Indies, worth about 45s. to 60s. per cwt. is *officially* valued at 7l. being an over-valuation of 4l. to 4l. 15s. for every cwt. imported.

It must also be remembered, that a new and rapidly increasing trade, in gold, with the interior tribes, has sprung up at Sierra Leone. What the import of this article may amount to cannot be known, as no entries are made of it at the Custom-house.

The quantity of shipping employed in any trade is a good

\* This includes 914,728l. exported afterwards to Spanish America.

† Macqueen says, not half of this comes from Sierra Leone. Every person, at all acquainted with the subject, knows that nineteen twentieths of it comes from that port, and is cut in that river.

criterion of its importance. That employed in the import trade from the West Indies, in the year 1825, was about 230,000 tons; that of Sierra Leone about 21,000 tons, being in the proportion of 1 to 11; whilst the population is only 1 to 48.

Foreign vessels are not allowed to enter at Sierra Leone; but an extensive trade is carried on with them in the neighbouring rivers by the colonists and residents of that place—the profits of which find their way thither and to England. Of the extent of this trade no correct statements can be made, as no Custom-house regulations exist among the native powers.—That the trade of the Coast generally, and of Sierra Leone in particular, increases, is undeniable. The official returns shew that the exports from England increase, and the increase of the revenue of Sierra Leone, where no additional duties have of late been imposed, confirms the fact; which is still farther confirmed by the reports to Government of his Majesty's Commissioners of the Mixed Slave Courts, who are on the spot, and have no interests to serve but those of truth. In proof of this, I may refer to their annual reports, generally; and will here only add one or two extracts from that contained in the Parliamentary Papers of 1824, 1825, Class A., p. 6.

“We are happy to be enabled to say, that the trade of Sierra Leone has increased since the date of the last report of the Commissioners. This increase we ascribe principally to the great influx of traders into the colony which has taken place within this last year, and to the demand for African timber within the same period.

“The traders from the interior consist of the natives of Foutah Jallow, and of the natives of more distant countries. The natives of Foutah Jallow, or Foulahs, as they are termed, brought hither great numbers of large and small cattle with a considerable quantity of gold, considerable, we mean, in comparison with the quantity brought to the colony in former years.

“The natives of countries more distant than Foutah Jallow brought mostly gold. It was a singular circumstance that the influx of native traders into the colony was greatest in

the months of August and September, when the rains yet fell in the tract of country around Sierra Leone, and at Sierra Leone, with considerable violence. This circumstance shews the eagerness with which the natives were possessed to exchange their articles of commerce for the European goods to be found at Sierra Leone, and shews that energy is not wanting amongst the natives to make them engage in a commerce of a different nature from the commerce in slaves."

Again, in the Parliamentary Papers, 1824, Class B., page 4, they write thus:—

"The importance of bestowing this attention will appear more clearly from the fact, that during the short period of abandoned slave-trade, and legitimate commerce, that has elapsed since the capture of the *Rosalia*, the exports of African produce from the adjacent settlements of the *Isles de Loss* have increased beyond all conception.

"Among these exports was a quantity of wax, which, although amounting only to five or six tons, is worthy of particular notice, as it is now for the first time made an article of industry and trade, on the banks of the *Rio Pongas*. A large supply may consequently be expected in future years. The other articles included in these shipments are hides (about 5,000), also recently for the first time exported, and palm oil to the amount of 30,000 gallons, collected from two of the islands, *Tamara* and *Factory*, and from an extensive range of country on the opposite coast.

"A quantity of ivory, not much exceeding one ton, was also included."

Again (Class A., page 8, 1825-1826.)—"With respect to this colony, it is most gratifying to us to be enabled to state, that its export trade has increased, since the last report of the Commissioners, beyond any former period: the quantity of timber exported, from October last to the date of this report, is not less than 14,000 loads, with 22 vessels still lying here to obtain cargoes during the present shipping season (the end of May), while the exports for the following periods are as follows: from October 1821, to May 1822, one thousand loads; from October 1822, to May 1823,



seventeen hundred loads ; from October 1823, to May 1824, eleven thousand loads.

“ Great confidence has been given to the persons engaged in that trade by the colonial government having obtained the cession and sovereignty of the islands in this river, and also the northern bank of the same ; a measure which was alluded to in the last report of the Commissioners as extremely desirable to be accomplished. These merchants have thus become tenants of their own government, instead of living, as heretofore, at the mercy of the petty chiefs, who were their former landlords. They are already extending their trade and erecting more substantial buildings, on the faith of the protection which has thus been afforded to them. The value shipped in gold, brought from the interior during the same period, has been greater than all the preceding years together. No accurate account, however, of the shipment of this article can be obtained, as it is not entered at the Custom-house : we however know one merchant who alone has sent home upwards of 5,500*l.* worth.”

If Mr. Macqueen is to be believed, all the accounts of the fame which the colony has acquired, the influence which it exerts, and the good it has diffused over the neighbouring tribes, are false and unfounded, mere dreams and delusions. “ From all our exertions and all our expenditure,” he says, “ Africa has received no benefit whatever. We have improved no place and no people ; nay, by our conduct, our power has declined, is endangered in Africa ; and our useful and comparatively healthy possessions on the Gold Coast, are almost annihilated. Nothing remains to us in Africa but a place which is the grave of Europeans,” &c. But all this is mere assertion. He has not given one particle of proof to sustain it. He indeed refers to some gazettes, which relate alone to the progress of a war with slave traders, left unfinished by General Turner at his death ; but which Mr. Macqueen knew, when he wrote this letter, had terminated successfully. The refractory and hostile chiefs had been brought to terms : they had submitted, and had engaged to repair all the injury they had done to the property of the

colonists; and what is of a thousand times more consequence, they had bound themselves to adhere to the arrangements between the colonial government and the other native chiefs, by which an annual export of at least 15,000 slaves, with its attendant misery, devastation, and bloodshed, was abolished.

Mr. M. also makes a quotation from Major Laing, which may be a true extract, though I cannot find it in his work, but I am quite sure it is not a correct statement. I suspect it was written after the Major's visit to Scotland. "The fame which the place had acquired in the interior of Africa," he observes, "is properly stated by Major Laing, and which is to be mentioned with ridicule and contempt by the natives about 200 miles inland, who observe of it, '*Dat country no good,—dat woman's country—and no man's country.*'" The natives 200 miles inland could not speak English at all, and if it is intended as a literal translation of what they said in their native dialect, how came Major Laing to translate it into West-Indian (not Sierra Leone) jargon, instead of translating it into pure English?

With the sentiment itself, that Sierra Leone is a country where women are treated with comparative respect, I have no quarrel. And, however much the high station assigned to the female sex in Sierra Leone might excite the surprise and even contempt of a native chief, which was natural enough, I should scarcely have expected to find the same feeling in any educated member of a Christian community. Mr. Macqueen appears to think differently.

Let us see now what there is on the other side of the question. Major Laing himself says, p. 99,

"The revenue of the Timmanee headmen may have been considerable during the era of the Slave Trade; but since its successful suppression in the country in the vicinity of Sierra Leone, their income (even those who extract property by dint of imposition from strangers) is trifling."

Again (p. 382):

"Ah!" he exclaimed, "you English are good people; you do not wish to see Black men in trouble; you walk long journeys into the country for nothing else; you do not come for money; we have got nothing good to give you; you come

because you wish to help us; you keep ships to take the slaves from the bad White men, and you do not sell them; you put them down at Sierra Leone, give them plenty to eat, plenty to drink, plenty of clothes, and you teach them to know God. Governor MacCarthy must be a good man; I must be good friends with him."

Again, at p. 78:—"These people who generally emigrate in the first instance owing to the consequences of a palaver, after a short intercourse with Europeans, throw off their barbarous habits, and, adopting the European dress, seem desirous of conforming with all the customs of civilised life, which come within the reach of their pecuniary ability. Those of them who have resided for some years among Europeans, and who are in a manner weaned from the habits of their native country, (habits which after leaving off they invariably despise,) are particularly docile and in general much attached to their employers."

Again, at p. 339:—"As I left Talaba on the third day after the children had been inoculated, I am uncertain whether the pustules, which were in several instances beginning to form, wore a healthy appearance or not; but it is in itself an interesting fact that a nation so far in the interior of Africa, should have so readily submitted, at the instigation of a White man, who was almost a stranger to them, to an operation against which so much prejudice existed for so many years in the most enlightened and civilized countries in Europe! When the general prevalence of superstitious fear from greegrees and fetishes is duly considered, this fact presents a strong proof of the confidence which the natives of western Africa repose in the measures of White people to benefit them, and affords a no less strong presumption, that their other superstitious notions might soon be found to give way, in like manner, to the labours of the Missionary; and their present barbarous habits of obtaining slaves for trade, by force of arms, to the more rational proceeding of cultivating the soil for articles of commercial exchange."

The influence of the colony, combined with occasional visits from his Majesty's cruisers, has nearly effected a total abolition of the slave trade, from the Rio Nunez to the

Shebar inclusive, and substituted in its place a legitimate commerce, and has induced not only European and American slave-dealers, but native chiefs, to turn their slaves into a sort of *adscripti glebæ*, and to look for benefit to the fruits of their labour, instead of to the sale of their persons; a system which, from the nature of African slavery, must soon bring them into the condition of freemen. The natives of the Nunez and Pongas have, through the influence and assistance of Sierra Leone, established plantations, and begun to trade in the innocent productions of the country. Headmen from the Soosoo and other countries bring their people over to the river Sierra Leone, to work in the woods: and I have heard many of them calculate the advantages of their labour over the price of their persons.

The altered appearance of the natives round the colony, in dress and manner, must convince every spectator of their improvement; and it is well known, that their bloody and superstitious rites and ceremonies are fast retreating from the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone. Well acquainted as I am with what passes in the country, I have not heard of a single instance of the ordeal of "red water" proving fatal for many years. Of our influence with the native chiefs instances are abundant. Yaradee, a barbarous chief, at the head of a considerable army, spared the life of Sanassee, his enemy, at the request of the Governor of Sierra Leone, with whom he had had no previous communication. The powerful King of the Foulahs is in close connexion with the colony, and has opened the roads between it and the interior. The King of Bambarra has sent messengers to the Governor. Chiefs from Kenghary, Bouree, and Balia have come to Sierra Leone to form commercial connexions with it. The Soombra Soosoos transferred the Isles de Loss to the colony at a time when the Americans were in treaty for it. In the face of Sir Charles MacCarthy's defeat and death, the hostile tribes of the Scarcoies submitted their disputes to us, and the North Bulloms ceded the territories from which the teake is chiefly procured. In their distress, the Sherbro Bulloms threw themselves upon the protection of the colony; and their

enemies, the Cussos, sent messengers to sue for peace. The natives of Port Logo, when, about two years ago, their chief died, voluntarily requested to be admitted under the jurisdiction of the colony; and, so far from any unfriendly feeling existing after General Turner's death, the Soosoos and Mandingos referred their long and bloody disputes to the decision of the colonial government, the King even offering to resign his turban, if required; and they transferred the jurisdiction of their waters, with such land as might be requisite, for the purpose of preventing any export of slaves. The King of Barra, also, after positively refusing to the Governor of Senegal, in person, to rent to the French, at Albreda, as much land as would form gardens, voluntarily transferred to the colonial government, on behalf of his Majesty, the whole jurisdiction of the river Gambia, and one mile inland of its northern bank in the kingdom of Barra; and did, in person, assist at the commencement of a British fort, on the point which commands the entrance of the river. Most of these facts have, I believe, been officially communicated to Earl Bathurst; and the conventions and agreements have been forwarded to him. Of the less formal facts, it might, perhaps, be requisite to adduce proof, if their universal publicity and notoriety amongst those acquainted with the colony were not sufficient. That General Turner bore testimony to their truth, Mr. Macqueen allows. Those who were acquainted with that lamented officer will know what value to attach to Mr. Macqueen's representation—that what he gave as his deliberate belief, formed from a twelvemonths' experience, was a dream or a delusion. The British Commissioners, in their communications, are full and explicit on this subject. They are men of respectability, and who have long resided on the coast; and they must have known the truth. Does Mr. Macqueen mean to assert that they have wilfully deceived his Majesty's Government, and that his mere assertion is to be believed in preference to their official report?

The relative healthiness and importance of Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, have been long ago decided. The Ashantee war is well known to be a bequest of the old

African Company to their successors. With that war, neither Sierra Leone nor the government of Sierra Leone (with the exception of Sir C. MacCarthy, individually,) had any thing to do.

The greatest obstacle ever thrown in the way of the growing prosperity of Sierra Leone, has been the annexation of the Gold-Coast forts. One-half of the time and exertions of the Sierra-Leone Government has thus been abstracted from their proper sphere of action, the colony of Sierra Leone, without the compensatory addition of one officer to the establishment; for I cannot consider in that light the nomination of a number of honorary members of council, to an extent which has served only to clog the operations of government. The pressing exigencies of the Gold-Coast forts have, of late, unavoidably caused the affairs of Sierra Leone to be much neglected by its own government. They have, in fact, been as a millstone round its neck, cramping and weighing it down in every direction; and yet Sierra Leone is to be made accountable for the expense these useless forts have caused, and for the mortality they have occasioned. Wherever the blame may rest, this is certain, that, had the representations of the Sierra-Leone authorities been listened to, the government of the two places would not have remained united.

The question, however, is not in what estimation the British settlements, in general, may be held by the natives, but in what estimation is Sierra Leone held by them? What good has it done to them, and what influence does it possess among them? In reply, I affirm, that in these respects it stands as high as it is possible for any place to stand. I defy Mr. Macqueen to prove, not any one injurious act towards the natives, on the part of Sierra Leone; but that even the suspicion of one such act—of one act derogatory to the British character—of one act of ill faith or injustice—has ever been entertained by any native power.

Let us see what his Majesty's Commissioners say as to the good done by Sierra Leone, even in the old haunts of the Slave Trade. I cannot quote all they say, but must confine

myself to a few passages, first, of the Parl. Pap. of 1823, 1824, class B.

"The trade of the Rio Nunez," they say, "is considered of great importance. The returns to be obtained from it in hides, ivory, wax, and other articles of African produce, render it next to the Gambia in the means and opportunities of beneficial commerce. Unless so far as the pursuit of the slave trade will lead the traders, in particular instances, to Bissao and Cacheo, the general advantages of a superior market for the disposal of their own articles, and for the purchase of European commodities, will induce them to resort in preference to the British settlements at the Isles de Loss, or to this colony. We have much satisfaction in being enabled to state, upon the authority of information constantly received, from sources on the authenticity of which the fullest reliance may be placed, that no slave trade has existed in the Rio Pongas since the date of our last report." p. 2.

"Since the return of Lawrence from Freetown, in October, 1822, he has sent for further supplies of coffee plants, for the use of the principal persons settled on the banks of the Rio Pongas. These plants were forwarded to him in abundance, through Mr. Kenneth Macaulay, from the farm of the Chief Justice, near Freetown. A part of the plants sent at this time, was employed in forming a spacious plantation on the lands of S. E. Lightburn, of whom particular mention is made in our last Report. This plantation was laid out under the direction of a Frenchman, formerly a planter in St. Domingo, who was specially engaged by Mr. Lightburn to come from America for the purpose. We learn by the latest accounts that this plantation comes on well.

"The others, and among them that of Lawrence, have suffered by the influence of the dry season upon the young plants." p. 3.

"The multitude of labourers and assistants required in the preparation and carriage of this timber, in the various works of felling, squaring, hawling, floating, and shipping, left not an idle arm in the adjacent country.

"The women and young persons were employed in minis-

tering to the men : the payments made for these services, and for the timber itself, in British goods of the descriptions most sought by Africans, diffused wealth and joy throughout the country." p. 8.

" On the contrary, it is a fact well ascertained, that the character and objects of the colony, the authority of its government, and, above all, the immediate and beneficial influence of its legitimate commerce, operating in declared and direct hostility to that trade, have generally diminished the previous devotion to it, however strongly fixed by the depraved habits of accumulated ages.

" It may be regarded as certain, that it is only in times of particular and pressing distress, that slaves will be sold from these districts, and every year of favourable time will leave less reason to apprehend the danger in future." p. 8.

" This legitimate commerce, introduced on the adjacent coast by the settlement at Mesurado, will, we fairly hope, be speedily attended with the same auspicious results, which have marked the progress of the commerce of similar character established at Sierra Leone, and at the other British settlements on the coast." p. 10.

Then, in the Parl. Papers for 1824-25, class A., they observe :

" In the Rio Nunez there has not been any slave-ship for a considerable time past. Formerly the river was frequented with slave-ships, from the Havannah and other places. The natives of the river are now beginning to turn their exclusive attention to another and better sort of commerce than that of slaves, so as to make it worth the while of respectable mercantile people at Sierra Leone and at the Isles de Loss to enter into dealings with them." p. 4.

" A coffee plantation is proposed to be established in the Rio Nunez, by one of the White traders of the river." p. 5.

" We understand that most of the old slave-traders of the Rio Pongas are employed in the collection of the produce of the surrounding country, to dispose of it to the British traders of the Isles de Loss, or to those of this colony."

" In the last report of the Commissioners, it was stated



that John Ormond was unwilling to relinquish the hope of being again enabled to carry on the traffic in slaves. He, however, has been obliged to follow the example of the other traders in the river, and to turn his attention to a better traffic." p. 6.

"Along the coast, from the Rio Pongas to Sierra Leone, the foreign slave-trade has ceased. The natives of this coast are in constant intercourse with the colony of Sierra Leone. This intercourse is highly beneficial to the natives and to the colony." p. 8.

"Disturbances have lately existed in the tract of country of which we have just made mention. These disturbances were caused chiefly by the jealousies of chiefs of different districts; they have been in some measure removed by the friendly interference of the colonial government between the contending parties." p. 6.

"The Foulah traders, who were brought to Sierra Leone by Mr. O'Bierne, spread, it is understood, on their return to Foutah Jallow, the most favourable reports of Sierra Leone, its inhabitants, and its wealth."

"These reports were circulated in Foutah Jallow and in the surrounding countries, and contributed, with the favourable impressions of Sierra Leone which the King had received from the mission under Mr. O'Bierne, to the great influx of traders into the colony within this last year."

"At the close of the past year a messenger arrived at Sierra Leone from the King of Foutah Jallow, bringing a letter from the King to the Governor of Sierra Leone, expressive of the King's friendly regard for the colony, and of his wish that the Governor would send to him some munitions and other articles. A friendly answer was returned to this letter by the colonial government, and a present conformable to his wish was sent to the King." p. 7.

"The natives generally unite in parties to fell the timber, to prepare it, and to raft it down, for sale, to the different establishments. Sometimes a dozen natives will unite themselves for these purposes. At other times, a chief or headman will direct as many dependants, and domestic slaves as

he may have, to fell timber. Of the timber felled in this manner a part is reserved for the dependants and slaves, and sold for their benefit; the most considerable part, of course, is reserved for the chief. Single families residing near the water side will employ themselves in felling timber. Often natives who reside at some distance from the river come to the river side, obtain permission of its chief, for which permission they pay a trifling sum, and engage in large parties in the business of cutting timber." p. 8.

"When timber is in demand, many villages are to be seen on the main stream of Port-Logo river; and it is said that many of the creeks which but for the trade would be left to their native solitude, have habitations of industrious wood-cutters scattered on their banks." p. 8.

"The Rio Nunez, which we shall next consider, runs through a valuable country; and approaches Footah Jallow. During the legitimate slave-trade this was the great outlet of Foulah commerce through Labi, the northern capital of that kingdom; and if now well supplied with merchandise would, we understand, take away the whole produce trade of Bissao. It furnishes rice, gold, wax, hides, and ivory. Some of the merchants of this colony and the Isles de Loss have factories on its banks; and there is also a number of resident traders. It is always difficult to ascertain the amount of produce exported from the rivers upon this coast, out of British jurisdiction; but, from the best information, we have reason to believe that 30,000 hides, 100 tons of rice, 20 tons of bees' wax, 10 tons of ivory, and at least 3000*l.* worth of gold, have been procured in the Rio Nunez in the last twelve months; besides cattle, which may be purchased to any extent, and of which a considerable number have been exported in the last year into the West Indies. A slave vessel entered this river last November: the residents, however, refused to load her; and she was eventually supplied by a Portuguese, from Bissao." p. 7.

"Previous to the arrival of these vessels, the residents of that river (Rio Pongas), most of whom are Mulattoes, and possessed of a great number of domestic slaves, had been

turning their attention to agriculture; and in furtherance of it, procured some thousands of coffee plants from this colony. Since the last report of the Commissioners, a gentleman residing here, of himself, forwarded 10,000; and from a letter found on board the Spanish schooner, *Esparillo*, lately condemned by the British and Spanish Mixed Commission, we find that two of the most opulent White-traders in that river were employing themselves in legitimate trade and agriculture; and from other sources we have reason to believe such is the case. A civil war, which is however still carrying on, has tended much to disturb the innocent commerce of the Rio Pongas; and we fear is not likely to be amicably settled at present, the parties being very much exasperated against each other. Ormond, a native trader, assisted by the Foulahs, is opposed to Lawrence, Tom Curtis (who murdered the boat's-crew of his Majesty's gun brig *Thistle*), and some native chiefs. The Foulah in command has orders (as he says), from his chief, to get the heads of Lawrence, Curtis, and Yenge Coney, the chief native. This man has also told to respectable persons of this colony, that he is authorised, and anxious to give us the possession of the river which the Americans, settled there, are very desirous to obtain, in order to form an establishment under the protection of their nation.

"The value of the trade to them is most important, and the intercourse constant and regular with the United States,

"This nation has increased its commerce with the Rio Pongas in the last year, two fold." p. 7.

Such is the present condition of places where, a few years ago, the slave trade, with all its horrors, raged in full vigour. Whatever improvement has taken place, is the fruit of Sierra-Leone example and influence, and to estimate that improvement properly, let us examine the condition of places where that example and that influence have not extended, as shewn by the same Commissioners in their official reports. (See the Parliamentary Papers of 1823-1824, class B.)

"The condition of slaves in the country and round the Gallinas is extremely abject. They are kept almost naked;

they are not allowed to join in the sports or in the society of the free people; and if occasionally they should be admitted to any familiarity, by particular indulgence, they are subject to be deprived of it at the caprice of a moment, with insulting taunts upon their abject condition, to which cuffs and kicks, and other acts of the most degrading violence, are generally added. If they are fit for sale, they may be sold on the most trifling provocation, and almost at the pleasure of their masters.

"In this, their condition is much worse than that of the people or domestic slaves of the chiefs of the Rio Pongas; for there, by the customary law of the country, the family slaves, or 'the people,' of a chief, as they are commonly called, cannot be sold, unless when condemned by regular palaver. The chief is bound, moreover, to protect them, and to maintain them properly, taking their labour and service in return; and if he should fail in these duties, the slaves are at liberty to place themselves under the protection of any other chiefs whom they may choose. The chief to whom they thus transfer themselves is bound to receive them, and to hold them unharmed, unless the master should prove the complaint to be unfounded, and thus entitle himself to regain possession of them." p. 20.

"The situation of the slave women at the Gallinas, is the most pitiable that can be imagined. They are alternately subject to the most toilsome labours, and to the lusts of their owners; and if by any lapse of natural affection, they happen to have children by other men, they are liable to be separated from their infants at any moment that the interest or the will of the master may doom them to sale. The child is taken from the arms and from the breast of the mother; and neither the complaints and lamentation of the parents, nor the piercing cries of the babe can excite a feeling of remorse in the obdurate heart of the barbarous despot, or of the inhuman traffickers.

"A very common mode of obtaining an extraordinary supply of slaves upon urgent occasions—such as the obligation to complete the delivery of a cargo of slaves, by a particular day—is by the collusion of the principal chiefs and dealers

with their wives. These wives are generally beyond number: the husbands have long ceased to cohabit with the greater part of them. Some they have merely betrothed to them, and have not yet commenced cohabitation with them. The women, thus separated from their husbands, are allowed to go abroad without restraint, and to form intrigues with men, whom, when they entangle, they betray.

“ These men, according to the custom of the country, forfeit ten slaves for the violation of the conjugal rights of the husband. Two of these slaves are for the cost of settling the palaver, by the judgment of the chiefs and elders; the remaining eight are for the compensation of the injury done. The woman is, by law, liable to punishment, if the husband chooses to make palaver for her; but in cases of this nature, they receive presents of cloth, and ornaments, and other marks of favour, instead of being prosecuted and punished for their criminal conduct. All these things are public, and undisguised. So little shame is there attendant upon the moral depravity of the collusive prostitution, or upon the abuse of the forms of justice to render that prostitution a source of base lucre to the parties conspiring, and an instrument of oppression to the victims of the conspiracy! Rum, the incentive of all corruption and depravity, is in unlimited circulation, in order to promote acts of this description, while the slave ships are present.” p. 20.

Having endeavoured to shew, and I trust successfully, that the charges brought against the colony by Mr. Macqueen are not supported by proof, and that he has not invalidated the previous accounts of its improvement given by others, I will proceed to notice one or two particulars, in the past management of the place, which I think have proved injurious to it. I will then make a few remarks on its present state, and future prospects, and on the advantages or disadvantages likely to arise either from extending to it the fostering care of the Government, on a more regular and systematic plan than heretofore, or from abandoning it altogether and seeking some new spot on which to place the liberated Africans, and to carry on the experiment of Negro civilization.

One great defect in the management of Sierra Leone, and which has considerably retarded its progress, has been the want of any thing like system, or preconceived plan in the administration of its government. It was originally intended as an experiment on the practicability of civilising the Negro race, and substituting a commerce in the natural productions of the soil, for that in the bodies of its inhabitants; and it was subsequently fixed upon, as the spot in which the liberated Africans were to be planted, and rendered an industrious, civilized, and Christian people, profitable to Great Britain, and beneficial to Africa. But, instead of fairly estimating the difficulties of such an experiment, and preparing the means of obviating those difficulties, by laying down, after mature deliberation, the principles which were to form the basis of the undertaking, as well as the general outline of the measures which were to be pursued, the whole of its administration, with the exception of its judicial system, was left to the chapter of accidents. No instructions were sent from hence: every governor was left to follow the suggestions of his own mind, both as regarded the disposal and treatment of the liberated Africans, and the general interests of the colony. The proceedings of each succeeding governor, however discordant from those who preceded him, appeared to meet with the same degree of approbation at home; and of the varying plans, hitherto pursued, no one has specifically received the sanction of his Majesty's Ministers, as that which was to be continued until its result should be ascertained. Each succeeding governor has felt himself, therefore, at perfect liberty to alter the arrangements of his predecessor as he pleased, even before he could have become fully acquainted with all the bearings of the questions at issue; and the latitude thus allowed has been freely used. No two succeeding governors have followed the same plan.

Another great defect has been, the insufficiency of the civil establishment for the duties to be performed. The civil establishment of the colony is not so great now as it was in 1809, when the population was only about two thousand. Since that time many thousand Negroes have been landed there:

the forts on the Gold Coast have been placed under its jurisdiction; the Gambia, and other dependencies, have been annexed to it; yet, not one additional officer (if we except three or four clerks in the Liberated-African department), has been added to the civil establishment. The fact is, that neither the general government nor the Liberated-African department have had officers adequate to perform the mere writing part of their duty, in a proper and efficient manner. Had not the colony been blessed with a few men of indefatigable energy, and iron constitutions, every thing must have gone into confusion. It is true that a general officer has his staff, which may or may not be efficient, and he can command other military assistance in his own line; but he cannot oblige, nor even require them to perform, colonial duties without remuneration; and, on many occasions, even this military assistance was not to be had. Such was often the case with Sir Charles MacCarthy, and also with Governor Turner, before his death; and such must it ever be when the government happens to devolve upon a civilian. With the aid of a private secretary, the colonial secretary, two writers, (one of whom, during the absence of the secretary, performs his duty,) and four acting writers, formed the whole establishment, for conducting the government of the colony, during a considerable part of the year 1826. With these inadequate means was the whole of the correspondence with his Majesty's Government at home; and the whole of the correspondence with, as well as the management of, the Gold Coast and the Gambia, to be kept up, independently of the controul of the various departments of the civil and military service, and the maintenance of our relations with the native powers around us. It is perfectly obvious that under such a pressure as this, little time could be spared for the multifarious duties which belong to a governor, in regard, either to the internal progress of the colony, or its external relations; to agricultural and other improvements; and to the increase of commerce.

Equally inadequate has been the establishment for the superintendence of the liberated Africans. The persons employed in this department have seldom been sufficient

to keep its multifarious accounts in order; and nothing but the unwearied exertions and uniform good health of the chief superintendant (Mr. Reffell), could have enabled him to devote any material share of attention to the concerns of the different villages. In each of these villages, even in the time of their greatest prosperity, there was seldom more than one person who had to perform the various duties of superintendant, magistrate, commissary of provisions, schoolmaster, and minister,—with the assistance perhaps of his wife, and of one or two liberated African teachers.

In the year 1826, there were sixteen villages\*, besides great numbers of liberated Africans living in different hamlets; and yet, for performing the necessary duties of general superintendence; that is to say, receiving and providing for the newly imported Africans; providing, receiving, and taking care of the extensive stores of articles required for their use; supplying provisions and stores to the persons in charge of the villages; auditing and examining all the accounts from these villages; keeping and rendering the various returns, descriptions, receipts, cash, and store vouchers, and accounts connected with the department; together with a constant attention to the variety of details necessarily arising out of the general superintendence of so many settlements; the following were the only instruments, viz.: Mr. Reffell, the chief superintendant; Mr. Cole, his assistant; together with three European and two native clerks.

For the particular administration of these sixteen villages, composed at best of a half civilized, and, in many cases, a perfectly barbarous population, newly landed, many of them, out of the holds of slave-ships, in a state of extreme wretchedness and degradation; the whole establishment of persons who held the various offices of civil superintendants of villages, magistrates, ministers, religious and elementary instructors, was two European and two Coloured superintendants, one

\* Glonster, Regent, Leicester, Bathurst, Leopold, Charlotte, Hastings, Waterloo, Wellington, Kisey, Wilberforce, Kent, York, Bananas, Congo Town, Portuguese Town.



Coloured schoolmaster, and two Coloured schoolmistresses paid by the Government; and four European clergymen, one European schoolmaster, three Coloured schoolmistresses, and six liberated African teachers, paid by the Church Missionary Society; making, in all, four superintendants, four clergymen, two schoolmasters, five schoolmistresses, and six teachers.

It would be superfluous to make any further remarks, to prove the total inadequacy of such means for the real wants of a population so peculiarly constituted.

An arrangement was entered into between Earl Bathurst and the Church Missionary Society, which, if carried into effect, bade fair to provide a sufficiency of superintendants and instructors for the liberated Africans; but I regret to say, that this arrangement has not as yet been acted upon, except in a very limited measure.

And not only has the number of officers been small, but the salaries granted to them so inadequate, that it became necessary to join two situations together, as an inducement for persons of the requisite ability to accept an appointment. When a vacant situation was to be filled, it became necessary to give it to a person holding already some other post, as, otherwise, no person could be induced to undertake the duty for so inadequate a salary. Thus it happened that the surveyor of crown lands was also the civil engineer; and that the office of chief superintendant of liberated Africans was united with that of the collector, or of the colonial secretary, &c.

That the system of locating the liberated Africans in villages where they should labour for their own benefit, and thus become free agents, dependent upon their own exertions for the comforts of life, and subject only to the general police and laws of the colony, was a preferable system to that of apprenticing them for any length of time, even had such a course been at all practicable in Sierra Leone, can, I think, admit of no doubt. I feel satisfied that their progress in civilization has been more rapid, and their actual improvement and prosperity greater than if they had been kept in that state of servitude and dependence, which, in the circum-

stances of the Africans, apprenticeship necessarily involves. With adults especially, this state, in its influence and effects, does not differ materially from that of slavery, and presents almost as few incentives to exertion; and when the best part of life has been spent in labouring for another, without fee or reward, in a state of considerable personal restraint, it is scarcely reasonable to expect that the individual, at the termination of his period of constrained service, should become ambitious, during the remainder of his life, of doing more than might be sufficient for procuring the mere necessities of food and clothing;—and this, more especially, when the sole employment of his years of apprenticeship has been that of mere servile labour. It was a fortunate circumstance in the case of those apprenticed at Sierra Leone, that their number was so small, that nearly the whole of them were trained as mechanics, a circumstance which gave them a great superiority to mere labourers: and the short term of their apprenticeship, in the case of adults never exceeding three years, prevented much of the evil effects which would have attended a more protracted term of servitude. Situated, however, as Sierra Leone is, I do not think that even this modified system of apprenticeship could have been advantageously carried into any much more extensive practice.

But there have been unfortunately some material defects and errors in carrying the system of location into effect. The villages were formed in the mountains, instead of the plains. The liberated Negroes had the formidable obstacles of immense forest-trees, and piles of granite to contend with; and when the land was cleared, the heavy rains washed from the sides of the hills the superficial mould, and gave to the surface the appearance of gravel. Had the locations been made in the plains, although the large timber, which, however, was not so general as in the mountains, would certainly have still presented some difficulty; yet the land when cleared would all have been comparatively good and productive; and the rains would only have had a fertilizing and not an impoverishing effect on the soil; whilst the cultivators would have enjoyed the benefit of water-carriage, and all the other ad-

vantages which are to be derived from the vicinity of the sea:—It must also be admitted that the people were allowed rations far too long, and were kept too much about the villages, for the sake of instruction; while the requisite attention was not paid to the promotion of agriculture, and of the arts connected with it. I am aware, indeed, that it was highly expedient to make great exertions to form a nucleus of civilization and morality in the first instance, around which the newly imported Africans should be placed; and, it cannot be denied, that the facility with which these now intermix and amalgamate with their more advanced brethren, and are melted as it were into the general mass of orderly subjects, would have been far less than it now is, if they had been at first wholly confined to the labours of agriculture, to the comparative neglect of moral and religious instruction. Still I think that the system in question may have been continued too long after the quantity of improvement and civilization in the colony was quite sufficient to counteract and absorb, as it were, the fresh importations of ignorance and degradation which were occurring from time to time.—It was also a defect, perhaps unavoidable, that persons capable of instructing them in the details of tropical agriculture, of that species at least which related to exportable produce, were not employed for that purpose.

Another, and that one of the most material errors on the part of the local government, was, that lands have never (except in a few instances by Governor Maxwell) been allotted to the liberated Africans. They have undoubtedly been at liberty to cultivate unoccupied land where they pleased: but no title has ever been given them to the land so cultivated; and I have known instances where individuals, after having cultivated a portion of land, have been deprived of it. The African has, by his experience of European oppression and cruelty, been rendered suspicious; and it is not to be expected that he will expend much of either labour or capital upon land of which his tenure is insecure, and of the improvement of which neither he nor his children are certain to reap the advantage. But we have numerous instances of liberated

Africans having made regular purchases of land, in which their tenure being secure, they have freely expended both labour and capital.

Another evil of easy removal, but which materially affects both the improvement and the health of the colony, has been allowed to continue unredressed for many years. The original settlers, both Nova Scotians and Maroons, had lands granted them adjoining to Freetown. Various circumstances have led the grantees to employ themselves either as traders or mechanics; and the land so granted to them they have neglected to cultivate, and yet refuse to sell. The consequence is, that near to Freetown stands a belt of thick forest of considerable depth, breeding miasma and fever; and that the cultivation which actually exists lies principally on the other side of this belt, at least at a distance from, and out of sight of, Freetown, while its immediate vicinity wears an aspect of desolation. Orders from the Government at home are required to supply a complete remedy for this evil, by means of a local act.

Both the commerce of the colony and its intercourse with the interior have been objects too little attended to by the colonial government. Up to the year 1822 indeed they were almost totally neglected, and till the arrival of General Turner were looked upon as almost beneath the notice of the local authorities. Since 1822 an increased attention has been paid to the intercourse with the interior nations, and to the opening of good roads for carrying on that intercourse. But, after all, what has been done has been chiefly through private exertion and influence, and by private means. Neither have the government at home given to this object that protection and encouragement which I humbly think it deserves. The Commissioners of the Navy have only taken an annual supply of about 3,000 loads of its excellent teake, whilst they have been paying a larger price for quantities of inferior timber, from foreign states; and its produce (*coffee*, &c.) is made to pay heavier duties than that of our slave colonies.

Let us now consider the present state of the colony.

It contains about twenty thousand free Negroes, who have been collected on that spot from various parts of the world;

some from North America, some from the mountains of Jamaica, and others from the immediately adjoining nations of Africa ; but the great majority of them consists of those who have been rescued from the holds of slave vessels, and landed on its shores in the lowest state of misery, debility, and degradation. These liberated captives have attained to various degrees, according to the length of their residence and other circumstances, of moral improvement, civilization, and prosperity. They are all living under the protection of British law, which they enjoy as fully as any other class of the inhabitants, being equally subject to its penalties, and equally bound to fulfil its obligations. Nearly the whole police of the colony is administered by them ; and in no part of the world is justice more freely and equitably dispensed, or its decisions more promptly and willingly obeyed. And although the nature of the population might not seem to authorise such a conclusion, yet I can confidently appeal to the kalendars, and police records, as a proof that, in regard to the infrequency of crime, it may bear a favourable comparison with most parts of his Majesty's dominions.

A large portion of the colony are enjoying, and all have access to, the means of moral and religious instruction. Upwards of one fourth are regular attendants on the public ordinances of religion. They have built for themselves various and expensive places of worship ; some of them are employed in ministering to the spiritual necessities of their brethren ; and a more orderly, decent, and well conducted people, considering their circumstances, is no where to be found.

That agriculture has not been sufficiently attended to, and that all the industry they are capable of has not been exerted, is true ; but it is not true, that they will not work, and work diligently, for wages : nor is it true that their wants and desires are bounded by a bare subsistence, by food and clothing. They were all landed in the colony, without a single article of any description in the shape of property, almost naked as they were born. Their hands were their only capital, and many of them scarcely knew the use of these. Whatever property they now possess, their money, their

shops, their vessels, their houses, their furniture, are all the fruits of their own industry. The population of the colony has been, and still is, but small, whilst the demand for labour, both for public and for private purposes, and for the commerce of the colony, has been great. The inhabitants, as free agents, have naturally employed themselves in that way which paid them best; and if they have, by collecting, instead of growing, the produce of Africa, enriched themselves, and increased the trade of the colony to its present extent, who can have any right to find fault with them for so doing? The population is now, at length, growing larger than the mechanical or commercial wants of the colony, can supply with labour, and the surplus must of course, resort to agriculture. If capitalists would invest money in cultivating the soil, the people would work for hire: if not, they will be induced, I doubt not, to cultivate it on their own account.

Several of the Black and Coloured colonists are persons both of property and respectability, and are admitted to the tables of the principal Europeans. Some of them have served with great credit to themselves, and benefit to the colony, the offices of Alderman, Mayor, Coroner, and Sheriff; and their mercantile transactions are of considerable magnitude. Numbers of them are possessed of excellent stone houses, well furnished. Their clothing is equal to persons of their rank in England, and their stile of living is respectable. Their families are brought up in a decent, moral manner; and some, not satisfied with the means of education afforded by the colony, have sent their children to England: witness, Messrs. Gabbidon, Wilson, Wise, Williams, &c.

The duties of Commissioners for the recovery of small debts, of grand and petty juries, of head and petty constables, and of the other offices of police, have been performed by the inhabitants generally, in a manner which has given satisfaction to every magistrate. The general respectability of their houses, of their appearance, and of their conduct, is universally allowed.

They have built, for their own use, several stone and other

decent places of worship; the expenses, and the ministry of which (except one Wesleyan Missionary), is provided for by themselves, and they are constant and regular attendants in them.

Mr. Macqueen indeed says, that all this is confined to the Maroons and Nova-Scotians, and that it was brought by them from America, and Jamaica,—these “brought with them, and have retained, though I can scarcely say improved, the civilization which they had learned from their acquaintance and connexion with civilized life in those quarters of the world alluded to.” I have no objection to examine this statement, and to stake the credit of Sierra Leone on the result of that examination.

The Maroons of Jamaica, and the Maroons of Sierra Leone, were, not many years ago, the same people, living in the same mountains. The Maroons of Jamaica have remained there still: their pursuits have been uninterrupted; their property untouched; and they have had the advantage of the fostering care of the government and the legislature of Jamaica.

The Maroons of Sierra Leone were deprived, by that government and that legislature, of their homes, of their all, and transplanted to the inhospitable climate of Nova Scotia: After much severe suffering they were removed thence to Sierra Leone, where they were landed, in the year 1801, without any property whatever, but the clothes on their backs and the muskets in their hands; and the only advantage or opportunity of improvement these poor people have enjoyed has been from the “wretched mismanaged” system of this colony.

Which of these two divisions of Maroons ought to have improved most, Mr. Macqueen can easily tell. Which *has* improved most, it will not be difficult to discover. The Sierra-Leone Maroons have renounced polygamy; they have become an educated, moral, and religious people; they have built places of worship, and defray the expenses attending them. Many have, by their industry, provided themselves with good houses, and they live in them as civilized Englishmen, eating their luxuries and drinking their wine. Many of them have acquired considerable property, are engaged

daily in the occupations and transactions of social and commercial life, on a large scale; are fulfilling their duties as members of the community in various offices, from the lowest to the highest, except in the council; and, not satisfied with the education they have themselves acquired, or with the means afforded by the colony, are, in some instances, sending their children, at their own expense, to England for a superior education.—Have the Jamaica Maroons reached one step in this scale of improvement? Have they renounced polygamy? Have they built places of worship? Are they educated or religious? Do their houses or luxuries exceed, to any extent, the mere necessities of nature? Have they any thing that can be called considerable property? Do their frequent transactions extend to hundreds of pounds? Do they perform, or are they fit to perform, the duties of jurymen, constable, alderman, coroner, sheriff? Or do any of them send their children to England, at their own expense, for education? To all these questions I can answer, no; and I challenge Mr. Macqueen to bring any proof to the contrary.

If this be so—if the Sierra-Leone Maroons, with the disadvantages of being transported across the ocean twice, are, at the present time, so superior to their brethren in Jamaica, I cannot but think well of the system which has made them so. I cannot but think that the colony has fulfilled all reasonable expectations. I cannot but think that it is well adapted for the improvement of the African race.

It may be necessary to say a few words on the present state of the liberated Africans, as distinguished from the other classes of the community.

A considerable number of them can read, many can write, and several of them are employed as teachers and clerks. Some of them are possessed of good stone-houses in Freetown, and many have very excellent houses, partly of stone and partly of wood. They are rising fast in the scale of respectability. Some have served as jurymen; many are employed in the police of Freetown; and all the police of their own villages is administered by them. In the villages their houses are good and comfortable, though in few instances made of very durable materials; and they are all, more or



less, furnished. Nearly the whole live by their own industry: many of them, undoubtedly, are satisfied with the mere necessities of life; but the majority, especially the young, are not so: they endeavour to raise themselves in society, and to become possessed of the decencies and luxuries of life, and to amass property. The liberated Africans constitute a large proportion of the mechanics of the colony; a great number of them are engaged in retail trade, or in commerce with the natives; and many of them are constantly credited with hundreds of pounds, and their dealings appear fair, honourable, and profitable. A large portion of them are orderly and constant attendants on places of worship; some of which, of stone, have been in great part, if not entirely, built by them, and at their expense; and they are bringing up their families in a decent and Christian manner. They are in fact all that could have been expected, when their original condition, the short time they have been in the colony, and their opportunities, are considered.

That more money has been expended upon them than was necessary, and that the best use was not made of the liberal allowances of his Majesty's Government, is true. Still, allowing all this, I am positive that in no part of his Majesty's dominions could they have been supported for double the expense they have cost at Sierra Leone. The whole expense incurred in the year 1825, including superintendents' and teachers' salaries, expense of schools, medical attendance, food, clothing, tools, land, extras for the sick, &c. &c., was 29,371*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*, or an annual expense of 1*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* for each liberated African in the colony. The food of a male liberated African, on full rations of the most expensive kind that is issued to them at Sierra Leone, is as follows:—

|                                                                  |                       |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 365 quarts, or 11 bushels 13 quarts, rice, at                    |                       |
| 3 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i> .....                                    | £2 2 9                |
| 23 quarts palm oil, at 1 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> per gallon ..... | 0 10 6½               |
| 2 quarts salt, at 2 <i>s.</i> per bushel .....                   | 0 0 1½                |
|                                                                  | <hr/>                 |
|                                                                  | Sterling .... £2 13 5 |

or 1¼*d.* per day for an adult male; whilst it appears, from the report of his Majesty's Commissioners, that at Antigua

(Parliamentary Paper No. 442, 1824), the mere food cost  $4\frac{1}{2}d.$  sterling, for each person, per day. This would give a difference of annual expense in the food alone consumed by the 4,273 supported by Government, in January 1825, of 17,830*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.*; and by the 2737, in January 1826, of 11,421*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.*, supposing the whole fed at Sierra Leone to have been *male adults*. But when it is considered that a large proportion were women and children, at inferior allowances, the advantage in its favour is much greater.

The expense of maintaining the Negroes under the civil government at Demerara appears, on an average of eight years, from 1815 to 1822 (see Parliamentary Paper No. 425 of 1824), to have been 4*d.* 9-10ths per day, which is greater than that of Antigua.

We have, in the same Parliamentary Paper, an account of the total expenditure at Trinidad for eight years, on account of Negroes belonging to the Government, under the various heads of "subsistence money," "salt fish," "clothing," "physician's salary and allowance for medicine," "hospital expenses," "salaries of overseers and guardians of sick," "extra allowances at Christmas," "rewards to children," "overseers, for their instruction," which gives an annual average charge for each Negro of 38*l.* 2*s.* 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* Trinidad currency, or at the exchange of 225 of 16*l.* 19*s.* 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* sterling. Let us compare this with Sierra Leone.

It appears, by the Parliamentary Paper 389, of 1826, that the total sum expended on liberated Africans, in the five preceding years, was ..... £159,107 12 11 $\frac{1}{4}$

To this may be added, the supplies sent from England, (although I doubt if they were shipped in each year), and which I will take at the estimate of 1825 (Parliamentary Paper No. 212), for five years, at 11,700*l.* 1*s.* per annum.....

|          |    |                  |
|----------|----|------------------|
| 58,500   | 5  | 0                |
| <hr/>    |    |                  |
| £217,607 | 17 | 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| <hr/>    |    |                  |

The number receiving provisions during this period appears, by the return 389, to have been 21,725, or 4,345 annually,

which would give an annual average expense of 10*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* sterling, for each person actually rationed. In addition, however to the expenses incurred for these, there is included in the above amount various large sums paid for the general superintendence, and for the government, teaching, and police of the thousands settled in the colony and supporting themselves;—for the forming of new villages, the making of new roads, the building of superintendents' houses, hospitals, schools, and churches, none of which appear to be included in the Trinidad expenditure. The expense alone of the Negroes receiving provisions would, at the rate paid in Trinidad, for five years, have been..... £368,258 19 7  
In Sierra Leone it has been only ..... 217,607 17 11

Difference ... £ 150,651 1 8

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being a saving, by having them at Sierra Leone, of above 30,000*l.* per annum, in addition to whatever part of the Sierra-Leone expenditure is fairly applicable, not to the care and subsistence of a portion merely of the liberated Africans, but to the general care of the whole, and to the other public purposes above-mentioned.

The difficulties which attend all new settlements in barbarous countries have been nearly surmounted in Sierra Leone. The land has been, in some measure, cleared. A port, with its wharfs and offices, has been formed. Towns have been built. The edifices necessary for public business and private accommodation have been erected; markets have been established; vessels from Europe and America resort to it as a mart; and natives, from the interior, find their way down for those articles formerly procured through the great desert. Its name and its fame are spread through Africa; the people, to a great extent of country round it, are satisfied of the justice and good faith and fair intentions of its government, and of the advantages to be derived from a communication with it. The slave trade has been repressed to a considerable distance, both north and south; and security, peace, and industry, substituted in its place. Within the colony itself is a free Black population, well-behaved and moral, fulfilling all the

duties of social and civilized life ; who have, by their industry, amassed considerable property ; amongst whom gradations of rank and respectability are established ; who, generally speaking, not satisfied with the station they hold, are aspiring to one higher ; and amongst whom the number of persons capable of more profitable pursuits than that of their own manual labour is increasing every day. Many of them are themselves partially educated ; and with almost all exists the desire that their children should be educated too, and in a still greater degree.

These people are now in a state of daily improvement ; and if the fostering care of the British Government is continued to them, there is no doubt but their progress will be rapid and satisfactory. They are not, however, so far advanced, nor are their habits so fixed, that they could, with safety, be left to themselves. If British protection and superintendence are withdrawn from them, there is a danger that they will retrograde towards barbarism ; and that all the care and expenditure which have been bestowed on them will be thus thrown away.

And then, as regards the nations in its vicinity ; if Sierra Leone is kept up on its present footing, its influence must daily extend, and the abandonment of the slave trade, which now exists, with a few exceptions, from the Gambia to Mesurada, become fixed and permanent. The chiefs and land-owners will turn their attention to commerce and agriculture : the slaves will become "*glebæ adscripti*," and industry, peace, and happiness will in time cover the whole country. But if the influence of Sierra Leone is withdrawn, the slave trader will step in ; these countries will again become the scene of rapine, injustice, and blood, and the wretched inhabitants be rendered more miserable than before. All they will then owe to Great Britain will be a capability of a more acute feeling of their sufferings, mixed with the pangs of disappointed hope. Yet it is proposed that this should be done, and that a settlement should be formed on the island of Fernando Po, there to renew the experiment which is said to have failed at Sierra Leone. It

is boldly stated, that that island possesses every advantage over the colony ; and that, therefore, the general Government and Mixed Commission Courts should be removed thither ; and, for the future, all slaves captured by our cruisers should be landed and settled there.

I confidently trust, that, when the matter is fully investigated, it will be seen that the experiment has not failed at Sierra Leone, but that as much improvement has taken place as could have been reasonably expected. Persons, however, may be inclined to believe that Fernando Po affords advantages for the future which would more than counterbalance those to be abandoned in the present forward state of Sierra Leone, including the established machinery, if I may use the word, of the Liberated-African Department in that colony. I will therefore take the liberty of examining some of the reasons brought forward for this very serious and very expensive undertaking.

If a mere change of the system on which the liberated Africans are to be managed is the object in view, that can be carried into effect with as much facility at Sierra Leone as at Fernando Po. Earl Bathurst has only to lay down some settled plan, and to give his orders that it be steadily pursued for the future.

The pretended unhealthiness of Sierra Leone is urged by many as a serious objection to it. Have we any proof that it is more unhealthy than other tropical countries ; or any reason to believe that Fernando Po is less so ? Upon this latter point we know little, and that little is against the supposition. The Spaniards who attempted to settle there in 1778 appear to have suffered most severely ; having nearly all died, although settled on the south side, and, consequently to *windward*, and not to *leeward*, as represented in the *Quarterly Review*. Islands are said to be more healthy than the continent ; but, even if true, Fernando Po has little of that advantage. It is situated at the bottom of the bight of Biafra, within a few miles of the continent, and near the mouth of several large rivers, daily pouring into the waters around it all the putrid vegetable matter which they bring

down from the interior. I have not visited it myself; but I have been informed by officers of the navy, that in the dry season the heat is excessive, and in the wet season the rains are more violent, heavy, and continued, than on the windward coast. And I know, from long experience, that nearly all the mortality of our squadron has taken place in the bights of Benin and Biafra; and that nearly all the officers who have fallen victims to the climate, have died to leeward of Cape Palmas. The rate of mortality in the squadron has been altogether very small; and though regularly made a subject of complaint or exultation by a certain class of writers, is nothing like that on the Jamaica station. But be the mortality what it may, very little has happened on the windward coast. Sir Robert Mends died to leeward, as did Captain Saumarez; Lieutenant Henderson, commander of the Snapper; Lieutenant Scott, commander of the Swinger; Lieutenant Clarkson, commander of the same vessel; whilst the only officer whom I at present remember to have died on the windward coast is Lieutenant Poingdestre, commander of the Swinger, at the Gambia.

Some officers, who have visited Fernando Po occasionally in the dry season, may speak well of it; but is that the case generally? On so important a point as this, all possible testimony should be collected before an opinion is decidedly formed. There are, at the present moment, in England, many officers who have commanded ships on that station: what say they? What is the opinion, on the comparative healthiness of Sierra Leone and the bights of Benin and Biafra, of Captains Willis, Clavering, Courtenay, Woolcombe, Filmore, &c.? I am much mistaken if their opinion does not prove as decisive in favour of the former as the actual records of death would do.

Another advantage to be gained by the removal of the government to Fernando Po is said to be, that by this means the slave trade at present carried on in the vicinity will be destroyed. Such an establishment would, most probably, drive the slave traders from that part of the coast, and so save it from their ravages. Such has been the case wherever

a British settlement has been formed. But if, for this purpose, you abandon those already established, you only drive the slave trader from his present haunts to those you are abandoning: you are in fact, with the view of securing the future safety of the people of the bights, delivering over to all the horrors of the trade those countries you have protected so long, and where the trade is already effectually abolished. For future hopes you are sacrificing all the fruits of your past exertions. Whether such a line of conduct would be a wise one, I much doubt; but if the policy be only to stop the trade, by forming fresh British posts in addition to those at present existing, I have no doubt but that, if they can be established, the plan will be successful.

It is said also, that Sierra Leone is not fertile. I deny the fact. I allow that her mountains are not so well adapted for cultivation as her plains: but are the mountains of Fernando Po more so? Round Sierra Leone are rich and fertile plains for hundreds of miles. There can be nothing of the kind, to any extent, at Fernando Po. Sierra Leone has always been productive in rice, yams, corn, cassada; whilst coffee and many other valuable plants are indigenous. We have never as yet ascertained that Fernando Po produces any thing but yams.

One of the points on which Mr. Macqueen harps is, that Sierra Leone is ill situated for trade or intercourse with the interior. But what does he mean by this? That Sierra Leone is very distant from some parts of Africa is true; and so must every settlement be. That it is more distant from the countries bordering on the bights of Benin and Biafra, and those lying behind them, than Fernando Po, is also true. But it does not follow that that circumstance is either an advantage or disadvantage. What reason have we to believe that these nations are superior to others situated nearer to Sierra Leone? Is the cultivation of the soil the object? I presume the west coast is as fertile as the south; and the nations already weaning from the slave trade, and looking to labour as their means of subsistence, are more likely to be productive growers than those still suffering all

the debasement of an active slave-trade. If the precious metals are the objects, there is no doubt but we are nearer to the countries abounding in gold than Fernando Po. All accounts from Ashantee and Sakatoo agree in stating, that the gold comes from the countries north-west of the former, and west of the latter country; and we have latterly ascertained that Kang Kang, Boove, &c. are so situated, and are not a month's journey from Sierra Leone. A barrier, created by the Slave Trade, long prevented any intercourse between the two places. This was partially removed in 1823; and though wars have existed among the intermediate tribes, yet the quantity brought down in 1826 is supposed to have exceeded 20,000*l*.

If the object is, that industry, knowledge, civilization, and true religion, are to spread from our settlements to the neighbouring tribes, and thence over the whole of this vast continent, Sierra Leone, or any point on the main land, must be preferable to an island. In the latter, all these invaluable blessings will be shut up—closed by an impenetrable barrier to the natives of the continent. Your colonists may visit them—they may form factories for trade in the native countries; but the natives will not visit you. From such men as may turn traders in the surrounding rivers the natives are not likely to derive much benefit; and however great may be your improvement in the moral, social, or religious virtues in your island, yet to the generality of the surrounding natives, your example will be a sealed book.

Fernando Po has certainly one advantage over Sierra Leone. Whilst the Slave Trade exists in the bights, the slaves captured can be more readily landed there, and considerable mortality saved. But drive the trade from the bights to the windward coast, and even this advantage is gone. If you succeed in your object of rescuing the surrounding rivers from this scourge, your vicinity to the scene of the trade no longer exists. But, even at present, do not, in looking at the saving of life in those unfortunate objects of your humanity, wholly overlook the equally im-



portant object, the health of your own officers and men. Highly important as is the former object, let it not be purchased at the sacrifice of the latter, who undoubtedly derive the utmost benefit from their visits to the windward coast.

There is one important advantage which Sierra Leone has over Fernando Po, or any new establishment; and that is, the existence of a civilized and orderly population, speaking the languages of nearly every nation in Africa; among whom, the newly landed would find themselves at home, and whose example must give great facility to the means employed for the improvement of their countrymen;—whilst at Fernando Po, the only example of Negro life which they could witness, would be that of a people, if possible, more barbarous than themselves.

But the question arises, Will the natives of Fernando Po quietly suffer you to settle on their island? Will they sell you their small and confined birth-rights? And this question must be looked at as an insulated question, not to be decided by any experience on the continent where land is in abundance. We find the natives did not receive the Spaniards kindly, nor are we told whether any of those colonists fell victims to their secret acts, or open force. What right have we to expect that they will receive us more kindly than they did the Spaniards. They appear to be wild and savage in the extreme: our only intercourse with them has been an exchange of iron hoops for yams. Nor has that intercourse always been peaceful. A conflict took place between them and the boats-crews of the *Owen Glendower*, in which several on both sides were wounded (including Captain Stokes), and, I have heard, some killed. Is it likely, then, that, if fully aware of our object, they would quietly allow us to take possession of their country? I think not; and I feel satisfied, that if either fraud or force must be employed for that purpose, the question is at rest.

Supposing, however, that we are able to take peaceful and fair possession of the island, have we fully calculated the cost and labour of an establishment upon it?

The land is to be cleared of its immense forests—neither an easy, nor healthy, nor cheap work, in a tropical country. What the sacrifice of European life may be, we know not; but let us take care, that even more Negro lives are not lost in that attempt, than would be lost in the voyage to Sierra Leone. A town is to be built; wharfs raised; public buildings of every description,—churches, hospitals, schools to be erected; roads to be made; villages to be formed; a Government, Judges, Courts, establishments civil and military, to be provided; and all on the mere probability that success may follow.

To obtain these objects, great exertions, severe sufferings and privations, heavy expenditure, and distressing mortality must be encountered, in comparison of which the future demands of Sierra Leone would be a mere trifle; whilst the relative benefits to be obtained from each, for years to come, must be much in favour of the latter place.

The “industry, knowledge, civilization, and true religion,” which have gained a footing there, are increasing, and must increase. And whatever benefits these will confer—whatever assistance these will afford towards the improvement of the untutored African, will be enjoyed by the liberated slave landed in that colony; whilst the same slave, if landed at Fernando Po, cannot, for some years, meet with any body of Negroes more civilized than himself. The work of amelioration must there be commenced anew, with men in the lowest state of debasement and ignorance.

Such, perhaps, may be the object of the enemies of Sierra Leone, and of the African race. It is, perhaps, not uncharitable to suppose that, in their eyes, the present state of improvement, and the future prospects of Sierra Leone, are its greatest crime. If these can be crushed and destroyed—if Great Britain can be persuaded to relinquish all the fruits of her exertions on that part of Africa, and commence the experiment of Negro civilization afresh in some other, the result of that experiment must, for years, be retarded; and, perhaps, there lurks the secret hope that the dangers, the difficulties, and the disappointments which necessarily attend

a new settlement, may weary out the patience of his Majesty's Government, and the work of African amelioration be given up in despair. But should they be disappointed—should the settlement, after years of exertions and dangers, overcome the obstacles in its way, and rear its head to be what Sierra Leone now is,—there will be no want of disinterested individuals to calumniate and abuse it; to proclaim its expense, its mismanagement, its failure, and its enormities; and to propose that it should be abandoned for some new experiment in the deserts of Sahaara, or the forests of Benguela.

## APPENDIX.

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THE following are farther testimonials in favour of the improved state of Sierra Leone and its various classes of inhabitants, in addition to those inserted in the body of the preceding remarks.

The Rev. S. J. Mills says, (see his report, previously referred to), Sierra Leone, Wednesday, 25th March, 1818, "In the market-place this morning, I saw beef, pork, lamb, fowls, fish, and a variety of fruits and vegetables."

Again he says, "The local situation of the colony is admirable for health and commerce. The sea breeze has free access, the mountains are high, and the river is navigable by the largest ships."

Again—"Free Town makes a very decent appearance; the streets are at right angles, wide and neat; fruit-trees grow about the town: the houses formerly built were small; but those now building are of stone, two stories high, airy, and convenient. The colony is advancing in wealth with sufficient rapidity. Trade has been chiefly pursued, but agriculture begins to have a share of attention."

Sir George Collier says, in his second annual report to the Admiralty, "I turn now to a more desirable subject, in speaking of the continued and increasing improvements of Free Town, which attracted my particular notice, and added to my respect for the governor, whose perseverance and indefatigable exertions, though almost unaided and unassisted in the great and laborious duties he has to perform, had effected more than I had thought possible. For it is not merely to the improvements of Free Town, nor to the comforts of the residents, that Governor MacCarthy's mind is given, but likewise to the general increase of the colony, by attending to the population from one extremity of this peninsula to the other, by protecting the untutored and ignorant African, and giving the most patient consideration to his most minute grievances and wants."

Again he says, "Stone and brick buildings are now succeeding the wooden houses and crazy huts, of which, in former days, Free Town was composed: and the improvement, by bridges of stone over the rough and craggy water courses which the torrents have formed, is very considerable.

"A reservoir is now forming for affording a more ready supply of water to men of war and shipping, without interrupting the demand for town. This, as in my former report, I observed, was much wanted: still, an additional conductor to this supply from the town must be prepared, if Free Town continues to increase as rapidly as it has done since I have had opportunities of making any observations upon it."

Again he says, "The incessant employment here given to mechanics, carpenters, and joiners, in particular, may be accounted for in the never-ending demand for houses, and the necessity of getting over certain parts of the work before the setting in of the periodical rains, so that the price of labour, which to mechanics is generally from three to four shillings a day, rises frequently to something most extraordinary."

Another Missionary from the American Colonization Society says (see Appendix to their Fourth Annual Report)—"I look at the prosperous condition of Free Town, and then cast my eyes at Kissay Town, at Leicoster Mountain, at Regent Town, at Cape Shilling. It causes my heart to pant for the day that America shall have a foot hold on the continent. This colony has had its great difficulties, but it now blooms. Our people's minds seem to be turning towards it, but they wish with all their hearts for the establishment of our colony; but doubts begin to arise in the minds of some, and I have but few comforters among them."

Sir C. MacCarthy, in a letter to Earl Bathurst, dated 14th January 1822, says,—"I have employed as great a proportion of my time as I could spare from my other duties in visiting the towns and villages on the peninsula, inhabited by liberated Negroes, and discharged soldiers from the second and fourth West-India regiments, and the Royal-African corps, and it affords me the highest gratification to say, that I have found these people happy, contented, and industrious, more particularly the former class (liberated Africans), who at different periods were landed here from

the holds of slave ships ; and, under the zealous care of the chief superintendant, Mr. Raffell, and of the superintendants I appointed from the Church Missionary Society, have, during my absence continued improving in religion, morals, and agriculture. These have a great advantage over the other establishments" (viz. the establishments of discharged soldiers): "they not only have been a longer period under the same system, but are inhabited by a more equal proportion of women, and consequently enjoy that first basis of all civilization, Christian marriage."

Captain Trenchard of the United States Navy, commanding the *Cyane*, says, in a letter dated April 10, 1820,—“During our stay at Sierra Leone, the European gentlemen who were residents at the place treated us with the utmost respect, striving who should be most forward in attention and hospitality. A party was formed by those gentlemen to shew our officers the interior settlements ; and, from their report on their return, I learned the extent of the colony, and the benevolent philanthropy of the British nation in alleviating the miseries of the oppressed and ignorant Africans. Not less than 6000 captured Africans have been landed at this settlement by the British ships of war. On their arrival, those of a proper age are named and sent to the adjacent villages. A house and lot is appointed to each family ; and they are supported one year by Government, at the expiration of which they are obliged to look out for themselves. The captured children are also sent to the villages, where they are kept at school till married, which is always at an early age. At the head of each village is a missionary, who receives an annual support from the Government, and who acts in the double capacity of minister and schoolmaster.”

Sir G. Collier again says, in his report, dated 27th December, 1821,—“In offering some remarks on the present condition of the settlements, I shall commence with Sierra Leone, considering that the most important under the immediate controul of his Majesty's Government upon the coast of Western Africa.

“The public buildings have not advanced so rapidly, I believe as had been expected ; but it is nevertheless gratifying to observe, that the roads in the neighbourhood of Free Town, and those on the mountains, have been much improved, and that the bridges have been constructed of more durable materials than heretofore.

Considerably more ground has been cleared in the environs of the mountains: numerous stone and brick houses are supplying the places of the former wooden habitations in Free Town: population increases; and British adventurers shew less dread of the climate and pestilential vapours from the surrounding creeks."

Again, Sir G. Collier says—"Upon the whole, Sierra Leone, may be said to be improving; and if the encouragement hitherto shewn shall be continued to the British merchant, no reason appears to me why this colony shall not, in the course of time, amply repay the anxiety and care, and the expense so liberally bestowed by the mother country.

"Every year some new prospect of improvement opens to the merchant. An intercourse with the interior of Africa now fairly promises ultimate success, and which must be productive of benefit to Great Britain; and it may be even expected, that some years hence, caravans shall resort to the neighbourhood of Port Logo (on a branch of the Sierra Leone), to convey articles of British manufacture into the very interior of the continent of Africa."

The Rev. W. Johnson, in a letter, dated 27th December 1821, says (speaking of Regent's Town), "The schools are in a promising state: 665 scholars attend day and evening schools: of this number about 500 attend regularly, the rest occasionally. Some adults have left school, being able to read the Bible tolerably well."

Captain H. Tanner (previously mentioned) says, in a letter dated 7th March 1822,—"I visited the colony of Sierra Leone in the year 1817. My stay among the recaptured Negroes in the mountains then was very short, but sufficient to ascertain they were involved in heathen darkness and barbarity.

"Having again visited them in December 1821, I am able in some measure to estimate the great change since the former period, both in a moral and religious point of view, through the exertions of your missionaries, and the blessing of Almighty God upon their labours, without which all would have been ineffectual.

"Regent's Town, under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Johnson, was then but thinly inhabited. I received the sacrament from his hands, with about twelve communicants, the first seals to his ministry. Very few attended Divine service.

"In contrasting its then condition with the present, I must

confess, a just description cannot be given without the appearance of exaggeration."

The following extract is from the *Sierra Leone Gazette* of February 10, 1823.—"It may be added as a fact, which will not be shamed on comparison with corresponding matters in many of the populous, wealthy, and respectable parishes in the United Kingdom, that the collection made at the late annual meeting of the Auxiliary Church Missionary Society at Kiskey, was little short of one hundred pounds, and that the further contributions in Free Town amounted to full forty pounds more; the distance of the place having prevented the contributors from being present at the meeting, which, notwithstanding was so numerous as to fill the spacious church of that place. A considerable number of the most respectable Europeans of both sexes attended."

William Singleton, the Quaker, says—"The population of Regent Town is about one thousand three hundred and fifty: of this number seven hundred are able to provide for themselves and families, by means of their farms. One man sold the produce of his little spot last year, for fifty pounds; and the quantity of cassada sold then was ten thousand bushels.

"A small market is held each day; but seventh day (Saturday) is the principal one. Five oxen are weekly consumed, besides pork.

"The people, with a few exceptions, are industrious, as may be seen by the improved houses they build for themselves; by their furniture, all of their own making; and by the neatness and cleanliness of their habitations. In several houses are sofas, covered with clean print, or the country cloth; tables and forms, or chairs; and, especially, I noticed in each house, a corner cupboard, with its appropriate crockery ware. The beds and sleeping rooms are remarkably neat and clean. A few of the inhabitants, more ingenious or richer than the rest, are building houses of board, with stores below and piazzas in front."

Lastly, Major Gray, who was long in Africa, says, in his work, p. 332,—"His Excellency Sir Charles MacCarthy who had just arrived from England, was then about visiting some of the



liberated Negro establishments in the country towns, accompanied by all the civil and military staff of the colony.

"I felt too much concern in the welfare of those truly interesting objects not to make one of the party; and therefore had an opportunity of witnessing the wonderful improvements that had taken place in every town since I had before seen them: indeed, some having all the appearance and regularity of the neatest village in England, with church, school, and commodious residences for the missionaries and teachers, had not, in 1817, been more than thought of.

"Descending some of the hills, I was surprised on perceiving neat and well laid out villages in places where, but four years before, nothing was to be seen except almost impenetrable thickets; but arriving in those villages, the beauty and interesting nature of such objects was much enhanced by the clean, orderly, and respectable appearance of the cottages and their inhabitants, particularly the young people and children, who, at all the towns, assembled to welcome with repeated cheers the return of their governor and daddy (father), as they invariably styled his excellency, who expressed himself highly pleased at their improvements during his absence; in which short period large pieces of ground had been cleared and cultivated in the vicinity of all the towns, and every production of the climate raised in sufficient abundance to supply the inhabitants and furnish the market at Free Town. His Excellency visited the schools at the different towns, and witnessed the improvements which all the students had made, but particularly those of the high school at Regent Town, whose progress in arithmetic, geography and history, evinced a capacity far superior to that which is in general attributed to the Negro, and proves, that they may be rendered useful members of society, particularly so in exploring the interior of the country, having previously received the education calculated to that peculiar service.

"From the change which has taken place in those villages since I saw them in 1817, I am satisfied that a little time is alone necessary to enable the colony of Sierra Leone to vie with many of the West-Indian Islands, in all the productions of tropical climates, but particularly in the article of coffee, which has been already raised there, and proved, by its being in demand in the English market, to be of as good, if not superior, quality to that

imported from our other colonies. That the soil on the mountains is well adapted to the growth of that valuable berry, has been too well proved by the flourishing state of some of the plantations in the immediate vicinity of Free Town, to need any comment of mine. Arrow root has also been cultivated with advantage, on some of the farms belonging to private individuals; and there can be no doubt of the capability of the soil to produce the sugar cane, as some is already grown there; but whether it is of as good a description as that of the West Indies, I cannot pretend to say, as the experiment had never been tried at Sierra Leone, at least to my knowledge. The cultivation of all these, with the cotton, indigo, and ginger, could here be carried on under advantages which our West-India Islands do not enjoy; namely, the labour of free people, who would relieve the mother country from the apprehensions which are at present entertained for the safety of property in some of those islands, by revolt and insurrection amongst the slaves, and from the deplorable consequences of such a state of civil confusion: those people would, by receiving the benefits arising from their industry, be excited to exertions that must prove beneficial to all concerned in the trade and conducive to the prosperity of the colony itself."



A  
SHORT REVIEW  
OF THE  
SLAVE TRADE  
AND SLAVERY,  
WITH  
CONSIDERATIONS ON THE BENEFIT  
WHICH WOULD ARISE FROM CULTIVATING  
TROPICAL PRODUCTIONS  
BY  
FREE LABOUR.

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BIRMINGHAM:  
BEILBY, KNOTT, AND BEILBY.

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1827.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THE following pages were compiled about the close of the year 1825. Since that period the State of Slavery in our Colonies has again been brought under discussion in Parliament; but nothing which has since occurred, either there or elsewhere, has tended in the smallest degree to weaken, in the minds of many Friends to the Abolition of Slavery, the settled conviction they before entertained of the paramount importance of that view of the question which it is the main object of the present publication to elucidate. Although some of the observations which follow may have a more particular reference to the above period, yet it is believed that the greater part will be equally applicable to the present.

*Birmingham, Feb. 1827.*



## REVIEW, &c.

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**I**T is the object of the following compilation to present at one view to those persons whose thoughts have never been much directed to the subject, a sketch of the nature and extent of the Slave Trade, and of the evils inseparable from the condition of Slavery ; to point out the failure of all the efforts hitherto made to abolish the one or mitigate the other, and to draw the public attention to a principle, by the gradual but certain operation of which, it is believed, they may both be yet undermined and overthrown. When the vast mass of physical and moral evil which Slavery has caused, and is still causing, has been briefly brought before the reader, it is hoped that an anxious desire will be produced for its abolition ; and an ample and interesting field of enquiry will then be open to him as to the means best calculated for effecting it.

Humanity has hitherto done little, notwithstanding her strenuous and persevering efforts, towards accomplishing her purposes of mercy, and we may now reasonably ask, whether her means of success are not to be found in the co-operation of motives and interests, not yet sufficiently regarded in reference to the present subject, but which, if employed in her service, would essentially contribute to secure the triumph of her cause.



As the History, Nature, and Consequences of Slavery, prove it to be incompatible with the prosperity of those who maintain it; and eloquently illustrate the position "That it is the interest of every man to do right," it is hoped that these pages will make it apparent to all unprejudiced minds, that not mercy and justice alone, but every dictate of common sense, and every principle of sound policy, require its destruction.

May no one close the following statement without a sense of his individual responsibility on this deeply momentous subject. Let each faithfully examine what are the means within his own power of absolving himself from a participation in the crime of his country, and of contributing to remove the stain of its guilt. Those means, however insufficient alone to effect so vast an object, are yet the means most important to *him*; being all that to him are delegated—all for which he is answerable.—They cannot be well employed and effect nothing: if rightly used they will, at least, produce a return of peace to his own bosom, whilst their neglect may be followed by bitter remorse. Let no man under-rate his capabilities, or overlook his resources, in a cause which so authoritatively demands a faithful examination into the powers with which he is invested. Let him diligently investigate his possessions of money, talent, influence: and pause, solemnly pause, before he pronounce, that *he can do nothing* for his afflicted Brethren in Bondage.

## NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

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THE SLAVE TRADE commenced very soon after the discovery of America.

So early as the year 1503, a few Negro Slaves had been sent into the New World. In 1511 Ferdinand the Fifth permitted them to be carried in greater numbers. After his death, Bartholomew de Las Casas, the Bishop of Chiafra, made a proposal to Cardinal Ximenes for the establishment of a regular system of commerce in the persons of the native Africans. The Cardinal refused to accede to this proposal; but after his death, Charles the Fifth granted a patent to one of his Flemish favourites containing an exclusive right of importing four thousand Negroes into America. The favourite sold his patent to some Genoese merchants, and they were the first who brought into a regular form that commerce for slaves between Africa and America which has since been carried to such amazing extent. The first importation of Slaves from Africa by our Countrymen was in the reign of Elizabeth, in the year 1562. England soon engaged deeply in the traffic: and in 1713 obtained a monopoly of the trade for supplying Spanish America with Slaves!\* The other maritime nations of Europe also continued to extend it, and it is worthy of remark, that *most*, if not all, the

\* See Robertson's History of America and Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

European States, with the exception of Portugal, in first recognizing by legal sanction this inhuman traffic, evinced a consciousness that they were trampling upon rights which the power they possessed gave them no title to invade. Their sense of its injustice proves that however habit may reconcile the human mind to an existing evil, even interest could not at first bribe it to contemplate so iniquitous a system without a lively perception of its real nature.

From that period the Trade continued to increase, and gradually arrived at an extent so dreadful, that, for a number of years, from sixty to one hundred thousand human beings are estimated to have been annually torn from their country and transplanted to the European Settlements in America.

In proceeding to investigate the nature of this Traffic, it will first become our business to enquire by what methods Slaves are obtained upon the African coast.

One of these is by a species of warfare, called *Tegria*, which, in the African language, means robbery, and consists of expeditions, without any previous notice or declaration, for the purpose of plunder. It is this sort of warfare which chiefly supplies the slave-market. These *Tegria* are of greater or less extent, according to circumstances. They are conducted by men heading parties of five hundred horsemen, down to the single individual armed with his bow and arrows, who, concealing himself amidst the bushes, waits till some young or unarmed person passes by; then, tiger-like, he springs upon his prey, rushes with it into the woods, and, when night falls, carries him off for a slave.

"Wars of this description," says Mr. Park, "are generally conducted with great secrecy. A few resolute individuals, headed by some person of enterprise and courage, march quietly through the woods, surprise in the night some unprotected village, and carry off the inhabitants and their effects, before their neighbours can come to their assistance. One morning, during my stay at Kamalia, we were all much

alarmed by a party of this kind. The king of Foolado's son, with five hundred horsemen, passed secretly through the woods, a little to the southward of Kamalia, and on the morning following plundered three towns belonging to Madi-gai, a powerful chief in Jalonkadoo.

"The success of this expedition encouraged the governor of Bangassi, a town in Foolado, to make a second inroad upon another part of the same country. Having assembled about two hundred of his people, he passed the river Kokoro in the night, and carried off a great number of prisoners. Several of the inhabitants who had escaped these attacks, were afterwards seized by the Mandingoes, as they wandered about in the woods, or concealed themselves in the glens and strong places of the mountains. These plundering expeditions always produce speedy retaliation; and when large parties cannot be collected for this purpose, a few friends will combine together and advance into the enemies' country, with a view to plunder and carry off the inhabitants. By these means hereditary quarrels are excited and perpetuated between nations, tribes, villages, and even single families, in consequence of the powerful temptation which the slave-market opens to the inhabitants to gratify their revenge with a momentary profit."

The *Slave Trade*, on the other hand, is conducted both up the rivers and upon the coast, by the whites themselves. The natives see their ships; they know that they come loaded with articles adapted to their wants, and for the purpose of receiving men, women, and children in exchange. Here lies the temptation. Here are the means before their eyes of immediately gratifying their desires. No sooner do their vessels drop their anchor, than lust, avarice, enmity, revenge, and all the bad passions which agitate the human breast, are brought forth into action. The news of the arrival of a slave-ship, is like the publication of a reward for every species of crime. From that moment few are safe. A witness examined by the English Parliament, deposed that

the natives dared not stir out of their houses at these times without their arms. He asked one of them the reason why he armed himself when there was no war. The man's answer, though silent, was expressive. He pointed his finger to a slave-ship which was then lying in the roads. And here it may be proper to remark, that the European traders never ask any questions, whether the slaves they buy have been fairly or unfairly obtained. Some of them boldly and frankly acknowledged, before the same Parliament, that they bought all sorts of persons, without paying the least regard to the manner in which they had been made slaves, or without considering the right of the seller to dispose of them. "If the natives," said they, "will sell them, we will buy them."

But happy had it been for thousands of Africans, if the stream of this trade had been left to take only its own natural course, or if the European traders had not given it an undue impulse by an application of the most criminal powers; but alas! what must we not expect from persons who leave their own country to tear the innocent inhabitants from another into a dreadful slavery, for their own profit! Is it likely that they would be over-scrupulous in the means of obtaining their object? The fact justifies the supposition, as we shall soon show. It is well known that all barbarous nations have an excessive love for spirituous liquors, and that this love grows with indulgence, till it becomes an invincible habit. Here, then, we meet with acts of the most criminal interference on the part of the European traders. Well acquainted with this unhappy infirmity on the part of the natives, they have lost no opportunity of profiting by it. They have given feasts to the chieftains, and when they have made them drunk, they have procured orders from them for military incursions against their own subjects. They are found also to have had recourse to other means equally base and fatal. They have sown the seeds of discord between the chieftains of neighbouring states though living in amity with

each other; and where they have found disputes already existing between them, they have blown the embers into a flame, well knowing, that whoever were the conquerors, the war would terminate in their own favour. To enable the two parties to avenge each other, they have supplied both of them, upon trust, with arms and ammunition. They have then become calm spectators of the conflict, and as soon as it was over, they have repaid themselves by receiving the prisoners on both sides. But this is not all. When men become once familiarized with vice, who knows where they will stop? When the moral principle is gone, what is to check them? The European traders have had even the audacity to steal the natives themselves, when they have been able to do it without being discovered, or without the fear of retaliation. How many solitary canoes have been seized, both in the rivers and upon the coast, and the people on board of them taken out and carried off to the regions of slavery!\*

The atrocious crimes and dreadful miseries which attend this wide-spreading system of desolation, will be further illustrated by the following extracts. The first forms part of a letter from a person residing at Senegal, to his correspondent at Paris, dated St. Louis, Senegal, August 20, 1818.

“ If you knew all the infamous transactions,” says he, “ or rather, all the crimes which the thirst of gold produces in this country, you would scarcely credit such atrocities. White men, officers of the government, have been seen causing the blacks to be hunted even in the streets of St. Louis; that is to say, causing blacks, either slave or free, to be seized and carried off to the coast, where a ship was in waiting for them. In one instance, a black having been kidnapped in this manner, the next day his mother hastened to offer a sum of money for his liberation. The honest white took the money, and two days after both mother and son were shipped off for America. The latter, indignant at the out-

\* Clarkson's *Cries of Africa*, p. 8, 9.

rage, stabbed himself, saying, ‘Thou white man: devourer of blacks! I cannot revenge myself upon thee but by depriving thee of my person.’”—This transaction has occurred subsequently to the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Extract from *Observations on the Slave Trade*, by the Abbé Giudicelly, formerly resident at Senegal and Goree. Printed at Paris in 1820.

“The following, sir, are a few particulars of the massacre at the village of Diaman. The desire of obtaining information led me to the house of a native, a neighbour of mine, who had bought a woman of twenty years of age, that had been lately captured. I learned from her, that not being able to flee, in consequence of wounds on her feet, she had been made a slave by the Moors; that her husband had been out hunting for eight days, her eldest daughter had been rescued by her grandmother; that her father had died in the defence of the village, and that the Moors, at the time of capturing her, had stabbed her infant of five months old, which she had in her arms.

“This poor woman was much distressed at my inquiries, and it was with difficulty that I prevailed on her to accept of some little relief. I was obliged to tell her repeatedly, but perhaps without convincing her, that all white people were not like those who had treated her with so much barbarity; and that the greater part of them detested such horrid cruelty. ‘Why, then,’ she inquired with much earnestness, bursting into tears, ‘why, then, do they not prevent it?’

“The destruction of the village of Diaman was the signal of the most dreadful atrocities, such as I should not have dared to suspect that even cannibals could be guilty of. On the Senegal, in the streets of the colony, as well as in the surrounding country, every black who was a stranger and unprotected, was arrested, sold, and carried on board a ship. How often has my ear been assailed by the cries of these poor wretches, when, in the night, they were struggling against their persecutors.

“ In the beginning of the year 1818, King Damel encamped with about three thousand men, cavalry and infantry, and one thousand Moors, at the village of Gandiol, about three leagues from St. Louis. I went to see this barbarian, who for six months had been travelling to the different parts of his kingdom, carrying desolation, fire, and slaughter. To whom has he sold his subjects, whom he has enslaved by thousands? They have all been sent away to America, from the Senegal or Goree.”

But if these things are so, how is it possible that the natives upon the coast can be industrious, or that they can advance in the scale of civilization. Mr. Bryan Edwards, the celebrated author of the history of Jamaica, though he set his face against the abolition of the Slave Trade, being himself a planter, had yet the candour to allow, that the greater part of the continent of Africa was “ a field of war and desolation; a forest where the inhabitants were wolves to one another; a scene of fraud, rapine, oppression, and blood.” This information he said he collected from his own negroes, who had been taken from it. What a melancholy picture does this account, which is in conformity with our preceding representations, afford us! And how much more disgusting is it rendered by the reflection, that all the atrocities which we discover in it, were occasioned by people who *call themselves Christians!!*

From sixty to one hundred thousand human beings are in this manner torn annually from their country, their families, and friends, transplanted to a distant country, and destined to toil as beasts of burden for the advantage of others, they and their posterity for ever! If the unhappy Africans are human beings; if they have passions similar to our own; if they feel and think like ourselves, they have a claim upon our deepest sympathy. When we hear the cries of an animal which suffers, we cannot refrain from pity; we find in our breast an impulse which tells us, that there is some analogy between its pains and our own; and can we



see such an accumulation of misery brought upon an innocent and unoffending people, without taking an interest in their sufferings, or without advocating their cause?

The European traders, conscious of their own guilt, conscious, indeed, that the voice of nature would cry out against their crimes, have prepared themselves long ago with arguments in their defence. Conscious that nothing else would justify their conduct, they have given out, and continue to give out, that the Africans are creatures of another species; that they have not the faculties and feelings of men; that they are upon a level with brutes; and add, by way of confirmation of their assertions, that though some centuries have passed since Africa was discovered, its inhabitants have made no progress in civilization like other people.

There will be no difficulty in refuting this argument, if we appeal to disinterested travellers, or to any travellers of reputation, who have visited the continent in question. And first, let us enquire whether the Africans have any moral character.

“The fierce disposition of the Feloops,” says Mr. Park, “is counterbalanced by many good qualities. They display the utmost *gratitude and affection* towards their benefactors; and the *fidelity* with which they preserve whatever is entrusted to them, is *remarkable*.”

“One of the first lessons in which the Mandingo women instruct their children, is the practice of truth. The reader will probably recollect the case of the unhappy mother, whose son was murdered by the Moorish banditti at Funiangkedy. Her only consolation in her uttermost distress, was the reflection, that the poor boy, in the course of his blameless life, *had never told a lie*.”

“It is remarkable, that an African pardons more easily a beating, than an injury spoken against his parents.—‘Wound me, but curse not my mother,’ is a very common expression among them.”

With respect to the sympathies of nature, or their affec-

tionate fondness for one another, let us hear what Mr. Park says also on this subject. "About two o'clock we came in sight of Jumba, the native town of the blacksmith (the negro who had travelled with Mr. Park), from whence he had been absent more than four years. When we arrived at the blacksmith's place of residence, we dismounted and fired our muskets. The meeting between him and his relations was very tender; for these rude children of nature, free from restraint, display their emotions in the strongest and most expressive manner. Amidst these transports, the blacksmith's aged mother was led forth, leaning upon a staff. Every one made way for her, and she stretched out her hand to bid her son welcome. Being totally blind, she stroked his hands, arms, and face with great care, and seemed highly delighted that her latter days were blessed by his return, and that her ears once more heard the music of his voice. From this interview I was fully convinced, that *whatever difference there is between the Negro and European in the conformation of the nose and the colour of the skin, there is none in the genuine sympathies and characteristic feelings of our common nature.*"

Take the following as instances of their hospitality, or of their tenderness for strangers in distress. "Towards evening," says Mr. Park, "as I was sitting down, chewing straws (this was in the kingdom of Kajaaga), an old female slave passing by with a basket upon her head, asked me if I had got my dinner? As I thought she only laughed at me, I gave her no answer; but my boy, who was sitting close by, answered for me, and told her that the king's people had robbed me of all my money. On hearing this, the good old woman, with a look of unaffected benevolence, immediately took the basket from her head, and showing me that it contained ground nuts, asked me if I could eat them. Being answered in the affirmative, she presented me with a few handfuls, and walked away before I had time to thank her for this seasonable supply. This trifling circumstance gave me

particular satisfaction. I reflected with pleasure on the conduct of this poor untutored slave, who, without examining into my character or circumstances, listened implicitly to the dictates of her own heart. Experience had taught her that hunger was painful, and her own distresses made her commiserate those of others."

On another occasion, when Mr. Park was near Sego, he speaks thus—"I was obliged to sit all day without victuals, in the shade of a tree; and the night threatened to be very uncomfortable, for the wind rose, and there was great appearance of a heavy rain; and the wild beasts are so very numerous in the neighbourhood, that I should have been under the necessity of climbing up the tree and resting among the branches. About sunset, however, as I was preparing to pass the night in this manner, and had turned my horse loose, that he might graze at liberty, a woman returning from the field stopped to observe me, and perceiving that I was weary and dejected, inquired into my situation, which I briefly explained to her; whereupon, with looks of great compassion, she took up my saddle and bridle, and told me to follow her. Having conducted me into her hut, she lighted up a lamp, spread a mat on the floor, and told me I might remain there for the night. Finding that I was very hungry, she said that she would procure me something to eat. She accordingly went out, and returned in a short time with a very fine fish, which having caused to be half broiled upon some embers, she gave me for supper. The rights of hospitality being thus performed towards a stranger in distress, my worthy benefactress (pointing to the mat, and telling me I might sleep there without fear) called to the female part of her family, who had stood gazing on me all the while in fixed astonishment, to resume their task of spinning cotton, in which they continued to employ themselves great part of the night. They lightened their labour by songs, one of which was composed extempore, for I was myself the subject of it. It was sung by one of the young women, the rest joining in

a sort of chorus. The tune was sweet and plaintive, and the words literally translated were these: 'The winds roared and the rains fell: the poor white man, faint and weary, came and sat under our tree: he has no mother to bring him milk, no wife to grind his corn. Chorus, Let us pity the white man; no mother has he, &c. &c.' Trifling as this recital may appear to the reader, to a person in my situation the circumstance was affecting in the highest degree. I was oppressed by such unexpected kindness, and sleep fled from my eyes. In the morning I presented my compassionate landlady with two of the four brass buttons which remained on my waistcoat, the only recompence I could make her."

Having said thus much on the *moral* character of the Africans, we shall now inquire if they have an *intellectual* one.

Mr. Park says, that "in every considerable town, there is a chief magistrate (among the Mandingoes), called the *alkaid*, whose office is hereditary, and whose business it is to preserve order, to levy duties on travellers, and to preside at all conferences in the exercise of local jurisdiction and the administration of justice. These courts are composed of the elders of the town, and are termed *palavers*; and their proceedings are conducted in the open air with sufficient solemnity. Both sides of the question are freely canvassed, witnesses are publicly examined, and the decisions which follow generally meet with the approbation of the surrounding audience."

In speaking of Sego, he says, "that it contained about thirty thousand inhabitants. The view of this extensive city, the numerous canoes upon the river, the crowded population, and the cultivated state of the surrounding country, formed altogether a prospect of civilization and magnificence, which I little expected to find in the bosom of Africa."

"As the arts of weaving, dying, sewing, &c. may be easily acquired, those who exercise them are not considered, in Africa, as following any particular profession, for almost every slave can weave, and every-boy can sew. The only ar-

tists which are distinctly acknowledged as such by the negroes, and who value themselves on exercising peculiar trades, are the manufacturers of leather and iron. The first of these are called *karrankeas*. They are to be found in almost every town, and they frequently travel through the country in the exercise of their calling. They tan and dress leather with very great expedition. They convert the hides of bullocks chiefly into sandals, and the skins of sheep and goats into quivers, and into sheaths for swords and knives, and into belts, pockets, and a variety of ornaments. These skins are commonly dyed of a red or yellow colour.

“ The manufacturers in iron are not so numerous as the *karrankeas*, but they appear to have studied their business with equal diligence.

“ Most of the African blacksmiths are acquainted also with the method of smelting gold. They are able also to draw the gold into wire, and to form it into a variety of ornaments, some of which are executed with a great deal of taste and ingenuity.”

It will not be necessary to make any other extracts from Mr. Park, or to appeal to the Book of Evidence printed by order of the English Parliament (which is in the most perfect unison with the statements of Mr. Park), to refute the wicked argument of the European traders, that the Africans are creatures of another species. We have shown that they are grateful to their benefactors; that they are faithful to their employers; that they are lovers of truth; that they possess all the amiable sympathies of our nature; that they are capable of conducting civil government; that they possess cities crowded with commerce and surrounded by cultivation; and that they exercise, not only the common or ordinary trades or callings, but even those where ingenuity and talents are required: but if the Africans possess, in common with the Europeans, both a moral and an intellectual character, who but the Slave-traders would dare to deny them the privilege of being men?

But although the *Christian* nations of Europe have endeavoured to justify their conscious violation of all the acknowledged rights of humanity in the person of the negro, by pointing to his dark colour and different features, and denying his claim to the equal privileges of a common nature; "yet our Scriptures," as Mr. Watson justly and eloquently observes, "have not left us to determine the title of any tribe to the full honours of humanity by *accidental* circumstances. To *Man* has been given the law: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart;' and to be capable of loving God, is the infallible criterion of our peculiar nature. To determine, then, who are *men*, it is only necessary to determine who are capable of obeying that universal and exclusive law to *man*, the love of God. The labours of the missionaries have already settled this question. The Negro through all his shades; the Hottentot through all his vanities; the Indians of America, and the Natives of New Holland, have all, in our own days, been inspired with the love of God, through the Gospel, and by this test have been proved to be our brethren.

"But if it be somewhat too late to chase the negro out of the current of our common blood, and to sever his relation to Adam and to God, yet it is affirmed by many to this hour, that at least he is so degenerate a variety of the human species as to defy all cultivation of mind and all correction of morals.

"And yet, will it be believed," he continues, "that this contemned race can, as to intellect and genius, exhibit a brighter ancestry than our own? that they are the offshoots, wild and untamed it is true, but still the offshoots of a stem which was once proudly luxuriant in the fruits of learning and taste; whilst that from which the Goths, their calumniators, have sprung, remained hard, and knotted, and barren? For is Africa without her heraldry of science and of fame? The only probable account which can be given of the negro tribes is, that as Africa was peopled, through Egypt, by three

of the descendants of Ham, they are the offspring of Cush, Misraim, and Put. They found Egypt a morass, and converted it into the most fertile country in the world: they reared its pyramids, invented its hieroglyphics, gave letters to Greece and Rome, and, through them, to us.

“ The everlasting architecture of Africa still exists, the wonder of the world, though in ruins. Her mighty kingdoms have yet their record in history. She has poured forth her heroes in the field, given bishops to the church, and martyrs to the fires; and for negro physiognomy, as though that should shut out the light of intellect, go to your national museum, contemplate the features of the colossal head of Memnon, and the statues of the divinities, on which the ancient Africans impressed their own forms; and there see, in close resemblance to the negro feature, the mould of those countenances which once beheld, as the creatures of their own immortal genius, the noblest and most stupendous monuments of human skill, and taste and grandeur. In the imperishable porphyry and granite, is the unfounded and pitiful slander publicly, and before all the world, refuted. There we see the negro under *cultivation*; if he now presents a different aspect, cultivation is wanting; that solves the whole case; for even now, where education has been expended upon the pure and undoubted negro, it has never been bestowed in vain. Modern times have witnessed in the persons of African negroes, Generals, Physicians, Philosophers, Linguists, Poets, Mathematicians, and Merchants, all eminent in their attainments, energetic in enterprise, and honourable in character; and even the Mission Schools in the West Indies exhibit a quickness of intellect, and a thirst for learning, to which the schools of this country do not always afford a parallel.”\*

It is true that we often see the negro character degraded, but when we make this a ground of reproach, we appear to

\* See a Sermon by Richard Watson, p. 7, 8.—Butterworth, 1824.

forget that we ourselves have debased and brutalized that character by oppression, and in like manner when we point to the slow progress which the natives upon the shores of Africa have made in civilization, notwithstanding the advantage of their intercourse with Europe, as a proof of natural inferiority to the rest of mankind, we forget that we ourselves have long spread desolation and barbarism over those shores by a devastating series of the most atrocious crimes.

But it is a fact universally acknowledged, that the natives of the interior are far more civilized than those of the maritime parts of this continent.

The connexion of Africa with modern Europe has had a constant tendency to degrade and demoralize her; and instead of being a blessing, as it ought to have been, it has been a curse. If we trace the progress of improvement in the human race, we shall find that the borders of navigable rivers, and the shores of the sea, being the most frequented, have been the first in civilization, and that light and knowledge have afterwards spread from thence into the interior. Just the reverse has been the case in Africa. The most civilized people there are the inhabitants of the interior, while those of the shores are comparatively barbarous. Now what can have occasioned this striking difference, this appearance so contrary to the testimony of history and the experience of ages? Can we give a better reason for it than that the former have scarcely seen a white face, and that the latter have kept up for three centuries a constant connexion with the Europeans?\*

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It will be our next painful task to follow the unhappy Negroes to the ships—to those European ships which are to take them from every thing that is dear to them in life, and to convey them to a foreign land.

They who are made slaves in the vicinity of the rivers or

\* See Park's Travels, Dupuis' Ashantee, Denham and Clapperton's Expedition to the Interior of Africa, &c



the sea-shore, have generally but a short way to travel. They are made to walk by land, with their arms pinioned, or are brought down, tied together, and lying on their backs, at the bottom of a boat.

Those who are made slaves in the interior have a long journey to perform, frequently of many moons. They are made to travel on foot, over rocks and burning sands, and through wildernesses and other inhospitable places. The black merchants, who conduct them to the Europeans, generally wait till they have collected a sufficient number to make it worth their while to undertake a journey. When the time arrives, they set off, themselves, slaves, asses, and attendants; and guards. Such a mixed group of men, animals, and merchandize travelling together, is called, in Africa, a *coffle*. These coffles are frequently increased by the junction of other coffles on the road. As Mr. Park travelled with these coffles, and perhaps is the only European who ever did so, it is to him, and to him only, that we must look for light and information on this melancholy subject.

Mr. Park informs us, that Karfa had collected at Kamalia as many slaves as would make a sufficient coffle. He tells us also that he himself conversed with them there. They are commonly secured by putting the right leg of one and the left of another into the same pair of fetters. By supporting the fetters with a string, they can walk, though very slowly. Every four slaves are likewise fastened together by the necks with a strong rope of twisted thongs; and in the night an additional pair of fetters is put on their hands, and sometimes a light iron chain passed round their necks.

At length the morning of their departure arrived, and Mr. Park was to travel with them. The first thing that the slatees did, was to take the irons from their slaves, that is, from those who were assembled before Karfa's door. They then tied up the different bundles of merchandize, and appointed to every slave the load he was to carry. "When we moved forward," says Mr. Park, "we were followed for about half a mile from

Kamalia by most of the inhabitants of the town, some of them crying, and others shaking hands with their relations, who were now about to leave them. As many of the slaves had remained for years in irons, the sudden exertion of walking quick, with heavy loads upon their heads, occasioned spasmodic contractions of their legs: and we had not proceeded above a mile, before it was found necessary to take two of them from the rope, and allow them to walk more slowly, until we reached Maraboo, a walled village, where some people were waiting to join the coffle."

On the third day after their departure we hear of them again. "During this day's travel," says Mr. Park, "a woman and a girl, belonging to a slatee of Bala, were so much fatigued, that they could not keep up with the coffle: they were severely whipped, and dragged along.

"In the course of the journey, one of the female slaves being excessively fatigued, refused to proceed any further, declaring that she would rather die than walk another step. As entreaties and threats were used in vain, the whip was at length applied; and after bearing patiently a few strokes, she started up, and walked with tolerable expedition for four or five hours longer; when she made an attempt to run away from the coffle, but was so very weak that she fell down in the grass. Though she was unable to rise, the whip was a second time applied, but without effect!

"As we had eat only one handful of meal," he continues, "since the preceding night, and travelled all day in a hot sun, many of the slaves who had loads upon their heads were very much fatigued; and some of them snapt their fingers, which, among the negroes, is a sure sign of desperation. The slatees immediately put them all in irons; and such of them as had evinced signs of great despondency, were kept apart from the rest, and had their hands tied.

"In this misery the female slave before referred to being unable to proceed, and every attempt to carry her forward

being found ineffectual, the general cry of the coffin was, '*kang tegi, kang tegi*, cut her throat, cut her throat,' which was soon afterwards done.

"We continued our route," he goes on to say, "with great expedition, through the woods, until noon, when one of the Serawoolli slaves dropt the load from his head, for which he was smartly whipped. The load was replaced, but he had not proceeded above a mile, before he let it fall a second time, for which he received the same punishment. After this he travelled in great pain until about two o'clock, when we stopt to breathe a little by a pool of water, the day being remarkably hot. The poor slave was now so completely exhausted, that his master was obliged to release him from the rope, for he lay motionless on the ground. A Serawoolli, therefore, undertook to remain with him, and endeavour to bring him to the town (Baniserile) during the cool of the night. In the mean while we continued our route, and, after a very hard day's travel, arrived there ourselves in the evening. About eight o'clock the Serawoolli joined us. He told us the slave was dead: the general opinion, however, was, that he had killed him, or left him to perish on the road."

On the 30th of May, Mr. Park furnishes us with another affecting anecdote, which he gives us in the following words: "We reached Jalacotta. Here one of the slaves belonging to the coffin, who had travelled with difficulty for the last three days, was found unable to proceed any further. His master (a singing man) proposed, therefore, to exchange him for a young girl belonging to one of the townspeople. The poor girl was ignorant of her fate until the bundles were all tied up in the morning, and the coffin ready to depart; when, coming with some other young women to see the coffin set out, her master took her by the hand, and delivered her to the singing man. Never was a face of serenity more suddenly changed into one of the deepest distress. The terror

she manifested on having the load put upon her head, and the rope fastened round her neck, and the sorrow with which she bade adieu to her companions, were truly affecting.

“ I was now approaching,” he continues, “ the end of my tedious and toilsome journey, and expected, in another day, to meet with countrymen and friends : I could not part, for the last time, with my unfortunate fellow travellers, doomed, as I knew most of them to be, to a life of captivity and slavery in a foreign land, without great emotion. During a wearisome peregrination of more than five hundred English miles, exposed to the burning rays of a tropical sun, these poor slaves, amidst their own infinitely greater sufferings, would commiserate mine; and frequently, of their own accord, bring water to quench my thirst, and at night collect branches and leaves to prepare me a bed in the wilderness. We parted with reciprocal expressions of regret and benediction. My good wishes and prayers were all I could bestow upon them; and it afforded me some consolation to be told, that they were sensible I had no more to give.”

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We have now followed the unhappy Africans, reduced to a state of slavery, from the interior of their own country to the place of their embarkation. Here a new scene commences. The black merchants, who drive them thither, sell them to the Europeans. From this period we are to follow them again. We are now to follow them across the ocean, and to see what their situation is under their new masters.

The different witnesses examined by the English Parliament all agree, that when they are put on board the vessels, they appear melancholy and dejected, and that they continue so for some time, and some of them during the whole voyage; and that this dejection arises from the keenness of their feelings, on account of the separation from their country, their families, and their friends.

When they are brought on board, the men are chained together in pairs, the right leg of one being fastened to the left

leg of another; and in this situation, that is, two and two together, they are made to go below, to the place or prison allotted to them in the hold of the vessel. The women and children are conveyed to other parts, but they are not ironed like the men.

When the weather is fair, they are made to leave their prisons, to take the advantage of fresh air and to take their meals. The men are distributed for this purpose in long rows of two and two, from head to stern, on each side of the deck; but, to prevent them rising upon the crew, or jumping overboard, a long chain is passed through the irons of each pair of slaves, and is locked at both the ends of it to the deck.

When the vessel is full, their situation is wretched. In the best-regulated ships, a full-grown man has no more space allowed him to lie upon than sixteen English inches in breadth, which gives him about as much room as a man has in his coffin, and about two feet eight inches in height. But there are very few vessels in which even this limited allowance is afforded. In many of them, the slaves are obliged to lie upon their sides, and none of them can sit upright. Besides this, they are naked; and they have nothing to lie upon but the bare boards: on this account they suffer often very severely from the motion of the ship, which occasions different parts of their bodies to be bruised, and which causes their irons to excoriate their legs.

But their situation is the most deplorable when it blows a heavy gale, and when the hatches or gratings are obliged to be fastened down. Their sufferings are at this time such as no language can describe. They are often heard, on such occasions, to cry out in their own language, "We are dying, we are dying." The steam which comes at this time from their bodies, and which ascends through the little holes of the gratings, has been compared by those who have witnessed it, to that which issues from a furnace. Many of them, having fainted from heat, stench, and corrupted air, have been

brought out of the hold upon the deck in a dying state; while others have been brought up quite dead from suffocation, who were in perfect health but a few hours before.

Horrible as this account may appear, we assert, in the most solemn manner, that we have omitted to mention many circumstances\* which would render it still more afflicting; and that we have been cautious in what we have said to keep ourselves within the bounds of truth.

Being deprived, then, generally speaking, of the power of a successful resistance, the only hope left them of escaping from their miseries is in death; that is, of destroying themselves, if any opportunity should offer, and which they seize with an avidity almost beyond belief. The most common way to which they look is that of being able to throw themselves into the sea. But here also every avenue of escape by such means is guarded. The men are not only locked to the deck, but large nettings are fastened on both sides of the ship, which reach from the deck up to a certain height in the rigging. But these precautions do not always prove a security. Many and many are the instances in which they destroy themselves in this manner.

But if they are prevented from accomplishing their object in the way now mentioned, they do not abandon the hope of being able to attain it in some other. The deepest foresight on the part of their oppressors cannot always prevent the means. When ropes have been left carelessly about the ship, though not in improper places, several of them, but mostly women, have been found suspended to these at different times; and when small instruments of iron, or even broken pieces of iron, have been left in the same manner, others have been discovered to have made mortal wounds upon their own bodies; others who have not been able to meet with such opportunities, have come to the resolution of refusing all sustenance, in or-

\* See the evidence before the English Parliament, in the cases where the slaves have been afflicted with contagious disorders, particularly the flux, when, says one of the witnesses, "the floor of their prison was covered with blood and mucus, like a slaughter-house."

der to starve themselves to death; and though the *speculum oris*, an instrument used in the disorder called the lock jaw, has been applied to force open their mouths on such occasions, they have persisted in their resolution till the tenth or eleventh day, at which time death has usually put a period to their sufferings.\* With respect to others, but particularly females, who have been of more delicate temperature both of body and mind, or who have had a more lively sense of their situation, but less resolution, many are the instances where a continually increasing melancholy has ended in madness, and where they have continued in that pitiable state for the short remainder of their lives.

Such are the sufferings which the Slave Trade produces to its unhappy victims, but the depravity which it engenders in those who carry it on, is, if possible, a still more revolting feature in its character. The two following occurrences are both of recent date, and exhibit with a power beyond that of any general description, the tremendous accumulation of guilt and misery which attends the progress of the traffic.

The Rodeur, French vessel, of 200 tons burthen, left Havre on the 24th of January, 1819, and anchored in Bonny river, on the coast of Africa, in the March following, where she took in, contrary to the French law of the abolition of the slave trade, a cargo of slaves. On the 6th of April she sailed with them for Guadaloupe. Soon after her departure from this river, some of the slaves, who had been brought upon deck to take the air, took the opportunity of throwing themselves into the sea; in consequence of which, the captain of the Rodeur made a terrible example, by shooting some of them and by hanging others. This, however, did not answer the end proposed; and it was found, therefore, necessary to keep all of them confined below. In a short time a dreadful ophthalmia was discovered among them, which soon communicated to the crew, and which made such a rapid and general progress among the latter, that there was only one of

\* Cries of Africa, p. 27, 28.

them who could see to steer the vessel. At this moment a large ship approached the Rodeur, which appeared to be totally at the mercy of the wind and waves. The crew of this vessel, hearing the voices of the crew of the Rodeur, cried out most vehemently for help. They told the melancholy tale, as they passed along, that their ship was a Spanish slave ship, called the S. Leon, and that a contagion had seized the eyes of all on board, so that there was not one individual, either sailor or slave, who could see. But alas! this pitiable narrative was in vain, for no help could be given! The S. Leon passed on, and was never more heard of. At length, by the skill and perseverance of the only man who preserved his sight on board the Rodeur, and by a favourable concurrence of circumstances, the ship reached Guadeloupe on the 21st of June. By this time thirty-nine of the slaves had become totally blind, twelve had lost one eye, and fourteen were affected with blemishes more or less considerable. Out of the crew, consisting of twenty-two, twelve had lost their sight, amongst whom was the surgeon; five had become blind of one eye, among whom was the captain; and four were partially injured. Now, what will the reader think was the first thing which the captain and crew of the Rodeur did, when they found that they were going to enter into a safe port? Undoubtedly, he will think that they were employed in returning thanks to God for this their miraculous deliverance. But he will be mistaken if he supposes so. Without gratitude to God, without mercy to others, without the feelings of men, the first act which they performed was to throw overboard all the poor slaves who were incurably blind, upon the plea, first, that if they carried them on shore no one would buy them, and consequently that they should have them to maintain without any return; and secondly, that by feigning an act of necessity, they might recover their value from the underwriters.

The next year, namely, 1820, furnishes us with another occurrence, equally atrocious in its nature, though of a dif-



ferent cast. Sir George Collier was at that time the commodore of the English squadron cruising in the African seas, to prevent the violation of the abolition law, as sanctioned by the English Parliament, and by treaties between England and other foreign governments. He himself was on board the Tartar frigate. In the month of March, he gave chase to a vessel which he suspected to be a slave ship. In the course of the chase, several casks were observed to be floating in the sea, which the Tartar passed, but no person could be spared at that moment to go to examine them. In a few hours afterwards, the crew of the frigate boarded the vessel which they had been pursuing, and she proved to be *La Jeune Estelle*, French vessel, the captain of which was named *Olympe Sanguines*. This man, on being questioned, denied that he had any slaves on board. He admitted, however, that he had had some in his possession a little time before, but that a Spanish pirate had seized them and taken them away. There was something, however, so disingenuous in his countenance, that the chief officer of the Tartar, who had boarded his vessel, ordered a search to be made in the hold. One of the English sailors, on striking a cask, heard a faint voice issue from it, as of some creature expiring. The cask was immediately opened, when two slave girls, about twelve or fourteen years of age, were found packed up in it. They were afterwards carried on board the Tartar, and thus rescued from a most painful death. When they arrived there, they were recognized by a person who had seen them in their own country. This person was then a prisoner on board the Tartar, having been taken by the commodore out of another slave ship. It appeared from his evidence, that one Captain Richards, commanding an American slave ship, had died at a village on the coast, called Trade-town, and that he had left behind him fourteen slaves, of which these two poor girls had formed a part; and that after his death, Captain *Olympe Sanguines* had landed his crew, armed with swords and pistols, and carried off these fourteen slaves on board *La Jeune Estelle*. Sir

George Collier, upon receiving this information, thought it right to board the vessel again, in order to find the remaining twelve; but, after a strict search, they were nowhere to be found. It then struck him and his officers (and a most painful consideration it was), that Captain Sanguines, in order to prevent his vessel from being seized as a slave ship, had packed up the twelve slaves just mentioned, in those casks which they had seen floating in the sea, one after another, soon after the commencement of the chase. But, alas! it was now too late to ascertain the truth of this conjecture, for the chase had then led them many leagues to windward of these casks; and there was no chance whatever that any of the slaves who might be enclosed in them would be found alive.\*

Such are the melancholy scenes which are passing in the different slave ships, from the time of their leaving the coast of Africa, to the time of their arrival in the European colonies. During this interval, it is but reasonable to suppose, that a considerable mortality takes place among the slaves. Insurrections, suicides,† and diseases (the latter of which arise from grief of mind), sudden transitions from heat to cold, filth, stench, a putrid atmosphere, and cruel treatment, contribute to thin their numbers. It appears from the evidence of respectable witnesses examined by the English Parliament, that out of 7904 slaves, with whom they themselves sailed at different times, 2053 perished; that is, a fourth part of them perished, though they were all young and healthy when they were brought on board, in the short space of from six to eight weeks!! What a murderous devastation of the human race!! What an impious rebellion against the will of Providence, in the creation of the world!!! If the rest of mankind were to perish in this proportion, all the inhabitants on the earth would be extinct in a few years!!!

\* See Supplement to the Report of the African Institution for the year 1821.

† This violation of the laws of the Creator, on the part of these unhappy people, is a new crime, which falls upon the heads of the European slave-traders.

These instances are sufficient: they shew, without having recourse to others, the corruptive nature of this traffic upon the human heart. The effects which it produces are regular and certain. They are the same in whatever age or by whatever people it may be carried on. They are irresistible; so that neither public opinion, nor the improvement of one age above another, nor the superior refinement of any particular people, can withstand their influence. They shew, therefore (what it is peculiarly desirable to know), that there is no remedy for the evils complained of, but the total Abolition of the Trade. No human regulation can do them away, because no human regulation can change the human heart.

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In the year 1807, Great Britain and the United States of America passed laws entirely prohibiting the trade in all its branches, to their respective subjects; and in 1810, Portugal consented to prescribe local limits to her share of it, in that part of the African Continent which lies to the north of the Equator.

These important measures, being aided at that time by the right of visitation, which the existing state of war conferred on the belligerent nations, produced a very considerable effect. A partial cessation of the Slave Trade took place along a large portion of the African coast; and on that part of it which extends from Senegal to the Gold Coast, few traces of this odious traffic remained.

This interval of local rest from the ravages of the Slave Trade, short as it unhappily was, served abundantly to confirm the anticipation of wise and good men. The western shores of northern Africa were already beginning to exhibit a new and more cheering aspect. The pursuits of peaceful industry, and the arts of civilized life, joined to the diffusion of religious knowledge, were, slowly indeed, but progressively, repairing the desolating and barbarizing mischiefs of the Slave Trade—when the scene was suddenly changed.

No sooner was peace proclaimed, than the traders in human blood hastened from various quarters to the African

shores, and, with a cupidity sharpened by past restraint, renewed their former crimes.

Among the rest, the slave merchants of France, who had been excluded for upwards of twenty years, from any direct participation in this murderous traffic, now resumed it; and to this very hour they continue openly to carry it on, notwithstanding the solemn renunciation of it by their own government in 1815, and the prohibitory French laws which have since been passed to restrain them.

But let it not be supposed that it has been by Frenchmen alone that this dreadful scourge has been inflicted upon Africa. Traders of other nations, assuming the flag which best suited their nefarious purposes, have crowded the shores of Africa, and filled their ships with the wretched victims of the crimes which they excited. Not only have the Portuguese and Spaniards been extensively engaged in these enterprizes, but citizens of the United States, of Holland, and of Great Britain also, disguising themselves under the flag of some other country, have deeply participated in this work of destruction. It would admit of proof, that probably at no period of the existence of this opprobrious traffic, has Africa suffered more intensely from its ravages, than during a part of the time which has elapsed since the re-establishment of the peace of the civilized world. The bad men of all other countries appear to have combined to blast the improvement and happiness of Africa, and to have joined in a malignant conspiracy to frustrate all the merciful purposes of their sovereigns towards that ill-fated quarter of the globe.\*

In support of these assertions, we subjoin the following authentic evidence; relating wholly to transactions of a very recent date:—

*Extract of a Letter from Guadaloupe.*

“We enclose a note, which proves the continuation of the cruelties towards the unhappy Africans. I answer for its

\* See a Pamphlet entitled “Statements Illustrative of the Slave Trade,” &c.

authenticity. There are strong cruisers stationed to seize the slavers; but they laugh at them, and always reach the port; one might almost say that they protect them.

"The schooner *Louisa*, Captain Arnaud, arrived at L'Anse à la barque, in the quarter of St. Anne, Guadaloupe, in the early part of the month of April, 1824, with a cargo of 200 negroes. The number first embarked was 275. As the vessel could not transport so large a number, the others were thrown alive into the sea by the captain. Nature shudders at such atrocities."

*Extract of a Letter from Captain Forbes, of his Majesty's sloop Thracian, to Vice-Admiral Sir L. W. Halsted, K.C.B. Commander in Chief, dated Port-Royal Harbour, October 22, 1824.*

"I think it necessary likewise to inform you, sir, that Mr. Kilbee, the British Commissary Judge, assured me that 37 vessels had cleared out this year from the Havannah, evidently intended, by their appearance, for the Slave Trade; indeed, I had it from good information, that seven sailed in one day for that destination while I was there, and the Columbian privateers had captured three lately with slaves actually on board."

*Extract from the Sierra Leone Advertiser.*

"Freetown, Saturday, November 20, 1824.

"We regret never having before inspected the numerous slave ships which have arrived here, in order to ascertain whether they answered the description set forth in their papers. The following particulars relative to three vessels taken by our squadron for being engaged in this horrible commerce, and lately brought into our harbour for adjudication in the British and Portuguese Court of Mixed Commission, will, we feel assured, astonish even our readers, who have unhappily had too many opportunities of witnessing the misery which

this traffic imposes upon its defenceless and unfortunate victims.

“ The ‘ *Diana*.’—This vessel is stated, in the Royal Passport, to be 120 tons burthen; and permitted, by this passport, in accordance with the Alvara of his Most Faithful Majesty, under date of the 24th of November, 1813, to carry 300 slaves, being at the rate of five to every two tons. On being inspected, she is found to admeasure only 66 tons, 52-94 fourths English measurement, and therefore *authorised* to take at the rate of five to each ton. The surface of the men’s slave-room is only 480 feet, and 2 feet 7 inches in height; and that of the women, 103 feet surface, and 3 feet 11 inches high; yet on board this vessel there were actually shipped at Badagry, for the passage to the Brazils, 156 human victims, besides her crew, 18 in number.

“ The ‘ *Two Brazilian Friends*.’—This vessel is also stated, by a like document, to be 146 tons, and being similarly licenced, might carry 365 slaves. On inspection, she is found to be only 95 tons, 59-94 fourths, and consequently in like manner authorized to carry at the rate of four to each ton. The surface of the platform for the men is 615 feet, and the height 2 feet 6 inches; that of the women 148 feet 8 inches surface, and 3 feet 10 inches in height. On board this vessel there were actually shipped at Badagry, for passage to the Brazils, 260 unfortunate Africans, besides her crew, 18 in number.

“ The ‘ *Avizo*.’—This vessel is, by a similar document, asserted to be 231 tons, and by her licence might carry 580 slaves. On examining her, it is ascertained that she is only 165 tons, 28-94 fourths, and therefore might carry at the rate of more than 5 to a ton. The surface of the men’s room is 861 feet, height of ditto, 3 feet 2 inches; that of the women is 215 feet surface, and the same height as the men’s. 465 wretched beings were stowed on board this vessel at the same port, for passage to the Brazils, besides her crew, 33 in number.

" We have here 328 tons of shipping, licenced to carry 1245, and actually conveying from the coast 881 slaves, being (in these three vessels) at the rate of 11 to every 4 tons, besides the men navigating them, and the water and provisions necessary for so great a number of people for the voyage, together with their boats and ships' stores. As the men and women thus embarked were 712 in number, and supposing the children, both boys and girls, to be either always kept on deck, or confined to the long boat (as is the practice), still only a little more than  $3\frac{1}{4}$  square feet was allowed for each adult African thus shipped—a space which, we should suppose, no human being could long exist in; and, indeed, the number of deaths, and the emaciated state of the survivors, too fully prove this to be the case. From the crowded state of these vessels, we do not hesitate to say, that it would be impossible to cram the number on board which the authorities of the Brazils (by sanctioning these false descriptions of the vessels) give the masters permission to take; it is, therefore, to a certain extent useless, although proving to the world that this government, not content with allowing their subjects to carry on the odious traffic, sanction such means of doing so as aggravate the misery of the unfortunate victims thus forced away from their families and country. We shall make no further remarks on this painful subject, satisfied that such cruel deception as is clearly shown to be sanctioned by this power, who is thus adding further horrors to the already detestable slave trade, will not be overlooked by our government, who are no doubt in possession of the facts from our gallant Commodore and his officers. Further particulars relative to the property and proceedings of these vessels will be given in our next.

" The French Slave Trade has lately most considerably increased in the rivers Bonny and Old Calabar. Several new vessels have arrived, and many laden with full cargoes of human victims have left under the white flag, and manned by Frenchmen, although the capital embarked is ostensibly Spa-

nish. In order that our readers may judge of the barbarity and want of feeling evinced by these subjects of an enlightened nation, which publicly disavows such horrible and infamous conduct, we desire to make known that *Le Louis*, commanded by one Oiseau, on completing her cargo of slaves in the Old Calabar, a few weeks since, without the slightest spark of humanity in him, thrust the whole of these unfortunate beings between decks (a height of only three feet) and closed the hatches for the night. When morning made its appearance, fifty of the poor sufferers had paid the debt of nature, owing to the confined, diseased, and putrid atmosphere they were condemned to respire! The wretch coolly ordered the bodies of these miserable victims of his total want of human feeling, to be thrown into the river, and immediately proceeded on shore to complete his execrable cargo by fresh purchases of his fellow-creatures. To detail all the information we have received relative to the enormities committed by these dealers in human flesh, who feel they are protected by the nation they claim and the flag they hoist, would horrify any but slave-dealers, who seem naturally callous to every feeling which ennobles mankind; suffice it to say, they are heart-rending, and would disgrace the most unenlightened savage."

On the eastern coast of Africa the ravages of the Slave Trade are also very great, and from the greater length of the voyage, a still greater sacrifice of human life takes place in transporting the slaves to America.

*Extract of a Letter from Captain Owen to J. W. Croker, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's ship Leven, Mozambique, 9th of October, 1823.*

"It is my duty to state, for the information of my Lords of the Admiralty, that on the eastern coast of Africa the Slave Trade has recently received a new impulse for the supply of Brazil. It would appear, that this diabolical commerce is



the only one capable of inspiring its miserable remains of Portuguese population with energy and activity. There are in this port seven vessels preparing their cargoes for Rio de Janeiro; one of them of about six hundred tons, to carry 1,200 slaves. The export of slaves from this port cannot be less than 15,000 annually.

“ At Quilliman, 16 vessels have taken cargoes within the last year, amounting to 10,000; and the new order of things brought about by the revolutions in Portugal and Brazils, has opened the ports of Quilliman and Inhamban to a direct communication with the latter, which enables them to carry on this abominable traffic more advantageously and to greater extent.

“ From Inhamban, however, the trade in slaves is very limited, compared with that of Mozambique and Quilliman, the neighbouring tribes being very averse to it; nevertheless wars are excited solely to make slaves to pay for merchandize. The same also occurs at English River to a still smaller extent, yet sufficiently so to keep the neighbouring tribes in a ferment and continual state of warfare. The price of a slave at Quilliman, Inhamban, and Delagoa, rarely exceeds two or three Spanish dollars to the Portuguese, who get for them perhaps twenty or thirty from the vessels; much of their gain is necessarily expended for their intermediate subsistence, which, however, is scarcely enough to hang soul and body together; and the ships which use this traffic consider they make an excellent voyage if they *save ONE-THIRD of the number embarked* to sell at Rio for 150 or 200 Spanish dollars each: some vessels are so fortunate as to *save one half* of their cargo alive, and their gains become a strong motive to more extensive speculations !!”

Did the limits of the present publication admit, it would be easy to confirm the foregoing statements by numerous examples of a similar nature, drawn entirely from official documents, and all tending to prove that the Slave Trade is not only as atrociously and as extensively carried on as ever, but

that it is annually on the increase. The returns of the number of Slaves brought during two successive years into one port of South America alone, Rio de Janeiro, are an additional confirmation of this fact, and form, at the same time, conclusive evidence of the present extent of the traffic.

In 1821 there were imported..... 21,199

1822 ..... 24,934

Being an increase of 3,735 in one year in the importations of a single port in Brazil.\*

But the following documents present us with a still more comprehensive view of the state of the Trade at a recent period, and will, it is believed, render any further evidence unnecessary.

In a Report to the Congress of the United States of North America, dated February 9, 1821, it is said—"The extension of the trade for the last twenty-five or thirty years must, in degree, be conjectural, but the best information that can be obtained on the subject, furnishes good foundation to believe, that during that period the number of slaves withdrawn from western Africa alone, amounts to upwards of one million and a half. The annual average would be a mean somewhere between 50 and 80,000."

Captain Leeke, commander of the sloop *Myrmidon*, in a letter dated Sierra Leone, November 7, 1821, addressed to Commodore Sir Robert Mends, says—"From the river Calabar there had sailed, within the last eighteen months, 177 vessels with full cargoes; more than the half of them were under the French flag, the others, Spaniards and Portuguese. These accounts have been given me, not only from the kings and chiefs of the rivers, but from those who were actual eye-witnesses of the shipments and sailing of the unfortunate negroes. Thus you will perceive that this horrid traffic has been carried on to an extent that almost staggers belief. The vessels [126] reported in my last to have left the river Bonny

\* See Mrs. Graham's *Brazil*, p. 228, 229.

between the months of July and November, 1820, with 86 that have already sailed this year, added to these, with 35 from the Bimbia and Cameroons, will make their number 424, many of them carrying from 500 to 1000 slaves: and by allowing only the very moderate average of 250 to each vessel, will make 106,000 slaves exported from four of the northernmost rivers in the Bight of Biafra, in the short space of eighteen months, and by far the largest half in vessels bearing the French flag."

Who can form even a faint idea of the accumulated wretchedness that must have been the lot of those unhappy beings who were in this unrighteous manner subjected to ignominy, distress, and many of them to death? In addition to this, deceit, lying, perjury, and robbery, mark the conduct of those engaged in the trade: it deadens all the kind and benevolent dispositions of man, and renders him hard-hearted, brutal, and savage. When are these scenes of cruelty to terminate? How long is man to traffic in human blood, and thus to disgrace his species?\*

We have now sketched the history of this persecuted race during the period in which it has been the victim of the barbarous cupidity of the civilized world, and have given some idea of the sum of affliction and crime which Africa has received from the enlightened nations of the earth. We appeal to all who can justly estimate the disadvantage of seeing negro capacity and negro morality only under a system which brutalizes even barbarians—a system which silences the kindest and gentlest impulses of the human heart, and invests with demoniac strength every propensity to evil,—whether, even from the scanty materials thus afforded, incontrovertible evidence does not remain of a nature as bountifully endowed as our own. Slavery has carried on its fiend-like work by causing vices to coalesce which have no natural affinity, by bringing into unnatural combination the evils of

\* See Statement, &c.

two distinct stages of society, and all that it has borne to Africa of the boasted acquirements of civilized life, has been a masterly skill in the contrivance, and an unhesitating daring in the commission of crime, which the mind of a savage was too simple to devise and his heart too gentle to execute. Yet even from a desert so sterile in all that is good, so distinguished by the darkest features of sin and misery, enough may be collected to prove the existence of a soul capable of yielding rich produce, had it been cultivated by benevolent skill instead of being devastated by senseless barbarity.

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We now follow the afflicted Negro to the Land of his Oppression, and commence a melancholy era in his history, on beholding him within the realms of Slavery, with the chain of bondage rivetted upon him.

### CONDITION OF THE NEGRO SLAVES IN THE WEST INDIES AND AMERICA.

In the Colonies of Great Britain there are at this moment upwards of 800,000 human beings in a state of degrading personal slavery.

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

Many of the slaves are (and all may be) branded like cattle, by means of a hot iron, on the shoulder or other conspicuous part of the body, with the initials of their master's name; and thus bear about them, in indelible characters, the proof of their debased and servile state.

The slaves, whether male or female, are driven to labour by the impulse of the cart-whip, for the sole benefit of their owners, from whom they receive no wages; and this labour

is continued (with certain intermissions for breakfast and dinner) from morning to night throughout the year.

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

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

The Colonial Laws arm the master, or any one to whom he may delegate his authority, with a power to punish his slaves to a certain extent, without the intervention of the magistrate, and without any responsibility for the use of this tremendous discretion; and to that extent he may punish them for any offence, or for no offence. These discretionary punishments are usually inflicted on the naked body with the cart-whip, an instrument of dreadful severity, which cruelly lacerates the flesh of the sufferer. Even the unhappy females are equally liable with the men to have their persons thus shamelessly exposed and barbarously tortured at the caprice of their master or overseer.

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

Marriage, that blessing of civilized and even of savage life, is protected in the case of the slaves by no legal sanction. It cannot be said to exist among them. Those, therefore, who live together as man and wife, are liable to be separated

by the caprice of their master, or by sale for the satisfaction of his creditors.

The slaves in general have little or no access to the means of Christian instruction.

The effect of the want of such instruction, as well as of the absence of any marriage tie, is, that the most unrestrained licentiousness (exhibited in a degrading, disgusting, and depopulating promiscuous intercourse) prevails almost universally among the slaves; and is encouraged no less universally by the example of their superiors, the whites.

The evidence of slaves is not admitted by the Colonial Courts, in any civil or criminal case affecting a person of free condition. If a white man, therefore, perpetrates the most atrocious acts of barbarity in the presence of slaves only, the injured party is left without any means of legal redress.

In none of the Colonies of Great Britain have those legal facilities been afforded to the slave to purchase his own freedom, which have produced such extensively beneficial effects in the colonial possessions of Spain and Portugal; where the slaves have been manumitted in large numbers, not only without injury, but with benefit to the master, and with decided advantage to the public peace and safety. On the contrary, in many of our colonies even the voluntary manumission of slaves by their masters has been obstructed, and in some rendered nearly impossible, by large fines.

It is an universal principle of Colonial Law, that all black or coloured persons are presumed and taken to be slaves, unless they can legally prove the contrary. The liberty, therefore, even of free persons is thus often greatly endangered, and sometimes lost. They are liable to be apprehended as runaway slaves; and they are further liable, as such, to be sold into endless bondage, if they fail to do that which, though free, nay, though born perhaps in Great Britain itself, they may be unable to do—namely, to establish the fact of their freedom by such evidence as the colonial laws require,

Let it be remembered also, that many thousand infants are annually born within the British dominions to no inheritance but that of the hapless, hopeless servitude which has been described; and the general oppressiveness of which might be inferred from this striking and most opprobrious fact alone, that while in the United States of America the slaves increase rapidly—so rapidly as to double their number in twenty years—there is, even now, in the British colonies, no increase, but on the contrary a diminution of their numbers.\*

In order to illustrate the above statements, we subjoin a few extracts from a recent work, entitled “The West Indies as they Are,” by the Rev. Richard Bickell, late Naval Chaplain at Port Royal, &c.

“The time of labour for the slaves, generally, is from sunrising to sunsetting, viz. from five o’clock to seven one half the year, and from six to six, or thereabout, the other half. They are generally summoned from their slumbers by the cracking of the driver’s whip, about half an hour before daylight; which whip, as it is pretty long and heavy, makes the valleys resound and the welkin ring with its alarming sounds, and woe be to the hapless slave who does not lend a willing ear and speedy footsteps to its repeated calls. If he be absent at roll-call, the judge, juror, and executioner, all stand by him in the shape of an inexorable driver, and, without any defence or leave of appeal, he is subjected to the lash. Nor will a trifling excuse serve the black female: she makes the best of her way to take her place, her unequal share of the task, by the strong-armed and stout-made man, in the well dressed-up rank of the gang. Should she be too late, her sex and slender form, or gentle nature, will not avail; but, as if devoid of feeling, she is laid down by force, and punished with stripes on those parts which in women for

\* See Brief View, &c.

decency's sake, ought never to be exposed. Surely nature is outraged at such devilish indelicacies.

“ Out of this time is allowed half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner, but many overseers have the first shell blown for dinner at half past twelve o'clock, and the second at two to go to the field again, as they are not very particular when they are busy in crop, or wish to have a certain quantity of work done. Independent of this also, in crop-time, the gangs are divided, and one half must work at night whilst the other half sleeps; though on some estates, where they have great strength, as they term it (*viz.* where the negroes are more numerous than strict necessity requires for the quantity of land in cultivation), the whole number is divided into three parts; so that on most sugar estates the slaves work one half the year three nights in the week, independent of the days, and on the others two nights a week. With respect to the hardness of the labour, it is not greater than (perhaps not so great as) our husbandmen are accustomed to in England; nor do I think it possible for any men to work so hard in a tropical climate as they could in a cold one; but the length of time that they are employed, *viz.* eleven or twelve hours, besides the night-work, is more than was intended for man to bear, and must hasten debility and old age. For the poor women it is a great deal too much, as their frail frames cannot stand it many years.”—Pp. 47—50.

“ The constant use of the whip is also a principal cause of one of the greatest hardships in West Indian slavery, for seeing that work is their only portion, they are, as I before observed, inclined to be indolent, and a driver is continually after them in the field, to flog them with his heavy whip, if they do not work so hard as he thinks they ought. It is certainly a most degrading sight to see one fellow-creature following twenty, thirty, or forty others, and every now and then lashing them as he would a team of horses or mules; but this is not all, for if any one offends more than ordinarily, master driver, who has almost unlimited power, takes him or



her from the ranks, and, having two or three strong negroes to hold the culprit down, lays on twenty or thirty lashes with all his might. Thirty-nine is the number specified by law, beyond which even a white man cannot legally go in one day; but I have seen a black driver lay on most unmercifully upwards of forty at one time, whilst his fellow-slave was crying out for mercy so that he could be heard a quarter of a mile from the spot."—Pp. 12, 13.

Mr. Cooper observes that he never saw a negro who did not exhibit marks of violence, that is to say, traces of the whip, in his body.

"Another of the evils of slavery is, that the slaves are so degraded and depressed in the eye of the law as not to be considered persons, but mere animals or chattels; so that they can be sold, not only at the will and pleasure of their masters or owners, to any other person, at any part of the island, but can be seized and sold for debt, by a writ of execution, and exposed for sale at a public auction to the best bidder. Many a bitter cry is heard when the Marshal's deputies (dogs as they are emphatically called) are sent to hunt down and seize the victim or victims, and drive or drag them away to the workhouse, or gaol, till the day of sale arrives; which is to deprive them of their little homes, the gardens they have cultivated, the acquaintances they have made, and all the little comforts which make even slavery, in some measure, tolerable. This hardship is much increased when slaves are married, or have families, as the woman may be separated from her husband, or parents from their children; for here the tenderest ties of nature are broken in an instant, and the wife's, or mother's, or children's cries would not be in the least attended to, nor heeded, any more than the moans of so many [brute] animals."—Pp. 16, 17.

The truth of these statements is amply confirmed by the advertisements for the sale of negroes in every Colonial Gazette. We extract two or three, among many others, from the Royal Gazette of Jamaica, of June 15, 1823.

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

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

"Quasheba, a black, a drudge, age 28 years, belonging to Solomon Isaac."

It has indeed been confidently affirmed, that the law of Jamaica forbids the separation of families by sale. There is, however, no such law. And if there were, yet in practice it is obviously violated every day. There is a law indeed, that when persons of the same family are seized by the marshal, they shall be sold together. But what law can ensure their being *seized*, as well as *sold* together? And even this law is no restraint on the power of the proprietor. He may sell *fifteen young negroes, either together or singly*, as best suits his interest. And then to look at the sales by the marshal or tax-gatherer: had Quasheba or Violet no relations or connections, their ties with whom were torn asunder? Had the infants of six or eight years, sold singly, no parent, no brother, no sister? These facts speak volumes.

The following occurrence, related by Mr. Gilgrass, a Methodist missionary, is decisive as to the absolute and uncontrollable right of property vested in the slave-holder.

"A master of slaves who lived near us, in Kingston, Jamaica, exercised his barbarities on a Sabbath morning, while we were worshipping God in the chapel; and the cries of the female sufferers have frequently interrupted us in our devotions. But there was no redress for them or for us. This man wanted money; and one of the female slaves having two fine children, he sold one of them, and the child was torn from her maternal affection. In the agony of her feelings, she made a hideous howling, and for that crime was flogged. Soon after he sold her other child. This 'turned her heart within her,' and impelled her into a kind of madness. She

howled night and day in the yard; tore her hair; ran up and down the streets and the parade, rending the heavens with her cries and literally watering the earth with her tears. Her constant cry was, '*Da wicked massa Jew, he sell my children. Will no Buckra massa pity Negar? What me do? Me no have one child!*' As she stood before the window, she said, lifting up her hands towards heaven, '*My massa, do my massa minister, pity me! My heart do so*' (shaking her head), '*my heart do so, because me have no child. Me go to massa house, in massa yard, and in my hut, and me no see 'em.*' And then her cry went up to God.\*

We shall give further evidence of the present condition of the slaves in our Colonies, by a few short extracts from the returns of the Fiscal of Berbice (a magistrate appointed to redress the grievances of the slaves), printed by order of the House of Commons, 23d of June, 1825.

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

The complaints are more frequent from Sandvoot, formerly one of the crown estates, than from any other plantation. "*Carolus* says he is sick and swelling, and that he cannot work though willing. When he complains of sickness, the manager licks him, instead of helping him. Yes-

\* *Watson's Defence of Methodists*, p. 26.

terday he was twice licked." (P. 33.)—" *Amsterdam* says he is afflicted with pains in his bones; he does his best, but cannot work as others who are healthy. Mr. Cameron licks him with a horse-whip, curses him, and when he goes to the hospital drives him away." (P. 34).—*Mietje* (and her child Mars). "She says she is willing to work when healthy. She went yesterday sick to the hospital. Instead of getting physic she received a flogging. She is still sick, and has come to complain."

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

Complaint of the woman *Minkie*, belonging to Thomas C. Jones. "Says Mr. Jones took her out of the barracks on Tuesday; after I got home, he sent me to Mr. Henery; he would not buy me. He sent me to another gentleman. I

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

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

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

We cannot spare room for any further extracts, but we believe they will be unnecessary.

Should the reader wish to be furnished with additional evidence upon this subject, he is referred to the Report from which the above is taken, and to the following publications:—

*Delineation of Colonial Slavery.* By JAMES STEPHEN, Esq.

*Negro Slavery as it exists in the United States and the West Indies, especially in Jamaica.* 1820.

*The Slave Colonies of Great Britain, or a Picture of Negro Slavery drawn by the Colonists themselves.* 1825.

*The West Indies as they Are.* By the Rev. R. BICKELL.

If from the West Indies we pass to the United States of America, we find Slavery existing in a milder form, but still attended with the same debasing influence upon the character of the master, and the same injustice and oppression to the slave.

The following anecdote is extracted from a work entitled "Letters from Virginia, by a Virginian," quoted in Hall's Travels in the United States :—

"I took the boat this morning, and crossed the ferry over to Portsmouth, the small town which I told you is opposite to this place. It was court-day, and a large crowd of people was gathered about the door of the court-house. I had hardly got upon the steps to look in, when my ears were assailed by the voice of singing, and turning round to discover from what quarter it came, I saw a group of about thirty negroes, of different sizes and ages, following a rough-looking white man, who sat carelessly lolling in his sulky. They had just turned round the corner, and were coming up the main street to pass by the spot where I stood, on their way out of town. As they came nearer, I saw some of them loaded with chains to prevent their escape; while others had hold of each other's hands, strongly grasped, as if to support themselves in their affliction. I particularly noticed a poor mother, with an infant sucking at her breast as she walked along, while two small children had hold of her apron on either side, almost running to keep up with the rest. They came along singing a little wild hymn, of sweet and mournful melody, flying, by a divine instinct of the heart, to the consolation of religion, the last refuge of the unhappy, to support them in their distress. The sulky now stopped before the tavern, at a little distance beyond the court-house, and the driver got out. "My dear sir," said I to a person who stood near me, "can you tell me what these poor people have been doing? what is their crime? and what is to be their punishment?" "O," said he, "it is nothing at all but a parcel of negroes sold to Carolina; and that man is their driver, who has

bought them." "But what have they done, that they should be sold into banishment?" "Done!" said he, "nothing at all that I know of; their masters wanted money, I suppose, and these drivers give good prices." Here the driver, having supplied himself with brandy, and his horse with water (the poor negroes of course wanted nothing), stepped into his chair again, cracked his whip, and drove on, while the miserable exiles followed in funeral procession behind him."

The following is from Mr. Birkbeck's Notes on a Journey in America:—

"May 10. I saw two female slaves and their children sold by auction in the street; an incident of common occurrence here, though horrifying to myself and many other strangers. I could hardly bear to see them handled and examined like cattle; and when I heard their sobs, and saw the big tears roll down their cheeks at the thoughts of being separated, I could not refrain from weeping with them. In selling these unhappy beings, little regard is had to the parting of the nearest relations. Virginia prides itself on the comparative mildness of its treatment of the slaves; and, in fact, they increase in numbers, many being annually supplied from this state to those further south, where the treatment is said to be much more severe. There are regular dealers who buy them up, and drive them in gangs, chained together, to a southern market. I am informed that few weeks pass without some of them being marched through this place. A traveller told me, that he saw, two weeks ago, one hundred and twenty sold by auction in the streets of Richmond, and that they filled the air with their lamentations."

But an extract from Fearon's Travels in America will still more clearly illustrate the total disregard to the social rights and individual sufferings of the Negro, which prevails in the Slave States.

The scene is laid at Lawe's hotel, at Middletown, in Kentucky. "A few minutes before dinner, my attention was excited by the piteous cries of a human voice, accompanied with

the loud cracking of a whip. Following the sound, I found that it issued from a log-barn, the door of which was fastened. Peeping through the logs, I perceived the bar-keeper of the tavern, together with a stout man, more than six feet high, who was called Colonel ———, and a negro boy about fourteen years of age, stripped naked, receiving the lashes of these monsters, who *relieved* each other in the use of a horsewhip; the poor boy fell down upon his knees several times, begging and praying that they would not kill him, and that he would do any thing they liked; this produced no cessation in their exercise. At length Mr. Lawes, the master of the hotel, arrived, told the valiant colonel and his humane employer, the bar-keeper, to desist, and that the boy's refusal to cut wood was in obedience to his (Mr. L.'s) directions. Colonel ——— said, that 'he did not know what the Nigger had done, but that the bar-keeper requested his assistance to whip Cæsar. Of course he lent him a hand, being no more than he should expect Mr. Lawes to do for him under similar circumstances.

"At table Mr. Lawes said, that he had not been so vexed for seven years. This expression gave me pleasure, and also afforded me, as I thought, an opportunity to reprobate the general system of slavery; but not one voice joined with mine; each gave vent in the following language to the superabundant quantity of the milk of human kindness with which their breasts were overflowing:—

" 'I guess he deserved all he got.'

" 'It would have been of small account if the nigger had been whipt to death.'

" 'I always serve my niggers that way: there is nothing else so good for them.'

"It appeared that this boy was the property of a regular slave-dealer, who was then absent at Natchez with a cargo.

Mr. Lawes' humanity fell lamentably in my estimation, when he stated, 'that whipping niggers, if they were his own, was perfectly right, and they always deserved it; but



what made him mad was, that the boy was left under his care by a friend, and he did not like to have a friend's property injured.'

"There is in this instance of the treatment of a negro, nothing that in this State is at all singular; and much as I condemned New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, when in those sections, I must now give them the character of enlightened humanity compared with this State, in which such conduct as that I have described, is tolerated and approved."\*

"If the political effects of slavery are pernicious to the citizen, its moral effects are still more fatal to the man. 'There must doubtless,' says Mr. Jefferson, 'be an unhappy influence on the manners of the people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it, for man is an imitative animal. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to the worst of passions; and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his morals and manners undepraved by such circumstances.'—Notes, p. 241.

"We know the time of prodigies is past, and that natural effects will follow their causes. The manners of the lower classes in the southern states are brutal and depraved; those of the upper, corrupted by power, are frequently arrogant and assuming: unused to restraint or contradiction of any kind, they are necessarily quarrelsome; and in their quarrels the native ferocity of their hearts breaks out. Duelling is not only in general vogue and fashion, but is practised with circumstances of peculiar vindictiveness. It is usual when two

\* Fearon, p. 239—241.

persons have agreed to fight, for each to go out regularly and practise at a mark, in the presence of their friends, during the interval which precedes their meeting; one of the parties, therefore, commonly falls.”\*

But the Negro, subject as he is to every species of abuse and indignity, and debased as he must have been by a long period of degrading servitude, still occasionally exhibits, even here, a moral elevation of character, in striking contrast to the degradation of soul so universal among his oppressors.

Lieutenant Hall has given us an account of the trial and execution of a negro, which took place during his stay in Charleston, South Carolina.

“ A man died on board a merchant ship, apparently in consequence of poison mixed with the dinner served up to the ship’s company. The cabin-boy and cook were suspected, because they were, from their occupations, the only persons on board who did not partake of the mess, the effects of which began to appear as soon as it was tasted. As the offence was committed on the high seas, the cook, though a negro, became entitled to the benefit of a jury, and, with the cabin-boy was put on his trial. The boy, a fine-looking lad, and wholly unabashed by his situation, was readily acquitted. The Negro’s turn was next. He was a man of low stature, ill shapen, and with a countenance singularly disgusting. The proofs against him were, first, that he was cook; so who else could have poisoned the mess? It was indeed overlooked, that two of the crew had absconded since the ship came into port. Secondly, he had been heard to utter expressions of ill humour before he went on board: that part of the evidence indeed was suppressed which went to explain these expressions. The real proof, however, was written in his skin and in the uncouth lines of his countenance. He was found guilty.

“ Mr. Crafts, junior, a gentleman of the Charleston bar,

\* See Hall’s Travels in America.

who, from motives of humanity, had undertaken his defence, did not think a man ought to die for his colour, albeit it was the custom of the country; and moved in consequence for a new trial, on the ground of partial and insufficient evidence; but the Judge, who had urged his condemnation with a vindictive earnestness, intrenched himself in forms, and found the law gave him no power in favour of mercy. He then forwarded a representation of the case to the President, through one of the senators of the State; but the senator ridiculed the idea of interesting himself for the life of a negro, who was therefore left to his cell and the hangman. In this situation he did not, however, forsake himself; and it was now, when prejudice and persecution had spent their last arrow upon him, that he seemed to put on his proper nature, to vindicate not only his innocence, but the moral equality of his race, and those mental energies which the white man's pride would deny to the shape of his head and the woolliness of his hair. Maintaining the most undeviating tranquillity, he conversed with ease and cheerfulness whenever his benevolent counsel, who continued his kind attentions to the last, visited his cell. I was present on one of these occasions, and observed his tone and manner, neither sullen nor desperate, but quiet and resigned, suggesting whatever occurred to him on the circumstances of his own case, with as much calmness as if he had been uninterested in the event; yet as if he deemed it a duty to omit none of the means placed within his reach for vindicating his innocence. He had constantly attended the exhortations of a Methodist preacher, who, for conscience sake, visited 'those who were in prison;' and, having thus strengthened his spirit with religion, on the morning of his execution, breakfasted, as usual, heartily; but before he was led out, he requested permission to address a few words of advice to the companions of his captivity. 'I have observed much in them,' he added, 'which requires to be amended, and the advice of a man in my situation may be respected.' A circle was accordingly formed in his cell, in the midst of

which he seated himself, and addressed them at some length, with a sober and collected earnestness of manner, on the profligacy which he had noted in their behaviour, while they had been fellow prisoners; recommending to them the rules of conduct prescribed by that religion in which he now found his support and consolation.

“ Certainly, if we regard the quality and condition of the actors only, there is an infinite distance betwixt this scene and the parting of Socrates with his disciples: should we, however, put away from our thoughts such differences as are merely accidental, and seize that point of coincidence which is most interesting and important, namely, the triumph of mental energy over the most clinging weaknesses of our nature, the negro will not appear wholly unworthy of a comparison with the sage of Athens. The latter occupied an exalted station in the public eye; though persecuted even unto death and ignominy by a band of triumphant despots, he was surrounded in his last moments by his faithful friends and disciples, to whose talents and affection he might safely trust the vindication of his fame, and the unsullied whiteness of his memory; he knew that his hour of glory must come, and that it would not pass away. The negro had none of these aids; he was a man friendless and despised; the sympathies of society were locked up against him; he was to atone for an odious crime by an ignominious death; the consciousness of his innocence was confined to his own bosom, there probably to sleep for ever; to the rest of mankind he was a wretched criminal, an object, perhaps, of contempt and detestation, even to the guilty companions of his prison-house; he had no philosophy with which to reason down those natural misgivings which may be supposed to precede the violent dissolution of life and body; he could make no appeal to posterity to reverse an unjust judgment. To have borne all this patiently would have been much; he bore it heroically.

“ Having ended his discourse, he was conducted to the scaffold, where, having calmly surveyed the crowds collected

to witness his fate, he requested leave to address them. Having obtained permission, he stepped firmly to the edge of the scaffold, and having commanded silence by his gestures, ‘You are come,’ said he, ‘to be spectators of my sufferings; you are mistaken, there is not a person in this crowd but suffers more than I do. I am cheerful and contented, for I am innocent.’ He then observed, that he truly forgave all those who had taken any part in his condemnation, and believed that they had acted conscientiously from the evidence before them; and disclaimed all idea of imputing guilt to any one. He then turned to his counsel, who, with feelings which honoured humanity, had attended him to the scaffold: ‘To you, sir,’ said he, ‘I am indeed most grateful; had you been my son, you could not have acted by me more kindly;’ and observing his tears, he continued, ‘This, sir, distresses me beyond any thing I have felt yet: I entreat you will feel no distress on my account, I am happy.’ Then praying to heaven to reward his benevolence, he took leave of him, and signified his readiness to die, but requested he might be excused from having his eyes and hands bandaged; wishing, with an excusable pride, to give this final proof of his unshaken firmness; he, however, submitted on this point to the representations of the sheriff, and died without the quivering of a muscle.

“The spectators, who had been drawn together partly by idle curiosity and partly by a detestation of his supposed crime, retired with tears for his fate, and execrations on his murderers.”\*

It is admitted, however, that the treatment of the Slaves in the United States is, in general, much better than in the West India islands.

“The slave codes of several of the North American States, and particularly of Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana, are still more harsh and revolting than our own; and the

\* Hall, p. 433.—438.

prejudices there entertained against the African colour, are, if possible, still more deep-rooted and inveterate than those of the British Colonists; and yet, if we compare the *practical* results of the treatment of the slaves in the two cases, we shall be astonished at the difference.

“ In 1790, the Slave Population of the United States amounted by the census to 676,696. In 1820 it had risen to 1,531,431, being an increase of nearly 130 per cent. in thirty years.\*

“ In the year 1690, Jamaica contained 40,000 Slaves. Had these been allowed to increase since that time at the rate of the slaves in the United States since 1790, they would now have amounted to three or four millions; or even if they had increased at the rate at which the Maroons, a part of their own body, have, when undisturbed, been increasing, they would now amount to two or three millions. But besides this original stock of 40,000 slaves, there have been imported into and retained in Jamaica upwards of 800,000 Africans. Had these 84,000 slaves merely maintained their numbers, the slave population of Jamaica would be from *two to three times* as numerous as it is. But had they gone on increasing at the rate of slaves in the United States; or even at that of the Maroons in Jamaica itself, the population would now have been quite immense.

“ But if we comprehend in our estimate, not only Jamaica, but the whole of our Slave Colonies, and review the progress of population in them all since their first formation, how appalling would be the amount of human life, in fact of *human sacrifice*, which they have cost us, and which they are still costing us! And what have been the proximate causes of all this frightful accumulation of misery and death? Without all question, they have been *severity of treatment, excess of labour, and scantiness of food.*”†

\* Of this increase a portion not exceeding 100,000 at the utmost, may be attributed to fresh importations from Africa.

† See Appendix to Second Report of Anti Slavery Society.

If no individual instances of cruelty were in existence, a fact like this would be awfully decisive of the peculiarly oppressive nature of British Colonial Slavery.

At the same time, the British Colonies are cursed no less than we have seen the Slave States of the Union to be, with that most dreadful of all the evils of slavery—the profligate state of society which results from its depraving influence upon the moral character both of the slave and his master.

“ In Jamaica,” Mr. Cooper says, “ the state of morals and religion is as bad as can well be imagined, both among whites and blacks. With scarcely any exceptions, all of the former description residing in Plantations, live in a state of open and avowed concubinage with black and coloured women. The general profligacy in this respect is perfectly notorious and undisguised.” He does not recollect to have seen a single white man there who showed any serious concern about religion, except some missionaries.\*

“ It must be admitted,” says Dr. Williamson, “ that the means of religious instruction to negroes, in Jamaica, are yet extremely defective ; and, it is still more painful to add, that the white inhabitants are culpably inattentive to public religious duties. It were well if that were all. *Contempt for religion is openly avowed by a great proportion of those to be met with in that country.*

“ The propriety of matrimony,” he tells us, “ is seldom impressed on the minds of the negroes, by the clergy or any other white persons. Indeed, the latter, themselves, show the example of a libidinous course of life, and follow that promiscuous intercourse which can scarcely be justified in savages.”†

\* *Negro Slavery*, p. 41, 42.

† Since last year, a Return from the Slave Colonies of the number of Marriages between Slaves which have taken place within five years, from the 1st of January, 1821, to the 31st of December, 1825, has been laid before the House of Commons. Nothing can so strikingly exemplify the state of West Indian Society and West Indian Morals. We subjoin the number of

Is it possible for any serious mind to read these extracts, and to reflect upon the many instances of ferocious barbarity exhibited by the masters of slaves and their agents, without acknowledging the Righteous Government and retributive justice of the Almighty? The black and coloured race do not alone experience the pernicious consequences of the prevalence of slavery. The *curse* has reached beyond them, and the moral debasement which it has engendered in the minds of the chief actors in this drama of guilt and blood—in the minds of the masters of slaves, furnishes a striking comment on that passage of Holy Writ, “They shall eat of the fruit of their own way, and be filled with their own devices.”\*

Marriages in each Island during this period, with the amount of Slave Population in each.

|                         | <i>Population.</i> | <i>No. of Marriages in 5 years.</i> |
|-------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Bahamas .....           | 9,000              | ..... 7                             |
| Barbadoes .....         | 80,000             | ..... 1                             |
| Berbice .....           | 22,000             | ..... none                          |
| Demerara .....          | 75,000             | ..... none                          |
| Dominica ... ..         | 15,000             | ..... 129‡                          |
| Grenada .....           | 25,000             | ..... 14                            |
| Honduras .....          | —                  | ..... 1                             |
| Jamaica .....           | 330,000            | ..... 2493§                         |
| Neves .....             | 9,500              | ..... 5                             |
| St. Christopher's ..... | 20,000             | .. .. 18                            |
| St. Vincent's .....     | 24,000             | ..... 4                             |
| Tobago .....            | 14,000             | .. .. none                          |
| Trinidad .....          | 23,000             | ..... 11                            |

Can any thing in the known world be compared to the profligacy of manners which a return like this discloses?

\* See Negro Slavery.

‡ Wholly by the Catholic Curà, not one between Slaves having been celebrated by any Protestant Clergyman.

§ These Marriages have chiefly taken place in the parishes where Methodist Missionaries have obtained a footing. In eleven other parishes, containing 173,000 Slaves, there are only 68 Marriages in five years, or about 13 in each year.



## MEASURES OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR AMELIORATING THE CONDITION OF THE SLAVES IN ITS COLONIES, &c.

The Reader has now been presented with a faint outline of the evils of Slavery. The few facts which have been selected from a multitude of similar character, are not cases of unexampled or infrequent atrocity, they are the daily recurring enormities of the system; they prove but too plainly that slavery is, under all circumstances, the same revolting institution, and awfully and impressively illustrate the dreadful accumulation of guilt and misery which it involves.

After the Slave Trade had been abolished by this country in the year 1807, it was generally believed that we had cleaned our hands from the stain of its iniquities, and it is only two or three years ago that the people of England were made acquainted with the injustice and oppression still exercised upon the African race within the limits of the British Empire and under the sanction of British laws. The facts then made public gave rise to a general sentiment of indignation, and petitions from all parts of the country were soon presented to Parliament, calling upon the Legislature to interpose its authority for the protection of the slaves.

On the 15th of May, 1823, Mr. Buxton made a motion upon the subject in the House of Commons, when the following amended resolutions were proposed by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and carried unanimously:—

“ That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for meliorating the condition of the Slave Population in his Majesty's dominions.

“ That through a determined and persevering, but at the same time judicious and temperate enforcement of such measures, the House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population; such as may pre-

pare them for a participation in the civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects.

“ That the House is anxious for the accomplishment of that purpose at the earliest period which shall be compatible with the well-being of slaves themselves, with the safety of the Colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration for the interests of private property.”

In pursuance of these resolutions, the Ministers pledged themselves to the speedy adoption of measures for mitigating the evils of slavery in our Colonies, with a view to the ultimate emancipation of the slaves.

An Order in Council was in consequence framed, comprising a variety of regulations for ameliorating the condition of the slave population, which it was understood were to be enforced in all the Crown Colonies. Instructions were also transmitted by Earl Bathurst to the Governors of the other Colonies, requiring each of them to urge the adoption of similar measures of improvement upon the Legislature of the Colony under his government, and detailing at some length the nature of the reforms which his Majesty's Ministers had in contemplation.

Of the nature of these instructions some judgment may be formed from the following brief sketch of the Order in Council promulgated in Trinidad, in which they were for the most part embodied.

Of this Order, Clauses 1, 6, 7, and 8—relate to the appointment of a Protector and Guardian of the Slaves, to whom a variety of important functions are assigned.

Clauses 9 and 10.—As soon as effectual provision shall have been made for the religious instruction of the slaves, Sunday markets are to cease; and in the mean time they are to be held only before ten in the morning of Sunday. As soon, however, as effectual provision shall have been made for religious instruction, then Thursday is to be made the market-day instead of Sunday. The master is forbid to compel the slave to labour for his benefit on the Sunday.

Clause 11—prohibits the use of the whip, or other instrument of the like nature, for the purpose of coercing or compelling labour in the field.

Clause 12—directs, that when the whip is used as an instrument of punishment by the master or manager, the number of lashes shall not exceed twenty-five at any one time, and for one offence; nor is any punishment to be inflicted till former lacerations are completely healed. Twenty-four hours must pass after an offence has been committed, before it can be punished; and when punishment is inflicted it must be in the presence of a competent witness, besides the person by whose authority it is inflicted.

Clause 13—prohibits the flogging of female slaves under any circumstances.

Clauses 14—21—direct, that on all plantations a record of punishments should be kept, specifying the crime which has been committed, and the kind and extent of punishment inflicted: the record to be signed by the parties present, and copies of this record, certified upon oath, to be regularly transmitted through the Protector to the Governor, in order to be sent to the Secretary of State. Severe penalties are also imposed for the neglect or falsification of this record, and the mode pointed out of bringing the master who inflicts an illegal punishment to justice.

Clause 22—provides for the intermarriage of slaves; and such marriage is made binding in law, whether celebrated by a Clergyman of the Church of England, by a Catholic Priest, or by a Dissenting Minister.

Clause 23—makes it unlawful, by any judicial process, to seize and sell, apart and separately from each other, the husband and wife, or reputed wife, or child under sixteen years of age.

Clauses 24—28—ordain, that the property of the slaves shall be secured to them by law; and savings banks are provided, in which to deposit their peculium; which they are allowed to transmit by will.

Clauses 29—34—abolish all taxes and fees on manumission, and give a power, which is adequately secured, to slaves, to purchase their freedom, or that of their children, at a fair appraisement, whenever they have the means of doing it.

Clauses 35, 36—ordain, that any slave, whom any clergyman, priest, or religious teacher, shall certify to understand the nature of an oath, shall be recorded as entitled to give evidence in courts of justice in all cases, except in civil suits where the master is concerned, or in trials affecting the life of a white man. It is also provided, however, that the power now possessed, by courts of criminal jurisdiction, of admitting slave evidence, shall not be diminished by this enactment.

Clauses 37—40—contain regulations respecting the office of Protector, or Assistant Protector of the Slave; and for preventing perjury in the execution of the Order in Council.

Clause 41—subjects any free person convicted of a misdemeanor under this act, to a fine of not less than £50, or more than £500; or to imprisonment for not less than one, or more than six months; or to both fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the court convicting him. And if the conviction be for cruelty to a slave, the court may declare the property in such slave to be forfeited to the King. All fines are to be divided between the King and the prosecutor in equal moieties.

Clause 42—orders, that if any one shall be twice convicted of inflicting on any slave any cruel or unlawful punishment, he shall be declared by the court convicting him absolutely incapable of being the owner, or acting as the manager or overseer of a slave in the island; and all slaves belonging to him shall be forfeited to the King.

Now it is important to remark, that the various provisions of this order, with the exception of Clauses 35 and 36, relating to the evidence of slaves, were framed at the suggestion of the West India body in England. The plan was their's; it was adopted on their recommendation, and supported in

Parliament by their concurrence. Although it comprises many salutary regulations, it is essentially defective in several important respects. It still leaves to the master the power of inflicting arbitrary punishment with the whip, and still allows him, in the sale of his slaves, to tear asunder the tenderest ties of nature at pleasure \* As we might expect from the source in which it originated, all its provisions are framed with the most scrupulous care to avoid any kind of interference with the absolute right of property claimed by the planter.

Yet this Order, imposed by the authority of Government, and supported by the sanction of the West India body at home, has been resisted by the Planters of Trinidad, as an invasion of their most sacred rights, pregnant with inevitable ruin to all their interests.

The Order in Council, they assert, "has made an entire revolution in the system under which slaves were heretofore managed and governed." "Changes," they say, "are always to be deprecated, especially in a slave colony, where the whole of the labouring population are deprived of their natural rights; and nothing but the force of habit, and a brutish indistinct idea of the superiority and fixed power of their masters, keep them in awe and subjection." One great source of discomfort to the slave is stated to be the change produced by the Order in Council in the *old mode* of punishment, "so well established, recognized, and understood by the slave;" (alluding of course to the abolition of flogging as it respects the women, and of the driving whip as it respects both sexes). "By those," they remark, "who have most considered the subject in this colony, the use of the whip is believed to be identified with the existence of slavery."†

But in reply to these, and many other remonstrances of the Colonists, in which they seem almost at a loss for language strong enough to express their alarm, the Governor, Sir R. Woodford, whose instructions were peremptory, refuses to

\* See Appendix A. of Second Anti-Slavery Report.

† See Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society.

suspend this Order, and affirms, what we have above stated, that "the points comprised in it were recommended to his Majesty's Government by the whole body of West India Planters and Merchants in London, as fit concessions on the part of the Slave Proprietors."

If such was the spirit in which the Planters of Trinidad resisted the orders of Government, it was scarcely to be expected that the different Colonial Legislatures would shew a greater readiness in adopting the suggestions of the Ministers for the improvement of their Slave Code. In some of the islands they have absolutely refused to make any changes in accordance with these suggestions; in others, after professions of acquiescence, they have done nothing. In several, indeed, acts have been passed for amending the existing laws, but, with very few exceptions, these amendments have been of the most unsatisfactory description; and in many instances, this *ameliorated* slave code, as it is termed, has contained clauses so utterly at variance with every principle of justice, that they would have disgraced the statutes of the most barbarous age.

A few of these enactments will afford sufficient proof, if proof were yet wanting, how little is to be expected from the Colonists when they undertake to reform their own laws.

In Clause 40 of the New Consolidated Slave Code of the Bahamas, after all that has been said and written upon the subject, it has been re-enacted, "That a negro or mulatto, who shall have been committed to gaol as a runaway, after having been confined and worked there for twelve months, shall, without any proof of his being a slave, and against the fair presumption of his being a free man, have the additional cruel and irreparable wrong inflicted upon him of being sold into perpetual bondage.\*

Clause 69 contains the following enactment:—

"Slaves receiving sentence of death or transportation,

\* Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 10.

shall be appraised and valued. But if it shall appear that the owner of such slave had treated him or her with inhumanity, and that necessity or hard usage might have driven such slave to the commission of the offence of which he or she shall have been convicted;\* then, no valuation shall be made, nor certificate granted; and the owner shall not be entitled to receive any allowance whatever for such slave from the public.†”

In reply to the remonstrances of Earl Bathurst on this and similar enactments, the Assembly observes, that “ a strong sense of the great impolicy and absolute danger of making any further innovations at present in the slave system of the colony, and a decided conviction of the correctness of the principles on which they are now acting, compel them to refuse to alter their legislation.”‡

In Barbadoes, two sessions have been consumed in debate and deliberation, and nothing has yet been done towards the reform of the Slave Code. The last session of their legislature opened with large promises, accompanied however with a spirit of violence and irritation even on the part of the professed reformers, which afforded but slender hope of their fulfilment. The very mover of the proposed reforms seemed to feel that he could not expect a hearing, without the most unmeasured abuse of the Abolitionists and their motives. “ The diabolical falsehoods and infamous aspersions of a few interested and designing hypocrites”—we quote verbatim from his speech, as reported in the West Indian newspapers of the day—“ moving in terrific

\* “ Is it possible for any man to read, without amazement and horror, that though the convicted slave should have been proved to have been driven to his crime by necessity, or hard usage on the part of his master—a master possessing absolute and uncontrolled power—yet that the law does not order his sentence of condemnation to be reversed, but leaves him to be executed or transported, as the case may be; while the only punishment inflicted on the real criminal is, that he does not receive the value of the murdered slave.”—Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 12.

† See Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 11, 12.

‡ Ibid. p. 14.

phalanx to the total annihilation of the white inhabitants of the West Indies" marked them out in his opinion as a "vindictive crew," indulging "the abominable desire to cast headlong into the gulph of destruction, or endless misery, so large a portion of their fellow creatures, equally with themselves the followers of Christ. No justification can they have in their hellish design but that which originated and is fostered in their own dark and interested souls. Endeavour, however," he says to his co-legislators, "to tranquillize (as far as your natures will permit) those acute feelings which must agitate the breast of every enlightened and virtuous West Indian, against that detestable Institution which, keenly and immoveably bent upon your destruction, has, with consummate ingenuity, erected and set in motion against you a tremendous machinery, throwing out at each evolution misery and woe. Soar above prejudice, and leave far behind you slanderers and vilifiers; steadily steering your country through the muddy waters of bitter calumny, and leaving her safely moored in the bright and tranquil shores of truth. Discharge your duty, forgetting every cause of irritation. Follow the mild dictates of your religion: shew to your accursed enemies that they, with their empty theories, carry blood and cruelty, risking not one iota of their ill-gotten wealth, while you in your practice extend, at the risk of your very existence, the real benefits of heaven-beaming philanthropy."—But all the violence of this vituperation was insufficient to secure the slightest degree of popular favour in Barbadoes, to the man who had dared to innovate, however sparingly, on the sacred institutions of its slave code. The speech was followed by upwards of two months of deliberation in the Assembly on the bill which it introduced; but during this time the mover of it appears to have been assailed, out of doors, by every species of clamour and invective. He speaks of "the irritable working of parochial feeling, which, in its effervescence, had disturbed him in the course of his duties," and exhorts the House "to guard, with scru-



pulous caution, against the influence of the feelings that are afloat without doors, agitating the minds of those who do not, cannot, will not, understand the question they exclaim against." He then alludes to the threatening tone which had been employed to deter him from his duty, and to the martyrdom to which he might possibly be called by the hostility of his constituents.

And what produced all this rage and violence on the part of the people of Barbadoes? A proposal merely to modify some of those cruel and sanguinary laws which had so long been the disgrace of its statute book. Under the influence, doubtless, of this popular feeling, the proposed amelioration law, on leaving the Assembly, and proceeding to the Council, was found to be still so disfigured by severity, and so defective in its provisions of protection to the slave, that the Council rejected it, as calculated to produce a more unfavourable impression of Barbadian humanity than if no change whatever had been attempted.\*

In Barbadoes, however, a new slave law has, at length, been passed. Of this much-boasted act it has been justly remarked, that "it does not remove any of the obstructions to the manumission of slaves, nor does it enable slaves to purchase their freedom. It does not cause slaves to cease to be chattels, or prevent their being sold at the discretion of the owner, to the disruption of the dearest family ties. It provides no means of instruction for them, and does not abolish Sunday markets and Sunday labour. It does not protect them in the possession or transmission of their property; nor relieve them from the burden of legally proving their freedom when freed, nor legalize marriage among them; nor put an end to the driving system, or to the flogging of women; or to arbitrary punishments to an almost unlimited extent, for any offence or for no offence. The very provisions framed with a view to mitigate the rigours of their former

\* See Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society.

state, avail but little to that purpose, while they serve to mark more unequivocally the depth of their degradation.”\*

In Barbice nothing whatever appears to have been done in the work of reform. Governor Beard having pressed the subject at different times on the attention of the Council without effect, observes, in addressing Earl Bathurst, “I have no hope of the Council redeeming their pledge in this respect, or acceding in any manner to the proposed measures of his Majesty’s Government.”

In Bermuda, Demerara, Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, either nothing, or nothing in any degree satisfactory, has been done in reforming the slave code.†

In Tobago an Act containing some considerable improvements was passed—like the rest, however, it had many omissions and many objectionable clauses; but after Lord Bathurst’s remonstrances in regard to these, had been laid before the Colonial Legislature, the Governor, Sir F. P. Robinson, writes, that it is his decided opinion “that nothing more will be done towards the melioration of the condition of the slaves in this colony by the Legislature.”—He transmits, at the same time, a message from the House of Assembly rejecting the Order of Trinidad entirely.‡

But it is by the Legislature of Jamaica, the largest of our islands, and alone containing nearly one-half of our whole slave population, that the most determined hostility has been evinced to every proposition emanating from this country for ameliorating the condition of the slaves.

The only measure of reform which appears to have been introduced in consequence of the communication of Earl Bathurst’s propositions to the Assembly, was “a bill to enable slaves to give evidence in certain cases of crime committed against slaves, and of criminal attempts to excite rebel-

\* Slave Colonies, p. 25.

† Ibid. Passim.

‡ Ibid. p. 103, 104.

lion and insurrection, and of uttering seditious language. But even this bill, though most jealously guarded; and extremely defective in its provisions, was thrown out by a majority of thirty-four to one!

The violence of opposition manifested by the Assembly, has been only exceeded by the still more unmeasured resistance of the Parish Vestries, and the absolute rage of the Journalists.

Not contented with heaping the most abusive epithets upon the different Members of the British Ministry, as well as upon the Abolitionists, a body of Planters in Jamaica, wholly unconscious of their own insignificance, have put forth a declaration, that “ *if the Commons’ House—and the Lords’ House—and the King at their head, were to join in making laws for the better treatment of the slaves, they should pay no other regard to their laws than to treat them with contempt.*” !!

As a general comment upon all the recent proceedings in the Colonies, as regards the proposals of the British Ministry, we extract the following from the Third Report of the Anti-Slavery Society, published Dec. 21, 1825.

“ The local Legislatures have refused, without a single exception, to comply even with the moderate requisitions of his Majesty’s Ministers, as these are embodied in the Order in Council for Trinidad; and the Colonists, generally, exult in the refusal, encouraging each other to persevere in the same contumacious course. Their tone of secure and triumphant irony is remarkable. ‘ We beg you to observe,’ says the editor of one of their newspapers—and we give the passage only as an illustration of the prevailing spirit—‘ We beg you to observe, that not one of the unconquered colonies’ (meaning the colonies having legislatures of their own) ‘ have had the *civility* to comply with Earl Bathurst’s wishes, notwithstanding he informed them, *in the most earnest and feeling manner, of the serious extent of the disappointment*

*which his Majesty's Government would experience if they rejected his application. We sympathize most sincerely with his Lordship on this unexpected event.' "*<sup>\*</sup>

Such is the spirit in which the colonists have met the humane intentions of Government, and such are the laws which they have framed even when professing to act in accordance with them. Instead of being sensible that such laws outrage every principle of justice and feeling of humanity, they actually hold them forth as models of enlightened and beneficent legislation. But if the laws themselves be, as they are, a crime, what must be their administration in the hands of the men who framed them, and who do not blush to boast of them?

A reply to this question is furnished by a return recently made of the proceedings of the Fiscals of Demerara and Berbice, in their capacity of Guardians and Protectors of the Slaves.

The return from Demerara comprises a period of three months only, from June to September, 1824. The following are a few extracts :—

1. The Negroes of Plantation Big Diamond complain of ill-treatment: three of the ringleaders are punished, "the complaint being unwarranted."

2. The Negroes of Plantation Friendship make the same complaint: four are punished, and all are sent back severely reprimanded.

3. Negroes of the Plantation la Bonna Mere make the same complaint: it is pronounced frivolous and unwarrantable, and seven of them are punished.

<sup>\*</sup> Although the Government had thus already tried in vain the methods of recommendation and persuasion with the different Colonies, and although in this manner three years had been already consumed to no purpose, yet during the last year (1826) they have again condescended to send out propositions to the Colonial Legislatures, for their *adoption, rejection, or modification*. The fate of these is not yet decided, but from all the intelligence that has hitherto reached us, they do not appear to have been received by the Colonists in a better spirit than before.

4. The gangs of Plantation Belle Hope complain of ill usage, hard work, starvation, &c. : the complaint is pronounced frivolous and ill-founded, and three of the ring-leaders are punished.

5. Izak, of Plantation Fowlis, complains of ill treatment : he is punished.

6. George makes a like complaint : he is to go to his work, and to be punished.

7. A woman and boy complain of want of clothing and ill treatment : unfounded : the woman confined eight days, the boy flogged.

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

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

On the 29th of November there is another complaint from the same estate.

Michael says he is a negro, and knows very well he must work ; but that they work from morning till late in the evening picking coffee, “ and when he comes home, between six and seven in the evening, instead of going home to get some victuals, he is ordered to work till twelve at night, bringing mud from one place to another. Also on Sundays they are ordered to work, and if they should refuse they would be flogged.”

Philip makes a similar complaint.

Thomas says “ he is an old man, and the work that the manager gives him to do it is impossible for him to complete,

from the weakness of his body and state; for which he is always punished, and kept continually in the stocks."

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

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

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

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

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

Such was the result of these acknowledged atrocities.

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

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

*“The complainant in this instance was punished by the acting Fiscal for having left the estate and come to town to complain without any cause, and when he knew he had been guilty of disobedience of orders and neglect of duty; and the manager was warned of the impropriety and illegality of working the negroes on Sunday.”\**

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

No better comment can be made on such atrocious proceedings than that of the murdered Missionary Smith. “If it be asked,” said he, in speaking of the cruel treatment of the slaves in Demerara—“If it be asked, Are there not authorities to whom the injured slaves can appeal for redress? The answer is in the affirmative. But many of the legally constituted authorities are themselves owners of plantations, following the same system, and perhaps, by means of their

\* Since last year, the Fiscal of Berbice, at the express desire of the Council of that Colony, has transmitted to this country an official vindication of the Report in which the above facts are related. It is drawn up with the avowed object of *rebutting* the charges against West Indian humanity and justice which had been founded on the original Report; but so far from succeeding in this object, it tends to confirm, and even to aggravate those charges. By far the most atrocious and horrid of the statements contained in the report are incontestably proved and even admitted to have been true.—For a Review of this vindication, see Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 16.

managers, practising the same abuses on their slaves. Judging from their conduct, it would seem that some of them consider it a greater crime for the negroes to complain of their wrongs, than for the master to *inflict* them. The complainants are almost sure to be flogged, and frequently before the complaint is investigated, if listening to the exculpatory tale of the master can be called investigation; and even when the cause is so evidently on the side of the complainant that it can neither be denied nor evaded, the decision is so studiously concealed from them, that they scarcely know whether the law is to protect the oppressed or to indemnify the oppressor; nor can they always solve this problem from the result."

But it is time to leave this part of our subject. Enough, and more than enough has been stated to prove, in the language of one of our most distinguished statesmen, "that the masters of slaves are not to be trusted in what concerns legislation for slavery. That, however specious their laws may appear, they must be ineffectual in their operation," because "there is something in the nature of absolute authority, in the relation between master and slave, which makes despotism in *all* cases, and under *all* circumstances, an incompetent and unsure executor even of its own provisions in favour of the objects of its power."

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## CONSIDERATIONS ON THE BENEFIT WHICH WOULD ARISE FROM CULTIVATING TROPICAL PRODUCTIONS BY FREE LABOUR.

IN taking a review of the foregoing details, what a dark and discouraging prospect is presented to us. The persevering efforts of the great and good men who first befriended the African race have, it is true, after a long protracted struggle, obtained from the Legislature of Great Britain the entire Abolition of the Slave Trade; that Trade has been declared Piracy by Great Britain and by the United States of America; most of the European Powers have consented to relinquish it; and England has long kept an armed naval force upon the coast of Africa to enforce its abandonment by the subjects of other nations as well as by her own. But all has been in vain. The scourge of this abominable traffic still desolates the shores of Africa as widely as ever, while the crimes and horrors which attend it have been aggravated rather than diminished.

But the legalized state of Slavery in our own dominions, as depicted in the preceding pages, is a system of injustice and oppression no less atrocious than the Slave Trade itself.

We have become convinced of this: we have found it impossible to contemplate its revolting features without the liveliest emotions of shame and indignation; and we have endeavoured—the Government and the People of this Country have strenuously endeavoured to mitigate its evils.

But here, also, our efforts have been exerted in vain.

The humane recommendations of the British Ministry have been met by an obstinate and contemptuous opposition on the part of the Colonists, whose conduct has declared, in terms the most distinct and explicit, that, as far as in them

lies, they will preserve and perpetuate the worst abuses of slavery.

Under the influence of such considerations, we seem almost compelled to abandon in despair the cause of the Negro and the interests of humanity. We are almost ready to believe that he has been destined by some unalterable decree to remain for ever the victim of oppression. But to admit such an opinion would be an imputation upon the justice of the Deity, in the moral government of the universe, wholly at variance with his known attributes, and we are, therefore, induced to hope, that he has provided, by some method as yet but little regarded, for the entire extinction of slavery.

In the ordinary course of human affairs, the interest and the duty of mankind appear to be in general inseparably connected—in contradicting the will of our Creator, we seldom fail to disappoint our own. As, therefore, no system at variance with the laws of God, and injurious to his rational creation, can ever be ultimately beneficial to those who carry it on, we should, on these considerations alone, be authorised in concluding that Slavery, accompanied as it is, in every stage of its existence, by rapine, injustice, and oppression, must disappoint the selfish aims of those who think themselves interested in maintaining it.

Man, as he proceeded from the hands of his Creator, and in the exercise of that freedom which is his birth-right, is of far greater value than when enslaved, and degraded to the condition of a brute. In the one case, "his exertions are animated by hope; in the other, depressed by despair: in the one they are sustained by the energies of nature, in the other extorted by the mechanical operation of the lash;" and for these reasons the industry of freedom may be confidently presumed to be more productive than that of slavery, and by a natural consequence, more beneficial to those who employed it and put it in motion.

It is believed that the facts which we are about to bring

forward will establish, to the conviction of every candid and dispassionate enquirer, the truth of the axiom—

*“That the labour of the Free Man is cheaper than that of the Slave.”*

In tracing the important consequences which result from this general principle, we shall have frequent occasion to admire the consummate wisdom which has provided by means so simple, a complete ultimate remedy for the grossest system of wrong which human villany ever invented. We shall turn with heartfelt delight from the crimes and miseries of man, from the feeble efforts of human benevolence, and the misdirected or abortive exertions of human power, to contemplate the silent, but irresistible operation of those laws which have been appointed in the counsels of Providence to terminate the oppressions of the African race.

“The expence of slave labour,” says Adam Hodgson, in his valuable letter to J. B. Say, on the comparative value of Free and Slave Labour, “resolves itself into the annual sum which, in the average term of the productive years of a slave’s life, will liquidate the cost of purchase or rearing, and support in old age, if he attain it, with interest, and the sum annually expended in his maintenance.

“If we omit the case of purchased slaves, and suppose them to be bred on the estate (and as breeding is now admitted to be, under ordinary circumstances, the cheapest mode of supply, your argument will gain by the supposition), the expence of free labour will resolve itself into precisely the same elements, since the wages paid to free labourers of every kind, must be such as to enable them, one with another, to bring up a family and continue their race.”

Now it is observed by Adam Smith, “the wear and tear of a free servant is equally at the expence of his master, and it generally costs him much less than that of a slave. The fund destined for replacing and repairing, if I may say so, the wear and tear of a slave, is commonly managed by a

negligent master or careless overseer. That destined for performing the same office with regard to the free man, is managed by the free man himself. The disorders which generally prevail in the economy of the rich, naturally introduce themselves into the management of the former; the strict frugality and parsimonious attention of the poor, as naturally establish themselves in that of the latter." The Russian political economist, Storch, who had carefully examined the system of slavery in that extensive empire, makes the same remark, almost in the same words. Hume expresses a similar opinion in decided terms; and I have now before me a statement from one of the slave districts in the United States, in which it is estimated that, taking the purchase money, or the expence of rearing a slave, with the cost of his maintenance, at their actual rates, and allowing fifteen years of health and strength, during which to liquidate the first cost, his labour will be at least twenty-five per cent. dearer than that of the free labourer in the neighbouring districts.

From the preceding particulars it appears highly probable that the cost of rearing and maintaining a slave would render his labour, under ordinary circumstances at least, as oppressive as that of the free labourer, but in addition to this it would be far less productive.

"The slave," says Storch, "working always for another, and never for himself, being limited to a bare subsistence, and seeing no prospect of improving his condition, loses all stimulus to exertion, he becomes a machine, often very obstinate, and very difficult to manage. A man who is not rewarded in proportion to the labour he performs, works as little as he can; this is an acknowledged truth, which the experience of every day confirms. Let a free labourer work by the day, he will be indolent; pay him by the piece, he will often work to excess, and ruin his health. If this observation is just in the case of the free labourer; it must be still more so in that of the slave."

Hume remarks, "I shall add, from the experience of our planters, that slavery is as little advantageous to the master as to the man. The fear of punishment will never draw so much labour from a slave, as the dread of being turned off, and not getting another service, will give a free man."

Burke observes, in his *Treatise on European Settlements*, "I am the more convinced of the necessity of these indulgences, as slaves certainly cannot go through so much work as free men. The mind goes a great way in every thing, and when a man knows that his labour is for himself, and that the more he labours, the more he is to acquire; this consciousness carries him through, and supports him beneath fatigues, under which he would otherwise have sunk."

"That the proprietors of West India estates," observes Dr. Beattie, "would be in any respect materially injured by employing free servants (if these could be had) in their several manufactures, is highly improbable, and has, indeed, been absolutely denied by those who were well informed on this subject. A clergyman of Virginia assured me, that a white man does double the work of a slave; which will not seem wonderful, if we consider that the former works for himself, and the latter for another; that by the law, one is protected, the other oppressed; and that in the articles of food and clothing, relaxation and rest, the free man has innumerable advantages. It may, therefore, be presumed, that if all who serve in the colonies were free, the same work would be performed by half the number which is now performed by the whole."

Koster, in his *Travels in the Brazils*, observes, "the slave trade is impolitic, on the broad principle that a man in a state of bondage will not be so serviceable to the community as one who acts for himself, and whose whole exertions are directed to the advancement of his own fortune; the creation of which by regular means adds to the general prosperity of the society to which he belongs. This undoubted and indis-

putable fact must be still more strongly impressed on the mind of every one who has been in the habit of seeing the manner in which slaves perform their daily labour. Their indifference, and the extreme slowness of every movement, plainly point out the trifling interest which they have in the advancement of the work. I have watched two parties labouring in the same field, one of free persons, the other of slaves, which occasionally, though very seldom, occurs. The former are singing, joking, and laughing, and are always actively turning hand and foot; whilst the latter are silent, and if they are viewed from a little distance, their movements are scarcely to be perceived.”\*

Dr. Dickson, who resided in Barbadoes as Secretary to the late Honourable Edward Hay, the Governor of that island, observes, “that it has been known for many ages, by men of reflection, that the labour of slaves, whether bought or bred, though apparently cheaper, is really far dearer in general than that of free men.”

From a calculation made under the guidance of M. Coulomb, an able mathematician and experienced engineer, who conducted extensive building works both in France and the West Indies, he infers, “that field slaves do only between a third and a half of the work despatched by reluctant French soldiers, and probably not more than a third of what those very slaves would do if urged by their own interest.

“I must additionally refer,” remarks the same intelligent writer, “to an excellent pamphlet entitled *Observations on Slavery*, published in 1788, and now out of print, by my late worthy friend, Dr. James Anderson, who shews, that the labour of a West India slave costs about *thrice* as much as it would cost if executed by a free man. Taking another case, he demonstrates that if the labour of certain colliers in Scotland, who, till our own times, were subjected to a mild kind of vassalage, regulated by law, was *twice* as dear as that of the free

\* Hodgson's Letter to Say, p. 8.

men who wrought in other coal mines in the same country, and *thrice* as dear as common day-labour.”\*

If slave labour were cheaper than free labour, we might confidently presume that estates would be rendered less productive by the emancipation of the slaves which cultivated them; but the presumption is contradicted by experience.

“A few Polish Nobles,” observes Coxe, in his *Travels in Poland*, “of benevolent hearts and enlightened understandings, have acted upon different principles, and have ventured upon the expedient of giving liberty to their vassals. The event has shewn this to be no less judicious than humane, no less friendly to their own interests than to the happiness of the peasants; for it appears that in the districts in which the new arrangement has been introduced, the population of their villages has been considerably increased, and the revenues of their estates augmented in a triple proportion.

“The first noble who granted freedom to his peasants was Zamoiski, formerly Great Chancellor, who, in 1761, enfranchised six villages in the palatinate of Masovia. These villages were, in 1777, visited by the author of the patriotic letters, from whom I received the following information:—

“On inspecting the parish registers of births from 1750 to 1760, that is, during the ten years of slavery immediately preceding their enfranchisement, he found the births 434; in the first ten years of their freedom, from 1760 to 1770, 628; and from 1770 to the beginning of 1777, 535. By these extracts it appeared that during the

|                                         |              |
|-----------------------------------------|--------------|
| First period, there were only 43 births | } each year. |
| Second ditto, ..... 62 ditto            |              |
| Third ditto, ..... 77 ditto             |              |

“The revenues of the six villages, since their enfranchisement, have been augmented in a much greater proportion than their population. In the state of vassalage, Zamoiski was obliged, according to the custom of Poland, to build

\* See Hodgson's Letter, p. 9, 10.

cottages and barns for his peasants, and to furnish them with food, horses, and ploughs, and every implement of agriculture. Since their enfranchisement, they are become so easy in their circumstances, as to provide themselves with all these necessaries at their own expence, and they likewise cheerfully pay an annual rent in lieu of the manual labour formerly exacted by their master. *By these means, the receipts of this particular estate have been nearly tripled.*

“The example of Zamoiski has been followed by Chrep-towitz, Vice-Chancellor of Lithuania, and the Abbe Bryzowski, with similar success. Prince Stanislaus, the King of Poland, has warmly patronised the plan of giving liberty to the peasants. He has enfranchised four villages not far from Warsaw, in which he has not only emancipated the peasants from their slavery, but even condescends to direct their affairs. He explained to me, in the most satisfactory manner, that the grant of freedom was no less advantageous to the lord than to the peasant, provided the former is willing to superintend their conduct for a few years, and to put them in the way of acting for themselves. He intends giving the public a particular account of his arrangements, and will shew how much he has increased the value of his estate, as well as the happiness of his peasants.”

In Hungary a similar experiment has been made of emancipating the vassals, and with the same success.

Count Festetics, an Hungarian nobleman, having purchased an estate in the Murakös, a tract of country between the Muhr and the Drave, granted lands to the peasantry at a fixed annual rent, instead of the common tenure of service. In these free villages the value of land has risen to such a degree, that the owner of four acres is esteemed wealthy, and the population has increased from fifty families to six hundred. Although still subject to the government duties, and suffering from the effects of two bad seasons and an inundation of the Drave, these peasants were, in 1814, striving cheerfully with the difficulties of their situation, while their



neighbours, on the common footing, although each family possessed *thirty* acres, were reduced to subsist on the bounty of their lord. Those free villages, also, afford an exception to the general dishonesty of the Hungarian peasantry ; their household furniture is often exposed on the outside of the cottages, and does not even require the protection of the large dogs common in the rest of the country.\*

It is stated in the Supplement to the Report of the Privy Council, in reply to the 17th of the Queries from his Excellency Governor Parry, answered by the Hon. Joshua Steel, a planter of 1068 acres in the parishes of St. John, St. Philip, and St. George, in the island of Barbadoes—"On a plantation of 288 slaves, in June, 1780, viz. 90 men, 82 women, 56 boys, and 60 girls, there were only 15 births, and no less than 57 deaths, in three years and three months. An alteration was made in the mode of governing the slaves, the whips were taken from all the white servants, all arbitrary punishments were abolished, and all offences were tried, and sentence passed by a negro court. *In four years and three months*, under this change of government, there were 44 births, and only 41 deaths, of which 10 deaths were of superannuated men and women, and past labour, some above 80 years old. *But, in the same interval, the annual nett clearance of the estate was above three times more than it had been for ten years before.*"

The preceding facts and authorities form but a very small portion of what can be adduced in support of our position—that the Labour of the Free Man is cheaper than that of the Slave.

Should the reader desire a more copious illustration of this interesting subject, he will find it in the valuable pamphlet to which we have so often referred, and from which the above passages have been chiefly extracted. He can scarcely,

\* See Bright's Travels in Hungary.

However, avoid being struck with the surprising coincidence which exists between all the facts that we have cited, although occurring under very different circumstances, and in situations widely distant from each other; or fail to acknowledge that they are of themselves sufficient to establish, in the clearest and most convincing manner, the important principle for which we are contending.

We are authorised, therefore, in assuming it as a general rule, that the employment of Slave Labour is destructive to the interests of the master. This rule admits of only one exception. In countries possessing a large quantity of rich unoccupied soil, the temporary views of the land-owner may be promoted by the system of slavery, notwithstanding its general disadvantages.

Land can have no value without people, and its fertility may be so great as to counterbalance the disadvantages of slave labour. Where land is so easily obtained, a man will rather work for himself than become the hired labourer of another, and from this circumstance, the wages of free labour may be so high as to be more expensive than the labour of slaves.

These considerations will explain the reason why the land-owners of Illinois attempted to obtain the introduction of slavery into that newly inhabited state.

But this state of things cannot continue long. As population increases, all the richer lands become occupied; the difficulty of obtaining hired labourers is at an end; and the wages of free labour, in consequence, soon reach that point at which it becomes, as in other cases, the interest of the cultivator to employ it in preference to slave labour.

If, however, blind to his own interest, he continue to persist in his impolitic system of slave cultivation, the natural fertility of the soil may be so great as to enable him to do so without absolute ruin to himself. But even this advantage will soon fail him, for, by an admirable provision of the Author of Nature, slave cultivation has an invariable tendency

to lessen the fertility of the soil. In a manner which at first sight appears almost miraculous, the earth refuses to lend her support to a system of injustice, and while "she multiplies her productions with profusion under the hands of a free-born labourer, seems to shrink into barrenness under the sweat of the slave." The causes of this extraordinary fact will be made clear to us by a few very simple considerations.

It is well known that a continual succession of the same crops will deteriorate the richest soils. To maintain their fertility it is necessary to have recourse to green crops and the pasturage of cattle; and in the natural course of things under the influence of freedom, the demands of a civilized community make it the interest of the cultivator to devote a considerable portion of his land to these purposes.

But under a system of slavery his interests are widely different. He has then no inducement to rear cattle. The labour usually assigned to them in a free country is performed by his slaves, and he has therefore no need of their living services. They would be equally useless to him when dead, because beef and mutton are luxuries almost wholly denied to the slave, who is obliged to content himself with the cheapest and coarsest food which can support life. In other respects they would be of little or no value to him, because the wants of a slave population are not considered to require either leather or woollen cloth, or any of those comforts which the free man derives so largely from the animals whose flesh supplies him with food.

For these reasons, in slave countries it is the constant practice to persevere in a ruinous succession of the same exhausting crops, and the productiveness of the soil is, in consequence, gradually diminished. In our West India islands this has taken place universally; in the United States the same effects have arisen from the same cause. Even in countries where the population, although not actually enslaved, has been long degraded by oppression to a condition

nearly allied to slavery, the same fact has been exhibited in a very extraordinary manner.

A late traveller in Greece remarked with astonishment, that many districts of this beautiful region, once distinguished by their exuberant fertility, were now become barren and unproductive.\*

It appears, therefore, that by an almost necessary consequence, slavery produces a system of cultivation destructive to the fertility of the soil. When from the influence of these causes the estate of the planter has been impoverished, economy and good management become indispensable. "But it is found," says Hodgson, "by the experience of both ancient and modern times, that nothing has tended more to assimilate the condition of the slave to that of the free labourer, or actually to effect his emancipation, than the necessity imposed by circumstances of adopting the most economical mode of cultivation."

The first step in the progress of the ancient bondsmen of Europe "from a state of slavery to that of freedom," has been generally marked by the introduction of Task-work, or of a system which required a certain quota of labour, or the fruits of labour, from the slave, on condition of allowing him to enjoy the overplus of his industry.

In the United States this system has been already adopted, with unquestionable advantage to the slave; nothing, indeed, can conduce more immediately to the excitement of his voluntary efforts. "It seems the natural and easy transition from labour to industry; it forms in the mind of the slave those habits which are necessary for the character of the free man: it thus prepares him for enjoying, by a gradual change, those rights and privileges which belong to freedom."†

The same necessity of having recourse to the most economical mode of cultivation, will induce the planter to adopt many other considerable improvements. He has been hither-

\* On this subject see *Support of Slavery Investigated*. By J. Cropper.

† See Hodgson's *Letter to Say*. *Passim*.

to accustomed to have recourse to the sinews of the slave for every thing; but he will soon learn that his interest may be greatly promoted by employing the labour of cattle *more*, and that of man *less*, by making use of the plough, and availing himself of the various modes of diminishing human labour, adopted with such great advantage in every free community.

He will next quickly discover "how much his interest is connected with the comfort of his slave; how much more profitable it is to divide with him the fruits of his free and strenuous exertions, than to monopolize the scanty produce of his compulsory toil. The rights of property, and the secure enjoyment of the fruits of labour will soon be extended to him, and the progress of his improvement will become constant and visible."

But slavery is a system so radically vicious and bad, that oppression and cruelty are necessary to its very existence, and every alleviating circumstance, every permanent intermixture of better principles, hastens that existence to a close. The moment you succeed in mitigating its harsher features, the moment you raise the slave to a more elevated condition in society, you provide, by an easy and natural course of things, for the ultimate and complete extinction of slavery.

As slaves, when well treated, increase as rapidly as free men, the natural consequence of that improvement in their condition which has been shewn to arise out of the interests of the master, will be an increase in the numbers of the slave population; and when a population becomes so numerous that it is difficult to find employment for them, slavery must soon cease.

A surplus population in a free country produces a rate of wages so low, that great industry and good management are necessary to earn a subsistence. Under such circumstances, *man can never possess any saleable value*, since it is obvious that his purchaser must be at the expence of supplying him

with the means of support; that is, he must give him all which his free and strenuous exertions could have obtained, before he can derive any benefit from his industry.

Ireland is at present in this situation, and let us mark the consequence. Instead of considering a poor Irishman of any value as property, we are willing to incur considerable expence in transporting him to a distant land.

In a state of slavery the course of things would be precisely the same. As soon as the slaves had increased beyond the usual means of employment, the desire of the planter to render their services valuable would induce him to have them instructed in various arts and manufactures, in order to make for himself many things which he has hitherto been accustomed to procure at a greater expence elsewhere. "During this state of things, the industry, the knowledge, and the habits of the slaves would be constantly improving by extended and varied employments; and necessity, or a desire to enjoy the fruits of their labour, would soon be found to operate just the same in warm as in cold climates; and would be gradually, but constantly, fitting them for freedom at the time when, from an increase of their numbers, or other circumstances, they would cease to have any saleable value; and when it would be a great hardship on their masters to compel them any longer to hold them in slavery."\*

It is in this manner that slavery has been silently brought

\* Support of Slavery Investigated, p. 23.

The late returns from the West Indies strongly confirm this part of our argument. The Bahamas have an unproductive soil, and slaves are comparatively of little value; but there the slave population is rapidly increasing. Demerara is productive, slaves sell very high, and yet they rapidly decrease. Barbadoes lies between the two extremes.—The following statement will shew the relative price of the slave, with the annual increase or decrease, and the annual number of manumissions in every 10,000 of the population in each of these three islands.

|           | <i>Price.</i> | <i>Manumissions.</i> | <i>Increase.</i> | <i>Decrease.</i> |
|-----------|---------------|----------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Bahamas   | £22           | 35                   | 173              |                  |
| Barbadoes | £28           | 12                   | 33               |                  |
| Demerara  | £88           | 4½                   | —                | 166              |

to a termination in those countries of Europe where it has now ceased to exist. It is thus that it has been nearly extinguished in the East Indies, where, if any claims to servitude remain, we are assured by unexceptionable authority, that they are not enforced, because, from the cheapness of free labour, they are not worth enforcing.

But, granting the correctness of all we have hitherto been urging, it will now very naturally be asked—If free labour be cheaper than slave labour, why have not the obvious interests of the master, in all cases, induced him to have recourse to it? Why has not slavery itself already terminated, or, if it will thus terminate by the operation of natural causes alone, if it will die a natural death, why should we urge it to a sudden and perhaps premature dissolution?

In reply to these objections, it should be remembered, that man does not always act with an enlightened view to self-interest; “an old system is frequently not improved until not only a better is known, but also until *necessity* compels its adoption, and, least of all, are men to be expected to make changes which involve a voluntary resignation of power and dominion over their fellow-creatures. A bad system may exist as long as a very high price is obtained for the article produced. The high prices of Tropical productions on their first introduction into Europe, admitted of an expensive system. These prices were so high as to support slave cultivation in the absence of the planters from the management of their own concerns, an absence producing neglect, waste, and extravagance, which could not succeed in any other branch of the agriculture, commerce, or manufactures of this or any other country.”\*

In the United States it is probable the unfettered competition of free labour would soon put an end to slavery, did not the large tracts of rich unoccupied land in the back settlements, occasion such a constant drain of the population

\* Support of Slavery Investigated, p. 4.

from the Old States as to counteract its effects, and even to produce an internal slave trade notoriously extensive.

In the West India Colonies of Great Britain, the productions of slave labour are maintained at a monopoly price by the bounties and protecting duties imposed and granted by this country for the benefit of the Planters ; who have thus been enabled to continue their impolitic and oppressive system beyond the period at which it must, in the natural course of things, have given way to one more enlightened.

The West Indian monopoly is at present supported, first, by a bounty of upwards of six shillings per cwt.\* on the export of refined sugar, and which necessarily raises the price not only of all such sugar exported, but of all the sugar consumed at home, to the extent of the bounty ; and secondly, a protecting duty of ten shillings a cwt. more on East Indian than on West Indian sugar ; thus favouring sugar grown by slave labour, in preference to that grown by free labour, to the extent of about 50 per cent. on the cost of the article, and tending to exclude the latter from our consumption, and to force us to consume the former. On coffee also the West Indies have a protection of 28s. a cwt. Now, to say nothing at present of the degree in which prices are raised by the operation of the protecting duty, the cost of the West Indian monopoly, arising from the sugar bounty alone, may be estimated at about £1,200,000 annually.† And it is this large

\* This bounty has been reduced during the last Session of Parliament to 8s. per cwt. ; the amount of the protecting duty still remains the same.

† This position has been questioned. It has been affirmed that the bounty, the extent of which is not denied, affects only the sugar which is exported. But such a statement can alone proceed from an entire ignorance of the facts of the case. The price of the sugar consumed in this country, and of that which is refined for exportation, is precisely the same in the sugar market. The bounty necessarily operates on the whole mass of sugar, as there cannot exist at the same moment, two prices of one article in the same market. The point, however, if there could exist a doubt upon it (though such a doubt cannot possibly exist in the mind of any commercial man), is fully conceded by the West Indians themselves. Mr. George Hibbert, the



sum (in addition to whatever enhancement of price may be produced by the protecting duty) paid by the people of this country to the growers of sugar, over and above what that sugar would otherwise cost, which does in fact chiefly maintain unimpaired and unreformed the wretched system of colonial bondage. The People of England are therefore the real upholders of Negro Slavery. Without their large contribution to its support, it could not fail to be rapidly mitigated, and eventually extinguished. It is absolutely vain, therefore, to be hoping to abolish slavery, or to expect that by the vehemence of our speeches, or the force of mere Parliamentary resolutions, or of Royal recommendations, we shall be able to abate this evil, while we are extending to it such solid marks of our favour, and thus affording to it its great and principal means of support.

It is calculated that there are in the West Indies about 1800 sugar plantations; among the proprietors of which the twelve hundred thousand pounds which the people of this country are forced to pay for their sugars, over and above what the same sugars would cost them if the trade were free, is of course divided, making on the average about £700 sterling annually to each proprietor; and this independently of the advantage, whatever it be, which he derives from the protecting duty. Now if it were proposed in Parliament to give to each of these 1800\* West Indian proprietors pensions, varying in their amount from £500 to £5000 a year,

Agent of the island of Jamaica, in a letter to his constituents, dated the 11th of March, 1824, and published in the Royal Gazette of Jamaica of the 1st of May, 1824, distinctly states, that “*the advantage which we now enjoy in the principle and produce of calculating the drawback upon the export of refined sugar, taken altogether, is little, if at all short of a gratuitous bounty of six shillings per hundred weight.*”—See Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society.

For a full explanation of the nature and effects of this bounty, see Relief of West Indian Distress. By James Cropper.

\* This number is said to be over-rated by more than 200; if so, the case here stated would be greatly strengthened.

according to the quantity of sugar which each might extract by means of the cart-whip, from the labour of his slaves; and forming a total aggregate of one million two hundred thousand pounds, what reception would such a proposition meet with? Would it be tolerated for a single moment? And yet wherein does the actual state of things differ substantially from the case which has been supposed, except that, in this last, the transaction would stand forth to the public view in all its flagrancy, while, in the other, it is more concealed from observation; and that, in the one case, the money would be paid by the people into the Exchequer, before it went into the pockets of the sugar planters; and that, in the other, it is paid to them through the grocers in the price of their sugars. The payment is not the less real on that account.\*

We repeat, then, that the People of England are the real upholders of Negro Slavery—"in opposition to the dictates of humanity, the precepts of religion, and the principles of political economy and impartial justice, we contribute more to perpetuate our own disgrace, than it would be deemed prudent to bestow in the purchase of the greatest blessing. All our plans of domestic improvement, joined to all the efforts which we make for the diffusion of religion and virtue in foreign nations—our Schools, our Bible Societies, and our Missions, justly considered as the peculiar glory of the age—cost us a mere scantling, compared to what is annually devoted to that very pious and benevolent object, the perpetuation of Slavery in the West Indies;—we throw mites into the treasury of the sanctuary, and heap ingots on the altar of Moloch."†

Great as this pecuniary sacrifice is, it is not all that we are called upon to make; we are called upon to support a system, the effects of which have ever been to hinder the progress of improvement, and to spread barbarism in its stead; a system every where marked by the destruction of

\* Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society.

† See Address of the Leicester Anti-Slavery Society.

the very soil, and still more by its tendency to the destruction of every virtuous and moral feeling, no less in the master than in the slave. We are called upon to bind down the energies of the country, and to exclude that competition which would certainly destroy this wretched system. The rapid extension of our commerce since its opening with South America and India, cramped and restricted as it still is, is abundantly sufficient to shew what that extension might have been under a conduct governed by more liberal and enlightened views. We have seen, for instance, the cotton trade, not only giving full employment to the population of the districts in England where it is now carried on, but, since the removal of some absurd regulations, we have seen with delight some branches of this trade extending to Ireland, and presenting the best means of improving and raising her depressed population ! Had we but employed the means within our power, of diffusing employment, civilization, and comfort, over the regions of Asia, Africa, and America, we should long since have received in return, employment and comfort for the suffering and depressed, though generous-minded population of Ireland ! and even now, if we will but pursue this policy, we shall soon reap an abundant reward.

But it might at least have been expected, that in sacrificing such immense national advantages, we should have had some manifest and palpable compensation in the enormous wealth and unparalleled prosperity of those for whose benefit the sacrifice is made. Is then the present system of colonial cultivation advantageous to the planters ? If it be, of what do they complain ? Have they not the unrestrained use and full controul of their slaves ? Have they not the privilege of importing their produce at a less duty than other countries ? Have they not bounties also on its re-exportation ? Yet we hear every day that West Indian cultivation is no longer profitable, and that, without further sacrifices on the part of the mother country, the planters will be ruined. But can the planters suppose that this country is prepared to

make these further sacrifices? to submit to still heavier burthens for no other purpose than to support an unjust system, which is at the same time unprofitable, not only to the country but to themselves? Instead of looking any longer for such ruinous support, let them employ the means of improvement which are amply within their power. Let them examine what it is that enables their competitors to undersell them, and they will soon perceive the immense advantages of free over slave labour.\*

But the real cause of their present distress may be readily discovered in the gross system of mismanagement to which our bounties and protections have given rise. In a petition to Parliament from the island of Antigna, in a late Session, the produce and expences of an estate are stated, in which about *two hundred and fifty pounds* are charged for oversight and management; the value of all its produce being, in the general markets of Europe and unaided by English bounty, only about £1050 sterling. Let the English landholder say if he could afford to pay such a sum for the oversight and management of 150 to 200 acres of land, which would yield as much gross produce; or, if he did pay it, whether he would not soon be under the necessity of mortgaging his estate.†

The non-residence of the Planters is also a peculiar evil of the British Colonial system.

That the residence of many of the land-owners of Ireland would improve their own revenues, and, still more, the condition of the Irish people, is a point which *few* would be

\* Impolicy of Slavery.

† The following is one instance of this gross mismanagement. *Bricks* are enumerated in the Antigua petition among the supplies imported from this country. In deriving his supply of this article from this source, the *Proprietor of Slaves* pays from 5s. to 7s. 6d. per day to the *free labourer* of England for making them; notwithstanding the *gross amount* of the produce raised by the labour of 140 slaves, even with the benefit of the bounty, is only £1,427, or less than 7d. per day for the labour of each slave! !—See *Relief of West Indian Distress*.

found to dispute; and, on the other hand, that if they were to cultivate their own lands, and to attempt to raise cattle and corn by the agency of attorneys and overseers, they could not reasonably expect any revenues at all! And, in such a case, surely no one would be found to propose to give them a bounty to enable them to continue so improvident a system; yet this is what we actually do in regard to the West India planters.\*

But the oppression and misery, and the consequent destruction of human life, which this system occasions, is the most appalling of all its consequences.

With prices of produce sometimes so low as not to pay for the importation of slaves, the slave population of the United States has augmented nearly one hundred and twenty-five per cent. in thirty years, and that from natural increase; if the importation from Africa, which was legal into some of the States for a short time in that period, did not exceed the amount of manumissions, which are estimated at about 100,000. Though this cannot be exactly ascertained, there can be no reasonable doubt that the natural increase must have been at least twenty-five per cent. in every ten years. But we need not now confine our comparison to the United States, for we have many cases in the West Indies to prove, that if the slaves were well treated, a similar increase would take place there, an increase which, in thirty years from this time, would make their numbers nearly 1,400,000, whilst in the same time, at the present rate of decrease, they would be reduced to little more than 550,000.

Does not a system, now proceeding at such a rate as to destroy the lives, or prevent the existence of 800,000 human beings in thirty years, imperiously demand investigation, and more especially when it is known that this destruction or prevention of life, is the chief means of keeping slavery in the British West India islands in existence; for with such

\* See *Impolicy of Slavery, and Support of Slavery Investigated*.

increase, a great proportion of the population of many of the islands must have become free?

The pecuniary advantages of such an increase would be almost incalculable, and we have only to look at the United States to be convinced that these views are neither visionary nor speculative. The American cotton planters live on their estates, and have to depend on their own good management for success; whilst most of the British sugar planters reside in England, and are supported in their mismanagement by bounties and protections: if these were withdrawn, they would soon discover that in the good treatment of their slaves they would have ample compensation, and that a difference in their numbers of three per cent. per annum would be more than equal to a bounty of 6s. per cwt. on their sugar.\*

It appears that in the island of Jamaica alone, the population is less by 400,000 slaves than, under proper management, it ought to be. If the treatment in the other colonies has produced a similar effect (and we have no reason to suppose it has been of a better description), the whole loss will be 800,000 slaves. Speaking of them merely as property, and estimating their price at £50 per head, this treatment has of itself occasioned a loss in property to the amazing extent of 40 millions sterling, in the short space of thirty years only.

It is to the continuance of this miserable system of neg-

\* It is curious to estimate the effects of the bounty which we are paying for the support of Slavery. It enables the Planters to support a system of ill-treatment which decreases the number of their slaves at the rate of  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. per annum, instead of their increasing at the rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. (as in the United States and elsewhere). We shall find the loss or destruction of property, and that property *human beings*, to amount, by the above calculation, to somewhere about 1,200,000 *per annum*, which is exactly the amount of the bounty we pay them.—Thus the bounty by which the price of sugar is raised, just reimburses the planters for the loss of their slaves by ill-treatment—take off the bounty, and the ill-treatment *must* cease.—See Relief of West Indian Distress, and Support of Slavery Investigated. *Passim*.

lect and cruelty, that the present distress of the colonists, of which we hear so much, can alone be attributed.

But for this, the planters, instead of becoming every day more deeply involved, would have shared in the rapid increase of prosperity which has attended the nation in general.

But let it not for one moment be forgotten, that the People of England are the real supporters of Slavery: and that, by a large annual pecuniary sacrifice, they not only uphold it in all its unmitigated malignity, but prevent the operation of a principle which would soon terminate its existence.

If it be an established truth "that free labour is cheaper than slave labour," the competition of the former must soon put an end to the slavery of our colonies, but for the factitious aid which we are affording it.

Wherever this aid has not been granted, the efficacy of such a competition has been proved in the most remarkable manner.

Forty years ago little or no Indigo was exported from British India. The whole of that article then used in Europe was the product of slave labour. A few individuals in Bengal employed their capital and their intelligence in inciting the natives to enlarge their cultivation of it, and in preparing it for the European market; and, though abundantly discouraged in the first instance, yet, the duties being nearly equalized, their efforts were at length crowned with complete success. Such, indeed, has been the effect of British skill and capital united, when employed in calling free labour into action, that, notwithstanding the enormous freights (five times their present rate) which, for a time, the importers of it had to pay, the indigo of India has been gradually displacing from the market the indigo grown by slaves; until, at length, with the help of the free trade, and the lighter freights consequent upon it, there is not now one ounce of indigo the produce of slave labour, imported into Europe; while the value of the indigo grown in British India amounts

to nearly four millions sterling annually.\* The only existing competitors in this branch of trade are the free labourers of Guatemala and the Caraccas; and their competition, which had for a time been nearly extinguished, is now only reviving with the new-born liberties of those regions.†

With the knowledge of this extraordinary fact, it is impossible to doubt that, but for the bounty on West India sugar and the protecting duty of 10s. per cwt. against all sugar raised in the East, slave labour must have yielded to free labour in the cultivation of this article also, which is the great staple of slavery.

Notwithstanding the oppressive weight of the latter impost—notwithstanding the aggravation of all the charges of transport by the distance of the place of its growth—notwithstanding the great imperfection and expensiveness of the rude process by which it is at present manufactured—notwithstanding the absence of encouragement from the application of British capital and skill to its production—notwithstanding all these disadvantages, some descriptions of the sugar of Hindostan come even now into direct competition with the sugars of the West Indies in the market of Great Britain. This single circumstance appears to be conclusive. It appears to prove clearly that the free-grown sugars of British India might be sold, if the present protecting duty were removed, considerably cheaper than the slave-grown sugar of the British West Indies.

These facts are of the highest importance, not only because they confirm the general principle for which we are contending, but because they lead to the great object of our

\* When the above estimate was made the price of Indigo was very high. The average annual value of the article is about three millions sterling. It is not known that there is any indigo whatever cultivated by slave labour, although, from the nature of things, it may be difficult to ascertain it with certainty. The quantity, however, if any, must be exceedingly small.

† See Address of the Society for Mitigating Slavery, 9th of February, 1825.



enquiry, and point out a specific means by which we can effect the entire abolition of the slave trade and of slavery.

The Nineteenth Report of the African Institution, after detailing the ineffectual efforts of the British Government to restrain the ravages of the slave trade, concludes with the following observations:—

“ Our own slave trade is extinct. But a state of things, such as at the institution of this Society, never could have been anticipated, has arisen since the peace: a new disturbing force is introduced which we have not the power of controuling; and the enemies of humanity have rushed in between us and our object, and threatened to bear it beyond our reach.

“ As in the abolition of the slave trade we originally sought the mitigation of slavery, so we are now driven to consider, whether any other efficient means are left us, than that of reversing our course of proceeding, and whether we must not look henceforward to the mitigation and extinction of slavery as our only security for the abolition of the slave trade. We cannot, it is true, compel other nations to abandon it—it seems too probable that they are not to be persuaded; but by a determined encouragement of free labour, we may make it not worth pursuing.”

But we may do more than this. By a determined encouragement of free labour we may not only compel other European nations to abandon the slave trade, by making it not worth their pursuit, but we may also compel our own colonial subjects, and the subjects of every other power in America, to abandon slavery itself.

Any laws we may enact for the mitigation of slavery can only reach a very small part of the evil. All British laws must be confined to the British dominions, and out of 5,600,000 slaves in the Western world, the British dominions contain only 720,000. Should we even emancipate our own slaves, there would still remain nearly 5,000,000 of the African race in a state of bondage.

But as the beneficial effects of the free cultivation of indigo by British skill and capital in the East, were not confined to the British colonies, but prepared the way for the emancipation of the slaves in the Spanish dominions of America, so a similar competition of free labour in the raising of sugar and cotton, and other tropical productions now cultivated by slaves, would extend its benignant influence to every human being now held in slavery.

Legislative enactments may do a great deal to mitigate the evils of slavery in our own colonies; they may even terminate its existence *there*, and it is therefore our imperative duty to employ them; but if we ever hope to eradicate this deeply disgraceful institution from every country on the globe which it now desolates, it is to the unfettered competition of free-born industry alone that we can look with any rational prospect of success. . In the case of indigo, the only article of slave production in which that competition has been fairly tried, its efficacy, as above-stated, has been signal and complete. It is a remarkable fact, that the first few chests of indigo, the produce of free labour in the East, arrived in England in 1787, just about the time when the first efforts were making for the abolition of the slave trade. We have witnessed the fate of those efforts—we have seen that, although incessantly exerted for thirty-eight years, they have not diminished to any perceptible amount the number of our fellow-creatures torn from the shores of Africa, or held in bondage in America. But during the same period, the cultivation of indigo by free labour has advanced with such rapidity in the East, that it is now estimated to employ nearly 500,000 free persons, and the article has ceased to be cultivated by slaves. As far, therefore, as this article is concerned, the competition of free labour, by a silent but sure operation, has effected the entire destruction of the slave trade and of slavery, and may be justly considered, at the present moment, to have saved 500,000 human beings, *amounting to nearly two-thirds*

*of the whole slave population of our West India Colonies, from a cruel and degrading bondage.*

But it has been ascertained by undoubted evidence, that the other tropical productions now raised in America and the West Indies by slaves, but more especially sugar, the great staple of slavery, may, as well as indigo, be cultivated in the East Indies at a much cheaper rate by the labour of free men. In regard to sugar, a mass of valuable information has been obtained from the records of the East India Company (see a Pamphlet entitled *East India Sugar, &c.*); and from this it now appears certain that if some simple and obvious improvements were adopted in the mode of its manufacture, it might be imported into this country so low as materially to undersell the sugar grown by slaves. It is only necessary, then, as in the case of indigo, to direct British skill and capital to the cultivation of sugar in this quarter, in order to put an end to its cultivation by slave labour, not only in the British colonies, but in every other part of the world. And when sugar shall cease to be cultivated by slaves, it may safely be assumed that the extinction of colonial slavery is at hand.

But as some doubt may remain as to the precise effects that would arise from gradually superseding slave-grown sugar by the competition of free labour, we now propose to delineate more particularly the important benefits which would attend it.

In tracing these it is highly gratifying to discover that, so far from relieving one class of men by a proportionate aggravation of the losses and sufferings of another, the measure we are contemplating will, by that beautiful connection of interest with duty, which has been before adverted to, exercise a beneficial influence upon all. We propose to shew that it will,

**In the first place—Effect the entire Abolition of the Slave Trade.**

Secondly—That it will improve the Situation of the Slave, and gradually raise him to the Condition of a Free Man.

Thirdly—That it will give an increased Value to the Property of the Master.

And, Fourthly—That it will be productive of important Benefits, not only to this Country and to Ireland, but to the continent of Africa and the vast Population of our Indian Empire.

1st. As soon as the indigo cultivated by free labour in the East had been brought to the markets of Europe in sufficient quantity, materially to supersede slave-grown indigo, it is obvious that the indigo planter of the West Indies, being no longer able to find profitable employment for the hands he already possessed, would need no further importation of slaves.\* As far as regards that article, therefore, the slave trade must *then* have entirely ceased.

This trade is *now* chiefly maintained, in the dreadful extent to which it is carried on at present, by the demand for slaves among the sugar planters of Cuba and the Brazils. But if sugar were cultivated in the East by free labour, with the same success as indigo, the demand for slave-grown sugar would be instantly lessened, the quantity produced would be quickly diminished, and the sugar planter *also* would soon find himself in possession of a greater number of hands than he could profitably employ without a change in his system.

It is evident that from this moment he would cease to purchase *more* slaves, and from this moment, therefore, the slave trade, with all the crimes and desolations which attend it, would also cease for ever.†

\* In about three years after the period at which free-grown indigo was first brought into the markets of Europe, the Carolinas, where that article was extensively cultivated, shut their ports against all further importation of slaves from Africa.

† The manner in which the competition of Free Labour would extinguish the Slave Trade may be also illustrated by viewing the subject in another

But, 2dly. It will now very naturally be objected, that if the demand for sugar is lessened, and the slave thrown out of employment, the change will be injurious to *him*. In this country, for example, an increased demand for any article enables the labourer in that branch of manufacture to obtain higher wages, to live better, and to work or not, just as he pleases; a diminished demand, on the contrary, deprives him of employment, and consequently of his usual means of subsistence. But in the case of the West Indian labourer these

light. This trade is kept up in its present deplorable extent notwithstanding the measures adopted to repress it, because the high price of slaves in the West Indies and America affords such an enormous profit to the trader as to be far more than equivalent to the risk of seizure incurred by him. But the course of things which we have described above, would quickly lessen this price so much as to leave a profit no longer adequate to the expence and risk of obtaining slaves on the coast of Africa, and transporting them to America. From all the information we at present possess, it appears that the average cost of a slave when put on board, is at least five pounds sterling. Now if to this sum we add the necessary expences of the voyage, as well as the loss of life and risk of seizure, which, together, cannot well be estimated at less than ten pounds more, we have fifteen pounds for the cost of a negro when landed in America. But as no man would continue to pursue a commerce of this description unless it were attended with considerable profit, we may safely presume that, as soon as the value of the slave in the sugar plantations had been reduced, by the superior advantages of a system of free-born industry, to twenty, or even to twenty-five pounds, the trade would be quickly abandoned. In some of our colonies, and more particularly in those where, from the inferior fertility of the soil, and the better treatment consequent upon it, the population has for a considerable time been increasing in numbers, the value of the slave has been already reduced nearly to this point, and in some colonies even below it. It appears by the late Parliamentary Returns, that the present average price

|                 |     |        |
|-----------------|-----|--------|
| In Barbadoes is | ... | £28 0  |
| Bahamas         | ... | £21 8  |
| Tortola         | ... | £17 10 |
| St. Vincent's   | ... | £16 15 |

It is probable, therefore, that even if a fresh importation of slaves into these islands were to be permitted by law, not a single slave would be taken to either of them, and the competition of free labour would thus put an end to the slave trade, at a period much antecedent to the final extinction of slavery itself.

recognised principles of political economy are reversed; and the cause of the difference is obvious; the one is a free man, the other is a slave. The increased demand in the case of the free man produces an increase in the rate of his wages. In the case of the slave, it may produce indeed a destructive increase in the rate of the labour exacted from him; but slaves receive no wages; they, therefore, derive no benefit, but, on the contrary, an aggravation of their uncompensated toil, by the increased demand for the produce of their labour.

The free labourer, in like manner, may suffer from low prices, either by the diminished rate of his wages, or by his being thrown out of work. But what does the slave suffer by being thrown out of work? What disadvantage can it be to him that the produce of labour is not in demand, unless we can suppose the master to hinder him, on that account, from cultivating his provision grounds as formerly, and to oblige him to sit down and starve in inaction during the time which the law allots to him for the raising of food.\*

The West Indians, it is true, assert, that if the demand for their sugar should be lessened, and prices in consequence should fall, the slaves must starve. But in what way are low prices to operate in producing this effect? The food of the field slaves in general is raised entirely by their own hands, on the portion of ground allotted to them for that purpose, and cultivated during that fragment of their time (about one thirteenth part of the whole) which is specifically assigned them by law. Is it then by depriving the slaves of the land which had been set apart for their subsistence, and which the owner himself has now less temptation than ever to occupy, that starvation is to ensue? Or is it by depriving them, without any assignable object for so doing, of the scanty portion of time which the law allows them for cultivating their allotments? If not, how is it possible for them to starve?

\* See Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society.

Low prices of sugar cannot make the land less fit than it was before to produce the food of the negroes, or the slaves less capable of tilling it.\*

The effect of a diminished demand for his labour will be to lessen the drudgery of the slave, who will enjoy a relaxation from his toil, which, if he could be profitably worked would never have fallen to his lot; while, from the fall in the value of his produce, the sugar planter will be brought into precisely the same situation as we have shewn to be produced by the deterioration of the soil (see page 89). He will now be compelled to exercise economy and judicious management, the first step to which is the better treatment of the slave; and his efforts to render the services of the latter still valuable to him, by supplying him with motives to exertion, by securing to him a reward for his hitherto uncompensated toil, by recognizing his rights, and by teaching him the many useful arts, and furnishing him with the varied employments of civilized society, will gradually prepare him for freedom, until the period when, by this improved treatment, the negro population shall have become so greatly augmented, that the claim to servitude will be no longer worth enforcing.†

3dly. These changes, produced by the competition of free labour, will prove ultimately no less beneficial to the interests of the master than the condition of the slave.

However paradoxical the position may at first appear, that a fall in the price of slave-grown produce, and a decrease in the value of the slaves would give an additional value to the property of the master, it can be established by a number of incontrovertible facts. Slavery is a bad and impolitic system, which has constantly proved a source of ruin to the planter.‡

\* See Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society, and Cropper's Pamphlet on the Beneficial Effects of Low Prices, and the Injurious Effects of High Prices on the Condition of the Slave.

† See Second Report, and Cropper's Pamphlet on High and Low Prices.

‡ For abundant evidence of this, see a Pamphlet entitled England Enslaved by her own Slave Colonies, by James Stephen, Esq. p. 32, 33, and

Slave cultivation is an expensive kind of machinery, which the competition of free labour compels him to abandon for one that is cheaper and better. Can he therefore fail to receive benefit from the change ?

The slaves, it is true, will now cease to be of any value to him as property : but they will be raised to the condition of a free tenantry, their value will be more than transferred to the land, and his estate under a better system of management will quickly become more productive and yield a larger return of profit. He, as well as the slave, will be elevated in the scale of society ; “ from a slave-holder he will become a land-owner ; from a poor oppressor of his fellow-creatures, he will be raised to the condition of an independent lord of the soil.”

To establish the truth of these assertions it will be sufficient to refer to the instances already cited in the course of this enquiry (see p. 83 and seq.), of estates in Poland, “ where the receipts have been nearly tripled” by a similar change—of the remarkable instance of improvement in Hungary, and of that of the Honourable Joshua Steele, in Barbadoes, where, “ in the course of four years and three months, the annual net clearance of the estate had become *three times* greater than it had been for ten years previously.

To these a multitude of examples equally striking might be added ; but we will cite only one.

“ In a late communication from America,” says A. Hodgson, “ from an intelligent observer, it is remarked—‘ the state of Maryland, though a slave state, has comparatively but few slaves in the upper or western part of it ; the land in this upper district is generally more broken by hills and stones, and is not so fertile as that on the southern and eastern parts. The latter has also the advantage of being situ-

34, from which we extract the following :—“ The late able and eminent Colonial Agent, Mr. Marryat, in a speech in Parliament observes, ‘ *there are few estates in the West Indies that have not during the last twenty years (i. e. from 1793 to 1813) been sold or given up to creditors.*’ ”



ated upon the navigable rivers that flow into the Chesapeake Bay, and its produce can be conveyed to market at one-third of the average expence of that from the upper parts of the state; yet, with all these advantages of soil, situation, and climate, the land within the slave district will not, upon a general average, sell for half as much per acre as that in the upper districts, which is cultivated principally by free men. This fact may be also further and more strikingly illustrated by the comparative value of land within the states of Virginia and Pennsylvania, the one lying on the south and the other on the north side of Maryland; the one a slave, the other a free state. In Virginia, land of the same natural soil and local advantages will not sell for one-third as high a price as the same description of land will command in Pennsylvania.' This single, plain, incontrovertible fact speaks volumes upon the relative value of slave and free labour, and, it is presumed, renders any further illustration unnecessary."\*

4thly. We have seen that the competition of free labour in the cultivation of sugar would necessarily introduce new systems into our West India Colonies, would gradually ameliorate the condition of the slaves, and finally extinguish slavery itself. Its good effects, however, would not end here, but it would extend a yet wider and more beneficial influence.

\* See Hodgson's Letter to Say, p. 12, 13.

The late Statistical Returns from the West Indies furnish a remarkable confirmation to these views. It appears by these returns that the distress of the planter in general runs parallel with the fertility of the soil he cultivates, and with the consequent high appreciation of his slaves. If we take the four colonies of Demerara, Berbice, Trinidad, and Honduras, where the average value of slaves is the highest, and the soil most fertile, we shall find the proportion of slaves taken and sold in execution in five years, to be as high as *one in twenty-eight* of the slave population; whereas in the other eight colonies from which we have returns of the sales in execution, St. Vincent's, Tortola, Bahamas, Nevis, St. Christopher's, Barbadoes, Dominica, and Grenada, and in which the prices are low, the proportion of slaves so sold is only *one in sixty*; and leaving out St. Vincent's and Tortola, which seem to involve some doubt, it is only *one in eighty*.

To the general prosperity of our country there are at present two grand exceptions, the West Indies and Ireland. The slavery of the West Indies, and the condition of a large part of the population of Ireland, form two dark places in the otherwise bright and cheering picture. It may, however, be incontestably shewn, that the same cause which maintains the bondage of the colonial slaves, also serves to bind down the energies and prevent the prosperity of Ireland, and that the same remedy will tend to relieve them both.

The people of Ireland are in distress, they want employment, and agriculture cannot afford it; manufactures are therefore our only resource. But if a nation is to be set to work, new markets must be opened; and India can furnish a market if we will take her produce in exchange.

From the perfection of our cotton manufacture, we can now undersell the natives of India at the foot of their own looms. If the native who now makes cloth were employed in raising sugar there, the same labour required to make one piece of his own calico would raise sugar enough, if the duty were removed, to exchange for five pieces manufactured in England.

By an extended cultivation of sugar in the East, a demand would arise for our manufactures in that quarter, sufficient to employ the miserable and degraded population of Ireland; and when the people of Ireland are employed, that country will no longer remain a burden to us, but become an invaluable support to the strength and stability of our empire.\*

\* "Fourteen millions of people in Great Britain raise an annual revenue of more than fifty-two millions sterling. Seven millions of people in Ireland, if as fully employed as they are in Great Britain, would be able to raise twenty-six millions. In their present distressed and miserable condition, they raise a revenue, and that with great difficulty, of four or five millions. How largely, then, should we gain, even in revenue, by giving to Ireland the advantages of numerous manufactures and an extended trade. We might then take off more than a third of our present taxes."

For a full investigation of this important subject, see a Pamphlet on the State of Ireland. By James Cropper.

In addition to all these advantages, in addition to the vast increase of prosperity which England would derive from an unrestricted commerce in exchanging her manufactures for the productions of the tropics, she would make an actual saving of about three millions sterling annually, now spent in bounties on West India produce, and in establishments and armies to keep the slaves in subjection, and of the lives of 2000 soldiers sacrificed every year in the pestilential climate of the Antilles.\*

If it should be supposed that by the cultivation of sugar and cotton in the East, we are only transferring the burden from one set of oppressed beings to another, we are happily able to shew, that directly the reverse of this would be the fact.

An increased demand for labour aggravates the oppression of the slave, but is always beneficial to the free man.

It has, indeed, been asserted, that there are slaves in India, and the objection has been much insisted on. Claims to servitude may still remain there, but it is admitted by a West Indian writer, that even there "they are not enforced, because they are not worth enforcing."

From the great population and the cheapness of labour, it is impossible, in the nature of things, that slavery can exist, and, except in some remote and less peopled districts, we have the most satisfactory evidence that it does not. All doubt upon the subject will be entirely set at rest by the perusal of a Pamphlet entitled, A Letter to W. W. Whitmore, Esq. in reply to some observations of J. Marryat, Esq. on the existence of Slavery in the East Indies, to which we refer the reader.

\* Should the reader entertain any doubt of the immense sacrifices which we have already made, and are still making for the support of colonial slavery, he is referred to an admirable Pamphlet, entitled England Enslaved by her own Slave Colonies. By James Stephen, Esq. It is there calculated, from official data, "that during the last thirty-two years, one British soldier or seaman at the least, in the prime of life, has fallen a victim to the deathful service of the West Indies, for every white man, woman, and child that all our sugar colonies collectively contain !!!

But the cultivation of indigo has already proved so eminently beneficial to that part of the population of India employed in it, as to render it nearly certain that the cultivation of sugar and other articles would be productive of consequences equally gratifying.

"In the district of Terhout," says an intelligent observer, Captain McGowan, "where the British indigo planters are numerous and have long existed, there has undoubtedly and manifestly taken place a very happy improvement in the state of the natives, especially those connected, directly or indirectly, with the indigo planters, who are there so respectable, and in general so beloved, as to be resorted to by the peasantry around them to arbitrate their disputes, instead of going to law or appealing to force; also for communications of scientific, agricultural, mechanical, and other European discoveries; and, lastly, for advice and medicine in troubles and sickness."

What a vast field is opened, by means of an intercourse and influence like this, for diffusing the blessings of civilization and religious light among the many millions in India now sunk in ignorance and idolatry.

While India is receiving these inestimable benefits, Africa herself will advance with rapid progress in the career of improvement. Relieved from the scourge which has spread barbarism and desolation over her shores, she will soon commence a more beneficial intercourse with the nations of Europe. In the peaceful interchange of our manufactures for the varied productions of her free and fertile soil, a commerce will arise equally advantageous to both parties; and, by communicating the arts of civilized life and the knowledge of the Gospel to her children, we shall be enabled to make some reparation for the centuries of wrong which we have inflicted.

If such are the benefits which would arise from the unshackled competition of free labour, it becomes the imperative duty of every one to employ his most strenuous exertions

for bringing about an end of such inestimable importance. A strong expression of the popular voice is alone necessary : but before this can be obtained, the national conscience must be awakened to a sense of the enormity of slavery, and the public mind must be enlightened on the means of procuring its extinction. By diffusing information upon the subject among all classes of the community, by means of the books and tracts which relate to it, every single individual may do much to promote this object. Each in his own sphere may labour to engage the earnest attention and active co-operation of all whom he can influence. By labouring to combine the zeal and intelligence of his vicinage into associations for promoting the abolition of slavery, every individual may render a most important service to humanity, and become a concurrent instrument in dispensing unspeakable blessings to millions yet unborn. And surely no man who has a spark of love to his country, and who believes that verily there is a God that judgeth the earth, will refuse to employ his utmost powers in forwarding this great work, and in contributing to raise the wretched slave from his present state of abject depression, and intellectual and spiritual blindness, to light, liberty, and the hope of the Gospel.\*

The great end to which our efforts should be, in the first place, directed, is, to obtain the removal of those monopolies which now form the main support of slavery. If these are withdrawn, it will soon cease of itself, and that with perfect safety and manifest advantage to all parties. It must be useless to make laws for abolishing slavery, as long as we suffer our own bounties and protections to counteract them.†

\* See Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society.

† Let it be for a moment supposed that we had succeeded in our efforts to induce foreign nations to abolish the slave trade, and that it had been made piracy, while we continued our bounties and protections. Sugar, as our planters expected, would probably have advanced, and with it the price of slaves; the inducements to smuggling would have increased, and the prediction of Bryan Edwards would have been verified, "that we might as well

Let us then use every effort in promoting petitions to the British Legislature, urging it to vindicate its own despised authority, but, above all, to sweep away those absurd restrictions which rivet the chains of the slave. It is impossible to believe that if the People of England knew all the deplorable consequences of the bounties which they pay, they would suffer them to continue for a single session longer.

The bounty is one means of enabling the planters to reside in England, and thereby to neglect their concerns, whilst the tremendous powers they possess have been delegated to others, and a comparative destruction of their property in human beings, which, when the present decrease is added to what might be the increase, nearly amounts to three and a half per cent. annually, has been taking place, which alone almost counterbalances the whole of the bounty.

We will for a moment suppose that this deterioration of property was not in the West Indies, but at Manchester; that a portion of the manufacturers were living in London, and leaving to others the management of their business; that they received a bounty on their manufactures, but that, on an average, this was absorbed in a destruction of about three and a half per cent. per annum on the goods, which would not have taken place under proper superintendence; and lastly, that the article destroyed was not mankind, but pieces of calico. Is it possible that such a system could go on for a single session after it was understood? And if it could not where the subject of it was inanimate merchandize, surely, for the honour of human nature, or the honour of our country, we ought not to suffer it to continue when the victims of neglect or ill treatment are our fellow-men!\*

There is every reason to believe that the Government of

attempt to chain the wind, and give laws to the ocean, as to abolish the slave trade, while it was so much the interest of the planters to carry it on." In the enforcement of our laws we should be inflicting death upon the very persons whom our own bounties had tempted to violate them.

\* See Cropper's Pamphlet on the State of Ireland.

this country is sincerely desirous to act in accordance with the real interests of the nation in this respect. The King's Speech at the opening of the session of 1825, has the following remarkable passage:—

“ His Majesty recommends to you to persevere (as circumstances may allow) in the removal of similar restrictions on commerce: and his Majesty directs us to assure you, that you may rely on his Majesty's cordial co-operation in fostering and extending that commerce which, whilst it is, under the blessing of Providence, *a main source of strength and power to the country, contributes in no less a degree to the happiness and civilization of mankind.*”\*

No doubt, then, can be reasonably entertained of the sincere intentions of the Ministry; but they have an interested and powerful faction to contend with, and they require to be supported by the unanimous voice of the people; and surely the people of this country will no longer continue to tolerate these absurd commercial regulations, by which they reject sugar when produced by the African in his own native and fertile soil, and at the same time give a bounty on his produce when converted into a slave, held in subjection by military force, and compelled to cultivate the exhausted soils of our West India islands.

“ I call upon you then solemnly,” says Mr. Stephen, “ as fellow-countrymen and fellow-christians, to exert yourselves to the utmost on this great and interesting occasion. If you would prevent further sacrifices of your manufacturing, commercial, and maritime interests, of your revenues and military means, and of the security even of your colonies themselves; if you would maintain the independence and dignity of your Parliament, and its constitutional supremacy over the distant dependencies of the empire, without which they are a degrading incumbrance and a nuisance; if you would redeem the sacred pledges you have given to the unfortunate slaves,

\* See King's Speech, 1825.

and prevent the perpetuation in them and their innocent offspring of a bondage disgraceful to the British and the Christian name; and if you would rescue yourselves from the abhorred necessity of imbruing your hands in their blood, when and as often as intolerable oppression urges them to a hopeless resistance—now, *now* is your time to be active.”\*

But even if these hopes should fail, if Parliament should refuse to legislate for the Colonies, or to take off the restrictive duties on the sugars of British India, one resource will yet be left to us. The labour of free men is so much cheaper than that of slaves, that in spite of these restrictions it will still be in the power of the friends of emancipation, by giving direct encouragement to the increased production of sugar by free labour, in no long time so to lower the cost of the article as to make it the clear interest not only of the whole population of the United Kingdom, but of all Europe, to give a preference to such sugar, and thus to lead them, of themselves and spontaneously, to contribute their assistance in depriving the existing system of slavery, in the foreign as well as in the British colonies, of its main support; and thus also to put a final period to that slave trade which, to the indelible disgrace of certain European powers, and in contempt of their solemn engagements, still prevails under their flags on the coast of Africa.

The British dominions in Asia are well adapted to the growth of this article, and are capable of supplying it to an indefinite extent; but from the unskilfulness of the natives in the process of manufacturing it, combined with their want of capital and the fiscal restrictions to which it is subject, little progress has hitherto been made in introducing the sugar of that part of the world into general consumption. If effectual means, however, were adopted for obviating these disadvantages, the sugar trade of British India could not fail rapidly to increase. The requisite means to this end have been fully

\* See *England Enslaved*, &c. p. 86, 81.



pointed out in a small pamphlet published by Hatchard, and entitled, "East India Sugar; or an Inquiry respecting the Means of improving the Quality and reducing the Cost of Sugar raised by Free Labour in the East Indies."

That East India Sugar may be made a profitable article of culture, even under all the disadvantages with which it has to contend, no one who candidly examines the evidence there produced will doubt.

In a country, however, circumstanced as India is, the same means of promoting the culture of sugar must be resorted to which have proved so signally successful in the case of indigo. British capital and British intelligence must give the necessary direction and impulse to the industry of the native farmer. With that view, information on the subject has already been widely diffused; and much attention has of late been turned to this object and to the means of attaining it. Still, if it should be left entirely to individual enterprise to excite the industry either of the Hindoos or of the free labourers in other tropical countries, the progress of things to this consummation would probably be slow.

In order to accelerate it, a Company has been formed, under the title of *The Tropical Free Labour Company*. The object of this Company is to promote the growth and improve the manufacture of sugar and other tropical productions by free labour, in every part of the world where it may be practicable, but, at present, more especially in British India; and to facilitate the admission of these productions into general use, not only in the united kingdom, but in every other part of the world. A particular description of the methods by which the Company proposes to effect these objects, and of the plan on which it will be conducted, will be found in a prospectus already published, and in Appendix E to the Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society. As the shares are very small, it is in the power of every individual, by taking a larger or a smaller number, to lend his efficient support to a measure which, if it succeed, must eventually tend to under-

mine the very foundation on which rests the slavery not only of the 800,000 negroes in the Colonies of Great Britain, but of the four or five millions who are held in bondage in other parts of the Western world; and to put a final termination also to the slave trade, which is the disgrace of Europe and the scourge of Africa.\*

But there is yet another method by which individual exertions may effectually assist in promoting the competition of free labour. At present, as we have stated, the culture of sugar in British India is but in its infancy, and labours under all the disadvantages of an infant trade. The manufacture is miserably imperfect and highly injurious to the quality of the article produced, which is afterwards burdened with the heavy freight of a voyage to Europe and an additional duty of 10s. per cwt. in this country beyond what is imposed upon slave-grown sugar. Under these circumstances, we cannot be surprised that it is still somewhat dearer to the consumer, but it should rather excite surprise, that it can compete with slave-grown sugar at all. But as a continued increase of demand will most effectually promote the flow of British capital to its cultivation, and the consequent extension and improvement of the manufacture, it is a matter of great importance that this demand should be kept up in order to foster the trade and to hasten the period at which it may be introduced at a cheaper rate.

A wide field is therefore open for individual exertion in promoting the consumption of free-labour sugar, on grounds

\* We regret to say that this Company has been recently dissolved. As soon as a sufficient number of shares had been subscribed for, the Provisional Committee used their utmost efforts to get the Association legally incorporated. They first endeavoured to obtain an Act of Parliament for this purpose, and afterwards tried to effect their object by a Petition to the King in Council, but were alike unsuccessful in both, and it was in consequence found necessary to relinquish the undertaking. It will be difficult to account for the decision of the Ministry upon this occasion—a decision so much at variance with their avowed principles—unless we attribute it to the powerful influence of the West India Body.

of benevolence, in preference to that grown by slaves. All the efforts which the Friends of the Abolition of Slavery have hitherto used for this purpose have proved signally successful, and have afforded good ground to hope, that if all other means should fail, the great object of their endeavours might be attained by inducing a general preference for the productions of freedom.

But there is one consideration which greatly enhances the importance of our labours for this object—that let the result of other efforts be what it may, they cannot fail of producing an important effect. Whether the restrictive duties be or be not abolished, these efforts must tend to accelerate the triumph of free labour and the downfall of slavery.

And let no one be tempted to consider his individual exertions for such an object unimportant, or the benefits that will arise from them uncertain. It is true that innumerable efforts will be necessary for accomplishing the end we have in view; but that end is itself of such vast importance, that the value of every single effort cannot be too highly estimated. When we reflect that more than five millions of our fellow-creatures are existing at the present moment in the lowest state of moral and physical degradation, and, above all, when we consider that at least three hundred unhappy beings are computed to be *every day* torn from their country\* and from all that is dear to them in life, and consigned to the same hapless condition of servitude, it is impossible, surely, to believe that any thing is unimportant which tends in the

\* In Appendix N, of the last Report (the Twentieth) of the African Institution, we have a list of 230 vessels known to be engaged in the Slave Trade, as reported in the papers on that subject presented to Parliament in the Session of 1826. Now if we suppose this list to comprehend all the vessels actually engaged in the trade, which is scarcely probable, and allow a cargo of 250 slaves on the average to each vessel, and if we also reckon two voyages to be made annually, we have an aggregate of 115,000 slaves carried away every year from Africa, *being more than three hundred every day.*

smallest degree to hasten the period at which evils of such magnitude shall cease.

If the final extinction of the slave trade were the only object we sought to accomplish, and if our united efforts were only to hasten the period of that extinction *a single day*, we should even then have effected much. But if there be any truth in the principles we have attempted to unfold, our exertions to procure a preference for the produce of free labour will, in the end, prevent the ravages of this trade, not for *days* only, but for *years* and for *centuries*. How vast, then, may be the amount of human crime and human suffering which the feeblest labourer in this field of exertion will be instrumental in sweeping away for ever.

It is a very common objection to the measures which it has been a main object of this publication to recommend, that they would bring ruin upon the West Indian Proprietors. But it has been, we trust, satisfactorily shewn, that if there be truth in history, or certainty in political science, the downfall of the present system, and of the restrictive laws which maintain it, would prove beneficial to none more than to the colonists themselves.

Yet, if it were otherwise, it is too much to require that the pecuniary interests of 1600 or 1800 sugar planters should be allowed to come into competition with the comfort, the health, the liberty, and the lives of seven or eight hundred thousand human beings, and with the clear interests of the whole community of the British empire.

If the Planters, however, can make out an equitable claim to compensation, let them by all means receive it. They might be indemnified for any possible loss by a very small portion of what the country would gain by the adoption of a more enlightened policy. The vast national advantages which would arise from such a policy have been already insisted on. The amount of the bounty alone, the saving of which forms but a small portion of these advantages, if paid

directly to the Planters, would amply compensate them for any losses they might incur.\*

"But let it be supposed," says Stephen, "as between the Planter and the State, compensation ought to be a simultaneous measure with reform, or, if you will, a previous one; still, what is the reference to the one, as an *objection* to the other, but a shameful appeal to the avarice or economical prudence of the country against its honour and its conscience? To the moral rights of the slave it is just as valid a bar as a plea of associated robbers would be against making restitution to the injured party, that it would require a contribution from the gang. Even this illustration is inadequate, for the question here is, not merely whether we shall restore, but whether, as the alternative, we shall add wrong to wrong, inflicting the same calamities on generations yet unborn, enslaving the offspring lest we should have to pay for the redemption of the parents, and subduing all resistance from either by the effusion of innocent blood."†

But there is yet one more objection which is often made, and which has lately in particular been much urged by the opponents of emancipation. Acknowledging the truth of our general principles, it is said that such is the incurable indolence and deep degradation of the negro character, that when the West Indian slaves become free, they will remain insensible to the motives which operate upon the rest of mankind. It is asserted that they will refuse to work, that all industry and exertion will be at an end, and that they will merge again into the state of savages. If, however, proof were wanting of the industry which the emancipated sons of Africa may be expected to exert, we have only to look at the state of the free black and coloured population in our own colonies. They are there a condemned and degraded race,

\* See on this subject, Cropper's Relief of West Indian Distress, and Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society.

† England Enslaved by her own Slave Colonies, p. 79.

labouring under numerous disabilities which leave them free but in name. Their efforts are cramped and limited by oppressive regulations, and they are excluded from all public employment either civil or military. Let their education, their intelligence, their respectability, their property, be what it may, they are shut out from exercising the most ordinary rights of citizenship, even the right of sitting on juries or of voting as freeholders. With them the very lowest white disdains to associate, says Mr. Edwards, and "holds it an abomination even to eat bread." And yet, labouring under all these multiplied disabilities and discouragements, "tending," as the same author justly observes, "to degrade them in their own eyes and in the eyes of the community, to make them at once wretched and useless, without motives of sufficient energy to engage them either in the service of their country or in profitable labour for their own advantage; their improvement in knowledge being animated by no encouragement, their attachment being received without approbation, and their diligence exerted without reward; yet, notwithstanding all these disadvantages, what the people of colour have actually done to surmount them, and to raise themselves in the scale of society, has been in the highest degree creditable to their character and powers, and affords a most encouraging earnest of what may be expected from them under more auspicious circumstances, and when they shall be admitted to a full participation in the rights of British subjects."

In the island of Trinidad, a full half of the property is said to belong to emancipated Africans or their descendants; and it has never been charged upon them there, that they are deficient in industry and intelligence, or that they do not fulfil the part of good and loyal citizens.

In Grenada, the free black and coloured inhabitants are more than three times as numerous as the whites. Two years ago they petitioned the Assembly for an extension of their civil rights, grounding the claim on their tried loyalty, their patience and good conduct, their intelligence and respect-

ability, the largeness of their property and of their contributions to the revenue of the island, as well as on their importance, as a militia, to its defence and security. In the resolutions adopted by the Assembly in consequence of this petition, these claims to consideration are fully admitted, and the persons petitioning are declared to be "a respectable, well behaved class of the community, and possessed of considerable property in the colony."

In Jamaica also, which is now said to contain 40,000 free black and coloured inhabitants, a number far exceeding that of the whites, it is only necessary to call for the tax-rolls in order to see how largely they contribute to the revenue of the island, and consequently how efficiently their industry must be exerted. They all, at the least, entirely maintain themselves, and many of them are wealthy. And yet, in Jamaica, as in other colonies, they still labour under severe disqualifications, and continue to be a degraded and contemned race.\*

In addition to these facts, there is one circumstance not generally known, which must be deemed conclusive as to the energy and activity of the negro character. It is this, that among the free black and coloured population of our colonies, numerous as it is, *there are very few paupers*. This is the case in every colony, but in St. Lucia the correctness of the assertion has been very recently confirmed in the correspondence between Earl Bathurst and the Governor, General Mainwaring, on the subject of the new laws.

Lord Bathurst had proposed to require a bond, in case of the manumission of children under a certain age, to prevent their becoming chargeable to the island. General Mainwaring (not being aware how strongly, with a view to defend taxes, bonds, &c. in cases of manumission, the West Indians generally had dwelt on the dangers of pauperism), answers, with great simplicity, "I cannot conceive a case in which

\* See Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society.

such a bond would be necessary for children under the existing order of things: your Lordship may not be aware that *there are no paupers in this colony*"—obviously meaning no free persons who are paupers.\*

But the returns made to the House of Commons during the last Session, and ordered to be printed on the 9th of May, 1826, furnish still more recent and decisive evidence upon this subject.

It appears by these returns, that in Barbadoes the average annual number of paupers in nine parishes is 998, *all of whom, with a single exception, are white*, although the free black and coloured inhabitants amount to at least 4 or 5,000.

In Dominica, where the free black and coloured population amounts to 3,122, only ten persons of that class had received relief from the poor fund during a period of five years.

Grenada furnishes a still more striking exemplification of the independence of the free black and coloured population. They amounted in 1825 to 3,486, but in this island the expence of the Colony Hospital, which alone appears to give relief to paupers, is only £264 sterling per annum, and even this includes the salaries of officers, the treasurer having £50 sterling a year. But it does not appear that any part of this small sum was applied to the relief of free blacks or persons of colour.

In St. Vincent's the white population of the island is stated in 1825 to be 1,301; the free black and coloured population, 2,824. "We have never had," says Sir C. Brisbane, the Governor, "any poor's-rate or other taxes levied for the support of the poor. The few paupers, *always white*, who occasionally resort hither, are generally supported from the town funds."

In Jamaica it appears that the proportion of white pau-

\* See *Slave Colonies of Great Britain*, p. 97.



pers to those of the black and coloured class, according to the whole population of each, is as four to one.

In Nevis as twenty-eight to one.

In Tortola as fourteen to one.

In short, in a population of free blacks and people of colour amounting to from 80,000 to 90,000, only 229 persons have received relief, however small, as paupers, being about one in each 370 persons, exhibiting altogether an example of ease and independence not to be paralleled in any other part of the British dominions, or among any other class of his Majesty's subjects.\*

But if no other facts were in existence, the example of Hayti alone would be amply sufficient to prove the energy and industry of the emancipated African. There the slaves were to the full as depressed as our slaves now are, and much more ignorant. They have been engaged also in a struggle for liberty through a long protracted period of blood and desolation, of confusion and anarchy. Twenty years of sanguinary conflict of the most barbarizing description, sometimes with foreign, sometimes with domestic enemies, were little calculated to train them to habits of industry, or to the arts of peace. And yet what do we witness in their case? They have contrived, in the period which has since elapsed, at least to maintain themselves without any foreign aid. Though it was necessary, and still unhappily is necessary, to keep a large portion of the ablest and most active labourers under arms (who are of course sustained by the labour of the rest), their own exertions have alone ministered to their subsistence, as well as defrayed the entire expenditure of the state. They have not only abundantly supplied their wants by their own labour, but they have nearly, if not more than doubled their numbers in twenty years. And while they have done this, they have been advancing in intelligence, respectability, and wealth. Schools have been multiplied

\* See Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter, No. 19.

among them—knowledge has been widely diffused—the arts of civilized life have been cultivated—the reign of order and law has been established—security has been given to property—and industry, having its reward, has been progressively extending its boundaries.\*

It cannot, then, be necessary to dwell any longer upon this part of the subject. In Europe the cultivators of the soil were once enslaved; and with the evidence of facts like these, it is impossible to doubt that the emancipation of the negro race would be attended with a success as brilliant as that of the bondsmen of Europe.

"The enfranchisement of the European population," observes Ganihl, "has been followed by tillage and cultivation, by the conversion of cabins into cottages, hamlets into villages, villages into towns, and towns into cities, by the establishment of industry and commerce, of public order, and of social power.

"The people who have first distinguished themselves on the political theatre are precisely those who have first substituted the labour of the free man for that of the slave; and other nations have only been able to rise to the same prosperity by imitating their example. In fine, the era of the economical and political regeneration of modern Europe is coincident with the abolition of real and personal slavery."

"And why may not the same glorious consequences," says Hodgson in his letter to Say, "follow the abolition of slavery in the West. Is it in Europe only that the mind can awake from the torpor of slavery to life and intelligence? What shall we say, then, to the abolition of slavery, under British auspices, in Ceylon, in Java, in Sumatra, and in St. Helena? Or is it the African alone who imbibes a poison from the bitter cup which no antidote can cure, but which flows in the veins, and attaints the blood of his latest posterity? To you, Sir, it would be most unjust to impute such an opinion; but if it should be entertained by any of your country-

\* See Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society.

men, I would refer them to the experiment lately made in Colombia, where a great body of slaves have been emancipated, who are said 'to have conducted themselves with a degree of industry, sobriety, and order, highly creditable to them.' I would refer them to the instance of the American slaves who joined the British standard in the last war, and who are now settled in Trinidad, where, under the protection of Sir Ralph Woodford, the Governor, 'they are earning their subsistence,' Mr. Wilberforce informs us, 'with so much industry and good conduct, as to have put to silence all the calumnies which were first urged against the measure.' I would refer them to the testimony of a traveller whose authority they will not dispute, the enterprising and philosophical Humboldt. 'In all these excursions,' he observes, 'we were agreeably surprised, not only at the progress of agriculture, but the increase of a free, laborious population, accustomed to toil, and too poor to rely on the assistance of slaves. White and black farmers had every where separate establishments. I love to dwell on these details of colonial industry, because they prove to the inhabitants of Europe what to the enlightened inhabitants of the colonies has long ceased to be doubtful, that the continent of Spanish America can produce sugar and indigo by free hands, and that the unhappy slaves are capable of becoming peasants, farmers, and land-holders.' I would refer them to the interesting and flourishing colony of Sierra Leone, that morning star of Africa, which beams so brightly on her sable brow. Or, lastly, I would refer them to a dark page in your Colonial history, where the refutation of their opinion is written in characters of fire.

“Why, then, I would ask again, may not the same glorious consequences which followed the abolition of slavery in Europe, follow its abolition in the West? ‘The abolition of the slave trade,’ says Brougham, ‘assisted by subordinate arrangements, similar to those adopted in the ancient states, in the feudal kingdoms, and in the American colonies, will

most undoubtedly alter the whole face of things in the new world. The negroes, placed in almost the same circumstances with the bondmen of ancient Europe and the slaves of the classic times, will begin the same career of improvement. The society of the West Indies will no longer be that anomalous, defective, and disgusting monster of political existence, which we have so often been forced to contemplate in the course of this inquiry. The foundation of rapid improvement will be securely laid, both for the whites, the negroes, and the mixed race. A strong and compact political structure will arise under the influence of a mild, civilized, and enlightened system. The vast continent of Africa will keep pace with the quick improvement of the world which she has peopled ; and in those regions where, as yet, only the war-whoop, the lash, and the cries of misery have divided with the beasts the silence of the desert, our children, and the children of our slaves, may enjoy the delightful prospect of that benign and splendid reign which is exercised by the arts, the sciences, and the virtues of modern Europe.' "

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**FINIS.**



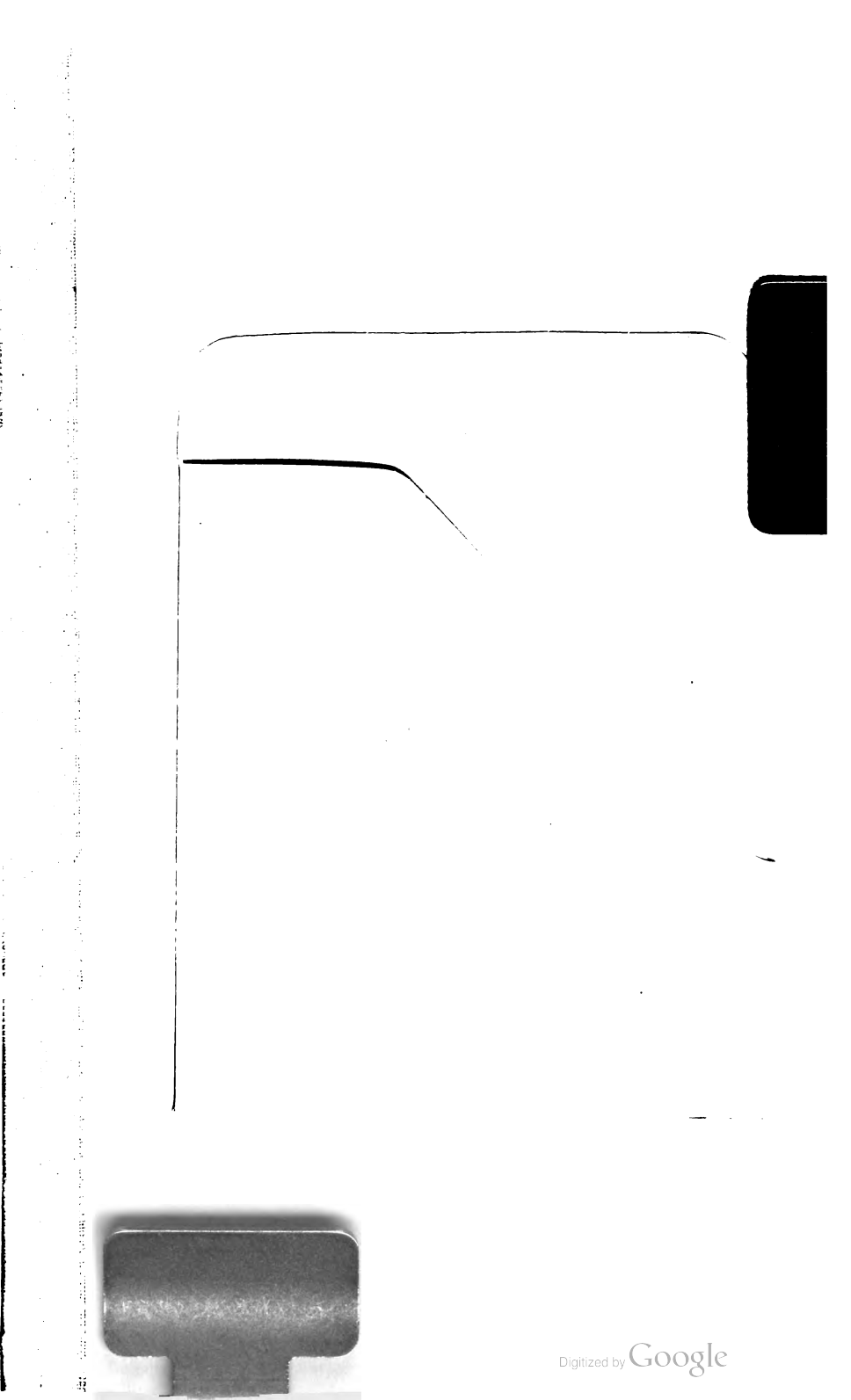












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Stephen, James, 1758-1832

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